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In memoriam Professor dr. Șerban Papacostea (1928-2018)

‘Nicolae Iorga’ Institute of History, Romanian Academy

Requiescat in pace!

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CONSULSHIP IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

Jill Mitchell*

Abstract: This article explores and examines the consulship as an institution in the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire in the period known as Late Antiquity, that is from 284 CE to 541 CE. It investigates how the consulship of the Late Antique period differed from that of the Republic and earlier Empire, what it consisted of, who the occupants of the office were, the process of the inauguration of the new consul, the games associated with it, how the consuls were represented on the consular diptychs and the end of the institution.

Keywords: consul, consulship, Late Antique, Roman Empire, East and West, Byzantine, diptych.

When one talks about the consulship in Ancient Rome, one normally thinks of the role in the time of Cicero and the Civil Wars at the end of the Roman Republic, the first century BCE. At this period, it was the premier role of state, the highest position a member of the Roman elite, a senator could hold. It was the climax of the *cursus honorum* of public state offices even if the holder normally was only consul for one year. With the senate, the two consuls for a particular year governed Rome and its colonies during that particular year and were then rewarded with a governorship of one of the Roman provinces at the end of their time of office. But the consulship in Late Antiquity, the period from the mid-fourth to the early sixth century CE when the consulship was finally abolished by Justinian, was very different. It was still a great honour to hold this position, but it was a purely ceremonial office. This paper therefore examines and explores the role of the consul and how it was recorded and displayed in the last years of its inception.

By the time of the founding of Constantinople in what had up to then called Byzantium in 330 CE, the old Republican offices were largely defunct. The curule and plebeian aediles were now only known through the poetry of Ausonius. The quaestorship survived in Rome until early in the fifth century, where the incoming occupant of the post, often a child, held the appropriate games but had no other function.¹ We know, for example, that Memmius, only son of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, was quaestor in 393.² However, in Constantinople there is no mention of this position, probably because there were no games

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¹ Jones, 1964, 532.

² Matthews, 1975, 13.

attached to it. The praetorship on the other hand was celebrated in both capitals into the sixth century with its attendant games – though again the occupant of the post did nothing else. Again, we know from Symmachus' correspondence that his son attained this honour in 401.³ But it was the consulship, the apex of the ancient *cursus*, which still had a glamour even if there was no actual power attached to it. The highest aristocrats aspired to it – in the West the ancient aristocratic families, and in the East members of the new emergent nobility. Symmachus (c 340–402 CE), pagan, senator, and orator wrote in typical flowery language to his oldest friend Flavianus late in 390 of his delight in being awarded the Western consulship for 391:⁴

After I had given to Gaudentius your steward, the letter informing you of the completion of my journey, an agent brought me the imperial communication which corresponds with my hopes and desires by which I was about to learn clearly that my appointment to the consulship would be conveyed to the ears of the public.

When the Gallic senator Ausonius (310–393/4 CE) friend and correspondent of Symmachus, tutor to the Western Emperor Gratian was made consul of the West in 379 he went even further and expressed his joy at the singular honour in a poem which began with the following words:

*O year having begun with good auspices, you see the happy beginning of Ausonius being Consul; Bring forth your brilliant head, eternal sun and display more brightly than is your custom. With a bountiful light put out the purple radiance of the dawn.*⁵

Ausonius was privileged because by this period, although members of the traditional aristocratic families could still be granted this ultimate honour, it was normally members of the Imperial family or barbarian generals who were appointed to the post.

However, with the emperor's favour, the rank could also be held by very high court officials as in the case of the eunuch Eutropius who was the power behind the young Eastern Emperor Arcadius.⁶ This gentleman, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* or Lord Chamberlain had, in spite of his eminence, begun his career as a eunuch in the palace of Theodosius I. After Theodosius' death in 395 he successfully arranged the marriage of the new emperor, Arcadius, to Aelia Eudoxia, having blocked an attempt by Arcadius' chief minister, Rufinus, to marry the young and weak-willed emperor to his daughter. After Rufinus' assassination that same year, Eutropius rose in importance in the Imperial court, and soon became Arcadius' closest advisor. His ascension to power was assisted by his defeat of a Hun invasion

³ Matthews, 1975, 13.

