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BOOKS REVIEWS

THE DACIAN SOCIETY - FIERCE WARRIORS AND THEIR WOMEN SOURCES AND REPRESENTATIONS

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Abstract: There is not much information about the Dacian society and especially the role of women within it. There are few ancient sources who deal more with the Thracians and a few about the Getae and Dacians, but the majority speak about the men and their wars. It is not very difficult, however, to understand the role of women in a warrior society, although parallels must be drawn to other ancient civilizations in the area. From what we know from sources, representations on Trajan's Column and archaeology, Dacian common women were in charge with the most domestic activities, while the noble women wore gold and jewels. However, it is possible that, in the final days of the independent Dacian Kingdom, they all fought for their lives and children, while many of their husbands had already been killed.

Keywords: Dacian women, warriors, Transylvania, ancient society, Trajan's Column.

The Dacians. The sources

One of the most developed and important civilizations in ancient Europe was the one that flourished north of the Danube and is known today as the Dacian civilization, or, as it appears mainly in the historical works of the communist times, the Daco-Getic civilization. Together with the Celts and Germanics/Germans, the Dacians were one of the main Barbarian peoples in Europe, and one of the main arch-enemies of the Roman Empire, even after 106 AD, as the so-called Free Dacians to the north and east of the Dacian province continued to raid the province and even south of the Danube, together or with other Barbarian tribes.

Unfortunately, the Dacians, like other Barbarians, did not write, so all the information we have about them comes from the Greeks and the Romans.[1] Even these wrote

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[1] There is still a debate about the identity of Dacians and Getae. Some authors tend to believe they were the same, also because ancient authors mention they spoke the same language, although the Dacians inhabited the Transylvanian mountains and the Getae lived in the Romanian Plain towards

more about the Thracians and the Getae (especially the Greeks in mainland Greece, based on information coming from Greek settlers on the western banks of the Black Sea, or information from various merchants, mercenaries or other ancient sources) which they knew better. Relations between Greeks and the Getae were usually peaceful, based on trade and hiring mercenaries, but not always – the Getae used to attack from time to time Greek settlements, also allied with Scythians and other raiding Barbarians.

There are a few ancient sources talking about these mounted Barbarians, the Getae, although the information differs, perhaps because of the source, the aim of the writer, the period and area described. The image thus created is a very strange one, with different customs, giving the researcher a hard time in interpreting them.

The first clear mentioning of the Dacians in a written source by Julius Caesar, and very briefly, just the ethnonym, without any other reference. As Roman territory began to expand and close on the Danube and its mouths, information about the Dacians and the Getae begin to appear in Roman sources also, from official chroniclers and poets alike. Worthy of noticing are **Ovidius**' information about the Getae, their equipment and tactics, although without any information on society and women. They were very violent, together with their allies, the Bastarnae, Bessi and Sarmatians – "A barbarous coast to port[2], used to savage rapine, always full of bloodshed, murder, war"[3]. As soon as the Danube freezes, "the barbarian host attack on swift horses:/ strong in horses and strong in far-flung arrows/laying waste the neighbouring lands far and wide."[4] The attacks are swift: "The enemy, with his bow, his arrows dipped in venom,

circles the walls fiercely on his snorting steed:
and as a ravening wolf carries off a sheep, outside
the fold, and drags it through the woods and fields,
so with anyone the barbarians find in the fields,
who hasn't reached the protection of the gates:
he either follows them, a captive, and accepts the chain
round his neck, or dies by a venomous shaft."[5]

The Getae actually control all the territory beyond the walls[6] - "Though there's a mix of Greeks and Getae on this coast,

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the Black Sea and in what is today southern Ukraine. There is also a scientific debate whether their language was indeed Thracian or a Balto-Slavic language. Without more Dacian words to compare, the matter is still hot, but far from a valid scientific solution.

[2] Tomis, today Constanţa, Romania.

[3] Ovid, I, XI, 31-32.

[4] Ovid, III, X, 54-56.

[5] Ovid, IV, I, 77-84.

[6] Of course, Ovid's writings and laments should be taken with care, the author exaggerates much the living conditions in this part of the world. Scythia Minor, at that time, had not been formally annexed

it's characterised more by the barely civilised Getae.
Great hordes of Sarmatians and Getae pass
to and fro, along the trails, on horseback.
There's not one among them who doesn't carry
bow, quiver, and arrows pale yellow with viper's gall:
Harsh voices, grim faces, the true image of Mars,
neither beard or hair trimmed, hands not slow
to deal wounds with the ever-present knife
that every barbarian carries, strapped to his side."[7]
Indeed, an enemy worthy of fighting the Roman legions.

The military danger posed by the Dacians in the Danube and Balkan region was noticed by the Romans, hence the many mentions of Dacians and their actions. Of course, the stress in these ancient writings is put on the political and military aspects, and mainly events are noted and described.

Among the ancient sources dealing with this civilization there are those of Herodotus, Plato, Cicero, Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Horatius, Strabo, Titus Livius, Ovidius, Plinius the Elder, Dio Chrysostomos, Plutarch, Tacitus and many others.

We know from various sources that many writings on the Getae and Dacians were lost in time, including writings especially written about them – such as Dio Chrysostomos' *History of the Getae*, lost – here valuable information about the society and way of life must have been in abundance, perhaps even from eye witnesses, merchants, travelers, slaves. From all the ancient pieces, we have to make an incomplete puzzle about Dacian society, while trying to fill in the blanks with information from other sources, analogies with other ancient Barbarian peoples and archaeological pieces, which usually raise more questions than give answers.

Luckily, two unwritten ancient "documents" survived until today – the monument at Adamclisi, in Dobrudja, Romania, with its metopae representing Roman soldiers, Dacian warriors and their Germanic allies and Dacian civilians, including women and children, and the world-known Trajan's Column in Rome, a chronicle in stone of the Roman-Dacian wars of emperor Trajan in 101-102 and 105-106, where not only soldiers of both sides, but also civilians are carved in stone. Also, from Trajan's times, and perhaps not only, a large number of statues representing Dacians has survived, but only men, perhaps noble prisoners.

Representations of Dacian women also appear on the above mentioned monuments and on other pieces, representing the province. Also, Dacian women, or goddesses, appear on phalerae, like the ones from the Lupu hoard. The hoard was found by accident in 1978, and consists of 11 pieces – a bronze mug, two silver fibulae, a silver jar and seven phalerae. Two

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to the Empire, who controlled only the Greek ports, so it is possible that the Barbarians roamed freely in the hinterland.

[7] Ovid, V, VII, 11-20.

phalerae have zoomorphic symbols, two have two mounted warriors, and three depict women/goddesses. The style of the representations is rather poor.

On all the phalerae, the dress and hairstyle of the characters are identical, and some might say the representations might look very similar to the Romanian traditional dress. "Over" the clothes, the characters seem to be wearing phalerae or necklaces. One of them holds in her hands what seem to be vessels, with a strange snake-like animal under the right arm; the other one holds only one vessel in her right hand, with the same snake-like animal under, while under her left arm and hand lies another fantastic animal, with what seems to be a very long tongue touching the woman's neck. The third character has her hands oriented towards her skirt and two fantastic animals on her sides (felines?, gryphons?!). The interesting element is that this third character has wings. All three of them are clearly representations of religious characters, from the Dacian pantheon or beliefs, about which, unfortunately, we don't know much. We also don't have any hint towards the existence of Dacian priestesses. Perhaps the whole deposit was meant as a religious ritual. It has been dated to the first decades of the 1st century BC.

Archaeological evidence for Dacian burials is very scarce. Only few burials have been found, and research results are rather inconclusive. There is a huge gap of burials in the Dacian society, and those found also more recently, in the years 2014 and 2015, by "amateur archaeologists" with metal detectors, are still being dug by archaeologists and studied, but the first findings of weapons indicate the deceased are men.

Since the Dacians used to burn their dead and then bury only the ash and cremated pieces of bones, it is almost impossible to determine the gender of the deceased. A possibility would be to interpret the offerings accompanying the remains, but some of these are also poor. Only in the case of warrior burials it is clear that the deceased was a man, being accompanied by the weapons he had used during his life. For other of the rest of the few burials discovered, the inventory of the graves such as pendants, beads or ceramics point that the deceased was a female.

Some of the few Dacian skeletons come from a necropolis found in Hunedoara county, in the backyard of the famous Hunyadi Castle[8]. The buried are children, and they have not been cremated, so specialists could easily determine the gender of the deceased by studying their bones.

In Hunedoara, from over 52 individuals found at the site, the 10 identified females buried here are aged between 6 months – 45 years old. Eight are children, one is an adolescent and only one is an adult, The poor inventory consists in small metal pendants, glass beads, animal bones (perhaps meat offerings), fibulae, bracelet fragments, earrings, bronze chain links. Bucket pendants were found only at females. Usually there is only a glass bead/fibula/earring/etc per grave,

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[8] Besides the skeletons, the archaeologists found parts of skeletons, from disturbed burials, strange placements of single human and animal bones, several deposits with various objects, not directly linked to the burials.

Also almost all the 12 males have only very poor inventory, sometimes only a coloured glass bead.

It is interesting that the males are deposited in the center, females on the margins of the complex.

For 30 skeletons or parts of skeletons it was impossible to determine the gender, as the site has suffered over time from of human activity.

The other necropolis is near the Getic settlement Zargidava, in Brad Commune, east of the Carpathians, in Moldavia, close to the river Siret.

One of the graves here may be that of a woman, since, besides the skeleton, the inventory consists of two iron bucket pendants and three bronze earrings. A second grave, with the skeleton of a child, had two iron bucket pendants, identical to the ones form the first grave. A third grave, under the second, also had two iron bucket pendants, identical to the others, and an iron fibula.[9]

In another dig, two children graves appeared, one having two iron bucket pendants, identical to the others, and two small crucibles with traces of bronze. The second skeleton had two earrings identical to the ones from the other graves and a bronze fibula.[10]

Another grave of a child had two glass beads and two iron bucket pendants. Another skeleton of an adult had two bronze earrings on its chest.

Unfortunately, no anthropological studies have been made on these skeletons, so nobody knows their gender. More than 50 years ago, when the research took place, the specialists were more interested in chronology, ethnicity and typology of material funds...

So, taking into account the more recent results by the team who worked in Hunedoara, and especially the link between the bucket pendants and the female burials, we believe that, in Zargidava, around the same time as burials took place in Hunedoara, the Dacians in this region may have used the same rituals and bury the bucket pendants only with females. Earrings might have been put also in graves of men. Until further studies on these human remains, if they still exist somewhere and somebody will analyze them, this theory remains subject to critic.

The woman in the Dacian society

As far as we know, the Dacians were a patriarchal society, dominated by a ruling class made of warriors and priests (the nobles were called 'tarabostes', only they were allowed, it seems, to cover their head and wear the famous Dacian-type pileus). Of course, the lower class was involved in agriculture, animal husbandry, handicraft, serving the elite.

There are no hints that Dacian women could be priestesses or be involved in any way in the religious rituals, however, it could be a possibility, but without supporting evidence.

The women of the aristocracy were for sure privileged, living in fortifications, the famous Dacian dwelling-towers, having servants and maybe slaves. They were the "masters"

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[9] Ursachi, 1995, 259.
[10] Ursachi, 1995, 260.

of the household, dealing with domestic issues while their husbands were away on hunting, training or campaigning. They wore the best clothes and jewels, some of them brought by their husbands from raids in the Roman Empire, took perhaps care of the education of their children – especially daughters, since their sons would join their fathers at an early age. In an endemically violent society, they could have learnt how to use weapons, shoot arrows and defend themselves, but, again, there is no solid argument for this, except for the vicinity with the Scythian and Sarmatian territories, and a possible influence from these peoples. Perhaps rich merchants were also part of the ruling class, so their wives enjoyed a privileged status also.

For the commoners, the situation of the woman must have been like in any other society in the world from the early times until the modern age. The woman would have children and take care of them, would cook and clean the house, care for the animals and work in the fields and garden, gather forest fruits and help their husbands at fishing and hunting. Also, they would weave and sew, make clothes and decorate them with embroideries. Maybe a few of them would engage in occult practices, such as various sets of objects with clear magical purpose attest. Many of them must have known the curative properties of plants, as Dacian medicine was famous in the ancient world,[11] and Dacian names of medicinal plants were kept in ancient writings, in the works of Dioscoride Pedanios (1st century AD) and Pseudo-Apuleius (4th century AD). Of course, Dacian women from the lower stratum of society would also know how to handle weapons or any objects that could be used as weapons, in order to defend their settlements and children when the enemy attacked. Although not represented on the Column or anywhere else, it is obvious that many Dacian women fought and died in battle in the last days of the independent Dacian Kingdom, in 106. With their world forever gone, their husbands dead in combat, prisoners or about to die in the Colosseum, it is perhaps possible that, in time, many Dacian women, and especially their daughters, took Roman soldiers and colonists as husbands and became Roman subjects. Others left beyond the borders of the newly established province, with their families, goods and livestock, as the last images of the Column show (another version of the last scene is that it represents Dacian population being moved by the Romans from the mountains to lower areas of the province.)

Very short anthropology of the Dacian women

Galen (AD 129 – c. 216) writes that the physical traits of the peoples north of the Danube are as following: blonde-red hair, light skin, blue eyes, such as the other Barbarian tribes, Germanics, Celts etc.

On the Column, Dacian women are represented in a beautiful manner and with beautiful faces. It is not clear from these representations if their draped dress is made out of one single piece, or is divided into a shirt and skirt. Some wear a sort of shawl or cloak, usually

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[11] Plato, in Charmides, describes a very interesting discussion he had with a Thracian medic.

have their heads covered, and walk barefoot. Of course, women also had shoes made of leather.

For the rich women, jewels would accompany a woman every day, while the poorer ones had to wear simpler outfits and jewels – many necklaces, chains, armbands, torques, phalerae and rings were found by archaeologists on sites, but not in funerary contexts. It is not clear whether these were also worn by men, and how regularly.

Written sources about women and customs

As mentioned above, a few ancient authors have written about customs of the Thracians and Getae, customs which could also be met perhaps in the Dacian society.

A few speak about the tattoos of the Getae women. Clearchus of Soli (4th-3rd centuries BC) writes that Scythian women tattooed Getae women as punishment, so these added more drawings on the skin, in order to erase the earlier shame. Dio Chrysostomos also writes that free Thracian women are covered in tattoos/brandings, made with a burning iron. Plutarch mentions that Thracians "tattoo their women, in order to avenge Orpheus".

With or without tattoos, women had to marry eventually. About the marriage at the Thracian tribes, information from the ancients reveals that these barbarians practiced polygamy. Herodotus writes that the Thracians have more wives, which they guard thoroughly (*Histories*, V, 5-8), although, until marriage, women are allowed to have relations with as many men they want (*Histories*, V, 6). Heraclidus Ponticus also writes that Thracians have three or four wives, and some even have 30! He also writes that women do a lot of house work, like the servants.

Strabo, cites Menander when writing that the Getae have ten, eleven or even more wives. When a man with only five wives dies, everybody mourns him, saying that he was not married, he has never known love (*Geography,* VII, 3, 4). They are also very religious. About Getae women writes very briefly Ovidius – "they know how to endure hunger and thirst" (*Pontica*, I, 2, 87) and carry heavy water jugs on their heads (*Pontica*, II, 8, 10-12).

Pomponius Mela, in the first century AD, writes that the girls to be married are sold publicly, but not by their parents (*Description of the World*, II, 21). He also writes about the funerary ritual of women being sacrificed on their husbands' dead bodies, and even fight among themselves for this privilege. Surviving widows would marry the other men in the tribe (*Description of the World,* II, 18-20). The same custom of selling the bride appears in "The wonders of the world" (10, 4) of Solinus, who is perhaps only copying Mela, who could have copied this passage from Herodotus (V, 5).

Horatius writes in eulogistic terms about the Dacian women – they take care also of their step children, know their place in society, never superior to their men, and never have lovers except for their husbands. Sin is paid with death, and her virtue is her most valuable asset. (*Odes*, I, 211).Divorce was easy – parents could get their daughter back, after paying what they had received for her.

Representations

A very peculiar representation is on an **architectonic piece – keystone** of a triumphal arch?! – in Rome, dated in the 1st-2nd centuries AD, 1.20 m in height and made of white marble.

Source: - http://www.nms.ac.uk/ImageGen.ashx?image=/media/298802/carynxslideshow-trajan-forum-keystone.jpg&width=700&height=525&pad=True&bgcolor=000000

The original location of the piece is not known; it is believed it was either from a building in Trajan's forum, either from the Temple of Hadrian in Rome. It was also placed in the time of Domitian, but there are actually no solid arguments for any of the chronologies. Today it is located in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, on the base of an ancient statue, together with other pieces from perhaps the same buildings. Some see in it the personification of Dacia, because it could actually belong to a series of personifications of the Roman provinces. Some believe it is the personification of Germania. The image itself is of a grieving crouching woman, dressed like a Barbarian woman, with a long draped dress and a head cover, having behind her a carnyx, identical to the carnyxes on the base of Trajan's Column, an axe and a shield, also identical to the shields on the Column. It was perhaps installed there after the middle of the 18th century. An argument for this would be that it appears in the famous painting Ancient Rome, from 1757, of Italian artist Giovanni Paolo Panini - (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e6/Giovanni_Paolo_Panini_%E2%80%93_Ancient_Rome.jpg).

The piece is romantically placed under the more famous statue *Dying Gaul*, to the bottom left of the painting.

Other representations of the province as a Dacian woman appear on various Roman **coins**. The woman, whose details are hard to see, sometimes holds a staff with a wolf's head, a curved weapon reminding of the Dacian falx, or is surrounded by (Dacian) weapons. While in the times of Emperor Trajan, the Dacian symbol on the coins was a defeated warrior sitting on a pile of weapons and shields, or a chained woman, the coins minted in Dacia in the third century AD have the personification of the province as a woman.

In AD 246, Emperor Philip I allowed the Dacian province to mint its own bronze coins – sestertius, dupondius and as, to be used for the same province[12]. On the obverse is the emperor's portrait, or the portrait of a member of the imperial family. On the reverse there is the legend PROVINCIA DACIA, and the personification of the province, standing or sitting between the animal symbols of the legions from Dacia: the eagle and the lion. The woman is dressed in a long dress and holds either an olive branch and a standard with the letters DF – Dacia Felix -, or two legion standards – with the numbers V and XIII[13] -, or a sica or falx, a clear indication of the province. It is hard to see if the dress is typically Dacian or Roman, but chances are it's the latter.

Finally, a few coins from the time of emperor Trajanus Decius (reigned 249-251) figure the province as a woman, standing, with a staff in her hand. The staff has either a wolf or a donkey's head on its extremity.

Such is the case of an aureus –

Source: http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s9368.html#RIC_0012b

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[12] They were minted until 257. All coins have the number of their issue year on them, from I to XI.

[13] The standards of the Vth Macedonica legion, at Potaissa/Turda and XIIIth Gemina, at Apulum/Alba Iulia.

An antoninianus –

Source: - http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/trajan_decius/RIC_0002b.jpg

And a sestertius –

Source: - http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s9398.html#RIC_0101b

On two other types of coins, the province is standing and holding a standard in her right hand – an antoninianus –

Source: - http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/trajan_decius/RIC_036b.jpg

And a sestertius, with the legend DACIA FELIX –

Source: - http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/sear5/s9401.html#RIC_0114a

Again, the dresses appear to be Roman, perhaps the same type the women of the province, Roman or Romanized Dacians would have worn in the period[14].

At **Adamclisi**, three metopes feature Dacian women.

Source: - http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/35/AdamclisiMetope19.jpg

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[14] For the best analysis on the issue of the coins, see Agnes-Alfoldy Găzdac, Cristian Găzdac – The coinage "PROVINCIA DACIA" – a coinage for one province only? (AD 246-257), in Acta Musei Napocensis, 39-40/I, Cluj-Napoca 2002-2003 (2004). https://www.academia.edu/354903/Moneda_Provincia_Dacia

Source: - http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/AdamclisiMetope20.jpg

In metope 19, a Dacian (?!) family drives in a cart. The image is not very clear, but there might be a woman near a child inside the cart.

In metope 20 there are two women, dressed the same, one of them holding a baby in her arms, an image seen so many times on Trajan's Column.

In metope 21, a man holds a woman by the hand. The woman is dressed in a long draped dress with short sleeves and holds a knife or sica in her other hand.

Finally, the **Column** has many representations of Dacian women, in various circumstances. In opposition to Marcus Aurelius' column, there are no signs of violence against women on Trajan's column, they are usually shown in maternal circumstances, holding children in their arms, and always in peaceful situations, accompanied by men and children.

The first scene to feature women is scene XXX, where the emperor, with a gentle sign, shows a Dacian woman a boat, perhaps telling her to get into the boat. The scene was interpreted as the leading into a noble captivity of King Decebalus' sister, captured by the Romans in 101, as Dio Cassius writes. The woman is followed by other four or five women, some carrying small children. They are all guarded, so they could be wives of King Decebalus or of Dacian high noblemen.

Next is scene XXXIX, representing Romans demolishing Dacian fortifications, on the left, two adult women and a small girl watch the soldiers at work. One, with her hair tied by a ribbon, is holding a small child in her arms, while the other has her hair completely covered, like the young girl in front of her. Also, on the top left corner of the scene, another woman's profile can be seen, maybe a noble one, judging by the earrings and necklace.