⁴ Sym. Ep. 2.62. *Postquam Gaudentio apparatori tuo indicem peracti am itineris epistulam dedi, agens in rebus mihi adportauit sacras litteras spei et desiderio congruentes, quibus cognoscerem clare in aures publicas designationem consulatus mei debere proferri* (trans. author).

⁵ *Anne, bonis coepte auspiciis, felicia cernis, Consulis Ausonii primordia: prome coruscum, Sol aeterne, caput solitoque illustrior almo, Lumine purpureum iubar exsere coae*, (trans. author).

⁶ Jones, 1964, 533.

in 398. In 399 Eutropius became the first eunuch to be appointed consul which caused consternation in the Western half of the Empire. But his triumph was short lived as his enemies engineered his downfall the very year he attained the consulship.⁷ Very rarely even children could become consul, as did the young sons of Petronius Probus from the prestigious Christian Anicii family who held it jointly in 395, as we know from the panegyric that Claudian composed in their honour⁸ - the eminent pagan court poet of Egyptian stock.

While there was one Emperor, he nominated both consuls who took up post on January 1st of their consular year, on the Kalends. However, with separate emperors in the East and the West, one consul was nominated by the Western Augustus and the other by the Eastern incumbent. The names of both post holders were used for dating documents throughout the Empire. This practice was however suspended during periods of strife. Occasionally, the nominated Western consul was not recognised in the East. This occurred after the murder of the Western Emperor Valentinian II in 393 when a barbarian general called Arbogast placed a usurper called Eugenius on the throne. The pagan Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, friend and relation by marriage to Symmachus, was declared the consul for the West for 394 by Eugenius. However, he was not recognised by Theodosius who appointed his own candidate and after the defeat and execution of Eugenius at Frigidus, Flavianus committed suicide.⁹ He is not therefore listed in the *Fasti* as the Western consul for 394. In fact, he suffered *damnatio memoriae* and was not finally rehabilitated until 431.¹⁰

Odoacar, a military leader in Italy, probably of Scirian descent, removed the last Western Emperor in 476, the child Romulus Augustulus, and became the first king of Italy until he was deposed by Theoderic the Goth, who ruled in Ravenna and died in 526. After the abdication of Romulus, there were no Western consuls for seven years.¹¹ However, the title of consul had a magic about it which no other office in the Roman Empire ever quite attained and the Western aristocrats were not prepared to let it lapse at that stage in spite of the expense that the office holder incurred. It seems therefore that a senatorial embassy included the resumption of Western consuls among the terms Odoacar negotiated with the Eastern Emperor Zeno.¹² The last Western consul was Paulinus, whom the Gothic Queen Amulasuntha appointed in 534. Amalasuntha, youngest daughter of Theodoric, was regent of the Ostrogoths during the minority of her son from 526 to 534, and queen regnant from 534 to 535 – at which point she was murdered.

In the East, there were problems in finding suitable candidates for the office of consul. The games associated with the position were prohibitively expensive, costing 2000 pounds of gold – and the recipient was also expected to distribute a generous largesse to the people. Consequently, not many people of sufficient rank were prepared to accept the

⁷ Bury, 1923, v.1, 127.

⁸ Claud. *Panegyricus Dictus Probino et Olybrio consulibus*.

⁹ Matthews, 1975, 247.

¹⁰ Mitchell, 2016, 255.

¹¹ Jones, 1964, 247.

¹² Cameron, 1982, 130; Jones, 1964, 245.

honour.¹³ The general Belisarius who led the reconquest of Italy from the Eastern empire, was consul in 535 but the next consul did not take office until 538. This was John the Cappadocian, the Praetorian Prefect. By the time he took up office, Justinian had legally curtailed the expenses involved and also had codified exactly what was to be involved in the festivities for the new consul. These consisted of a procession on the inauguration of the consul, a day of horse racing, a day of theatrical entertainments, a day of animal combats, a second theatrical day, a second day of racing and finally a solemn ceremony to end the week.¹⁴ In spite of this apparent attempt by the emperors to make the consulate less prohibitively expensive and so more attractive to potential recipients, there was only one more private consulship held, that of Basilius in 541. His image can be seen in Figure 4 – the illustrations are at the end of the article, after the bibliography. In reality, the emperors feared that the occupants of the post, of necessity being the richest and most eminent men of the state, would try to use the position to usurp the Imperial throne. It was easier therefore to just abolish the rank. By this time, the Eastern Empire had created plenty of other ceremonial positions which could take its place. After Basilius, the consulate was assumed only once by emperors in Constantinople on the Kalends of the January after their succession.¹⁵

The assumption of the consulship in both east and west on the January Kalends, comprised a very elaborate ceremonial which was rooted in antiquity and still contained much of its original pagan components. Generally, the investiture of a new consul happened in the appropriate Imperial capital, Constantinople in the East and traditionally of course Rome in the West. However, in Late Antiquity, the investiture of the new consul took place where the Western Capital happened to be, at first Trier, later Milan and finally from 403, Ravenna. Whether the new consul was an emperor, a member of the Imperial family or a subject, the ritual involved had many similarities. It started with the *adventus* or arrival ceremony when the new consul made a grand entry and was introduced and presented to the people.

There was a long tradition associated with an Imperial *adventus* and through the panegyrics which the Egyptian court poet Claudian composed to celebrate the occasions, we know a great deal about the ceremonial entries of the Western Emperor Honorius when he visited Rome in connection with various consulships. The first of these was in 394 after his father Theodosius' defeat of the Western usurper Eugenius at the battle of Frigidus in Northern Italy. Theodosius' death in 395 left the child Honorius as emperor in the West and he returned to Rome to celebrate his fourth consulship in 398 and again in 404 for his sixth. The panegyric which Claudian composed in 404 gives a very good description of the Emperor's *adventus* into Rome and its ritual.¹⁶ It was a ceremony of great splendour and pomp. The crowds of Romans were massed between the Milvian Bridge and the Palatine, flowing through the street and cramming into the houses right up to the attics. Honorius made an innovation by refusing to let the members of the Senate precede his chariot and insisting that they walk on a level with him in the same ranks as his nearest friends and

¹³ Bury, 1923, v 2, 347.

¹⁴ Eastmond, 2010, 743.

¹⁵ Jones, 1964, 533.

¹⁶ Claud. *Panegyricus Sextus*; Lancon, 2001, 148.

relatives. With Stilicho, the half-Vandal general, *magister militum et peditum*¹⁷ and power behind the Western throne at his side, who himself was consul more than once, the emperor made a splendid entry. With soldiers surrounding him, and marching in front, the Emperor wore a consular toga glittering with emeralds, and a diadem on his head. Dragon banners were displayed above the head of the procession. Having processed through Rome, Honorius paid a visit to the city's magistrates, who had assembled in the temple of Victory, and to the senators, before going to his residence on the Palatine.¹⁸ During his stay in Rome, there were circus spectacles and speeches which were memorialized by the last Roman triumphal arch.¹⁹

The column base of Arcadius from Constantinople shows some aspects of Imperial consular *adventus*. It comes from a column depicting the expulsion of the Goths from the city of Constantinople in 402 and on three sides of the base were shown scenes of the joint consulship of Arcadius and Honorius in 402.²⁰ The emperors here were facing their subjects, still and majestic, as can be seen in Late Antique art. Each of the three sculpted sides had three bands of relief, one beneath the other. To quote one example of these representations, on the east side the two emperors emerge from a columned porch, followed by an arms bearer. They are clad in togas and each holds a *mappa* or the cloth used to start the games in his raised right hand, and an eagle sceptre in his left. They are surrounded by other toga clad figures and lictors. Claudian mentions the lictors in the Imperial consular procession in his panegyrics. These and the other carvings on this column base promote the splendour of the Imperial *adventus*, here consular, with the frontal Imperial figures of the rulers, robed in all the majesty of their position, facing their subjects. They show a hierarchy of power which descends from God, to the emperors and then is transmitted to their subjects.²¹ Arcadius and Honorius did not actually meet as consuls or as emperors, although they were brothers, and the representation of them together is thus to be regarded as conveying a certain theory of empire, a theory of Imperial unity which was false being factually and politically ineffective.²²

The *adventus* commenced with the visually splendid and ceremonially elaborate *processus consularis* or consular procession. Traditionally in Rome the new consul would have ascended the Capitoline Hill to sacrifice to Jupiter; but in the Christian courts of the Late Empire this part of the ritual had obviously been abandoned. He would also be clad in extremely expensive garments. The consular robe was called a *trabea*, *toga picta*, *toga palmata* or *vestis palmata*. It was coloured purple and was decorated with palms, rosettes and even portraits decorated with gold.²³ In his *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulate of Honorius*, Claudian describes the emperor's toga as being encrusted with jewels, embroidered with pictures in golden thread and studded with pearls and jasper cameos.²⁴ The procession

¹⁷ Master of cavalry and infantry.