A very interesting scene is the next featuring women, the famous Scene XLV, where five women are torturing three naked prisoners with torches near a stone tower. The scene

has been interpreted almost unanimously as Dacian women torturing Roman prisoners. However, there is no actual clue for their ethnicity as Dacians, they could also be Roman women torturing prisoners of war, perhaps widows of the attack of the Dacians south of the Danube. The scene is between two others representing Roman activities in the war, the Danube and a Roman ship are touching and overlapping the tower, and the prisoners have rather long hair and have beards! This could be a clue that they are actually Dacians, also for the reason that the Romans could not have portrayed their victorious soldiers in such a decadent circumstance on an official monument of absolute victory.

The next scene featuring (also) women is LXXVI, representing Dacians demolishing a fortification and civilians gathering or leaving a certain place. Again, two women are carrying babies at their breasts, a third one is carrying a parcel on her head, and two girls are waiting patiently. They all have their heads covered.
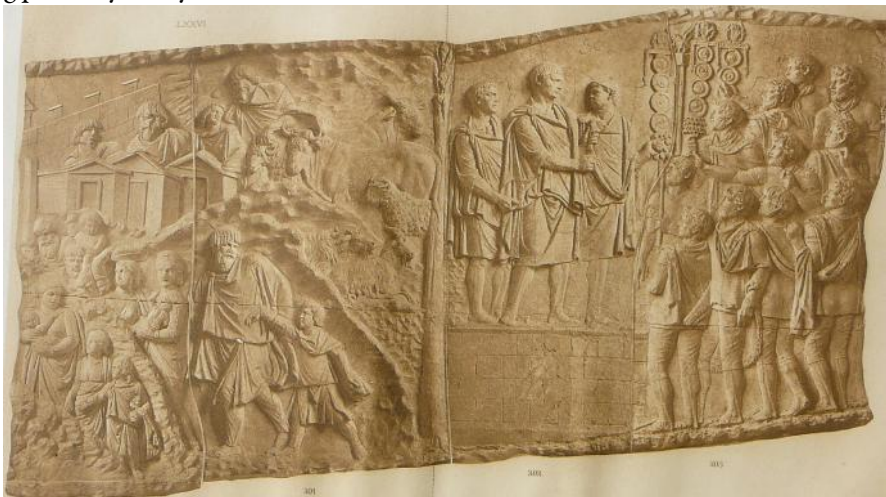
Scenes LXXXII-LXXXIII feature again women, but they seem to be Roman. The scenes feature youngsters, boys and girls alike, which could lead to the idea that they might be royal hostages in Rome, a logical argument, but not enough to make a valid theory. Only

their presence among Roman adults and the attitude of these towards the youngsters could provide a hint, but only as a wildcard.
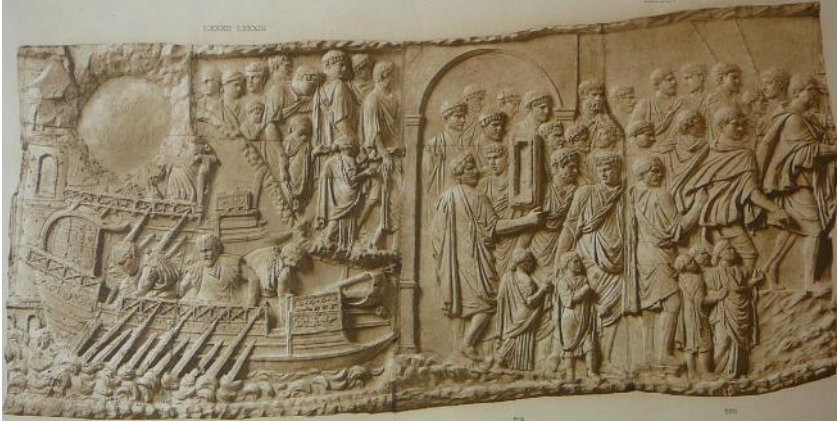
A few women and children appear in scene LXXXVI, also in full Roman context, and they also seem to be Romans.

Scene XCI, representing the arrival in Dacia of Emperor Trajan at the start of the second war, features four women – each seems to be with her husband, the first is carrying a baby in her arms, the other two have children near them, a boy and a girl. They all wear the same type of dress and have their heads covered.

The last scene on the Column, badly damaged by elements, shows Dacians, men, women and children, departing (perhaps) with their animals and few belongings the newly established province, or resettling in the province.

Conclusion

From all the records we have, the woman in the Dacian world played an important role in the household and agricultural activities, as well as in handicrafts. Represented on Roman monuments as a good mother, she might also have taken part in conflicts, taking up arms and defending her life and belongings. Also, Dacian women remaining in the province and marrying Roman soldiers and colonists became integrated in the system of values represented by the destroyer of their known world, the Roman Empire.

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THE DOMESTICATION OF AN ITINERANT OBJECT: THE TRUE CROSS RELIQUARY FROM THE LOUVRE MUSEUM

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Abstract: The Reliquary of the True Cross from the Louvre Museum serves as a good illustration of some key ideas which are of high interest for modern art historians studying medieval art. These ideas are: hybridity (syncretism, compositeness), portability (mobility), circulation, and transparency (crossing borders). The Reliquary is a product of a complicated cross-cultural exchange with more than one participant. First of all, it is a composite, or hybrid, object. The cross-shaped reliquary was produced in the Holy Land in the twelfth century, most likely in Jerusalem, while the casket, in which the cross is housed, was produced later, probably in a South Italian or Sicilian workshop of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Furthermore, the reliquary belongs to a big family of portable objects, which are defined by the feature of portability, and which add to its material value significant symbolical value when they are transported beyond the borders – geographical, cultural, or political – of the region of their production. In order to better understand the reliquary and its value, I answer two sets of questions. First is the set of "traditional" questions of Western European art history, namely authorship, style, date, and periodization. Then I consider this reliquary as an "object without borders," in terms of Jennifer Purtle, and find answers to the kinds of questions related to the specificity of portable objects: What is the object within the context in which it exists? How and why does an object move beyond borders? What meaning and what cultural and economic value accrue to an object when it exists without borders? Answering these questions, I show how the reliquary moved from one cultural and political context to another, being re-shaped and re-considered on the course of its travels.

Keywords: Compositeness, Holy Land, Hybridity, Medieval art, Portability, Reliquary, Syncretism, Transparency, True Cross.

The **Reliquary of the True Cross** (figs. 1, 2, 3) from the Louvre Museum serves as a very good illustration of key ideas which are of high interest for art historians studying medieval art. These ideas are: hybridity (syncretism, compositeness), portability (mobility), circulation, and crossing borders (transparency).

The object is a product of a complicated cross-cultural exchange with more than one participant. It belongs to a big family of portable objects, which, according to Eva Hoffman,

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are defined "not by the style and subjects represented on these works, but rather by the circumstances of portability, shifting the emphasis from 'production' to 'circulation'."[1] In order to better understand the reliquary and its value, I find it necessary to answer two sets of questions. First is the set of "traditional" questions of Western European art history, as Eva Hoffman calls them, namely authorship, style, date, and periodization.[2] Then I will consider this reliquary as an "object without borders," and find answers to the kinds of questions asked by Jennifer Purtle: What is the object within the context in which it exists? How and why does an object move beyond borders? What meaning and what cultural and economic value accrue to an object when it exists without borders?[3]

The catalogue entry of the Louvre Museum informs us that the reliquary is of Italian provenance and was produced in the late 12th century CE. It was first published by Marquet de Vasselot in 1914, and was described as an Italian work of art based on a Byzantine model.[4] Recently, however, Anastasia Wasserman challenged this identification. In her opinion, the reliquary is of Byzantine provenance.[5] For me the most plausible theory is that of Jannic Durand, the curator of Medieval Art at the Louvre Museum. He describes the reliquary as a *composite,* or *hybrid* object. The cross reliquary itself, he argues, "belongs to a well-defined group of reliquary crosses produced in the Holy Land in the 12th century, most likely in Jerusalem." The casket, in which the cross is housed, was produced later and should be attributed to a South Italian or Sicilian workshop of the late 12th or early 13th century.[6] The difficulties in identification clearly demonstrate that for this type of artwork, the object's portability and movement across borders, both geographical and cultural, is more important for defining the object, than the place of its production.[7]

The smaller cross reliquary (see fig. 1) is made in the shape of the Byzantine cross with two horizontal arms and is covered with repoussé and stamped silver. On the front, there are the slivers of the True Cross, arranged to form two crosses at the intersection of the arms. Four tiny fragments of stone are placed around a central relic. Jannic Durand suggests that they are relics from one or more holy sites in Palestine, such as, for instance, the Holy Sepulchre, or Calvary, or the Cave of Nativity.[8] Thus, the cross represents the composite type of reliquary, with the main relic and the secondary relics exposed for easy viewing by the faithful.[9] The rest of the decoration of the frontal side of the cross consists of four medallions with the symbols of the Evangelists, an image of an angel, and vegetal motifs. On the bottom part of the cross a domed structure with rectangular base is depicted. It is traditionally

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[1] Hoffman, 2001, 17.

[2] Hoffman, 2001, 17.

[3] Purtle, 2009, 131.

[4] de Vasselot, 1914, 7.

[5] Wasserman, 2015, 25 (footnote 32).

[6] Durand, 2006, 680-681.

[7] Hoffman, 2001, 17.

[8] Durand, 2006, 680.

[9] Verdier, 1982, 95.

interpreted as an image of the Holy Sepulchre, with an oil lamp hanging from the vertex.[10] Wasserman argues that this combination of the image of the Holy Sepulchre with the cross is an indicator of the emergence of a new iconographical type of the reliquaries of the True Cross originating from Crusaders' encounter with the *loca sancta* in Jerusalem. Crusader reliquaries developed from Byzantine *staurothekai*, containers for preserving the wood of the True Cross; and, like their prototypes, these reliquaries preserve the shape of a cross with two horizontal arms. The back of the cross (fig. 4) is decorated with a vegetal motif and a central medallion of *Agnus Dei,* the reference being to Christ's sacrifice. The decorative program of the cross reliquary, with symbols of four Evangelists, angels, *Agnus Dei*, and vegetal motifs, was, according to Wasserman, typical for crusader reliquaries.[11]

The other part of the reliquary, namely the casket (figs. 2 and 3), was, in Durand's opinion, made later. It is a flat box (or *tabula*) with a sliding lid, which allows access to the *staurotheka*. This shape also derived from Byzantine reliquaries shaped like icons painted on wooden panels scooped out like a trough (fig. 5). As Verdier notes, this similarity of form explains why reliquaries of this type were sometimes registered in medieval inventories and texts under the Latin word *icone* (*ycona*).[12] The lid bears an image of the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St John at the foot of the cross, which is a direct allusion to the relic protected within. The cross divides the field of the image into four parts. The four-partite composition is of great symbolic significance in Christian visual language. It refers to four parts of the world, the four rivers of Paradise, four virtues, and etcetera. This type of composition was very popular throughout the Christian world, and may be found on various media in different regions far beyond the Mediterranean (see figs. 6-10). When the case is opened, it reveals the parallel scene with images of St Helena, traditionally credited with the invention of the True Cross, and her son Constantine, the first Christian emperor. As Durand notes, "[t]he parallel is heightened by a depiction of two angels in adoration above the cross in both scenes."[13] The double portrait of St Helena and Emperor Constantine was also very popular and may be found on different media (see fig. 11). Finally, Durand describes the underside of the casket as bearing a *crux gemmata* rising from acanthus leaves.[14]

Overall, Byzantine reliquaries in *tabula* shape were very popular in the Christian world (see figs. 12, 13). However, there is an inscription on the casket which suggests that the reliquary came from Southern Italy or Sicily. The inscription along the outer border reads: +HOC EST LIGNVM: S(AN)C(T)E CRVCIS IN QVA XPC [CHRISTVS] PEPE(N)DIT / QVAM DE IERVSALE(M) + CONSTANTINVS ET HELENA DETVLERVNT; in the interior of the case: S(AN)C(TV)S CONSTANTINVS *KONCTA(ν)TIN(O)ς* and S(AN)C(T)A HELENA *ΗΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΕΝΙ*; illegible letters near the archangels Gabriel and Michael; on the lid: I STAVROSIS, IHS XPS / IC XC; on the

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[10] Durand, 2006, 680.
[11] Wasserman, 2015, 15, 25.
[12] Verdier, 1982, 100.
[13] Durand, 2006, 680.
[14] Durand, 2006, 680.

underside of the case: *HIEROTHE/CA*.[15] As Durand points out, "[t]he Byzantine style iconography and the mix of Greek and Latin letters and wording tend to favour an attribution to an Italian workshop of the 12th century or the first half of the 13th century, perhaps located in Southern Italy or Sicily."[16]

To summarize, the reliquary of the True Cross from the Louvre Museum is a composite object, which combines at least three cultural traditions: Byzantine, Crusader, and South Italian/Sicilian. The specificity of reliquaries, as containers for sacred relics, was that additionally to the value of the precious materials of which they were made, these objects had hardly quantifiable symbolic value of sacred objects. The value of reliquaries was *composite*, defined by a combination of complex social, cultural, and religious interactions.[17] Describing the distribution of Byzantine relics in Western Christendom, Holger A. Klein argues that maintenance and control over the relics allowed Byzantine emperors a way to express their close ties with divine powers and their spiritual superiority over other Christian rulers.[18] This statement can arguably be extended to include the distribution of relics by the rulers of the Latin Kingdom. This means that these objects acquired their full value, both economic and symbolic, only by being transported outside the place of their production. In other words, they were itinerant by nature, and were made to cross boundaries. It is not less important that for the new owners of the reliquary, be it a person or an institution, it was not enough to own the object. It was necessary to make the fact of possession visible. As a result, the iconography of the object itself changed, and a new casket was made, which tied the reliquary to its new location visually and symbolically. This practice was popular in Western Europe. There are several famous examples of the "domestication" of an itinerant reliquary by making a new container for it (see figs. 14, 15), including the Stavelot Triptych (fig. 15). On the other hand, one cannot cross out another possibility: that, having acquired a new casket and new layers of symbolic meaning, the reliquary continued in circulation until it finally settled in the museum setting and now is recontextualized as a 'work of art'.[19]

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[15] Durand, 2006, 680.

[16] Durand, 2006, 681.

[17] Klein, 2004, 283.

[18] Klein, 2004, 284.

[19] Hoffman, 2001, 17.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Reliquary of the True Cross.

Source: Andaloro, Maria (ed). NobilesS Officinae: Perle, Filigrane e Trame di Seta dal Palazzo Reale di Palermo. Vol. 1. Sicily, Palermo: Giuseppe Maimone Editore, 2006; p. 288.

Fig. 2. Reliquary of the True Cross, the casket with the lid closed

Fig. 3. Reliquary of the True Cross (with the lid open)

Source: Official web-site of the Louvre Museum:
http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_5296_6623_ov012724.003.
jpg_obj.html&flag=false, accessed October 17, 2015

Fig. 4. Reliquary of the True Cross, back of the smaller cross
Source: Official web-site of the Louvre Museum:
http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_5297_6625_ov012724.004.
jpg_obj.html&flag=true, accessed October 17, 2015

Fig. 5. Reliquary of the True Cross.

Fig. 6. Enamel from Conques with the Crucifixion, date ca. 1100.

Source: Official web-site of the Metropolitan Museum:

http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/474207, accessed October 17, 2015

Fig. 7. Book Cover with Byzantine Icon of the Crucifixion, date ca. 1000.
Source: Official web-site of the Metropolitan Museum:
http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/464015, accessed October 17, 2015

Fig. 8. Gospel Book Fragments (late 7ᵗʰ century), Durham Cathedral, MS A.II.10. Crucifixion, fol. 38v. FADIS (Federated Academic Imaging System)

Fig. 9. Book of Durrow (late 7ᵗʰ century), Trinity College, MS 57, Carpet page with double-armed cross, fol. 1v. FADIS (Federated Academic Imaging System)

Fig. 10. Book of Kells (late 8th – early 9th century), Trinity College, MS 58 (A.I.6). The eight circle cross page, fol. 33r. FADIS (Federated Academic Imaging System)

Fig. 11. The Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke with double portrait of St Helena and Constantine (date: early 9th century). Geography: Made in Constantinople (?) Medium: Gilded silver, gold, enamel worked in cloisonné, and niello.

Source: Official site of the Metropolitan Museum, http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/472562?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=constantine+and+helena&pos=2, accessed October 17, 2015.

Fig. 12. *Staurotheke* (date: ca. 1100), Geography: Made in Constantinople; Medium: Gilded silver; Hermitage State Museum, St. Petersburg
Source: http://rublev-museum.livejournal.com/43593.html

Fig. 13. Tesoro delle Sante Croci in the duomo vecchio of Brescia (late 10th century), *Rivista dell'Osservatorio per le Arti Decorative in Italia,*
Source: http://www1.unipa.it/oadi/oadiriv/?page_id=774, accessed October 17, 2015

Fig. 14. Reliquary of the True Cross. Cross: Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem; panel: Rhine-Meuse region. Date: 1214. Material: Silver, silver gilt over wood (walnut), precious stones, niello
Source: Official web-site of the Cleveland Museum of Art,
http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1952.89, accessed October 18, 2015

Fig. 15. Triptych from the Abbey of Stavelot. The two small triptychs in the center: Byzantine, date: from the late 11th or early 12th century. The larger triptych: Mosan, date: 1156-1158.
Source: Official web-site of the Morgan Library and Musrum,
http://www.themorgan.org/search/site/Triptych%20from%20the%20Abbey%20of%20Stavelot, accessed October 18, 2015.

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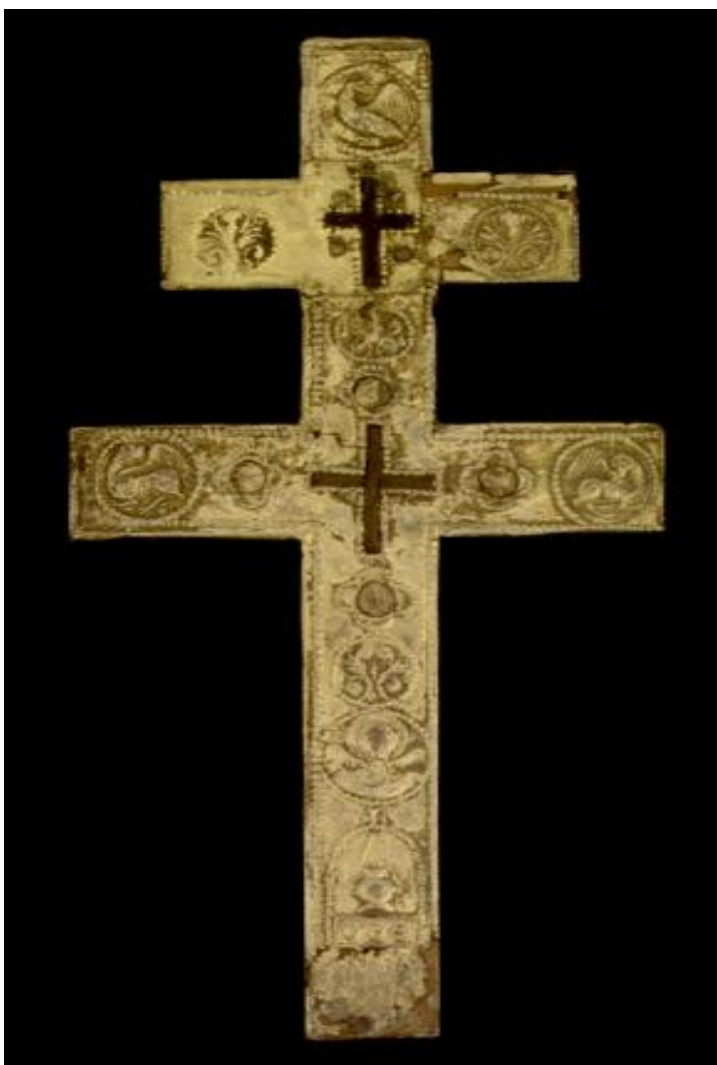
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AT THE „MARGIN" OF THE ROMANIAN
PRE-MODERN SOCIETY. THE JEWS

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Abstract: This paper shows the attitudes of Romanian society regarding to the ethic category considered at the social margin. In this case were, for example, the Jews, "excluded". Towards those "marginalized", Romanian society in the 17th-18th centuries did not show the "Christian pity". Its attitudes were argued by the religious convictions ideas and by the transferring clichés from Western Europe to Eastern Europe.

Keywords: Social attitudes, Mentality, Pre-modernity, History, Religion.

Religious and social forms framed in the 17th-18th centuries the attitudes, behaviours and feelings that ensured the unity and acknowledgement of the Romanian community members, beyond whom the Other was formed, different by will or by conjuncture. This shapes the concept of *society's margin*,[1] tolerated or persecuted, depending on the circumstances created by the events of each age. On this margin, if not beyond it, *in the ranks of the excluded*, were those of another religion, who were accepted with difficulty by the orthodox community, if at all: *the Jews* (sometimes called by the Romanians *„ovrei", „jidovi")*.

Representing a quite complex identity, created by the attitudes they give rise to in others,[2] the Jews were constantly positioned at the margin of the Christian world, especially on religious grounds. Clearly, this attitude was fed by the economic success of the Jews, the highly enterprising nature, the endogamy and by the cultural and religious traditions. These helped raise barriers against social and cultural dialogue on both sides, the Christian and the Mosaic world.

Generally, the attitude towards the Jews was developed by the religious reasons, they were always considered "punished by God". The central episode that argues this "punishment" of Jews is done by the Bible: Judas's betrayal and the crucifixion of Jesus. In this episode, the Jews themselves sealed their fate, bringing upon themselves God's "blood curse".

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[1] Le Goff, 1970.
[2] To see Lebrun, 1967 and Martin, 1998.