¹⁸ Lancon, 2001 148.

¹⁹ McCormick, 1990, 51.

²⁰ McCormick, 1981, 57.

²¹ McCormick, 1981, 60.

²² McCormick, 1981, 60.

²³ Mathisen, 2009, 141.

²⁴ Claud. *IV Cons. Hon.*, 585–592; Roberts, 1989, 113.

involved the transportation of the consul designate, either by foot or in a chariot and accompanied by lictors carrying *fasces* and by fellow senators and friends, to the senate house for a solemn ceremony involving the emperor, senators and magistrates.²⁵ The new consul would have been seated on a curule chair as depicted in Figure 1 – and the *fasti* would have been presented with the names of both consuls inscribed upon them. The new official would then have made a speech to the emperor which was called the *Gratiarum Actio*, or Act of Gratitude. Two of these have survived in the West, that of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan when he was made consul in 100 CE and that of Ausonius from 379. Both of these speeches are full of elaborate praise, rhetorical devices and literary flights of fancy and presumably are typical of this genre of epideictic oratory. Normally the consul would give his own speech of praise but sometimes it would be given by the court rhetor, or professional speech maker. The speech of thanks having been delivered the new consul would have manumitted a slave and presented gifts of money.

At the January Kalends of 385 in Milan, the general Bauto, a pagan and a barbarian was made consul for the West in the place of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, one of the last great pagans who had died in Rome in the early December of 384. Praetextatus, of an old and distinguished senatorial line, educated to a high standard and expert in rhetoric would have delivered his own thanks and praises, but Bauto needed the professional help of the court rhetor – none other than the later eminent Doctor of the Christian Church, St Augustine. Soon after this, however, Augustine was to decide that the life of the rhetor was not for him and left the court. For a while he stayed in a rural villa outside Milan at Cassiacum where with others he followed the life of a country gentleman and studied Virgil. However, this idyllic existence was not enough for him either and after a period of study and reflection Augustine was converted to Christianity by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.²⁶

For an actual description of a Western consular inauguration, dating from the middle of the fifth century, we have a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris. As a young man, he attended the consular celebrations of Astyrius or Asturius in 449 at Arles and tells his friend Namatius about it in a letter dated to 480, *Ep.* 8.6.5. Sidonius tells his friend:²⁷

the consul Asturius had entered upon his year as wearer of the coveted consular robe. I was standing close to the curule chair (for although my age forbade me to be seated my rank entitled me to some prominence); and so, mingling with the crowd of cloaked Census-officials. I was next to those who were next to the consul. Well, as soon as the largesse had been distributed (and it was quickly distributed though of no small amount), and when the consular mementos had been distributed...

²⁵ Mathisen, 2009, 140.

²⁶ Trout, 1988, 132–146.

²⁷ *Consul Asturius anni sui fores uotium trabeatus aperuerat. adhaerebam sellae curuli, etsi non latens per ordinem, certe non sedens per aetatem mixtusque turmae censualium paenulatorum consuli proximis proximus eram. itaque ut primum breui peracta, nec brevis, sportula datique fasti [...].*

Later in the same letter he talks about the consular panegyric given by one Nicetus:²⁸

The oration he then delivered was well ordered, dignified, and glowing, of great energy, greater fluency, and artistry greatest of all, and that consular robe of his [Astyrius], soaked in Tyrian dye, with palm leaves among the crackling fringes was enhanced in its splendour by a speech more richly coloured and more golden still.

This account gives us a very vivid literary impression of a late consular inauguration.

As stated earlier, the most important function of the Late Antique consul was to give spectacular games and in the gifts of ivory diptychs which the new consul gave to his friends, like Constantius III in Figure 1, they can be seen raising the *mappa* that started the games.

These events would have consisted of chariot races, gladiatorial fights and theatrical events. There is an interesting letter of Symmachus dated to 400, when he writes to his son Memmianus which gives us some details concerning Stilicho's consular games. He writes:²⁹

The consular magnificence has been satisfied by the festive circus events; and the very splendid performance of the games and gladiators are yet to come Cameron states that Stilicho gave three days of games in Milan (postponed by bad weather till February) and then a similar set in Rome, 'the first time Rome had seen games presented by an ordinary consul in office in nearly a century'.³⁰ The West favoured gladiatorial fights, but these were never so popular in the East. Chariot races, traditionally extremely popular in the West, were even more popular in Constantinople where the competition between the opposing teams of Blue and Green grew ever fiercer. These races took place at the Hippodrome, the great racing track in the centre of the city, inherited and then greatly developed by Constantine, which was a major locus of entertainment and assembly in Constantinople. A total of up to eight chariots (two chariots per team), powered by four horses each, competed on the racing track of the Hippodrome. The star charioteers were like football champions today, eagerly sought after and paid large salaries. For big races, horses were sought from distant provinces and there is evidence of Spanish horses being in demand. The cost of providing horses could be extremely heavy but was the responsibility of the person giving the games.³¹

The diptychs are important because they are a surviving record of how the Late Antique Roman aristocracy had themselves portrayed while holding the post of consul, as officiating at Imperial or other public games. Cameron regards the consular diptychs as "perhaps the most important surviving repertory or the motifs and conventions of the official

²⁸ *Dixit disposite grautier ardentier, magna acrimonia maiore facundia maxima disciplina, et illam Sarranis ebriam sucis inter crepitantia segmenta palmatam, plus picta oratione, plus aurea conuenustauit.* Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8. 6. 6, W. B. Anderson (trans).

²⁹ Sym. Ep. 7.4. *Circensium sollempnitati consularis magnificentia satisfecit; ludorum adhuc et muneris splendissimae imminent functiones* (trans.author).

³⁰ Cameron, 2013, 205. Cameron states that the greater games reserved for Rome are mentioned by Claudian in *Stil.* 3.225.

³¹ Jones, 1964, v 2, 1018.

art of Late Antiquity”.³² These were commissioned by the consuls in order to celebrate or commemorate their appointment and were given as mementos to their friends. They were probably pre-produced in Constantinople in workshops that may have developed from earlier ones based in Alexandria.³³ One of the most spectacular of these diptychs is that for the Eastern Consul of 506, Flavius Areobindus Dagalaifus Areobindus who on January 1st of that year was installed as consul in Constantinople. This can be seen as Figure 2. Areobindus came from a very eminent Eastern family. In his consular diptychs, he is listed as having occupied the post of *comes sacri stabuli* or court of the Imperial stable and having been accorded the title of an honorary consul.³⁴ He was very active between 503 and 505 in the fight between Constantinople and the Persian King Kavadh and as a result was awarded the ordinary consulship for 506.

Ten leaves from seven different diptychs made for Areobindus survive, the largest number associated to one consul in late antiquity. Each leaf measures between 340 and 388 mm in height and between 110 and 137 mm in width (and all are between 8 and 10.5 mm thick). These are pieces of ivory which represent an important financial investment of a rare and expensive commodity. However, they were not necessarily new, and the ivory may well have been stored in a workshop for some time before being used.³⁵ Seventeen of these are the so-called “full figure” type. These densely carved panels epitomize both the spectacle of the consulship and the excitement of the games associated with them. It is the disparity between the stiff, ceremonial figure of the consul in the upper register and the vivacity of the entertainment shown in the lower register – Figures 2 and 3 – that gives them their power and attraction.³⁶ The consul dominates the panel with his unblinking stare. His status is emphasised by his robes, throne, sceptre and *mappa* and he is surrounded by further symbols of his authority and wealth. Below him is a view of the arena with the heads of the spectators looking down on vivid fights between gladiators and beasts below. This is the so-called ‘consular image’ which the diptychs display – and which is the way the consuls themselves wanted to be remembered. The diptychs reveal both the costs and the rewards of euergetism, the late-antique expectation by society that the rich should use their wealth to benefit the community in which they lived – and the expectation of society towards their consuls was that they would provide them with spectacular games.³⁷

In this article, the role of the Roman consulate in its last years and how it was recorded and displayed has been explored and examined. By the time Basiliscus assumed the *fascies* in 541 – Figure 4 – it was one thousand and fifty years on the traditional reckoning since L. Junius Brutus was elected the first consul. It is not surprising therefore that an office whose only function by Late Antiquity was to provide prohibitive games should cease. The habit of dating years by their consuls was not terribly efficient and did not long survive the

³² Cameron, 2011, 138.