This justification of a religious nature was preserved in the discourses and the legal documents of the age. Here is an example from *Cazania* [*Homily*]: "O, vicleşugul Jidovilor şi vrăjmaşi şi fără de omenia lor! O rod rău şi îndărătnic, căci nice ca pietrele nu sunteţi. Catapeteasma bisericii s-a rupt pre mijloc, iar voi nu vă umiliţi. Gropile se deschiseră şi inima voastră nu se obidui, Soarele şi luna întunecară şi voi nu aţi înţeles că iaste Dumnezeu, ce voi, după lucru vostru veţi lua şi vă veţi duce în locul cel de munci, unde-i gătit vouă, împreună cu Iuda şi acolo în veci că veţi munci pentru faptele voastre ce aţi făcut asupra Dumnezeului nostru"[3] [Oh, the treachery of the Jews both enemies and without humanity! Oh, evil and stubborn progeny, for you are less than the stones. The iconostasis has broken in half and you do not humble yourselves. Holes opened in the earth and your heart did not grieve, the Sun and the moon darkened and you did not understand that there is God, and that you will receive as you have done and you will go to the place of torment that is prepared for you, together with Judas and there you will forever toil for your deeds that you perpetrated against our God]. For this reason, the Jews were considered "the most sinful", and they become "worthy of Hell's torments"[4]. But, in the ecclesiastic discourse the reminder of the "Jewish sin" can preserve the animosity against the Jews in the consciousness of the Christian. However, even more than that, it occasioned a revitalization of the Christian feelings, rather than the necessity of isolating the Jews.

In the internal acts and documents, the will of the one issuing them was strengthened by threats, which became legal formulas, being quite often employed by the political power, as well as by individuals. Also called curses, these threats sealed the fate of the person who would think of dismissing them: "De veţi călca şi veţi rupe această carte a domniei mele (...) să-i ucidă aici trupul lui şi să aibă parte cu Iuda şi Arie la un loc"; "cine se ruşinează şi rupe şi ia aciastă milă şi ajutor, fie domn, fie boier, sau orice o mai fi şi nu caută la acest hrisov al domniei mele, acela să fie de trei ori blestemat şi afurisit de stăpânul domnul nostru Iisus Hristos şi de 318 sfinţi părinţi şi să aibă parte de Iuda şi cu ceilalţi necredincioşi"[5] [If you go against or break this missive of my lordship may his body be killed henceforth and may he have the same lot of Judas and Arius]; [who is ashamed and breaks and takes this pardon and aid, be it lord, or boyar, or whatever he may be and he does not pay heed to this charter of my lordship, may he be thrice damned and accursed by Our Lord Jesus Christ and by the 318 Holy Fathers and may he share the fate of Judas and the other nonbelievers]. Therefore, in the eternal life, the guilty will join the betrayers of Christ, repugnant figures for any Christian, and will share the same negative reputation: "În veacul viitor sufletul lui să fie cu Iuda şi cu de trei ori blestematul Arie, care au strigat asupra sângelui domnului mântuitorului nostrum Iisus „ia-l şi răstigneşte-l", sângele lui asupra lor şi asupra copiilor lor, aceasta este şi <va fi>în veci, amin"[6] [in the ages to come may his soul be with Judas and with

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[3] *Cazania,* 87.

[4] Oişteanu, 2001, 181-183.

[5] The same mentions, sometimes identical mentions to many documents of the *DIR.* For example, *DIR*, 1951, doc. no. 110, 105 and doc. no. 87, 161.

[6] *DIR,* 1956, doc. no. 244, 197.

the thrice cursed Arius, who screamed against the blood of our Lord saviour Jesus "take him and crucify him", his blood be upon them and their children, today and forever, Amen].

"The sin of Judas and Arius", it itself a *Self-Ethno curse* frequently repeated in the curse formulas. This fact shows that the Romanian society was open to respecting the Christian tradition, kept the Bible texts and the synodal decisions, not to the theological debates.

The curse, in this formula, remains valid for a long time in the Romanian community and the guilty obtain a negative reputation that attracts Christian resentment: "să-l spargă și să fie proclet și afurisit de 318 sfinți părinți de la Nicheia și să aibă cinstea Iudii și a Ariei"[7] [may he be broken and be anathema and cursed by the 318 Holy from Nicaea, and may he have Judas and Arius privilege"]. "Și să fie blestemat în veacul acesta și afurisit de Domnul Dumnezeu și de cei 318 sfinți părinți de Dumnezeu purtători, cari au blestemat pe Arie cu erezia lui și să aibă aceeași parte cu dânsul și cu Iuda, care au răstignit pe Hristos și ca ucigaș de sfinți, să fie supus judecății și focului veșnic și la strașnica judecată să-i fie potrivnic însuși sfântul ierarh făcător de minuni Nicolae din. Această poruncă a domniei mele să fie neclintită în anii și neamurile veșnice, așa precum mai sus cu blestem am dat de veste și am întărit aceasta, ca să se păzească neschimbat de cei ce vor fi vlastelini după noi, ci să întărească și să înnoiască"[8] [and may he be damned in this age and cursed by our Lord God and by the 318 Holy Fathers who bear God's Spirit, who cursed Arius with his heresy and may he have the same fate with him and with Judas, who crucified Christ and as murderer of saints, may he be subjected to the judgement and eternal fire and at the terrible judgement may the Holy Hierarch and miracle worker Nicholas from the Mira of Lichia himself be against him. May this decree of my lordship be unyielding for the ages and people to come, as I above have announced with a curse and strengthened it, so that it may be preserved unchanged by those who will become lords after us, and be strengthened and renewed].

By employing such formulas, the curse remains eternal, and the culprit also gains a bad name that attracts Christian resentment. The "curse of Judas", itself an ethnic curse, can demonstrate that Romanian society proved its inclination towards respecting Christian tradition, preserved by synod decisions, rather than for theological, explanatory debates.

It is noticed that the sanctions of curses intend to provoke many problems in the life of the guilty and to change his destiny.

Losing the divine protection, the guilty dies physically and also his soul. Naturally, the sanctions imposed by the ruler, decisively delivered, were also used by the latter in the interest of his governing, so as to strengthen central power. Therefore, the recording of the curse in official documents can be an overbidding on the part of the lord to underline the divine nature of his decisions and his duty to exercise his legal prerogatives in the name of divinity.

Next to the fundamental *sin of deicide*, a series of accusations circulated about the Jews, most of them being connected, even remotely, to religious convictions. M. I. Dimont, analyzing in time and in space the status of the Jews, draws the conclusion that the main

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[7] *DIR,* 1951, doc. no. 12, 12.
[8] *DIR,* 1951, doc. no. 266, 295-296.

accusations which had provoked numerous persecutions in the Occident world were the *ritual killing* and the *desecration of the wafer*.[9] In this reason, Andrei Oişteanu,[10] starts from Romanian traditional culture, added the following accusations: hagiocide (the killer of the holy), iconocide[11] (killer of icons) and infanticide (killer of babies). For example, in the Romanian space were a few cases of ritual murder, but in the 18th-19th centuries, like the occidental models (during the 12th-15th centuries). The accusation of ritual killing is an effect of transferring this cliché from Western Europe to Eastern Europe.

In the Romanian extra – Carpathian space, Oişteanu related two cases in the 18th century: one at Piatra Neamţ (1710), when "five Jews were lynched and twenty-two more were chained"[12]. The second case is more known, this took place in 1726, when four Jews from Oniţcani (Orhei) were accused for a ritual murder: killing of a child. Since the victim was a five-year old child, the accused were judged by the ruler of Moldova Voevoda Mihai Racoviţă himself.[13] The event drew the attention of the chroniclers of the time, it was related by Ion Neculce,[14] by Pseudo Amiras[15] and by the Ghiculeşti' Chronic.[16] It is singular in the 18th century and nothing similar was discovered in the 17th century. From the recordings of the chroniclers, as well as from other texts, it becomes clear that the event is an instigation that the ruler uses to extort money from the Jews, since he was in great need and he was threatened with relegation („mazilire"). Finally, due to the interventions of the Jews in Constantinople, the Ottoman authorities obtain the release of the four.[17] Most probably, it is a case of the authorities using for the first time in Moldavia a stereotype that was widely spread in Eastern Europe at the time.

There is a single major cultural reference, connected to the icon of the Mother of God, which was stabbed before it was brought to Wallachia by a Jew. Since blood spurted from the icon, the Jew was frightened and he believed in Christ, being baptized "with his whole family". The legend came with the icon, being then repeated in other works. One should take into account, however, that this tradition is fluid and influenced by the propaganda of various poles of influence.

Other texts also recorded the discrimination of the Jews by the Christians with no emotional overtones.[18] The *Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc,* for example, settled for naming the Jews "pagans"[19], without detailing the reasons and deeds behind this labelling.

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[9] Dimont, 2004, 244, 255.

[10] Oişteanu, 1998, 205-207.

[11] Oişteanu, 1998, 204, 205.

[12] Oişteanu, 1998, 210.

[13] Oişteanu, 1998, 211.

[14] Neculce, 1987, 315.

[15] *Cronica anonimă,* 101.

[16] *Cronica Ghiculeştilor*, 134.

[17] I. Neculce, who belief in the reality of the fact. He seen sad because the Prince did not punished the Jews, 1987, 315). As the chronicle written about the Jews shows that Neculce known this stereotype.

[18] To see the perspective of Castaldini, 2010, 35u.

[19] *Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc*, 129.

Even in the public acts or in the judicial acts of the 17th century, the Jews were mentioned in the curses, these were the old Jews (who are in the testamentary texts).[20] However, their threat remained present, and thus the Jews, as well as the other non – Christian populations had to be kept at the society's margin, the attitudes which will be develop in the social discourse. This positioning, though, can be corrected For example, on the 12 September 1704 Misail the Mitropolitan of Suceava and bishops from Roman, Rădăuți and Huși, and the boyars attest the tax exemption of the Moldavian monasteries dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre, and he also mentions the bequests in the shape of guest houses for foreigners who "cu mijlocul aceștia milostenii pururea se îmblânzescu acele fără credință neamuri și se biruescu vicleșugurile ereticilor și să păzește casa Dumnezeului lui Iacob"[21] [by means of this benefaction all those faithless peoples are always tamed and the ploys of the heretics are undone and the house of Jacob's God is guarded].

Beyond the negative image of the Jew, built for religious reasons, the social marginalization of the Jews was quite obvious, systematicically organized, but without the negative affective component, as it was sometimes as in the West. This impression is argued in the juridical texts, such as, the following aspects:

– „cine vrea să fie preot nu contează a cui rudă este, doar la evrei"[22] [who wants to be a priest, it does not matter whose kin he is, only for Jews];

– „când se pedepsește cel ce a rănit pe altul (....) ce zice vraciul vom crede pentru rană, măcar de nu s-ar jura sau de ar fi vraciul evreu, jidov sau de altă lege"[23] [when he who has harmed another is punished, we shall have believe the words of the healer about the wound, even though he may not swear upon it or if the healer be a Jew, Hebrew or of another faith];

– „ovreianul va veni după greșeală în credința creștinească și se va boteza acela nu se va certa nicidecum sau se va certa pe acea greșeală asta după cum voiește judecătorul"[24] [the Jew will come after the error to the Christian faith and he will be baptized and he will not be scolded at all or he will be scolded for that error as the judge sees fit];

– „ovreiul dacă se va boteza se va face preot"[25] [the Jew if he will be Christian baptized he can be a priest]; „ovreiul dacă va veni după greșeală în credința creștinească și se va boteza nu se va certa"[26] [the Jew if he became Christian and he will be baptized, he will not be punished].

That, generally, the "biblical Jew" the theologians refer to was not mistaken for the "real Jew" is proven by the fact that in the 16th-17th centuries "nici o informație de epocă nu descrie persecuții în masă ale evreilor sau pogromuri, în acest sens lumea medievală

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[20] The first community of the Jews is formed in the time of Prince of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714). The Jews were numerous in the Romanian Principates, as the foreign travels noticed. To see Castaldini, 2010, 36, 41-46.

[21] *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași*, 2000, doc. no. 275, 233.

[22] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 93, 126.

[23] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 249, 249.

[24] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 369, 347.

[25] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 78, 115.

[26] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 369, 347.

românească deosebindu-se net de aceea vest europeană"[27] [no information from the age describes mass persecutions of the Jews or pogroms, the Romanian medieval world being pointedly different from the Western European in that respect].

Thus, the exclusion of the Jews from the community was neither complete, nor final. By receiving Christian baptism, their Jewish origin was no longer an impediment to the integration of the novice in the community.

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[27] *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 180.

PERSPECTIVES FOR RESEARCHING BRITISH APPEASEMENT OF NAZI GERMANY IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS USING THE DIGITIZED NEWSPAPER COLLECTIONS OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY[*]

Andrei Vasiliu[**]

Abstract: This paper aims to verify that the methods for researching the British appeasement policy towards Germany in the inter-war years can include the new method of studying the digitized collections of newspapers of the British Library. The policy of appeasement led by Great Britain during the inter-war years still represents a very attractive subject of research. The challenge lies not only in the new data harvested from primary sources such as documents and newspapers but also in the new methods of researching that may be applied, and that may increase the interest of scholars. Today, researching the digitized collections of archives are not even a futuristic resource, but a growing necessity. Accessing the British Library's digitized collections through the British Newspaper Archive website is often easier and more efficient than going to the archives. The site has more than 40 million digitized newspapers, mainly local periodicals, which can be accessed by searching for keywords, establishing filters and saving results to retrieve them later. The electronic resources of the digitized collections provide valuable help in my doctoral research on the Anglo-French appeasement reflected in the newspapers, which proves to be a great challenge, given the fact that the subject was widely covered in many of the central newspapers. But, of course, this method immediately poses multiple questions: is this method of research as rigorous as the traditional research conducted in the archives? Does this method provide the intercoder reliability framework required for such works? These are the research questions that remain at the center of this article. Previous research on the subject of digitized collections and also the analysis of the resources of the British Newspaper Archive in comparison with the traditional British Library resources can provide an answer.

Keywords: Appeasement, British Library, Newspapers, Intercoder reliability.

Introduction

This paper is a post positivist[1] approach of the methods of research which use digitized newspapers, available in online libraries, as the primary source. The research inquiry highlights concerns regarding how the process of digitizing newspapers, a technology used in or adapted for the use of archives, has reshaped methods of harvesting data from primary sources and its manipulation and even interpretation, offering researchers the leverage for also creating knowledge, not only for discovering it. Methods used in the current paper are a comparative analysis of approaching traditional and digital resources in modern day libraries and also a case study with a quantitative analysis of data from primary sources extracted from a digital library, data which was used for a previous research.

An outline of the current article was presented in the year 2015 at the International Doctoral Symposium entitled „The question of ethics in economic, social and technical sciences", organised in Paris by the Interdisciplinary Laboratory of Research in the Sciences of Action (LIRSA EA 4603) and the "1st December 1918" University of Alba Iulia, and hosted by the National Conservatory of Arts and Crafts (CNAM) in Paris.

The possibility offered by digitized collections to reshape knowledge provided by the traditional libraries is partially due to the fact that reinventing the methods of access to the traditional collections of newspapers has also changed the very nature of the text that these primary sources contain. Processes of accessing and using the text in the new digital context, thus, escape traditional boundaries of lecture and offer new perspectives, giving more control to the researcher. This naturally questions the ethical standards of research in such a context.

Therefore, we firstly focus on comparing the traditional methods of accessing the newspaper collections to the digital possibilities of approaching such resources which have been digitized and are stored in available online libraries. This part of the research employs comparing previous studies from the works of Carol Tenopir and Cheryl Mason Bolick, Adrian Bingham, Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph. R. Dominick. The first two authors are concerned with the expansion of digitizing library resources and its impact on historical research. Tenopir has an interesting compilation and interpretation of bibliographical resources surrounding concerns over the use of digital libraries, while Bolick provides a useful insight into the impact of such resources over the study of history, in an effort to outline the advantages of their use in scholarly activities. The latter three authors are concerned with the use of newspapers in such digital archives and the harvesting and manipulation of data extracted from these primary sources. Bingham offers a perspective on the use of digital newspaper resources for historians, while Wimmer and Dominick concentrate on some traditional methodological approaches for studying newspapers.

Secondly, we aim to outline ethical aspects of researching through the online collections of digitized newspapers. References consist of the works of Friday, Mauthner and Parry, and also Deacon, who look upon ethics and methods of studying data from primary

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[1] Creswell, 2003, 6-8.

sources such as digitized newspaper archives. The paper also mentions Wimmer and Dominick's ethical concerns over mass-media research possibilities in the new digital context. An overview of Crossen-White's very recent inquiries regarding the use of personal data in research papers is also approached, concerning the recent EU Court ruling about the "right to be forgotten", which applies differently to digital libraries than to search engines.

Thirdly, we seek to verify patterns from the first two parts of the present paper onto a comparative analysis of the British Library traditional access to resources and online access to its digitized collections, which is somewhat of a case study that employs the knowledge base of the British Library website and its online digital library which contains digitized newspapers. The results are underlined in the fourth part of the article through a case study which involves a quantitative analysis of the data extracted from primary sources found in the British Newspaper Archive collection of newspapers. That data was used in a previous research designed for an article presented at an international conference in Bucharest and then published in the „Valahian Journal of Historical Studies". All of these represent some of the stepping stones in the ongoing research for my doctoral thesis entitled „The Anglo-French appeasement policy reflected in the Romanian central newspapers in the 1930s".

Comparative analysis of approaching primary resources through traditional and digital archives

„Increasing scholarly interest in language, representation and meaning"[2] became a powerful vector for recognizing the value of the newspaper's content in research works that aim to understand political decisions in their cultural and social context. While the method of researching through primary sources such as newspapers has proven valuable for fulfilling this goal, extracting that information has been deemed a hard task. Scholars deal with practical obstacles such as „the inconvenience of accessing them and the difficulties of finding relevant material amongst the sheer quantity of content published"[3]. However, such processes do seem to overcome these problems when using the resources of a digital library, more specifically a library that has digitized its physical documents.

In order to compare the means of researching through an archive's physical and digital resources, one must first account for means of access to these resources, which constitutes the first perspective of the current paper. Researching through archives means that one must first literally travel to the institution where these archives are preserved. This first obstacle alone is sometimes frustrating to overcome and some researchers would even consider being „excluded from conducting authentic historical research with primary sources outside of their local communities because they lacked the time and money to visit remote sites that housed such primary documents"[4]. It takes time and money to travel to museums, libraries, historical sites or the archives in order to obtain specific data from the primary

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[2] Bingham, 2015, 225-231.
[3] Bingham, 2015, 225-231.
[4] Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 122.

sources, obstacle which would sometimes lead researchers to feel „disheartened with the limitations"[5].

The alternative of researching through the available digitized resources is, therefore, more attractive. The digital archives, which host not only text and numerical data, but also photos and videos, maps and charts, are easy to access from modern terminals such as computers, laptops, tablets and mobile phones, over the Internet. The costs are greatly reduced, as researchers need not to specifically invest in this equipment, for it is part of their everyday modern life. Costs of using the archive's resources are therefore reduced to the moderate fee of an online membership, but, in some cases, archives offer access free of charge.

The second perspective of comparison between the two types of archival resource provides insight into methods of handling the available documents. As the researcher comes face to face with the newspapers, approaching its physical copy is regarded as a totally different experience from viewing it on the screen. Collecting the data from the hard copy of a newspaper requires a photocopy of it or at least a transcription of the data onto another support, such as a notebook. Handling the old newspaper is never an easy task and not always at the researcher's discretion, as libraries have strict rules. On the other hand, a digitized copy of the newspaper is readily available online at any hour of the day, with no restrictions regarding its usage, with options to either print out a copy of the newspaper or study it directly on the screen. While behavioral studies regarding researchers showed that the printed versions of the electronic documents hold an important part of the research „in almost every discipline (...) especially in the humanities"[6], resources available in the digital libraries meet both of these requirements, while traditional resources offer only the latter.

The third point of view in the present comparative analysis looks at the impact upon the interpretation of the collected data. This is not an inquiry of the end-user experience (a subject both tempting and strenuous), but rather a compilation of possible research outputs provided by these resources. Research using mass-media is valuable in order to refer not only to problems of the press, but also to „investigate questions different from those that the data were originally intended to address"[7]. This means that new knowledge is harvested from a text that had a different purpose of creation and had used the data solely for context or, at best, for secondary objectives. Relevant data becomes hard to obtain, as newspaper articles focus the reader's attention to other information. Traditional archival resources provide a set of instruments for harvesting primary source data in a linear, conservative fashion, which tends to forge a certain research path for scholars. This is why digital archives are enthusiastically recommended as means to „«transform how history is taught, learned, understood and accessed»"[8]. They are regarded not only as a modern access gate to primary sources, but also as an innovative method of providing additional interpretations of the content. This is the reason why accessing the digital archives is a great achievement not solely for providing research resources to the comfort of the scholar's home, with no limitations of

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[5] Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 122.

[6] Tenopir, 2003, 5.

[7] Tenopir, 2003, 19.

[8] *apud* Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 125.

time. It is for the very nature of the support that hosts the valuable data, which brings it to „a researcher's fingertips"[9] and offers the possibility to interact with resources „in a non-linear fashion"[10]. Researchers are no longer only reading the text, they are searching it, scrolling it, filtering it, selecting it, browsing it at speeds that provide new levels of connections with the information. Primary source data is hypertextualized, as newspapers are scanned for optical recognition and indexed in searchable databases which offer researchers the „freedom to physically move through the document and across documents"[11]. The output of researching by using these resources has been conceptualized as „hypertextual history"[12], which englobes complexity as well as it describes it. Acknowledging that hypertextual historical resources challenge scholars to define their own construct of the past „by linking accounts in a way that is meaningful to them"[13], we can consider that studying in the digital archives promises to be an efficient way to critically read traditional texts in a manner that allows doing history rather that learning history.