³³ Morey, 1940, 46.

³⁴ Martindale, 1980, 183.

³⁵ Eastmond, 2010, 743.

³⁶ Eastmond, 2010, 743.

³⁷ Eastmond, 2010, 744.

end of the office. It was superseded by a system which used the emperor's regnal year - an innovation of Justinian's in 537.³⁸ The change in the political situation in Italy after the murder of Amalasuntha in 534/5 gave Justinian cause to invade and try to reconquer Italy. No more Western consuls were therefore appointed; and the Eastern consulship too, as we have seen, ceased very soon after. The office had served its purpose and was no more; but the title was not forgotten and continued to be used by Byzantine emperors. After their fall it was resurrected by new leaders at different times in more recent history, like Napoleon; and it is still used in diplomatic circles today. Its long and eminent history resonates well with modern Western democracies and ensures that the name, at least, of an office which started two thousand, five hundred years ago, survives into modern times.

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³⁸ Cameron, 1982, 137.

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Appendix
Illustrations:

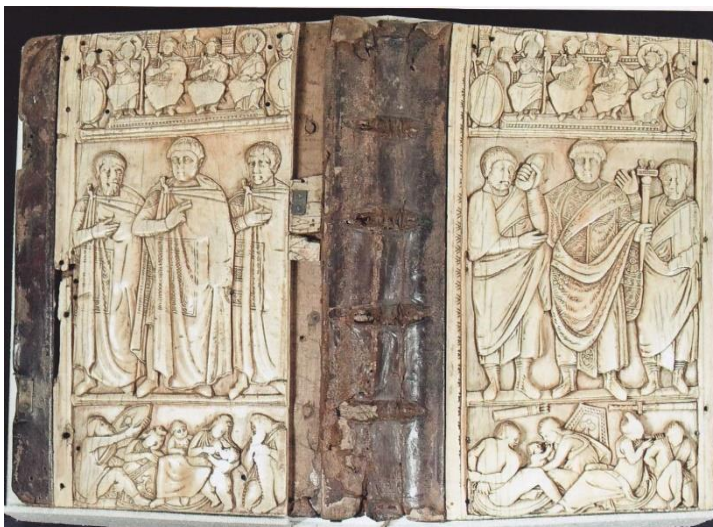


Fig. 1. – Constantius III assuming the Western Consulship c 417
(Portrait author: In the Treasury of the cathedral at Halberstadt, Germany)



Fig. 2. – Arcobindus, Eastern consul 506
(Source: Wikipedia)



Fig. 3. – Arcobindus, lower register showing gladiator/animal fight
(Source: Wikipedia)



Fig. 4. – Basilus, the last consul
(Source: Wikipedia)

BYZANTINISM AS A FUNDAMENT OF BALKANISM

Blagoj Conev*

Abstract: Byzantinism, a not sufficiently explored field, is still today a fundament of the pejorative explanation of the terms “Balkanization” and “Balkanism”. Byzantinism, the Hellenic one, actually represents the whole idea for the Balkans; the idea of how, due to the hegemonization of an ethnic identity, an empire that persisted for about a millennium could collapse. The idea of this text is to show the connection between Byzantinism and Balkanism and by using synthesis and comparative analysis to prove the thesis that: The hegemonization of the Byzantine-Greek identity in the past contributed to the birth of today's Balkan nationalism – Balkanism. In this text, the author analyses the appearance of Byzantium as a par excellence addition to ancient Hellenism, especially its conversion into hegemonic Hellenism, which was intended to submerge and assimilate all the other non-Greek identities in Byzantium. In fact, the author will prove that Byzantinism, which is a product of Hellenism, is the source of Balkanism, which itself leads to the idea that the fundament of today's Balkan nationalism, that is, Balkanism, is nothing but the hegemonic Hellenism during the Byzantine Empire.

Keywords: balkanism, identity, byzantinism, ethnos, nationalism.

The idea of the Balkans and the Byzantinism

The idea for the Balkans begins with an overview of the common European heritage, that is, with the classical period of ancient Greece. The moment, when the ancient Greeks had started their expansion along the Mediterranean coast and the creation of their colonies in southern Europe, they began to spread their culture and traditions to the uncivilized part of the continent. This process was extended with the Hellenistic period, when the ancient Macedonian state, accepting the Hellenic culture and religion, conquered the Balkans and united the peninsula.