Ethical aspects of researching data from primary sources in digital libraries

Nevertheless, there are problems which arise around the methodology and ethics of using digital newspaper archives. Roger Wimmer and Joseph Dominick briefly approached these problems in a 2011 paper on mass-media research, identifying two major issues in studying newspapers using the digital archives: lack of human support and poor intercoder reliability. The first issue addresses the dangers of coding harvested data in a limited manner, as the authors cited respective works on the issue[14]. The second problem is about the perishability of internet information, due to almost permanent updates on the archival collections of digitized newspapers. This concerns the possibility of other researchers to retrace one's study plan and even calculate intercoder reliability for research papers, which demands a very early check „to minimize the problem of changing content"[15].

Other problems regarding the ethics of researching using digital databases focus on „the researcher's relations with the public, with respondents, and with fellow researchers"[16], on the grounds of storing personal information in an open-access database or, respectively, protecting intellectual rights of other researchers' works. Such works, like the ones regarding personal medical information, do not meet the current paper's concerns.

Another ethical concern is found in the work of Holly L. Crossen-White, who raised the issue that research which involves resources from digital archives pose the risk of „disclosing personal information that is unknown to descendants and, if it relates to a

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[9] *apud.* Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 125.
[10] Bolick, 2006, 122.
[11] Bolick, 2006, 125.
[12] Bolick, 2006, 125.
[13] Bolick, 2006, 126.
[14] Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 178.
[15] Wimmer; Dominick, 2011, 178-179.
[16] Mauthner; Parry, 2010.

sensitive topic, then there is the potential for the researcher to cause distress"[17]. This sends the debate to the controversy of the „right to be forgotten"[18], which was quite unclear until a European Court of Justice Ruling on May 13, 2014. The EU Court famously clarified the European citizens' right to demand search engine companies to delete „inaccurate, inadequate, irrelevant or excessive"[19] information regarding their personal life. While this might sound like a potentially exclusionary gatekeeper for researchers using digital libraries, it is imperative to underline that the case of digitized newspaper is still a complicated matter, which crosses the „right to be forgotten" boundaries, as ruled in the EU Court decision, in the case of people which play a significant „role in the public life"[20]. Moreover, it is the search engine, not the digital library,that is directly affected by the ruling, which means that the information is still available for access, but it is „no longer ubiquitous"[21].

Using digital resources rather than the traditional ones for a research paper is a tempting opportunity, especially for young researchers, due to both the growing collections of digitized data and the economic advantages of using the electronic resources from any particularly preferred space. While being a very useful source of data from primary sources, digital archives do however pose a risk for misconducting a research. The freedom to scout for information in the hypertextual world of the digital data is also a permanent source of doubt for researchers, who „often wrestle with the question of whether they have found all relevant sources in the archive they are searching"[22]. The research design, therefore, requires „cautious"[23] planning, searching, sampling and coding in order to obtain reliable results.

Unethical conduct in the process of researching using primary sources from digital libraries is bound to be more likely related to the researcher's use of the electronic and online platform, on one hand, and to the published content on the other. In the first situation, the online user has the possibility to comment on forums using libellous, offensive, inappropriate or defamatory terms, or publish information which contains personal data without the respective person's consent. Users might also impersonate another person, company or authority, due to the fact that most of the online platforms do not verify the ID of their users. In the second situation, the published work of a researcher could infringe the copyright legislation, which must be accounted for in every research using newspapers from digital libraries, or it could contain personal information published without the respective person's consent, a very unlikely but still possible situation. Data from primary sources used by social studies researchers who employ the methods of discourse analysis or mixed methods analysis etc. is not bound to carry personal data through the methodological steps of mass-media research, as would be the case of research papers in the medical field.

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[17] Crossen-White, 2015, 108-119.

[18] European Commission, 2015.

[19] European Commission, 2015, 2.

[20] European Commission, 2015, 2.

[21] European Commission, 2015, 4.

[22] Friday, 2015, 232-237.

[23] Deacon, 2007, 5-25.

British Library: traditional access to resources vs. online access to digitized collections

The British Library's vast newspaper collections stand on the pillars of the Thomason Collection of Civil War Tracts, with news books and newspapers from the respective time provided to the British Museum in 1762, and the Burney Collection of Newspapers, acquired in 1818. The British Museum began the systematic collection of newspapers in 1822, for tax purposes, and in 1869 the legal deposit legislation institutionalized the collection practices for newspapers in the British Museum.

The British Library holds over 664.000 bound volumes and parcels of newspapers and also 370.000 reels of microfilm, resources which span over approximately 45 kilometers of shelves. Altogether, the collection consists of over 52.000 separate newspaper, journal, and periodical titles and 49 collections of newspapers and comics. Nowadays, The British Library's central research room for its newspapers collection is the Newsroom at St Pancras, which opened on 7 April 2014. It is currently providing access to microfilm and digital newspapers, broadcast news and archived news websites. Printed newspapers are currently under embargo, during their transportation to the Newspaper Storage Building (NSB) in Boston Spa, West Yorkshire.

Procedures for the traditional collections

The fact that the British Library itself encourages its visitors to firstly explore the online resources before pursuing the primary sources through traditional methods requires some contextualization, with regard to the institution's interest to ensure fast access to resources, non-redundant interaction with the staff and the prolonged life of the original documents. Accessing the British Library resources is conditioned by the completion of several steps in order to obtain a free Reader's Pass. The Reader's Pass at the British Library is released based on providing several documents, from identification papers to a wish list and an affiliation proof, followed by a conversation with the registration staff.

After gaining access to the Newsroom of the British Library, researching the newspaper collections still requires additional criteria to consider. The most important is the access to the original documents. As the newspaper is a fragile support, the British Library focuses on preserving its resources for long-term access and therefore only allows access to documents which do not have a surrogate copy available in print, microfilm or digital formats. Where the original newspapers are the only option available, orders may take up to 48 hours to arrive, compared to the 70 minutes required for the microfilmed versions.

The British Newspaper Archives

The British Newspaper Archive is a partnership between the British Library and the internet platform called „findmypast" which aims to deliver digitized copy of approximately 40 million newspaper pages from the British Library. The purpose of the website is to provide users with the opportunity to discover new information about their ancestors' past

life and times and it developed into an effort to cover important areas of time and space across Great Britain and also Ireland. The decade-spanning project was launched in 2011 and already offers online access to many historical newspapers, for only a moderate fee. There are 517 titles in the British Newspaper Archive and still counting. The platform provides modern access to the newspapers and therefore offers the possibility to new and innovative approaches to the text, which can be searched using keywords in order to find specific topics, titles, names, photographs, advertisements and articles. There are many filters which can be applied to the search, in order to improve the results. Requirements consist of online registration for a free account which offers limited access to the digital content, or a paid account which offers unrestricted access to 3000 pages per month from the library's online collections, with the possibility to exceed this limit after clarifications with the website staff. Accessing these online resources is by far easier than through the traditional methods. However, the platform only comprises digitized local newspapers from Great Britain (with very few exceptions such as „The Evening Standard"). Therefore, any research that aims to use British national newspapers as the primary source of data has to scout for other platforms with digitized newspapers or head to the British Library to study them through the traditional methods.

The digital collection available on the British Newspaper Archive website also has the feature of accessing user-generated content, which has both advantages and disadvantages. The user-generated content might even be perceived, from a flexible point of view, as an expression of Umberto Eco's fourth dimension of lecture, the one which involves collaboration between the reader and the text. A user reading a newspaper in the online collection of the British Newspaper Archive has the possibility to interact with the text, becoming its partner, unleashed from its traditional linear „dictatorship" of sorts. Therefore, the reader can tag, comment, correct, bookmark and sort the text in the newspapers. The technology which permits the process is an OCR (optical character recognition) software by which the British Newspaper Archive processes the text from the scanned newspapers. This, however, has some flaws if one is to consider the dangers of an inexperienced, misguided or malevolent user who could, at any point, distort the information, as user-generated content is not monitored by the project staff. Therefore, research should be thorough and the information extracted from the user-generated content platforms should always be compared to the scanned document.

Researching British appeasement of Germany in the interwar years using the British Library's digitized collections

In the months of July, August and September 2015, I conducted a research for the International Interdisciplinary Doctoral Conference, held in Bucharest on the 25th-26th September. The paper's title is „Lloyd George and Winston Churchill's Appeasement Articles in Britain's Inter-War Local Newspapers" and it has already been published[24]. The paper's question of research represents a constructivist effort to discover whether David

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[24] Vasiliu, 2015, 136-148.

Lloyd George and Winston Churchill's Inter-War Articles on Appeasement were bound to be influential upon the foreign policy of Great Britain in the inter-war years. It represents one of the stepping stones in the pursuit to write my doctoral thesis entitled „The Anglo-French appeasement policy reflected in the Romanian central newspapers in the 1930s". The research for the paper, presented at the conference and afterward published, started with a consultation of previous studies on the subject at hand, searching through academic works. The next step was to trace books written by famous historians and biographers, in order to establish a firm ground of the research design pillared on the existing secondary sources such as the works of Roy Jenkins, Richard Toye, Frank Dilnot, Travis Crosby, Martin Gilbert and Stella Rudman. The essential part of the research was finding and studying the primary sources. This would have been a very difficult challenge were it not for the British Newspaper Archive. The online digital collection provided my access to British inter-war local newspapers which include articles signed by David Lloyd George or Winston Churchill, or reporting of these works, of their speeches, of the press' reaction to their articles or of the public opinion's reaction to their publishings.

Using the British Newspaper Archive website, my research focused on the primary keywords „Lloyd George" and „Churchill", accompanied by the secondary keywords „Hitler", Mussolini", „Japan", „Appeasement". The date range was from January 1ˢᵗ, 1919, to September 1ˢᵗ, 1939, applying to filter only for results in the „articles" category. Using solely the primary keywords proved to be superfluous, while using all of the secondary keywords with both the primary keywords provided no search results. The search proved most useful when the primary keywords were combined with the secondary keyword of „Hitler". For the „Churchill" primary keyword, the search provided 149 pages of results, containing 12 results per page. For the „Lloyd George" primary keywords, the search provided 205 pages of results, containing 12 results per page. The research sample comprised only the results which had a relevance degree of higher than a quarter by the website criteria. This resulted in the analysis of a total of 30 newspapers: 16 regarding Churchill and 14 regarding Lloyd George. A discourse analysis based on the respective articles published in these newspapers was outlined in the mentioned research paper.

The selected sample articles regarding Winston Churchill's inter-war journalistic activity about appeasement are the following: The article „Need for joint action French press and Italy's attitude on non-intervention. «Naval demonstration» suggestion" was published in the „Gloucestershire Echo", on Thursday, 25ᵗʰ of March 1937, on the first page; The article „Lady «Di» in journalistic circles" was published in the „Nottingham Evening Post", on Friday, 03ʳᵈ of March 1922, in the issue number 13.636, on the first page; The article „Proposed Air Pact" was published in the „Hartlepool Mail", on Friday, 31ˢᵗ of May 1935, in the issue number 17.807, on page number 7; The article „MR. CHURCHIL AND ITALY. Times of Deep and Growing Anxiety. MUSSOLINI'S LAPSE" was published in the „Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer" on Friday 27 September 1935, in the issue number 27.510, on page number 10; The article „Naval parity with U.S.A. Mr Churchill on its interpretation" was published in the „Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer", on Tuesday, 17ᵗʰ of March 1936, in the issue number 27.655, on page number 9; The article „Winston S. Churchill, Ferocious Drama in Spain. Still worse may come: keep out - and arm" was

published in the „Yorkshire Evening Post", on Friday, 21st of August 1936, in the issue number 14.311, on page number 8; The article „Press Association Foreign Special, Japan accuses Mr. Churchill" was published in the „Hartlepool Mail", on Friday, 28th of January 1938, in the issue number 18.637, on page number 5; The article „Mr. Churchill displeases Hitler" was published in the „Aberdeen Journal", on Thursday, 31st October 1935, in the issue number 25.220, on page number 7; The article „«No Winners» in War. Mr Churchill's theory" was published in the „Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette", on Friday, 25th of March 1938, in the issue number 20.109, on page number 5; The article „Mr Churchill hits back at Herr Hitler. «Dictatorship a passing phase: fear in their hearts». Stirring call to English speaking peoples. «Will you wait until British freedom has succumbed?" was published in the „Aberdeen Press and Journal", on Monday, 17th of October 1938, in the issue number 26.145, on page number 7 and the article „AMERICA MAY ADOPT NEW POLICY, OPPOSITION TO DICTATORSHIPS ISOLATIONISM LIKELY TO BE ABANDONED. Enthusiastic Reception for Mr Churchill's Broadcast" was published in the „Hull Daily Mail" on Monday, 17th of October 1938, in the issue number 16.526, on the first page; The article „Herr Hitler and Mr. Winston Churchill" was published in the „Yorkshire Evening Post", on Monday, 07th of November 1938, in the issue number 14.999, on page number 8; The article „Hitler move predicted. Mr Winston Churchill demands combined resistance to aggressors" was published in the „Aberdeen Press and Journal", on Monday, 12th of December 1938, in the issue number 26.193, on page number 7; The article „Hitler move predicted. Britain's «years of humiliation»" was published in the „Western Daily Press", on Monday, 12th of December 1938, in the issue number 26.855, on page number 12; Germany will «return to the family»" was published in the „Hull Daily Mail", on Saturday, 29th of April 1939, in the issue number 16.692, on the first page; The article „«Up to Hitler»" was published in the „Essex Chronicle", on Friday, 11st of August 1939, in the issue number 9.126, on page number 6.

The selected samples of David Lloyd George's appearances in the inter-war press on appeasement issues are the following: The article „Things going all right». World settling down, says Mr. Lloyd George" was published in the „Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser", on Wednesday, 17th of November 1920, in the issue number 5.837, on page number 2; The article „Mr. Lloyd George and Hitler" was published in the „Dundee Evening Telegraph", on Monday, 21st of August 1933, in the issue number 17.702, on page number 3; The article „Lloyd George «dazed» by dictators. Public takes decrees without revolt" was published in the „Dundee Courier", on Monday, 08th of January 1934, in the issue number 25.146, on page number 6; The article „Mr Lloyd George's Warning. Germany's military force" was published in the „Cornishman", on Thursday, 18th of July 1935, on page number 7; The article „Mr. Lloyd George, first visit to Germany since before the War" was published in the „Derby Daily Telegraph", on Wednesday, 02th of September 1936, in the issue number 18.188, vol. XCIX, on the first page; More articles on the same topic can be found in the „Gloucestershire Echo" on Wednesday, 02nd of September 1936, the „Western Daily Press" on Thursday, 03rd of September 1936 and Friday, 04th of September 1936, the „Dundee Courier", on Saturday , 05th of September 1936, the „Dundee Evening Telegraph", on Monday, 21st of August 1936, the „Portsmouth Evening News", on Monday, 21st of

September 1936 and many others; The article „Mr. Lloyd George. Mystery of movements in Germany" was published in the „Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette", on Saturday, 05 September 1936, in the issue number 19.627; The article „Mr. Lloyd George. Impressions of Recent Visit to Germany" was published in the „Falkirk Herald", on Wednesday, 23 September 1936, in the issue number 8960, on page number 15; The article „Germans a happy people. Desire for Peace and British friendship. Mr. Lloyd George in praise of Hitler" was published in the „Lincolnshire Echo", on Monday, 21 September 1936, in the issue number 13.626, on page number 5; The article „Addis Ababa massacre. M.P. urges committee of investigation" was published in the „Gloucestershire Echo", on Thursday, 25th of March 1937, in the issue number -, pages 1 and 8; The article „Mr Lloyd George feels "shame". «Peace at price of conscience»" was published in the „Dundee Evening Telegraph", on Wednesday, 26th of October 1938, in the issue number 19.319, on page number 5; The article „British Lion trapped. Lloyd George's View. Spanish War prediction. Reply to Hitler" was published in the „Portsmouth Evening News", on Friday, 03rd of February 1939, in the issue number 19.212, on page number 16.

The mentioned paper's research methods hold remarkable potential as the online platform of the British Newspaper Archive is constantly growing through the digitization of the British Library's collections. Both the means and the methods employed, but also the harvested data from primary sources, develop into a formidable challenge for further exploring adjacent subjects of research. There is, nevertheless, an unquestionable need for continuing this paper's research through the actual hard copies of the newspapers in the British Library.

Conclusions

Researchers flourish with excitement as they discover what seems to be a universe of information in which they can travel at hyper speed through vast amounts of data. Using digital resources rather than the traditional ones for a research paper is a tempting opportunity, due to both the growing collections of digitized data and the economical advantages of using the electronic resources from the comfort of one's home. Do traditional methods of researching through seemingly endless pages of newspapers tend to become obsolete? The answer would be that the two methods complete each other, as researchers point to the fact that considering only one option of research is an exclusionary practice.

Research which aims to understand political decisions in their cultural and social context recognizes the value of the newspaper content. While researching through primary sources such as newspapers is quite valuable for fulfilling this goal, extracting that information has proven to be a hard task. The process does, however, seem to overcome these problems when using the resources of an archive that has digitized its physical documents and that host not only text and numerical data, but also photos and videos, maps and charts, at reduced costs and that offers the possibility to harvest research resources in a non-linear fashion, providing new means to access and even to create knowledge.

Nevertheless, there are problems which arise around the methodology and ethics of using digital newspaper archives, such as the lack of human support and intercoder reliability.

The first issue addresses the dangers of coding harvested data in a limited manner, while the second issue is about the perishability of internet information, due to almost permanent updates on the archival collections of digitized newspapers. The freedom to scout for data in the hyper textual world of the digital data is also a permanent source of doubt for researchers. The research design therefore requires thorough planning, searching, sampling and coding in order to obtain reliable results. Other ethical concerns surrounding the use of personal information from an open-access database or, respectively, protecting intellectual rights of other researchers' works do not meet the current paper's concerns. Unethical conduct in the process of researching using primary sources from digital libraries is bound to be more likely related to the researcher's use of the electronic and online platform, on one hand, and to the published content, on the other hand.

The British Library's newspaper collections constitute, without a doubt, one of the most important archives of periodicals in the world. The British Newspaper Archive, while not rising to the physical collections' magnitude, is an online project which empowers these resources. Their value as hard copies is not only protected, it is also augmented by the possibility of searching through the text of articles and advertisements. While research efforts are considerably reduced, finding articles on related, adjacent or simply various themes is a few clicks away. There are some downsides, of course, but their nature is not one that could jeopardize the future of this research platform, since it leaves open permanent options for perfecting. Currently, one of the flaws of the digital library is the time span covered by the online collection, which goes through the 18th, 19th and the 20th century British newspapers. Another problem would be that the search does not include some important titles such as the „Daily Mail" or the „Daily Express", since it only digitized local newspapers (a noticeable exception being „The Evening Standard"). A third issue would be that the output of the optical recognition software is currently not 100% accurate, which means that the search results could be bypassing some of the newspapers, by not recognizing important keywords in the scanned documents. Nevertheless, the website proves to be an invaluable tool to the academic world for research purposes.

Researching for data from primary sources in order to use it for my article entitled „Lloyd George and Winston Churchill's Appeasement Articles in Britain's Inter-War Local Newspapers" was greatly aided by the online resources of the British Newspaper Archive, the project of the British Library. Both the means and the methods employed, and also the harvested data, all in all develop into a formidable challenge for further exploring my thesis' field of research and also adjacent subjects of research. There is, nevertheless, the unquestionable need for research through the actual hard copies of the newspapers, in order to obtain reliable results for my doctoral thesis on „The Anglo-French appeasement policy reflected in the Romanian central newspapers in the 1930s".

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GLOBAL POLITICS, REGIONAL COMPETITION: GREAT POWER POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA

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Abstract: This paper deals with the issue of competing great power interests in Central Asia, known for specialists in international relations as the New Great Game. The focus is in first hand on interests of the "Big Four" global powers and secondly, on the interests of a series of regional powers which can bring decisive contributions to the New Great Game. The analysis has two directions: one concentrated on strategic analysis, and the second focused on economic interests.

Keywords: New Great Game, Central Asia, economic diplomacy, geopolitics, Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

The states of Central Asia represent a tighter concept in comparison to geographic definition of Central or Inner Asia. Basically it represents the five former Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. These share lots of similar characteristics, but differences also. Two of them – Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan – own important deposits of oil and natural gas in their subsoil, they became objects for competition among current great powers of the world, and of their corporations. Our paper will sketch a few of the motivation and strategies of current world powers: the United States of America, the Russian federation, the rising superpower China and the European Union, which has great possibilities when its integration process will be complete.

According to Joel Kotkin, who sketched in one of his articles in the *Newsweek* in 2010, 19 "tribal alliances" divide the republics of Central Asia in two categories. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, together with Turkey, are "The New Ottomans", offering a special importance to their relations with the European Union, but currently they turn their attention rather toward the Muslim world, also developing constantly their relations with Russia and China. In the second category, "The Wild East", are included Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, together with Afghanistan, Pakistan and Azerbaijan. Their common characteristics are that they remain the epicentre of contention for competing powers including China, India, Turkey, Russia and North America (this later means, in this

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case, the USA and in a smaller extent, its Canadian ally).[1] Not all the competitors has the same positions however. The main power whose presence is the best felt in Central Asia was, is and will be the Russian Federation, through its economic, military and cultural influence, and also through the great number of Russian minority in these countries. Since the time of the Soviet Union, Russian influence naturally weakened, and will never be as it was before: a similar regain of position like happened with Belarus would be impossible in this region, due to cultural differences and the opposition of local Central Asian elites toward such attempts. However, controlling the region through tools of soft power is possible, and Russia still is the main exporter of raw materials – among them gas and oil- from the republics, its trade corridors with important partners like India and Iran are crossing Central Asia[2]. The three eastern states also rely seriously on Russian military protection for their own security, especially against the hegemonic claims of Uzbekistan, but also in their relationship with China. The "joint defence of borders and air space" is translated in practice in Russian border patrols at the borders of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan on their borders with China[3], for the strong eastern neighbour to not have some irredentist ideas, and China until this moment clearly understands the message, and is focusing its politics for expansion toward other directions. Beijing made serious efforts for settling its remaining border disputes with the Central Asian republics, and on its turn, signed military agreements with Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.[4] This situation is also illustrating that at least on the plan of military strategy, the Pax Russica in the region remained virtually unchallenged.

Russian influence used to be seriously challenged in the last decades, especially on economic plan. It is no wonder that the Gazprom is trying to lock recently Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan into new production agreements[5], which could assure a monopoly-status for Russian investments in regional energetic field. The contesters are also representing powers like the United States of America, China and the European Union.

Russia's key strategic goal is to preserve its economic and political domination in the Post-Soviet space and to develop its reintegration in a functional cooperation, having the Russian Federation as its main force. One of its tools is the Eurasian Economic Union, functional since 2015 January 1, which has among its members, besides Russia, Belorussia and Armenia two Central Asian countries, Kirghizstan and Kazakhstan. In both of the Central Asian republics, popular support for Eurasian integration is high: according to the data of the Eurasian Bank for Development from 2016, 74 % of the Kazakhs and 81% of the Kirghiz is supporting the further enlargement and the deepening of the integration. These scores, however, represents a descending tendency compared to the year 2015, with 6, respective 5 percent. In the most potential member-state of the future, Tajikistan, 68 % of the population is supporting the integration, which represents a fair background for the

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[1] Kotkin, 2010; Csizmadia, 2016, 75-77.

[2] Blank, 2003, 149, Apud Lakatos, 2014, 146.

[3] Menon, Spruyt, 1999, 102. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 146.

[4] Kaplan, 2012, 212.

[5] Cooley, 2008, 1183. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 146.

leaders of the country to make this step.[6] Following the death of the powerful Islam Karimov are high possibilities that his successor, Shavkat Mirziyoyev will change Uzbekistan's strictly neutral, balancing policies among the great powers, and to develop a closer cooperation with Russia, which can even lead to Uzbekistan taking the road of the Eurasian integration.[7] Fastening the economic integration processes under a Russian leadership is even more important for the Kremlin since China is increasing gradually its influence in Central Asia, through the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and through both projects, the Chinese politics is developing further its practical, already viable economic relations.

For a period, especially during the nineties, it could seem that the new economic hegemonic will be the global one in the region: the United States of America. After declaring their independence, the USA was among the first states that quickly opened embassies in all of the five republics, followed soon by its west European allies, and the Newmont Mining Corporation quickly claimed the concession to exploit the Maranthau gold mine from Uzbek authorities.[8] But after this, relations became somehow distant. Following to 11 September 2001, the possibility of a deepened cooperation came, ruling regimes sharing the same enemy with the US, Tajik, Uzbek and Kyrgyz leaders offering their help almost immediately. However, nowadays relations became distant once again, US military being driven out from most of central-Asian bases, cooperation experiencing both moral and practical controversies. For central-Asian ruling elites, ideals like "democracy" and "civil society" are not only strange, but bear dangers similar to Islam terrorism, and therefore, are not welcomed, even if their country is the one who is losing due to this. For example, cotton represented 90% of the Uzbek exports to the USA, until the Wal-Mart decided to boycott Uzbekistan[9], due to moral concerns regarding the respect of human rights by the Karimov regime. However the USA is still an important aid-provider in security issues to these countries especially for Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. The contribution of the republics in America's war on terror can be summarized in the following way: after a short period of cooperation, ties started to deteriorate starting with 2003, due to abuses on human rights by the Central Asian ruling elites, but also due to the opposition for American bases of regional players like Russia, China and Iran.[10]

Through the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, the USA lost in a great measure its prestige and positions in the region,[11] and is not excluded, that in case of a possible complete failure in Afghanistan – similar to the one in Vietnam – the US will back up from Central Asia also, leaving it as playground for other powers and following its interests in other regions of the world. This possibility increased with the victory of Donald Trump in the American presidential elections. The specialists of the Russia's Institute for

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[6] *Интеграционный барометр,* 2016, 8-9.

[7] Гущин, 2016.

[8] Hyman, 1993, 300-301.

[9] Laruelle, Peyrouse, 2011, 436. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 146.

[10] Peimani, 2009, 19.

[11] Csizmadia, 2016, 167.

Strategic Studies are expecting for the decrease of support for pro-American NGO's and on a middle term, the weakening of American influence and presence in the region from Trump's presidency.[12] Some specialists are even writing about "the end of the New Great Game" and the retreat of the USA from Central Asia.[13] But knowing American national strategy concerning energy security and especially the nature of US based corporations, this is pretty unlikely, since Central Asia has got great opportunities in its energy supplies. Other experts however are militating for deepening a more "nuanced" approach by the US policy-makers in the region, since from the point of view of economic security, cooperation with these republics can be crucial, even through the price of harmonizing interests with Russia.[14]

On the field of energetic supplies, US diplomacy is strongly supporting US-based companies, like Amoco, Texaco and Chevron, not only for economic, but also from strategic issues. The USA as the first oil consuming country of the world wants its share from fossil fuel supplies of Central Asia, but the way how it gets it is just as equally important. In an indirect way, the USA is also interested to decrease energy dependency of Europe from Russia. Currently, the idea for Central-Asian gas addressed to American interests to be transported in pipelines which goes through Russia or Iran are risky and unacceptable; therefore, pipeline projects through the Caspian sea, Turkey, the Balkans and East-central Europe are encouraged.[15] From these, the Nabucco-project used to be the most popular, the most serious and the closest one to be put in practice. But due to different regional security risks- like Turkish reprisals against Kurdish rebels, the unstable Syria and other similar issues – currently the Nabucco is postponed, and its immediate future seems to be gloomy.[16] The sole "consolation" for supporters of the Nabucco currently is that the projects serving Russian economic interests are not doing any better, and in lack of a coherent strategy for the Black Sea region, acceptable for all parts involved, such a pipeline will be hardly built in the nearby future.

Even if in the energy sector the USA and Russia are competitors – or even better said, companies with American and Russian capital, strongly supported because of strategic reasons by official state diplomacy – in security issues they are rather parallel, having similar interests regarding stability of the region and preserving the status quo, which has immeasurably less risks than an eventual disturb of current state. Beside, both of them have other concerns in the region than each other. For the USA, the main goal is that radical Islam to not get any background in here, and Russia has its own uneasy and very complex relationship with communist China. Currently, the events from Syria and Ukraine brought back into discussion of a new "Cold War", on a more reduced scale, but even so, the geostrategic interests of the USA and the Russian Federation are not clashing in Central Asia.

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[12] Александров, Макаревский, 2016.
[13] Курилкин, 2016a.
[14] Mahnovski *et alii*, 2006, 73-75.
[15] Kirchner, 2010, 874.
[16] More about the Nabucco: Finon, 2011, 47-69; Socor, 2011; Stoica, 2015 etc.

If there is a chance for an external power to direction, it will not be the USA, but the – integrated or not – European Union. The EU represents currently the largest economic system of the world, and even if militarily and on the plan of foreign politics integration is advancing very slow, it is already a major normative power, whose values are found to be attractive by elites of developing countries, while the USA, which shares the same values, but in promoting them is using a different approach, instead of being perceived as "gentle giant" or "Policeman of the World" is getting the image of the aggressive bogeyman. *On major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus. They agree on little and understand one another less and less"[17],* wrote Robert Kagan in 2002 in one of his short articles, seeing the "wind of change", which by years became more and more visible. Tony Judt affirms that antagonism concerning transatlantic community of values started to open long before George W. Bush came into power, but the harsh tone of the Bush administration made clear for many Europeans that differences in political attitude are very deep and serious.[18] Several analysts and observers are blaming for this the Bush-government, of which even if requested full moral support of its allies for its own War on Terror, its decision-makers did not seek policy dialogue on a strategic level, often ignoring its "unasked" suggestions.[19] It is true, that especially in the case of Iraq, the USA ignored international treaties, organizations and understandings, which were formally respected till than, and when this was brought in discussion by major European decision-makers, the answer was cheap arrogance. However, recently it seems that the conflict in Ukraine with Russia and the need to solve issues of the Middle East harmonized in a great extent American and EU foreign politics.

For leaders and their supporting elites of Central Asia, the EU is a benign giant, which represents no danger, not for their independence, territorial integrity or society, but actually, it can only help by aid and know-how, which can only be beneficial.[20]

In 2007, the Strategy for Central Asia of the European Union was drafted for the first time.[21] Currently, the main instrument of EU policy in Central Asia is represented by the Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS)[22], which is designed to help former Soviet states in their transition toward functioning democratic market-economies.[23] Currently – as Francis Fukuyama states – the Central Asian republics are neither fully authoritarian, nor meaningfully democratic.[24] But except this, there is no coherent EU foreign policy in this part of the world, neither for the region as a unit, nor for

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[17] Kagan, 2002.

[18] Judt, 2005, 788-789.

[19] Toje, 2008, 135-136. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[20] Petersen, Barysch, 2011, 61. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[21] Melvin, 2007, 1.

[22] Kavalski, 2007, 843. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[23] For an image in details of the politics of the European Union, represented by its executive body, the European Commission, see the collection of programs and articles on the Commission's site: https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/european-countries-and-central-asia_en.

[24] Fukuyama, 2012, 4.

its countries one by one. However, the political influence of the EU, due to its internal crisis-illustrated by the issue of immigration and the Brexit[25] – seem to be weakened, at least on a short term. For the partisans of European integration, the concept of the Eurasian Union could represent a serious alternative challenge for the future, especially in case the EU fails to manage its system of values according to the needs of its own citizens and of those countries which perceived the EU as a model in politics and social welfare. In this context of competition made through the means of soft power", the prime challenger for the Russian Federation is not the "aggressive", "imperialistic", militarized USA, but an integrated and strongly idealistic European Union, able to promote its interests. The competition is easy to be observed currently in Ukraine, and can become more visible in the future in other former Soviet states too, even if the Russian Federation still holds the pole position. For illustrating how this European idealism alloyed with pragmatic interests could compete with the pragmatic and neutral approach of Russia and China concerning political values, we will cite a fragment here from the analyst of the Stockholm International Peace research Institute, N. J. Melvin:

„*The EU's approach should be based upon looking for real opportunities for change and to make use of these. In concrete terms, the EU should support bilateral and trilateral initiatives and regional cooperation designed to build closer ties with Europe and to open the region more generally through transport, energy, trade and investment, and communication/media links, but also in terms of strengthening human capital and promoting exposure to new ideas and access to information. At the same time, the EU should aim to build a framework of political and security cooperation within the region that rewards and strengthens those that demonstrate a genuine commitment to reform. A framework of positive cooperation should demonstrate the benefits of reform and, thereby, place pressure on those who seek to oppose change and to challenge those who argue that sustaining authoritarian orders is the only way to ensure stability in the region.*"[26]

Just in case of the other powers, for the EU Central Asia is the most interesting due to its energy resources. The first attempts to vindicate the joint European interests concerning fossil fuels of Central Asia were represented by the Interstate Oil and Gas Pipeline Management (INOGATE) program from 1995, the 2000 Commission Green paper on Energy and the 2004 Baku Initiative.[27] Currently, with all the efforts for implementing renewable and „green" energy strategies, energy consumption in the Union still has fossil fuels on its base. Regarding to some statistics, during the mid 2000s oil represented 37% of consumption in the countries of the Union, followed by natural gas (24%), solid fuels (18%), nuclear power (15 %) and renewable sources represented only 65[28], and this high percentage is mainly based on imports. Regarding percentage of provenience of

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[25] For details, see: Lakatos 2016, 61-70.
[26] Melvin, 2007, 2.
[27] Fenton, 2016, 169.
[28] Bahgat, 2010, 39-40. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

the EU's oil imports, on first place is Russia, whose companies are ensuring around 1/3 of the fossil fuel supplies, followed by Norway and several other oil producing countries from the Middle East.[29] On plan of natural gas, dependency is even higher than in case of oil: imports from Russia in 2008 represented 555 of global import.[30] Since Russian oil and gas is cheap on global market, it is close and Russia is willing to sell to Europe, this trade functioned well until now. On the other hand, responsible European politicians perceive to be a strategic interest to diversify its energy imports and through this, to become less dependent on Russia. A part of this strategy is the direct dealing with Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan; on third place on the EU's economic interests is Uzbekistan, which has no significant energy resources, but a series of other minerals.[31] However, the lack of a common foreign policy represents a major disadvantage for the Union, but Russian-American competition, and the competition among rivalling pipeline projects represents great opportunities for lots of European specialized companies, especially from East-Central Europe. In this issue, economic nationalisms are already competing for exploiting the possibilities, but often, cooperation based on common interest gets the upper hand.

National and private companies of European states by themselves cannot rival with success in this part of the world giants like the Russian Gazprom or Lukoil, American Amoco, Texaco or Chevron, or Chinese CNCP. But current state brought that two transport-projects are currently in competition, the Nabucco, which is supported by Americans and the West-European allies, and South Stream, supported by Russia and its also West-European allies. Negotiating the route of the pipelines and the share of national and local companies responsible for this security of transport infrastructure on their portion, and staying out from the deal can bring a serious weakening of the respective company's position on international markets reported to its rivals. The Bulgargaz (Bulgaria), Transgaz (Romania), MOL (Hungary), OMV (Austria) and other interested companies receives now unique chances, but also the possibility of great risks. How they are going to deal with them, will be shown by the future and their probable strategies are going to be the subject of a separate academic article.

Unlike the distant EU, the emerging continental China is not just close, but actually is part of Central Asia, geographically speaking, through its western province Xinjiang (Chinese Turkestan). 935 percent of this province's population is represented by minorities, different than the Han population which forms China's majority. Xinjiang is home especially for the Uyghur, but are living here also Tajik, Hui, Kirgiz, Uzbek and Kazakh population also.[32] During the long Civil War, Xinjiang served as background for nationalist troops, and was pacified late after Cheng Kai-Shek retreated to Taiwan.[33] But nowadays, China is facing direct opportunities and challenges in the region. "*China's emergence in Central Asia is the most interesting thing to happen in the region since the Soviet collapse and the emergence of*

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[29] Petersen, Barysch, 2011, 60-61. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[30] Kirchner, 2010, 861. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[31] Petersen, Barysch, 2011, 1182-1183. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 148.

[32] Kerr, Swinton, 2008, 122. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 149.

[33] Lin, 2008, 52-75. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 149.

independent states in 1991" states an analyst of the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR).[34] Also, through developing its relations with the Central Asian republics, focusing primarily on economic cooperation based on interdependencies, Beijing is receiving an important tool the stabilizing and economically emancipating Western China – perceived to be very backward compared to the Eastern shores of the country – and diversifying its energy resources. In the same time, the mutual benefits can improve living standards for the citizens of the republics, through which the spreading of radical Islam will meet a serious obstacle.[35]

In the vision of the Australian expert Emilian Kavalski, currently Chinese foreign policy interests are manifesting themselves through four dominant areas of interests: 1, by diversifying and ensuring China's access to energy resources, 2, cutting of any international links between Muslim Uyghur separatists in the province of Xinjiang and their ethnic and religious kin across central Asia, 3, encouraging economic and trade relations between China's western provinces and Central Asian states and 4, indicating China's preparedness to become a global actor.[36] As we can see from Kawalski's points, two of them, first and the third has mostly economic directions, the second has to deal with the country's internal security in a realist approach, and the fourth is related to reflection of general image. But from all of them, currently the first point seems to be the most important.

China currently is the most rapidly developing great country of the world, and regarding to some predictions, in the forthcoming decades will dethrone the United States from the position of the world's leading economic power. The fast growth also implies high costs: since 1993, China became a net oil-importer and is currently the second largest consumer after the USA.[37] In this sense, it is a strategic must for Chinese supplies to be guaranteed and diversifies. Continental China is currently investing large amounts in Africa, developing relations with countries of the Middle East, and is also constantly increasing the value of its commends toward Russia and Kazakhstan.

When the five republics became independent, and were struggling to forge new ties and build up a conjuncture which allows them greater independence from the Russian federation, China was close, and the province of Xinjiang province redeveloped quickly interdependent trade relations with neighbouring Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan and Tajikistan.[38] From the point of view of its energy security, Kazakhstan and an opening Turkmenistan are crucial for China, since even if they cannot supply the whole structure of Chinese state economy, they are certainly an alternative to provision from Russia, from which China, just as the EU, don't want to become dependant, and is doing serious efforts in this sense. Currently, with all of its favourable factors – geographic state, mutual economic advantage – Russia is only the fifth supplier of China with oil, following to Saudi Arabia, Angola, Iran and Oman,[39] and if it is after Chinese leaders, role of Russian supplies will decrease even

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[34] Feigenbaum, 2010.
[35] Csizmadia, 2016, 167.
[36] Kavalski, 2007, 845.
[37] Pak K. Lee, 2005, 165. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 149.
[38] Walsh, 1993, 279-280.
[39] Petersen, Barysch, 2011, 13.

more. China will also try to act as a global power in the region, which brings it into direct competition with Russia and the United States.[40]

In this latter sense, in the vision of professor Zhao Huasheng, expressed in 2009, China has five alternatives: 1, seeking strategic advantage (going in alone), 2, a combined Sino-Russian front, 3, an American dominated security structure, 4, a Russian dominated security structure, 5 a synthesis of balance between these powers.[41] In our opinion, the first point is a win-lose situation, which is very risky, even if China has its own advantage its geographical position and regional cooperation organizations, like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization; the fifth option is the ideal win-win situation, but it is hardly to be created and maintained, beside, none of the realist policy-makers of the three powers involved will adopt this approach, fearing lack of honesty of the others; complete Russian or American domination are unacceptable for Chinese policy makers, so probably the common Sino-Russian front has the greatest probability, even if it has its vulnerabilities also. On level of global policy, in the last two decades, a Russian-Chinese deepening consensus can be observed related to several major conflicts, in which they lately successfully challenges US positions, especially in the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN. But this cooperation is not compulsory to be transposed on a regional level, where the common interests are represented only by adversity toward American and Islam influence, in other sense the two powers being competitors. Currently it seems that the Russian political-military influence, completed by the Chinese economic expansion avoiding the direct confrontation with Russian interests is the most realistic and acceptable scenario for Chinese great power politics. It is not sure however that this strategic partnership will last forever, a shift in this sense requiring a very strong China and a Russia in decline. "*Chinese IR elites might then claim that Russia had enough time to adjust to China's rise and to learn to understand its "peaceful rise"- strategy and that enough compromises have been made*" says in his book Thomas Stephan Eder.[42]

The Central Asian region is present in the global political games especially due to the interests of the "Big Four" mentioned above, especially due to the competition of the American, Russian and Chinese interests. In the same time, however, other countries, on their turn middle powers, are trying to obtain benefits in this region, sometimes in strategic alliance, other times as strategic competitors for the big players. For example, in the last years a certain constantly growing interest of Japan and South Korea could have been observed, which is manifested through humanitarian aids and investments in the local economies.[43] In October 2015 Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo proceeded to make a historical tour in the capitals of the five republics: in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan for the second time, after 2006, and in the rest of the three was for the first time a Japanese PM in official visit. The result of his tour was concretized in 87 contracts signed with state-owned and private

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[40] Feigenbaum, 2010
[41] Zhao H., 2009, 476. Apud Lakatos, 2014, 150.
[42] Eder, 2013, 132.
[43] Курилкин, 2016b.

companies,[44] in a complete value of 28 billion USD investments. In the same time there are great differences from country to country concerning Japanese interests, the greatest attention being paid by Tokyo to Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The governmentally sponsored Japan External trade Organization (JETRO) opened even an office in Tashkent. From the value of the contracts signed during the tour of Abe Shinzo from 2015, Turkmenistan is sharing 18 billion, Uzbekistan 8,5 billions of USD, especially in the field of energetic industry, oil and gas exploitations, while the value of contracts signed with Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kirgizstan are not reaching at one place the sum of 2 billion USD.[45] In the last two countries, the most present Japanese organization is the Japan International Cooperation Agency, (JICA), which is according scholarships, and humanitarian aid through the development of sanitary and water management systems, through these also contributing to the development of bilateral diplomatic relationships.[46] The main reason for the Japanese interest[47] is the request of Japanese economy for raw materials, and the immediately second one is that Tokyo does not want to lose its ground in its competition with China, which latter is the beneficiary of the ambitious projects of the Silk Road Economic Belt.

The activities of South Korea has the same motivation. The prime partner for Seoul is Tashkent, and Uzbekistan is one of the main beneficiaries, even on a global scale of the programs of the Korea International Cooperation (KOICA)[48] and the key Korean player in the field of automobile industry the Daewoo (since 2015, Ravon) is present in the country since 1992. The summits between the two countries are regular, when the –by now defunct – president Islam Karimov was reelected in 2015, his first official visit lead to Korea. [49] Of course, the investments prestige and influence of Japan and Korea cannot be compared with the Russian, Chinese or even American one, but on a long term, due to the predictable tendencies, they will certainly grow into important players on a long term.

The situation of India is somehow similar, because India turned its attention over Central Asia. The Connect Central Asia program of the Indian government was launched in 2012, having as an openly declared goal to prepare the country for becoming a full right member in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. [50] India and Central Asia are sharing two major issues: the fight against Islamist terrorism, in which they are both highly affected, and the energy politics. India is one of the largest consumers of energy on the Earth, while the soil of Central Asia is extremely rich in fossil fuels. As a consequence, the competition between India and China for oil and gas is taking place in Central Asia too. While roughly a quarter of the Kazakh oil exploitation is controlled by Chinese investors, starting with 2009 the Indian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Ltd. (ONGC or OVL) and the Kazakh

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[44] Diplomatic Bluebook, 2016, 125.