Following the period of the Roman Empire, when the region, although divided into several provinces, after all, is part of a form of state, which politically unites the Balkan. In the next thousand years of the reign of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium), although politically fragmented, the Balkans succeeded in retaining the cultural and religious identity imposed on all the nations by the Byzantines. First of all, this was achieved regarding the spread of the Christian faith, under its earliest form of Greek–Orthodox interpretation and

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imposing it on the Slavic population in the region, to create a distinctive cultural identity within the Balkans. Together with the Orthodoxy and the acceptance, i.e. the imitation of Byzantine cultural models, in the Balkans, for the first time, a kind of cultural unity between different groups is created.

The Ottomans, who gave the name of the current peninsula, naming the biggest Old Mountain with Balkan brought a period of long and stable political unity to the region. Today, a hundred years after the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans, the region is again divided and politically separated. Faced with the contemporary challenges, the Balkan nations and states are still recovering from the consequences of the Cold War, which line of distinction, came directly between the Balkan states, creating three different political concepts. Those fifty years of isolated life together still have a trace in all of the Balkan states, which although they want to catch up with the contemporary European economic, cultural and social tendencies, still have some kind of peripheral status in the European family.

Even though the Balkan states formally strive to be part of Europe and to show the world that they have long forgotten their disagreements, yet as much as this region wants to show that it is united, it increasingly separates itself. Balkan states still cannot show a union that will unite and integrate them into the modern world. Thanks to the various influences that the region has endured for centuries from the empires that ruled on that territory, or simply had spheres of interest, the Balkans is still divided.

And if one says that the region still lives in its past and that those who gave it its name, also predetermined its destiny, it will not be so wrong to say this, but still, the fundament of what we call today the Balkans was given by the Byzantines. The Balkans are even now Europe's historic legacy. Although European culture and values are based on the Balkan's history, however, the Balkans had failed to overcome the difference with the five-hundred-year-old Ottoman stagnation in correlation to Europe and, thus, to modernize and catch up with the contemporary social and political trends in the world. But, it is not only the Ottoman legacy. The Balkans are still coping with the Byzantine legacy. Namely, "Byzantinism" has the same discourse as the "balkanism", because the "Balkanism" has its own inheritance from the very "Byzantium", which is based on the same cultural and social foundations, such as authoritarianism, theocracy and many other values that are and will be the fundament of the "Balkanism."

Thus, is evidenced more often the idea that if Derrida's statement: "il n'y a pas de hors-texte"¹² is valid for Europe, then for the Balkans, it can be stated as a question: "qu'est-ce qu'il y a hors de texte?" What are exactly the Balkans?³ Namely, through this connection of the historical past of the nations of Southeast Europe with today's political and ethnic-confessional challenges, an explanation will be made, proving that Balkanism is, in fact, nothing but a prolonged arm of the ancient imperialism, that Balkanism draws its roots from Byzantinism and Ottomanism as its predecessors.

¹ Derrida, 1967.

² "There is nothing outside the text".

³ Todorova, 1997.

In order to understand the connection between Byzantinism and the Balkanism, it is first necessary to penetrate into the very core of Byzantinism by making a comparative analysis between that ancient phenomenon of determination and today's modern and postmodern phenomenon called Balkanism. And if Balkanism and the Balkans itself have a pejorative meaning in political science and history today, the source of that disapprobation has to be found. Namely, it is necessary to make a deduction from the single Balkanism and Byzantinism to the general term which unites them, which is pejorative. Although it is only a word with French roots, this word is very important for the current and further development of this European region.