[45] Мордвинова, 2015.

[46] Курилкин, 2016b.

[47] For details, see: Dabaev, 2016.

[48] KOICA…

[49] Узбекистан – Республика Корея…

[50] Seethi, 2013.

Kazmunaigas signed a series of contracts, and as a consequence the OVL is participating as a strategic partner in the exploitation of the Satpayev field, with a 25% share.[51] In 2012, the OVL effectuated the largest transaction of its history, by buying the 8,4 % share of the ConocoPhillips of the Kashagan oil field.[52]

The region is playing a crucial role from the perspective of trilateral relations among Russia, India, and China (RIC). Currently these three powers are bound together by their quest against American global political and economic hegemony, but it is not excluded that the decline of American power or the growth of China will cause a turn in this triple alliance. While they are coordinating their goals, all the three are paying attention to protecting their own interests and maintaining their own individual projects. The Central Asian ground, because its integration is included both in the goals of the Russian lead Eurasian Economic Union and of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, where China is the main actor, is the subject of both cooperation and competition for these two global powers, and as we mentioned, both of the Chinese and Indian large economies have a crucial need for the fossil fuels. Concerning the future of the RIC, we can propose three possible different scenarios: an optimistic, a pessimistic and a moderate optimistic one. In the vision of optimistic analysts, the partnership of the three countries will be developed into a real and functioning political alliance, while the pessimists believe that unsolvable conflict of interests will lead to such a level of rivalry that further development of cooperation among the RIC states will become impossible. We consider that the highest probability exists in the case of the third scenario, which is planning on a middle term, and is predicting a dual character of the complicated great power relations: Russia, India and China will coordinate their politics on a global level, while on a regional level, they will remain rivals, with the respect for certain boundaries.[53]

We must say a few words about the presence of interests of several Muslim states in the region. During the last years, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and the Islamic Development Bank, which both are under the influence of the rich states from the Gulf, increased the volume of its investments in Central Asia.[54] Two regional rivals, Turkey and Iran are both making gestures toward the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, finding that the approach to China can be fruitful for developing their economies, and are also trying to protect their already existing interests in the Central Asian region. Turkey can count on its cultural relations with the people of the region, the majority of four republics from the five being Turkic nations, while for Iran economic and political considerations are the most important ones. For example, during the last years, a strong cooperation was developed between Iran and Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan played the role of the diplomatic intermediary in the negotiations concerning the delicate issue of the Iranian nuclear program. This is not a simple coincidence since Kazakhstan is not only a Muslim country and a member of the SOC but also the greatest uranium exporter of the world. Kazakhstan has as interest to find new markets for its merchandise, because following to the atomic catastrophe the price of the

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[51] Hussain, 2012, 256.
[52] Indian OVL…
[53] Мареева, 2012, 246.
[54] Курилкин, 2016b.

uranium on the global market was falling drastically to the third of its previous value, but for 2020 is predicted the price to rise back. [55]

Central-Asia, in the mirror of events in other post-Soviet and Muslim countries, is currently not on the map of events of primal importance of world politics. However, it still remains a scene for great power competition, and will remain so at least for a few years more, if not for decades. The New Great Game takes place in the present, and the final results remain to be seen. Our paper just highlighted a series of its aspects, those which are determining the global implications of this constant competition. [56]

[55] Рулева, 2016.

[56] For a more comprehensive image of the New Great Game, Cooley, 2012; Kleveman, 2004; Cummings, 2012; Hyman, 1993, 288-304; Lakatos, 2014, 140-156; Kavalski, 2012; Bassin, Pozzo (eds.), 2017; Alexandrescu, 2009; etc.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cronaca di Costantino Manasse, parte I: traduzione dallo slavone mediobulgaro, note e indice dei nomi propri di Maria Osman Zavera e Olga Stoicovici, edizione e prefazione di Duşiţa Ristin; parte II: versione in slavone mediobulgaro, testo di Ioan Bogdan, pubblicazione postuma di Ioan Bianu, Bucarest, 1922; Bucarest, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2015, X + 360 pp.[*]

Marco Cassioli[**]

L'opera principale dello scrittore bizantino Costantino Manasse (XII secolo) è una cronaca universale in 6733 versi "politici" che prende le mosse dalla creazione del mondo per chiudersi con la deposizione dell'imperatore Niceforo III Botaniate (1081). La diffusione e la popolarità di quest'opera nei Balcani medievali sono testimoniate anche dall'esistenza di una versione bulgara trecentesca, in prosa, elaborata presso la corte dello zar Giovanni Alessandro, la quale ebbe non poca influenza sulle storiografie moldava e valacca dei secoli successivi[1].

A partire dal più antico manoscritto slavone della cronaca giunto sino a noi, redatto a Tărnovo dal pope Filip negli anni 1344-1345 e conservato oggi presso il Museo storico di Mosca, l'insigne slavista Ioan Bogdan preparò l'edizione completa della versione bulgara, pubblicata postuma da Ioan Bianu nel 1922. Il volume qui recensito, a cura di Duşiţa Ristin, comprende la ristampa anastatica del testo di Bogdan – Bianu, preceduta dalla prima traduzione integrale in romeno, realizzata da Maria Osman Zavera e Olga Stoicovici.

L'importanza di una traduzione romena della cronaca è sottolineata da Grigor Grigorov, referente scientifico del volume insieme ad Anca Irina Ionescu:

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[*] *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses*, Partea I: Traducere din slavona mediobulgară, note şi indice de nume proprii de Maria Osman Zavera şi Olga Stoicovici. Ediţie îngrijită şi prefaţă de Duşiţa Ristin; Partea a II-a: Versiunea în slavona mediobulgară. Text de Ioan Bogdan. Publicare postumă de Ioan Bianu, Bucureşti, 1922; Bucureşti, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2015, X + 360 pp. [*Cronaca di Costantino Manasse*, parte I: traduzione dallo slavone mediobulgaro, note e indice dei nomi propri di Maria Osman Zavera e Olga Stoicovici, edizione e prefazione di Duşiţa Ristin; parte II: versione in slavone mediobulgaro, testo di Ioan Bogdan, pubblicazione postuma di Ioan Bianu, Bucarest, 1922; Bucarest, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2015, X + 360 pp.].

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[1] Mihăilă, 1972.

«Questa cronaca è importante anche per il fatto che, in epoca medievale, i Principati romeni sono appartenuti all'area culturale greco-slava. La vita culturale degli antenati dei romeni si è svolta sotto l'influenza dei processi culturali dell'Europa sud-orientale. In questo senso, l'apparizione della cronaca di Manasse in lingua romena è un prezioso mezzo di costruzione dell'identità contemporanea».

Nella prefazione, Dușița Ristin mette proprio in risalto il debito che le storiografie moldava e valacca ebbero nei confronti del testo slavo:

«L'area culturale dell'Europa sud-orientale è determinante per porre le basi di una storiografia romena, segnata dall'esistenza di antiche cronache in slavone che, per le informazioni riportate, divengono fonte di ispirazione e modello per nuovi scritti storici in lingua romena nei secoli XVII e XVIII».

Su un piano più generale, la pubblicazione di questo volume riflette un rinnovato interesse per l'opera di Manasse, come dimostra altresì la recente edizione italiana dell'*Hodoiporikon*, un resoconto in versi del viaggio che lo scrittore bizantino compì in Palestina nel 1160[2]. Essa fornisce inoltre un contributo prezioso alla conoscenza dell'opera di Ioan Bogdan, specialmente all'estero, dove l'edizione curata dallo studioso romeno subisce la concorrenza di quella condotta da Ivan Dujčev su un altro manoscritto slavone della cronaca, conservato presso la Biblioteca vaticana e ricco di splendide illustrazioni[3]. Una rapida indagine in ambito italiano sembra rivelare come la copia vaticana, edita a Sofia nel 1963, e non quella moscovita, pubblicata a Bucarest nel 1922, costituisca il testo di riferimento per gli slavisti. Di essa si sono serviti, ad esempio, sia Ivan Bujukliev per i suoi studi sul mare nella Cronaca di Manasse e sulle strutture isocoliche anticobulgare, sia Alberto Alberti per redigere la monografia su Giovanni Alessandro[4]. Non è dato sapere, invece, a quali copie o edizioni si sia appoggiato Riccardo Picchio nel mettere a confronto il «motivo troiano» all'interno del Cantare di Igor' e nella Cronaca di Manasse, di cui egli cita un frammento dal testo greco e la corrispondente versione bulgara[5].

Se quest'ultima ha fornito e continua a fornire materia di studio per gli slavisti, non meno interessante appare agli occhi dello storico. L'affermazione potrebbe suonare strana, in quanto è noto il valore tutto sommato modesto della cronaca. Ma qui non si parla dell'originale greco, bensì della versione elaborata un paio di secoli dopo in Bulgaria. Ben più

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[2] Gori, 2011.

[3] Cfr. Borriero Picchio, 1957, 75: «Per ordine di Ivan Alessandro venne tradotta, fra il 1331 e il 1340, la *Cronaca di Manasses*. In uno dei più antichi esemplari di questa versione, conservato nella Biblioteca vaticana e ricco di bellissime illustrazioni su soggetti storici, è inserito anche il testo di una redazione della cosiddetta "Leggenda di Troia" (*Trojanska pritča*), penetrata in area slava da fonti latine».

[4] Bujukliev, 1990; Bujukliev, 2000; Alberti, 2010.

[5] Picchio, 1991.

di una semplice traduzione, essa comprende, oltre al testo di Manasse, circa venti brevi frammenti tratti da fonti bulgare e da altre cronache bizantine, come quella di Giovanni Zonara (XII secolo). Inseriti in luoghi specifici del testo, essi sono, nell'edizione di Dușița Ristin, evidenziati con il corsivo e segnalati in nota. Queste interpolazioni riguardano essenzialmente i rapporti, quasi sempre conflittuali, tra bulgari e bizantini, ma anche la cristianizzazione della Bulgaria e della Russia, nonché la temporanea conquista della Bulgaria da parte del principe Svjatoslav di Kiev (X secolo). Soprattutto, però, la versione bulgara contribuisce, attraverso una manipolazione dei versi 2546-2552 del testo originario, alla costruzione del mito di Tărnovo quale "nuova Costantinopoli", cuore dell'impero e della cristianità orientale. Ciò passa attraverso la sostituzione del nome della capitale bizantina con quello della capitale bulgara, del nome del *basileus* Manuele I Comneno (XII secolo) con quello dello zar Giovanni Alessandro[6].

I contorni di questa operazione politico-culturale sono così sintetizzati da Francis Conte:

«Quando la *Cronaca di Manasse* venne tradotta a Tărnovo verso il 1335-40, Bisanzio si trovava in condizioni precarie mentre il giovane Stato bulgaro nutriva gran fiducia nei propri destini. Con la massima naturalezza il traduttore cedette alla tentazione di avvicendare i ruoli. Come Bisanzio aveva sostituito l'antica Roma, Tărnovo, la capitale bulgara, avrebbe dovuto succedere a Bisanzio, la seconda Roma. Giovanni Alessandro, lo zar dei Bulgari (1331-71), si vedeva attribuire tutta la gloria che Manasse aveva riservato al *basileus*. La traduzione-tradimento bulgara della cronaca bizantina suonava: "Ecco cosa ne è stato della Roma antica. Ma la nostra nuova Zargrad [Tărnovo] diviene grande; è forte e giovane perché ha ricevuto uno zar splendente e luminoso, un sovrano grande e vittorioso, lo zar dei Bulgari Asen Alessandro, dolce e caritatevole, che ama i monaci, nutre i poveri, il grande zar dei Bulgari". A completare il procedimento delle sostituzioni, il miniaturista ha rappresentato nel manoscritto (oggi conservato in Vaticano) Giovanni Alessandro rivestito dei sontuosi abiti imperiali, con un nimbo su cui un angelo depone una corona. La miniatura non fa che rappresentare una dicitura che ritroviamo in una carta del dicembre 1347 nella quale Giovanni viene definito "re autocrate di tutti i Bulgari e di tutti i Greci". In Serbia anche il re Stefano Dušan, nella seconda metà del suo regno (1345-55) ricevette il titolo di "re e autocrate di Serbia e di Romània"»[7].

In questo contesto, è verosimile che la rivendicazione del primato politico e spirituale di Tărnovo avesse altresì la funzione di arginare, sul piano della propaganda, l'ascesa del vicino Stato serbo, che nel 1330 aveva sconfitto duramente bulgari e bizantini e ora, con Stefano Dušan, cercava di affermare la propria egemonia sulla regione, minacciando direttamente Costantinopoli[8].

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[6] Dujčev, 1968, 304; Kaimakamova, 2006; Boeck, 2015, 245.
[7] Conte, 1991, 516.
[8] Cfr. Brezeanu, 2005, 272, 275.

Inoltre, i riferimenti alle vicende degli slavi orientali e ai loro rapporti con l'area balcanica, inseriti dal traduttore, fanno pensare che la versione bulgara della cronaca fosse stata sin dall'inizio concepita allo scopo di trasmettere anche ai russi l'idea di Tărnovo quale erede di Roma e di Bisanzio. L'ampia diffusione dell'opera in terra russa già nella seconda metà del Trecento, prima della caduta dei Balcani sotto il giogo turco, sembra rafforzare questa ipotesi. Oltre ad influenzare la locale cronachistica, la versione bulgara avrebbe contribuito alla nascita del mito di Mosca intesa come Terza Roma, elaborato dagli intellettuali russi a partire dalla fine del Quattrocento[9]. Mito tuttora assai vitale, come ha sottolineato recentemente Franco Cardini[10].

L'interesse della cronaca tradotta in slavone, quindi, riguarderebbe soprattutto la storia delle idee, senza per questo sminuire l'influsso che essa ebbe sulla storiografia. Dai Balcani alla Russia, per lungo tempo Manasse avrebbe continuato a celebrare la "grandezza" di Tărnovo e lo "splendore" del suo zar, secondo quella mistificazione operata dal ceto dirigente bulgaro per legittimare sé stesso e le proprie mire egemoniche. Nel medioevo che veste gli antichi alla moderna, in cui passato e presente si confondono, tutto ciò poteva risultare credibile. Non immaginavano, i signori della "nuova Costantinopoli", che la loro capitale sarebbe caduta con largo anticipo su quella bizantina, a causa delle divisioni tra i popoli balcanici oltre che per l'impeto del sultano[11]. Anni dopo, rievocando la fine di Tărnovo, lo scrittore bulgaro Gregorio Camblak affermava: «Non per la sua potenza [*id est* del barbaro imperatore dei turchi], ma per giudizio divino è stato possibile che la città cadesse nelle mani degli infedeli nell'anno 1393, il giorno 17 luglio»[12]. Attribuendo a Dio il collasso dell'impero bulgaro, egli esorcizzava il pericolo ottomano e, allo stesso tempo, rinnovava il mito di Tărnovo, "grande" anche nella caduta.

La cronaca offre dunque molteplici spunti di riflessione, i quali vanno ben al di là dei confini di una singola disciplina. Ciò giustifica ampiamente l'opera di riedizione condotta da Dușița Ristin. La traduzione in una lingua moderna quale il romeno, poi, contribuisce non poco a renderla fruibile al di fuori della cerchia degli slavisti. Il volume, pensato soprattutto per gli studenti e i ricercatori, ma rivolto anche agli appassionati di storia e letteratura romena antica, si chiude con un ampio e dettagliato indice a carattere enciclopedico, in cui i nomi di persona e di luogo sono accompagnati da informazioni storiche, mitologiche e geografiche.

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[9] Dvornik, 1968, vol. II, 69-70; Diwald, 1978; Ukhanova, 2014, 234. Secondo Werner Philipp, in origine «l'affermazione di Mosca come terza Roma era più che altro la manifestazione di un pensiero statico e conservatore, della preoccupazione escatologica di preservare, conservando puntualmente le tradizioni, l'ordinamento cristiano che ancora esisteva in Mosca e salvarsi dall'avvento dell'Anticristo» (Philipp, 1968, 299).

[10] Cardini, 2017.

[11] Cfr. Castellan, 2004, 49 («Diviso nei due regni di Tirnovo e Vidin, esposto agli attacchi dei serbi, lo stato bulgaro di Kaloyan sarebbe scomparso sotto i colpi degli ottomani»).

[12] Țamblac, 2009, 65. La citazione è tratta dal *Panegirico di Eutimio*, scritto da Gregorio Camblak tra il 1415 e il 1420, quando era metropolita di Kiev (Puiu, 2013, 65).

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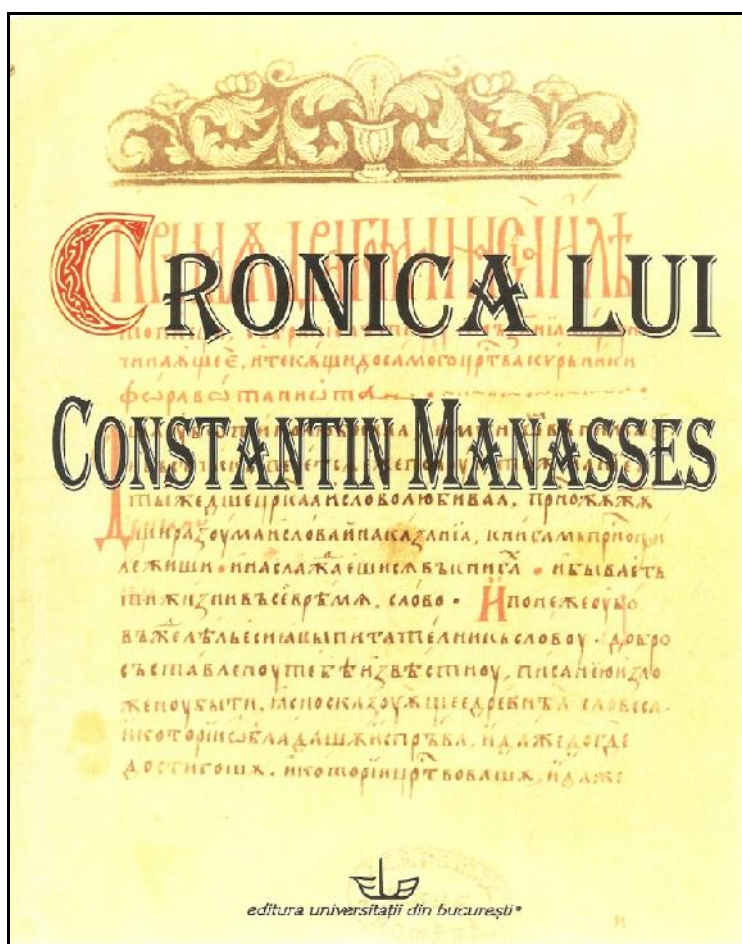
Fig. 1. *Cronaca di Costantino Manasse*, parte I: traduzione dallo slavone mediobulgaro, note e indice dei nomi propri di Maria Osman Zavera e Olga Stoicovici, edizione e prefazione di Duşiţa Ristin; parte II: versione in slavone mediobulgaro, testo di Ioan Bogdan, pubblicazione postuma di Ioan Bianu, Bucarest, 1922; Bucarest, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2015, X + 360 pp.

BOOK REVIEWS

Time and Culture/Temps et culture. Selected papers presented at the International Society for Cultural History (ISCH) Conference organised in September 2015 at the University of Bucharest, eds. Ecaterina Lung, Étienne Bourdon, Christopher Heath, Laurence Shee, Cecile Vallée, Editura Universității din București, 2017, 488 pp.

Vladimir Crețulescu[*]

"Time and Culture/Temps et culture" is a collective work on the cultural construction of time which comprises a selection of articles presented at the International Society for Cultural History (ISCH) International Conference organized in the fall of 2015 at the University of Bucharest.

The overarching theme of the volume in question coincides with that of the conference talks: namely, the tome is concerned with the socio-cultural construction and construction of time and of temporality. As outlined in Étienne Bourdon's introductory study, this collective work pleads against the reification of time as an objective, unitary, homogeneous, measurable reality, emphasizing instead its rootedness in individual consciousness. According to this view time, in fact, has no objective existence. It only exists within our individual minds. *In extremis*, one can say that we each have, and make, our own, subjective, private regime of temporality. Consequently, it is only by way of shared cultural convention that individuals reach a common understanding of the flow of time, within a given society. In this sense, time *is*, effectively, a component of culture. This fundamental assumption underpins the thirty-four case studies assembled in this bilingual, English / French-language tome.

The case studies comprised in the volume are grouped under four thematic headings. Under the first heading, entitled "Time, Past and the Writing of History", are gathered several case studies on the cultural construction of historical time in various societies. In her paper on the "Time of the King" Daniela Zaharia examines the way in which the mythical past was construed as historical in ancient China. Ecaterina Lung looks at how chronology was used as a vector of political interests in the historical writings of late European antiquity and of the early Middle Ages. In a similar vein, Christopher Heath explores the shifting boundary between history, memory and myth in his case study on the origins of the

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Lombards, as featured in medieval historical writings. Rosa María Spinoso Arcocha's paper on the chronicles of the conquest of Mexico brings to the fore the prospective quality of certain historical writings, by demonstrating how the aforementioned chronicles' projections of the future have become self-fulfilling prophecies. Fernanda Núñez Becerra's analysis of the XVIth century *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España* highlights the text's dual function: that of controlling and morally regulating the sexual behavior of young Spanish women, and that of erasing any historical memory of the Pre-Colombian Americas. Giorgio Lucaroni examines the Italian fascists' attempt to construct a counter-history which would ground Mussolini's regime in Italy's modern historical mythology (the Roman origins, the *Risorgimento*, etc.), while simultaneously framing the "fascist revolution" as the final, providential destination of Italian history. Finally, María Cristina Álvarez González showcases how contemporary historiography can contribute to the historicization of the present, in her study on Polish historical writing in the waning years of the communist regime (1967-1991).

The second heading of the volume is concerned with the interlocking themes of "Time, Memory and Identity". Ioan Pânzaru uses Aristotle's interpretation of the olfactory sense as a basis for his overview of the cultural understandings and use of incenses, spices and foods from the Middle Ages up to the XIXth century, with a particular emphasis on the complex interplay of societal pressures, politics and religion which shaped the Europeans' perspective on spices during the Reformation. Monica Adriana Ionescu makes use of phenomenological hermeneutics in her comparative analysis of the interplay of memory and time, as featured in Augustine's *Confessions* and in Marcel Proust's novel, *In Search of Lost Time*. Guy Rozat Dupeyron looks at how one might rethink Mexican national identity, so as to adapt the outdated identitary discourse built around the figure of the *Mestizo* to the rough social and political realities of contemporary Mexico. While remaining within the realm of Mexican identity construction, Miriam Hernández Reyna shifts the focus of attention to the Mexican Indian – a figure deprived of any actual historical depth in the official Mexican historical discourse, which instead uses the Indian as a convenient archetypal symbol of Mexican history, situated on a negotiated middle-ground between a supposedly perennial ethno-national identity and today's rhetoric of inter-cultural dialogue and diversity. Next, we "shift gears" from the analysis of written text to that of image-text, as Roxana-Mihaela Coman discusses the significance of paintings as a vector of national identity construction, in the context of the XIXth century emergence of modern Romanian statehood. Tiina Kinnunen and Marianne Junila trace the ever-shifting political focus, and political use, of commemorations of the Finnish Winter War (1939-1940) in contemporary Finland; their analysis of this central theme of Finnish national history constitutes a case-study on the present uses of the past. Nino Chikovani's paper also deals with the politics of memory, namely with the deconstruction of Soviet historical memory in post-Soviet Georgia and with its reconstruction on a new basis, especially as far as *sites of memory* are concerned. Virginia Allen-Terry Sherman takes an altogether different approach to memory: her study is focused on the way in which the authors of culinary memoirs use their personal recollections to anchor their cultural heritage and individual identity within a subjectively reconstructed

temporal framework, specifically through the quasi-Proustian use of taste and smell as a catalyst of emotional memory.

The third heading of the volume deals with the connected issues of "Time, Society and Power". Luiza-Maria Filimon mobilizes a discourse analysis approach in her case-study on the instrumentalization of a chronopolitical concept – namely, *state of imminence* – to legitimate political action; more specifically, the study focuses on the invocation of a state of imminence by the US in September 2014, to justify military intervention in Syria. Oana Şerban seeks to develop a new aesthetic paradigm for the genealogy of artistic representations, by elaborating, on the one hand, a critique of representation based on Michel Foucault's concept of *relations of emplacement*, while, on the other hand, deriving from this a modern, Foucauldian museum project, where the museum is understood as a type of *heterotopia*. Graveyards can also be considered as a kind of *heterotopia,* and Anton Carl van Vollenhoven tackles the complex interplay of social temporalities at work in the case of the exhumation of several historical graves in South Africa; the adequacy of the specialized legislation, the importance of safeguarding the deceased's dignity and the question of the preservation of heritage are all discussed, to the end of proposing a specialized checklist and a reporting format tailor-made for handling similar cases of exhumation. Mervi Löfgren enquires into the matter of elapsed time changing our perspectives on those who had held power, in her study on the life and deeds of A. E. Järvinen, a post-World War Two Finnish artist and leading cultural figure. Beyond the issue of time changing perceptions lies the matter of time itself, of how it can be made tangible and visible. This is the theme of Eva Reme's foray into turn-of-the-century photography, with her case-study on Norwegian-born Frederick Monsen's photography of Native Americans from the South-Western United States. Going deep down the conceptual rabbit-hole, Rodica Ivan-Haintz delves into the intricacies of the classical historical definition of art, while also outlining its inherent limitations, in particular its inability to definitively answer that timeless question: what is art? Mihaela Pop's study takes things further, dealing with the paradigm shift in the artistic conception and representation of time having occurred at the turn of the XXth century, under the influence of such thinkers as Hegel, Einstein, Freud and Henri Bergson; this fundamental conceptual shift is brought into focus by means of a case-study of Brâncuşi's "Avenue of the Heroes" sculptural installation, in Târgu Jiu, Romania. Marina-Cristiana Rotaru shows, in her analysis of Queen Elizabeth II's portraits, how the evolving public representation of a monarch can become deeply enmeshed with the history and identity of a nation. The article of Frédéric Amao explores the traditional Irish understanding of calendar-time, through an analysis of the four Irish seasonal festivals; Amao's study takes into account varied factors, such as the possible mythical Celtic connections of the festivals, or the yearly fluctuation in the number of hours of daylight. Finally, we shift our attention from ancient to modern yearly cycles, with Jean-Yves Mollier's paper on the calendar of the French literary prizes: an annual seasonality built around a complex editors' marketing strategy with roots dating back to the XIXth century.

The fourth and final heading of the collective work being presented concerns the interplay between "Time, Temporalities and Regimes of Historicity". Ionuţ-Valentin Cucu focuses his attention on several early-modern and modern interpretations and political-

religious uses of Zurvan, the Zoroastrian god of time. Also in the realm of religious conceptions of time, Mihnea Alexandru Mihail deals with the medieval, Christian understanding of time as a synchronicity of several layers of past, present and future, as inferred from a corpus of Central European fresco representations of the Last Judgement, dating from the XIVth and XVth centuries. In the XIXth century, regimes of historicity shift dramatically, from history being oriented by religious mythology to it being driven by the myth of modern progress; this shift is highlighted in Melina Rokai's account of how British travelers in the Balkans constructed time in their travel writings, with a particular focus on their portrayal of Balkan women. The issue of varying temporalities associated with travel is also the heart of Marina Matintytär Bergström's account of the complex associations of timeflow, landscape and collective identity mobilized in the advertisements of the Finnish Railways' 1930s "Ring Tours". Cécile Vallée's article analyses a particular regime of historicity, namely the ideologically mediated fusion of historical past, heroic present and glorious future orchestrated by J.B. Priestly in his weekly "Sunday Postscripts", broadcast by the BBC during the German "Blitz" of 1940. Jonathan Martineau's study approaches temporality from a philosophical angle, by showing how Martin Heidegger's and Henri Bergson's interpretations of time and temporality, though substantially different, both draw their premises from the modern emergence of clock-time as the principal regime of public time. In a similar vein, Emil Potec proposes a phenomenological analysis of how sacred, transcendental time and profane, historical time, which were once merged in a *coincidentia oppositorum*, have come to diverge and even clash in recent times, depriving modern man of any sense of spiritual purpose. Raluca Oancea explores the similarities between sacred time and the regime of temporality expressed in contemporary art and cinematography, starting from a more general definition of artistic time, as engrained in the Time-Based Arts. Andrés González Novoa, Víctor Quintero León and Natalia Pais Álvarez conclude the volume with their critique of linear, uni-dimensional time, seen as nothing more than a virtual social construct inculcated in peoples' minds from an early age, notably through educational policies; the authors outline a counter-proposal for a different, more open educational system: one built around a nonlinear, multi-dimensional understanding of time and based on the pupils' educational demand, not on the educational system's offer.

The collection of articles comprising the volume "Time and Culture / Temps et culture" deals with extremely varied and diverse aspects of the culturally based, socially mediated construal of time and temporality, at different historical moments and in distinct artistic, national or geopolitical contexts. Even though each article touches upon a different facet of this very complex issue, this only serves to underscore the overarching unity of the volume as a whole. The puzzle assembled from the thirty-four individual contributions brings to light a composite, global picture of time in all its unexpected complexity, as a non-linear, polymorphous entity, being ceaselessly molded by individual and collective human experience, always permeable to subjectivity, ever sensitive to context and open to interpretation.

This collection of studies is a valuable asset to any specialist of the social sciences interested in matters pertaining to historical narratives, relative chronology or temporality. That is to say, it would most certainly prove useful to *any social scientist*, full stop.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ian Kershaw. *Höllensturz: Europa 1914 bis 1949.*[*] Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; Auflage: 5, München, 2016, 768 pp.

Zoltán Eperjesi[**]

T he British historian Ian Kershaw[1] is one of the world's most successful authors involved in the analysis of Germany. The researcher is especially well known because of his Hitler biography (two-volumes). Kershaw has decided to divide his history of Europe of the twentieth century into two volumes. The first part is now also available in German. This volume is an outstanding translation of the English original, and the differentiated language and knowledge of the British writer is also evident in the German translation. The various chapters about the First World War, the interwar period and the Second World War represent a coherent unit in this comprehensive history book. The text is concise and the reader is confronted with remarkable thoughts and challenging observations of Ian Kershaw. This wide-ranging presentation also includes several new research results of other historians. The first volume covers the years from 1914 to 1949, from the outbreak of the Great War until the founding of the two German states. The second volume, which is still pending in English, will comprise the course of European history until the present day. It makes sense to divide the narrative into two volumes, because the history of Europe in the 20th century consists of two main sections, which could hardly be more contradictory. The three decades between 1914 and 1945 are undoubtedly the low point in the history of the continent. Two world wars, the Holodomor in the Ukraine (1932/33), the Holocaust, mass terror organized by the state, million fold expulsion, and the global economic crisis: they certainly overshadow everything that Europe has suffered in recent centuries in wars and crises. Death and violence, misery and suffering were rarely so concentrated in the history of

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mankind. Only a few states of Europe such as Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland were completely spared from war and civil war. Here, the period from 1914 to 1945 can be basically understood as a permanent crisis, which was interrupted by a brief stabilization phase in the mid-1920s.

The author's frame of reference in "*Höllensturz*" is the grid of his narrative and comprises three main purviews: time histories, tangible experiences and structuring leitmotifs. The events are chronologically ordered and the book is divided in ten chapters.[2] The narration begins before the outbreak of the First World War from the phase of Europe's "*On the brink*" until the "*Out of the Ashes*" in the years after 1945. In these chapters, the historian comprises the diversity (or individuality) of the European societies, as well as the immediate contemporaries of history, such as actors, perpetrators and victims. Time and space are finally overlaid by four cross-cutting issues in which the author recognizes the drivers behind the unique crisis of Europe: first, the explosive expansion of ethnic racist nationalism, which after the fall of the continental European empires of the Tsarist Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War was coming closer to the mental image that ethnically homogeneous national states and racially "pure" communities were the right answer to the upheavals since 1914. Secondly, and this is also a direct legacy of the Great War and the conflict overloaded peace of 1919: the numerous territorial revision requirements that were associated with imperial space fantasies and expansions. Thirdly, a sharpened class conflict that was getting considerable dynamism with the October Revolution of the Bolsheviks and its new, universalistic model of order and the antagonism of anti-Bolshevism that became a key driving force behind the ideological polarizations after 1918. Finally, there was the long-lasting crisis of capitalism, which has brought more and more citizens into existential misery because of the debt crisis and deflationary austerity policies implemented since the end of the 1920s. For all that, the four thematic lines of the author are not only the legacies of the Great War, but would also deserve a longer pre-history and review from the 19th century.

In this book, Kershaw fits his Germany-centered thoughts in the larger European history and he is focusing on the proceedings of the inter-war years. This highly Germany-centered view is explained quite simply: this country was "the pivotal centre of the continent". Following this, Germany was more important than any other state with regard to Europe's future developments, because its decisions and dealings were shaping the destinies of millions of Europeans and as well as the lives of people of other continents. Therefore, in certain circumstances, the German decision makers and its determined masses were creating critical situations and in the due course of cataclysms, the policymakers and the general public of other states have mostly had the only possibility to react into their own interest and self-defense. Accordingly, most of the reactions of other countries were frequently too late and completely in vain by trying to stop the machinery of war of the Nazis. Indeed, it is a

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[2] The titles of the chapters are: 1) On the brink; 2) The Great Disaster; 3) Turbulent Peace; 4) Dancing on the Volcano; 5) Gathering Shadows; 6) Danger Zone; 7) Towards the Abyss; 8) Hell on Earth; 9) Quiet Transitions in the Dark Decades; 10) Out of the Ashes. Additional sections of the book are: Illustrations; Select Bibliography; Acknowledgements; and Follow Penguin.

spectacular alternative to bring the crisis of pre-war Germany in the center of attention within the history of Europe. As the historical patterns of European countries of the twentieth century were extremely varied, this circumstance involves that the life experiences, the mentalities and behaviors of the people often differed from nation to nation and from region to region. Europe was mainly shaped by its diversity and this specific feature prevails even in our days. If this is the case, one has to address the main dilemma of how to put the puzzling sequences of different interweaving proceedings and events into the bigger picture. Some questions are arising: Is there any such thing as a compact European history within these various backgrounds? If the answer is positive and knowing that Europe is basically characterized by diversity, is it possible to stipulate about the unity of the old continent? Kershaw demonstrates that it is basically doable to narrate in the direction of European unity, even though the people living in different countries are culturally and linguistically quite diverse. However, it has to be considered as well that by such a complex task there will be occasionally some factual contradictions and this happens so for the reason that main political, cultural and other discrepancies are sometimes coming to the fore. This can especially be the case in conflicted times.

Nowadays it is absolutely obvious how the Second World War has ended and the ash-gray scenes of devastation of entire regions are deeply stored in our minds. It is to highlight that that the author does not speculate on a fictitious unity of Europe, but first he defines the concept geographically and after that presents the recent past of single countries by certain interlinked actions in such a way that within the bigger picture, each essential entity has its own story, which also relates to itself. Researchers have already presented this deadlock from various angles; some of them were sticking to the interpretation of violence in order to grasp moral outrages of the offender-victim relationship; others with the aim to re-establish confidence among highly conflicted communities; and still other scholars were trying to avoid the democracy-versus-dictatorship contrast by grasping such prevalent developments as imperial struggle, economic uncertainty, quick technological change, the Nazi race hygiene, demographic characteristics and the emergence of new style political discourses. Such reflections were mainly developing mostly in all of the European countries during the time of the Second World War, even if they brought the downfall of quite a few of the cruelest regimes. Kershaw's central question is precise and it sounds reasonable: How did it happen that Europe had almost destroyed itself in the forties? In this way, certain states are playing a key role and others are sifting in the background in his interpretations. The author's leverage point is the emerging discrepancy between democracy and dictatorship as a token of the concerned period, where he clearly dissects and shows the differences between fascist dictatorships and authoritarian regimes (chapter six). Notwithstanding that, Kershaw poses himself in the insightful role of an outside viewer and operates with fitting thoughts of George Orwell, Victor Klemperer and Vera Brittain. It is to be noted that these reflections are rather complex accounts and not necessarily easily understandable for non-experts in contemporary history and political philosophy.

Furthermore, the author summarizes the historical, political or other kind of features of the examined country as a brief profile, but generally there is only one page (or even less) about such explicit issues. Another deficiency of this work is that there is no deeper

insight about the unusual tragedies and experiences of the attacked or subjugated people. This remains in the background and between the lines. Maybe a possible alternative for the viewer could be the fact that the historian repeatedly encounters several adjectives such as unspeakable, brutal, barbarous, and savage, which are offering a clue about the sad destinies of millions of people in the hinterlands. Although Kershaw also addresses certain religious or cultural actions, various social problems and population trends, but there are no remarks about the usual trivial troubles of the general public such as parenting, education, daily work, preoccupations, matrimony or how the drabness of life was in those conflicted times. Besides, the colonial policy of the Great Powers is almost completely circumvented by the author, and in this way the significance of colonialism remains rather a vague matter for the development of the European continent in this book. Instead of that, Kershaw sticks to his core train of thoughts by picking out the main forces that caused the European countries to drift to hell and back.

Therefore, the title of the book can be perceived as a key message, but it also functions as a leitmotif (by repetition) within the chapters. The basic structure of the work is reasonably conventional where single countries are the core items of the examination in which key-politicians and their entourage are coming to light as main actors. One can clearly follow how these actions evolved into a destructive competition based on the neo-mercantilist hypothesis that one state's gain could only come at another state's losses. Political topics are shifting in the forefront of the analysis and the narration is based on a clear chronological line. Almost half of the volume concerns Germany, whose rise, fall, and revival is uninterruptedly examined. The author approaches this country with a lot of empathy. By addressing the problem of "guilt" related to the outbreak of the First World War, he puts questions about the image of the "sleepwalkers". Indeed, sleepwalkers were everywhere, but the historian comes to the balanced conclusion that the Great War was not unavoidable in all its pre-war burdens. The historian is convinced about the fact that Germany was to a greater extent responsible for the outbreak of the European conflict than other Great Powers, with the key remark that it was not alone responsible and other states did not acted in order to prevent the war, but quite the opposite. In his attempts to relativize German responsibility for the outcome of the Julian crisis in 1914 under the banner of sleepwalking leaders, diplomats and to relativize politicians and in this way to resuscitate the modus operandi of drifting away as in the 1930s, Kershaw brings up his objections. He concisely states that the responsibility for the outbreak of the war lay also in London, Paris, and especially in Vienna and Petersburg. But although there was no "sole responsibility" for the German Government (Reichsregierung), the historian stresses the special responsibility of Germany for the unconditional support of Berlin for Vienna in the crisis of the summer of 1914. It is to not that perhaps the most humiliating portion of the Treaty of Versailles for the defeated Germany was Article 231, commonly known as the "War Guilt Clause". This clause forced Germany to accept complete responsibility for initiating the First World War. According to this, Germany was liable for all material damages, and France's premier Georges Clemenceau particularly insisted on imposing enormous reparation payments. Aware that Germany would probably not be able to pay such an immense obligation, Clemenceau and the French, however, greatly feared a fast German recovery and a new warfare against France.

For this reason, Paris sought in the postwar treaty system to limit Germany's efforts to regain its economic superiority and rearming.

Given that Kershaw's main goal is to elucidate on dealings and not only to narrate on certain events, it can be observed that the chapters are full of sharp thoughts, but rarely counterfactual ideas as well. These are often introduced by certain core questions. Example: if the First World War was fought in order to finish warfare, why after that it prepared the pathway for another one, which was an even harsher global conflagration? Knowing the intricacy of the postwar circumstances, why did fascism emerge only in Italy but in no other country? In the author's understanding it was the remilitarization of the Rhineland that was the very last possibility for western democracies to stop Hitler implementing his belligerent campaign. So why wasn't the dictator stopped in time? Even Kershaw's relentless criticism of the British and French attempts of the 1930s to react to Hitler's actions relating to the failed peace policy is quite differentiated. The author points out that the French and British political elite simply were not able to cope with the challenges of fascism. According to Kershaw, the paradigm of totalitarianism is a main tool in order to receive a beneficial distinction between fascism, National Socialism, and the vibrant dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. Moreover, there is no longer any doubt on the confusion concerning the misuse of power by the Wehrmacht and its crucial role in the organization of singular crimes.

Kershaw's answers are reasonably negative in this section, as preventive measures to avoid the outbreak of the war seem to have been quite uncertain, because this period also means the simultaneous rise of radical right-wing nationalists and populists in more countries whose militant policies were guiding the masses in extremely dangerous directions. In Kershaw's thinking the First World War was the starting point of that descent into the Hell. Thus, author puts the crucial European developments in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, he begins his work with a chapter on the two decades before 1914, which is characterized as "the golden age", in which the modern industrial society emerged with its political movements and contradictions as well. These developments were shaping the entire historical period from the rise of socialism and ethnic nationalism to eugenics and anti-Semitism. In view of that, the First World War is not rather a catalyst, but the starting point of those developments, which then led to the catastrophe of the Second World War. The central theme of the chapter is the interwar period and the sudden rise of the right-wing scene in several countries. This historical episode evolves right after the short phase of the hegemony of the leftists. Nevertheless, Kershaw stresses that as the leadership of the Nazi party (NSDAP) came to power in1933 in Germany, peace was no longer possible in Europe. Moreover, the author repeatedly indicates that democracies (with the exception of neutral states) were only maintained in the victorious countries of the First World War, whereas by the war losers, sooner or later omnipotent dictators were coming to power. They were directing the political agenda of the people. The other major exception in this direction was Italy, which was one of the war winners, but as Mussolini was coming to power, the situation was rapidly changing during the early twenties. Although Italy succeeded in finishing the war on the winners' side, at the end of the great conflict it was a state that felt itself crushed from the very beginning. Why was that so? Because compared to its strategic aims, only a small part of its territorial expansion was realized during the first world conflagration and with

Hitler in power, the prospects for peace were gone. Accordingly, a strong competition among states was emerging in this new political context. Besides, the countries formed or re-established after the Great War were politically and economically too weak to effortlessly overcome the economic crises of the immediate postwar period and the early 30s. The rise of Hitler in Germany was certainly not a feasible long-term alternative to the multifaceted problems of those times. The takeover of the German dictator was rather an effect, which is very clearly described by Kershaw. Elites were too easily motivated by fanatical leaders and propaganda in order to struggle for more national self-determination and also to show resentments against certain ethnicities. The author consciously shows how these specific occurrences led several countries to turn in authoritarian directions by suspending their pluralistic representative institutions, by restricting the independence of judicial authorities and as well as media freedom. The implementation of pluralistic values was more and more difficult under such circumstances. The fragile German republic succeeded in surviving the innumerable riots, rebellions, coup d'états of the right and the uprisings of the left, the devastating inflation and even the Ruhr occupation. Nevertheless, Weimar's total disintegration was finally achieved by the diverse effects of the global economic crisis. The German dictator was clearly focusing on revenge for the defeat in 1918 and the establishment of a colonial space in the East. Therefore, Germany's urge for revenge was growing day by day.

Given the intensive re-armament of the Nazi empire, the occupation of the Rhineland (1935) offered the last opportunity to massively counteract Hitler's plans and to stop any further escalation on the old continent. But which state wanted to provoke another dangerous crisis or might risk another war as German troops were invading Germany? Kershaw highlights that appeasement policy of the period was the endeavor of appeasement, the peaceful settlement of emerging conflicts and also an expression of bad conscience towards Germany, which was eminent due to the harsh conditions of the Treaty of Versailles.[3] This track led to the Munich Agreement, which Kershaw describes as the capitulation of the West, as well as a main turning point in European history, because the following period was essentially coined by the time-saving tactic of Hitler in order to find even more achievable solutions for his armed forces. One must not forget that no negotiation was possible with Hitler's regime. Moreover, if that situation finally damned Europe to a new war, putting an end to the differentiation between armed forces and civil society and generated a lot of suffering and dead, it also laid down the basics for another peaceful period.

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[3] The Treaty of Versailles, presented for German leaders to sign on May 7, 1919, forced Germany to concede territories to Belgium (Eupen-Malmédy), Czechoslovakia (Hultschin district), and Poland (Poznan, West Prussia, and Upper Silesia). Alsace and Lorraine, annexed in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War, returned to France. All German overseas colonies became League of Nation Mandates, and the city of Danzig, with its large ethnically German population, became a Free City. The treaty demanded demilitarization and occupation of the Rhineland, and special status for the Saarland under French control; plebiscites were to determine the future of areas in northern Schleswig on the Danish-German frontier and parts of Upper Silesia. Germany lost 13% of its territory.

And back then, it was not easy to see in the future, which finally also bought the strange competitive conditions of the Cold War era.

The author tracks the main determinants that were evidently missing after the Great War and which were the basics for more stability after the Second World War. Some of these determinants were: the exclusion of collaborators, the constant American input, and the total defeat of the enemy. Evidently, also the creation of a nuclear umbrella was such a main factor. Nevertheless, the historian suitably claims that each national case has had its own distinctiveness. Thus, Kershaw's historical argumentation can be characterized as sui generis. He also points out that authoritarian systems (Italy, Soviet Union and Germany) were different from each other as not each of them was trying to activate the entire public for their own ends. Indeed, only Hitler connected the people's mobilization issue to a dangerous racial doctrine and to other absurd ideas related to more territorial supremacy where the Jewish people as well as other ethnics were ostracized, expropriated, captured and brutally murdered.

Kershaw portrays the war in all its facets and leaves no doubts in the viewer about the wide support, which Hitler had within the German population even during the war. However, his observations are based on simplified illustrative patterns such as the model of a homogeneous "national community" in this section. These extremely impressive, precise and varied thoughts constitute the main core of this volume. It follows a section where "continuities of long-term socioeconomic value systems, including cultural development lines" are presented and analyzed. However, there are many addressed topics, such as the expansion of social security systems, war economy, demographics and the position of women, the role of the intellectuals and the churches, as well as popular entertainment. This is really attention-grabbing and also imperative in detail, but sometimes it seems to be quiet disorganized in practice. Perhaps this impression occurs, because the author itemizes here certain cultural and economic developments separately from their particular political backgrounds. Kershaw does not finish the first part of his book, with the year 1945, but with a chapter on the post-war years where his examinations continue until the year of 1949. As a side note one must mention that the map about Europe of 1949, which is on the inside of the back cover is quite inexact as Algeria was not independent until 1962 and the armistice line of 1949 is shown in a generously extended version, similar thus, to the present Gaza Strip.

The author describes the various methods and counteractions against the Nazis, inclusively the punishment of collaborators of the banned regime that was happening almost simultaneously in several European countries. This account ends with the presentation of two subject matters: the difficult implementation of pluralistic, democratic conditions in the West and the establishment of the new tyranny under Soviet occupation. And now just have a look at the core question of the author: How did it happen that Europe had almost destroyed itself in the first half of the twentieth century? The historian focuses on the rise of radical nationalisms and communism with Stalinist character in the context of the Great War. Moreover, his explanation is based on the following pillars: the fact that liberal democracy could not have succeeded in the defeated countries of the Great War and that the struggle for revenge was so broadly supportive especially in Germany with Hitler, who turned

this effort into a mass-murdering program of unique radicalism. Thus, according to Kershaw, this state of affairs was the main reason for the "descent into hell" of Europe.

Kershaw's line of reasoning has all the qualities of an exceptional author and it also follows the particular English historical tradition. There are precise, analytical, judicious and empiricist reflections. The result is a sovereign account which proves to every reader that the combination of analysis and narration of these so-condensed decades are still possible for a single historian today. Moreover, in this book one has the possibility to learn where the historians have arrived with their knowledge of the early 20th century. Therefore, the historian smartly benefits from the long decades of international research. It is to point out that Kershaw's inquiries and answers are really particular, because he often thinks out of the box, but he lets open for instance the paradox of a cultivated Europe that sinks "into the pit of barbarism". Besides, he completely avoids to dissect "the imperial project" that could have also been pivotal for example in the case of racism. Anyway, there are no explanations about the co-existence of liberal-democratic and imperial principles. Kershaw mentions that "most of Europe's violence" was exported before 1914 and notes as a sideline that Leopold of Belgium's horrible rule in the Congo was estimated to have cost 10 million African lives. This number is somewhat more than the total military casualty rate of the Great War. Author also remarks that fascist Italy was not considered as a danger to Europe for the simple reason that Italians were implementing violence at North Africans and Ethiopians, but not at Europeans. Thus, there are certain clues that European stability and colonial aggression may have been symbiotic, but those valuable insights are not the subject of deeper analysis by the historian. Europe's extra-European interferences have little place in Kershaw's narrative and explanations. Without doubt, the history of interwar Europe also includes the stories of several other regions and people, which were ruled by Europe, but it is impossible to encompass all that data in one or two volumes. Accordingly, it is realistic for such a history to focus on the European continent itself, but one has to be aware about the fact that the imperial framework really matters, because Europe's imperial powers and policy makers of this times developed their guidelines and strategies with this always in mind. It is also obvious that the House of Commons didn't accord sufficient attention to the Nazi threat in the mid-30s, but perhaps that may have been because it turned all its energy in the design of the Government of India Act.

The economic depression of the early thirties deteriorated intercontinental contrasts not only because most of the countries introduced protectionist measures, but as Kershaw notes, also because Europe's imperial powers could set exclusionary taxes also around their colonial possessions. Most of the European statesmen were very familiar with imperialistic ideas. Consequently, these facets should not be forgotten. Chamberlain and Halifax were evidently incredibly wrong to believe that Hitler would be pacified by offering him certain colonial areas, but British politicians were convinced about their idea and thought that they will also work in praxis, because extra-European territorial barters and shifts had been a peacekeeping policy, which has functioned for hundreds of years. British historians made really much effort in the last few decades to grasp the metropolitan political beliefs and strategies within the imperial framework with the effect that European history was sometimes shifting in the background. It is crucial to consider both imperatives, thus

European history that Kershaw practices and the sequence of events of Europe's management of and retreat from empire, because they were influencing each other in several ways. Kershaw's main achievement is, above all, that he never loses sight to set priorities in order to distinguish the important from the unimportant, to explain and not to get captured in dense descriptions. The mastery of his description lies in the successful balance between the illuminating details and the central thread of his argumentation line and based thereon, he frequently concludes by safe judgments. Kershaw's story is like a definite, perhaps at some point preliminary balance of the debates and controversies in which generations of historians have barely worked. Whoever dares to encounter the great story also shows free edges and by this complex undertaking and large historical analysis Kershaw cannot be otherwise. Consequently, in order to cope with the sheer amount of data, many things have to be omitted. Therefore, the small states sometimes remain in the shadow of the great ones and the social and cultural history is sometimes minimized rather than being well integrated in the narrative.

Is there a European history? There are two possible variants: no, if one has to understand it in a homogenizing direction in order to level the extremely different intercontinental developments; yes, if we think as Kershaw thinks, as he presents the common as well as the different experiences of the Europeans. Moreover, the author also thinks about the specific paths of individual and even smaller states. Kershaw's narrative reflects some aspects of the complete bewilderment in which almost all European nations were trapped when they slowly recognized the extent of the horror and destruction, which became permanent on their continent. This insight constitutes the heart of this volume and it is the starting point for the much better second half of the century when peace and stability was experienced in several regions of the old European continent. Currently, one can observe how the memory of this terror, which brought Europe on a better track, begins to completely fade away. The reading distinctly shows how important Europe's role in the world is, and despite all the problems and difficulties, one also thinks on the peaceful times in which various nations coexist in this multifaceted community today. It is incomprehensible to what extent the several disasters that have traumatized Europe have fallen now into dark oblivion. But, do we know where the borders of a European history are? Furthermore, let's ask: how much internationalism does such a narrative need? History unmistakably shows that the vicious excesses of the wars did not suddenly stopped at the borders of Europe. More to the point, the peace negotiations of 1919 were a global phenomenon as well, like the financial crisis at the end of the 1920s. Let's put it others: not even British history can be understood since 1914 without the involvement of the dynamism and overstretching of the Empire after the year of 1918. Furthermore, the period from 1949 stands in striking contrast to the first half of the century. Although it came to a sharp division of Europe into two hostile blocks during the Cold War era, but the wars and crises of the first half of the century were not repeated again. After the complete breakdown of German National Socialism and Italian fascism, the parliamentary democracy was successfully implemented in the West. The authoritarian regimes in Portugal and Spain did not prove to be viable in the long term and they also were replaced by democratic regimes in the 1970s. Communism seemed to be very stable system for decades in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe as well. We know today

that this political ideology was gradually declining, but back then, nobody in the West or in the East was expecting its rapid breakdown. After the horrors of the first half of the century and after the disintegration of the civilization that was generated by the Second World War, Europe succeeded to gradually restructure itself in the second half of the century. If there is an overarching theme in Kershaw's interpretations, it is the struggle between democracy and dictatorship. Democracy was entering in the defensive by the 1930s and the future seemed to belong to authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. They occupied a large front in the middle, in the south and south-east of Europe. These authoritarian governments came to power after a bloody civil war in the case of Spain, but elsewhere mostly without major bloodshed. Only in the west and north of the continent have certain societies exercised the strong democratic principles and managed in the long term to escape the adverse political, societal and economic problems of the crisis period.

Perhaps there is a suitable historical example which shows how important it is to consider global matters. Let's take one of the historical moments of the 20th century: while in Germany, Hitler was establishing his tyranny with the Enabling Act in March 1933, the American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, took office in the same month. Roosevelt's commitment to the democratic welfare state was an alternative response to the crisis of the post-war period. Although this was no sure guarantee for the viability of democracy in praxis and he also knew the dangers of it, but this historical decision can be interpreted as testimony, that this future was much clearer, as suggested by Hitler's legal justification and power legitimization. Of course, this retrospective view is based on an artificial logic as we knew it in the aftermath. Kershaw also implements this kind of retrospective logic: anyone who mentions the second "Thirty Years War" between 1914 and 1945, it also suggests an epochal framework that in certain cases somehow levels the variety of options, the openness of the future with the existing opportunities at all its burdens. All these are issues to which this vast volume inspires the reader. Thus, Kershaw's interpretations are occasionally in the best sense disturbing. Why is that so? Perhaps because it warns against simple analogies and comparisons and for the reason that it makes clear within the bigger picture that the timescales of unparalleled hostility are not as long ago as the European peace epoch of the generations since 1945 sometimes may believe. The author concludes with the descent of the "Iron Curtain" and the beginning of the Cold War era. This is an account of a continent that transmutes from one smaller disaster to the next bigger one.

Summary and conclusions

Kershaw identifies four factors concerning the origins of the ongoing crisis between the First and the Second World War: (1) An ethnically or racially based nationalism led to hostilities and new armed conflicts between peoples and nations; (2) Due to certain artificial boundary lines after the Great War, minority problems were emerging in several regions and sub-regions, which caused additional conflict potential among countries (keyword: territorial revisionism); (3) The victory of communism in Russia aggravated the class antagonisms, which already existed in the West, and it also led to the rise of right-wing political movements that were committed to oppose the communist ideology and its adepts. The self-

centered opposition between right-wing and left-wing political forces generated grave internal fragmentations in the European state machineries and societies. (4) Starting with 1929, the capitalist economic system came into its most intensive crisis, firstly in the USA, then also in Europe. The Great Depression was a traumatic experience for almost all countries of the continent. Author insightfully explains how these four factors were intertwined, creating highly explosive situations in the 1930s that finally led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Germany occupies a central place in Kershaw's analysis because the four factors mentioned (thus, nationalism/racism, territorial revisionism, sharp polarization between left and right and economic crisis) occurred in that country in a particularly extreme forms. According to Kershaw, the fact that the Third Reich brought Europe on the brink of self-destruction is not a coincidence in universal history, but the result of a disastrous combination of crisis moments in Germany, but also other intertwined processes with other states.

Nine of the ten chapters of the volume are based on the chronological course of European history between 1914 and 1949. The ninth chapter is somewhat out of the line and it deals with various selected issues that are relevant to all European countries: demographic developments during the first half of the century; intellectual currents and debates; the role of religion and of the churches; the growing importance of popular culture and the entertainment industry. The book begins with the First World War and the analysis shows that it was the original root of all evil. The crisis of the inter-war period cannot be understood without the Great War and the highly problematic post-war regime of 1919. Almost all European countries were moving in dubious directions in the 1920s and 1930s: the winners and losers of 1918, but also the newly created states of Eastern Europe, which emerged after the breakdown of the Habsburg Empire. The sixth chapter is really attention-grabbing because the reader encounters here a compact comparative evaluation of Italian fascism, German National Socialism, and Stalinism in the Soviet Union. The author's intuitive expertise related to dictatorial forms of domination is a successful intellectual demonstration. Kershaw's historical inquiry is highly critical and he gives meaningful answers about the social basis and the profiles of the three dictatorships. He also compares these regimes in terms of violence and repression. The author clearly shows the reader how Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin used and abused their charismatic and central roles within their authoritarian regimes. The Soviet Union was largely isolated (foreign policy) in the interwar period, but it was influencing the developments in several other European states. The claims of the Soviets to offer a possible alternative to capitalism attracted millions of people across Europe and among them were ordinary workers as well as intellectuals, but also the fear of Communism played an important role in the struggle for more political legitimization of extremist movements. At this juncture, because of the effects of the vicious circle of politics, communism basically strengthened the popular basis of right-wing parties and other radical movements, helping demagogues as Mussolini and Hitler, but even Stalin to seize central power. Kershaw's presentation culminates with the provision of valuable and deep analyses by implementing various historical records of the Second World War. The international conflict has generated so heavy losses of human life and so vast extent of suffering, which are hardly imaginable today. The volume ends with the first years of the post-war period where

the historian mainly focuses on that circumstances, as unlike after 1918, this time a new international order was created that also prevented the outbreak of some new confrontations on a continental scale. Accordingly, Kershaw puts the question: what was the reason for this? Author mentions several interlinking reasons: Germany was no longer a great power and thus not anymore a disruptive factor in the concert of powers; the old European power system was gradually disintegrating, because even Great Britain and France have had to renounce to their great power status; fascism and National Socialism were so thoroughly failed that they were no longer a real political option; shifting boundaries and movements of population were the source of new kind of territorial revisionism, which had caused several conflicts after the Great War. Two new stable blocks were emerging in the beginning of the Cold War, which have had nuclear weapons and therefore they did not dare to directly attack each other. In contrast to the First World War, the United States has been permanently engaged in Europe for example with the Marshall Plan. In this way, they were ensuring the political and economic stabilization of Western and Southern Europe. Nevertheless, even in Eastern European countries, where Stalin's communist puppet regimes were installed, if compared to the inter-war period, there was a surprising stability. It is to highlight that in the Eastern bloc countries, mainly a forced stability context was prevailing. This was strongly centralized and coordinated from above. Already in the first years after the end of the war, the West was slowly experiencing with various procedures of European integration. This will be one of the dominant themes in the coming second volume of Kershaw, as well as the consolidation of communism in the Soviet bloc countries.

Kershaw effectively combines narrative and analysis in his presentations, but nobody should think that this book is a soft reading as it investigates the facts of wars and dictatorial regimes. It is important to keep to the facts and to retain the historical details within memory. Therefore, Kershaw's work is definitely worth reading. The author appeals to the memory of Europeans, who are accustomed nowadays to peace and prosperity, but sometimes didn't remember the destinies of their ancestors, who descended into hell and back in those chaotic times. Since then, Europeans have again managed to work their way up from those dark depths and they have been living mostly peacefully for the last seventy years on their continent. That seems to us, people living today as a matter of course, but it was and it is hard work to maintain pace and to reach political and social consensus in such a large timescale. The European Union has undoubtedly its defects and deficiencies, but it is to note that it also offers a main framework for national states in order to efficiently cooperate and coexist on the old continent. Besides, the EU also offers various coherent projects at superregional levels. Consequently, compared to the conditions that prevailed in Europe between 1914 and1945, but even in the Cold War era, the EU also represents a tangible progress of civilization. Those who have read Kershaw's stirring story and have also understood his elucidations on disillusioning facts, probably will not put in question the substantial progress of Europe, in comparison to the critical circumstances, which were prevailing from 1914 to1945.

Nevertheless, under European history Kershaw sees no successions or juxtapositions of national histories. The author targets the historical forces and developments that have shaped the entire continent. His outlook is extensive and comparative at the same time. All

European countries are treated, but country profiles are not in balance by specific details and extent. For the British historian it is self-evident that even the past of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union must be included in a history of Europe. Of course, it is inevitable that some countries gain more attention as other ones during the analysis. Kershaw dedicates special attention (for a compelling reason) to five countries, which are: Great Britain and France; Germany and Italy; and the Soviet Union. But also Scandinavia, the Baltic States, the Iberian Peninsula, Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Greece are addressed by the historian. Even though the historico-political and other specifics are described with the utmost precision and accuracy, one must keep in mind that this is the analysis and viewpoint of a British historian about Germany. Thus, nobody should be surprised that in the description of the developments before and during the Great War, the strong British spectrum is omnipresent, which in certain cases can be also seen as an overcritical approach to some German motives. In the prehistory of the Second World War (in the 30s), the German issues are always accompanied by strong negative attributes, which writing style definitely corresponds to the facts. However, this review lacks the deeper examination of the negative trends in other states with the versatile historical involvedness of the different political endeavors for example in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Hungary. This not necessarily means that certain facts are suppressed, because negative developments in the Stalin era were also addressed without gaps by the author, but such sections have a less cataclysmic undertone as compared to the cases when German actors were presented and judged. Moreover, concerning the evaluation of the British activities in the Middle East during the Great War, author writes quite uncritically. All these actions are compressed in the tradition of classical British diplomacy, although the devastating consequences of this kind of policy are still apparent even today.

For all that, it is highly recommended to read Kershaw's new work and if it is possible in the light of other classical works as Christopher Clark's explanation about the First World War[4] and Timothy Snyder's presentation about the atrocities in the Eastern regions during the Second World War.[5] In this way, the viewer gets a much deeper insight in the crucial events of the recent past. If doing so, one can definitely get an answer to a closing question: which of these books can contribute more or less to the current political discussions tied to the lessons of history?

At the moment, the world is becoming ever more complex, but seemingly is also highly divided, and once again, Europe is at the heart of it. Indeed, it is quite instructive in turbulent times to look back in history and realize how far we have come today. That undertaking certainly applies for Europe, as for global matters as well. Several things seem to be grave now, but they have been grave before, and some terrible historical events were accelerating progress: sometimes like this, sometimes like that. Therefore, this narrative fits very well into the current Post-Brexit matter and the ongoing discussion of what holds

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[4] Christopher Clark: *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914,* Allen Lane, published in 2012.
[5] Timothy Snyder: *Bloodlands: Europa zwischen Hitler und Stalin,* C.H.Beck; Auflage: 5, published in 2015.

Europe together. The author shows the strong pillars of European common experiences in the ages of violence and one may see this was the catalyst for the origins of a unique peace project in which we are living today. Without doubt, this approach alone does not has the power to reduce the explosiveness of the present European (or other) crisis and whoever reads this work, perhaps might not conclude from multifaceted historical lessons, but she/ he definitely will know more about the challenging European history and its global context as well.

Sources:

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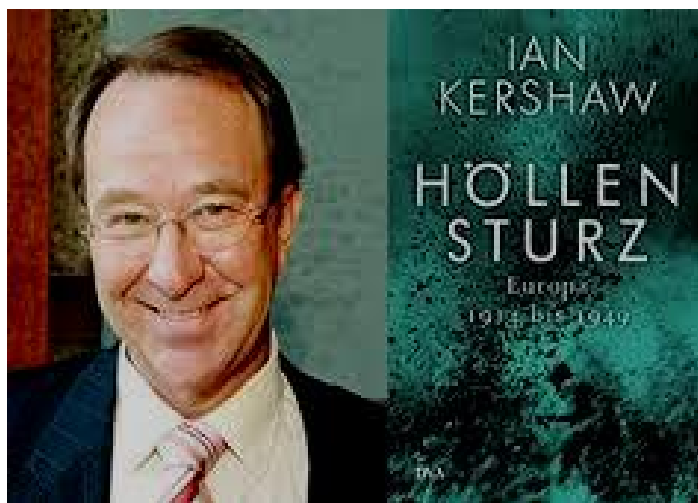
Source: Literarischer Salon, Leibniz Universität Hannover.