At the very beginning, should be elaborated the idea of the existence of the so-called "Byzantine identity", whether it existed, and if it existed how it was built and how it functioned. In fact, if that Byzantine identity existed, was it the ancestor of modern European identities that began to emerge after 1648? When it comes to Byzantium, the first thing that comes to mind is that it is a huge multi-ethnic and multicultural empire that arises with the division of the Roman Empire. But what today is considered to be Byzantine identity actually arises in the middle period in the historical development of the empire, that is, with the beginning of the replacement of the official language. Namely, in the 7th century, when officially the Greek language (of course not the today's modern one) became an official language in Byzantium, a massive process of Hellenization of the territories of the Empire began. However, this is not about the classical Hellenization that is known for the history from the period of the Macedonian Empire, but of a specific type of Hellenization when the Emperors of the East began to perceive Orthodox Christianity as a unifying factor of the entire population of Byzantium. This process of Hellenization is supported by the ideas that the Greek language is a symbol of Orthodoxy and must become a symbol of the largest Orthodox state in the world. By unifying a collective language such as the Greek who originates from these parts and not as the Latin one, who is quite unknown to the population in the Empire, as well as the creation of a unified form of religiosity of all groups, the Byzantine emperors try to start creating of a collective so-called Byzantine identity (Rhomanoi). But the question is whether that collective medieval identity towards which Constantinople's empires are aspiring is, in fact, the collective identity that we know today, that is, *"a population that has a collective name and uses a common historical territory, has shared myths and collective history (memory), mass or group culture, collective economy and the same legal norms and obligations for all members."*⁴ Another dilemma that occurs in relation to Byzantium is whether in the thousand years of existence of Byzantium can be used the perennial theory that the modern Balkan nations love to use in their determination, in order to define Byzantinism, i.e. Byzantine identity? Of course not. The difference between the Modern Balkanism and the Medieval Byzantinism is that the Byzantine leaders knew that in the territory under their control lived a population with different ethnic characteristics and that no ethnic group would recognize itself as part of a general collective identity that has an organic biological nature.⁵ But what is interesting is that during the reign

⁴ Smith, 1991.

⁵ van den Berghe, 1987.

of the dynasty of the Komnenos (1081–1185), the implementation of the perennial theory began in order to achieve a unification of the population in the Empire. Namely, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and his fellows were far brighter from their decedents. They realized that in an empire where so many different ethnic groups live, no homogeneity of the population can be created if all these different ethnic groups are taught that they are connected through blood kinship, that is, they all have the same organic-biological nature.⁶ Thus, the Byzantine Empire begins with the creation of a perennially constructed identity that will be based on the historical connection of the empire with the Roman Empire. The perennial connection of Byzantinism with the legacy of the Roman Empire comes as *terminus technicus*, as understood from Cyril Mango, the influence of the Greek culture on the Roman Empire contributes itself in a perennial connection of the Byzantine identity with the Latin, and later on the modern Greek identity with the Byzantine.⁷ It's interesting how such interpretations of the connection of the Greek identity with Byzantium, as well as with Rome, gives the very essence of the pejorative Byzantinism that is the fundament of the Balkanism. Namely, the acquisition of the Byzantine collective heritage, which belongs to all Balkan ethnicities, by the modern Greek ethnos, is identified with today's political, legal and cultural environment in the Balkans, which is seizing of the historical values that belong to all. In this way, the Greeks managed to embed the myth of Byzantium deep into their collective memory and thereby show the world that they are the direct descendants of Byzantium. Thus Byzantinism is embedded deep within the base of Balkanism.

Although the Balkanism leads its origin from Byzantinism, this is deeply entrenched in the very essence of Balkanism, however, there are key differences in the functioning of these two phenomena.

The Balkans are identified with the small nation-states that are formed in the European part of the Ottoman Empire as a result of its disintegration and the help of the great European powers to create nation-states of the various Christian ethnic groups that had until then been a part of the Empire. At that time, the terminology used to determine the territory of the region did not contain any forms of degradation or had a pejorative meaning in correlation to the groups that inhabited the region. It is interesting that, in order to note a process of fragmentation of former and geographical and political units into new and smaller ones, no other term is used, except for *balkanization*. Eric Hobsbawm equates the term balkanization with *kleinstaaterei*,⁸ a word that is offensive to German nationalists, and describes the political system of the German Empire in the late 19th and early 20th century. Hobsbawm describes balkanization as a term derived from the division of territories (which belonged to the Ottoman Empire) in several small national and independent states.⁹ In fact, the term Balkanization derives from the verb *se balkaniser* which denotes a “process of political fragmentation” in territories that once were a part of a large multinational empire, in new small national states, as is the case with the Balkans after the Balkan Wars and the

⁶ Shils, 1957, 13–45.

⁷ Mango, 1980.

⁸ System of the small states.

⁹ Hobsbawm, 1990, 31.

First World War. This process of *balkaniseren* means that state fragmentation is followed by major disturbances in the political relations, and *balkanisierung* that it is accompanied by a great political instability in a certain geographical region. Namely, all these French? – should this be not be German? terms are translated as balkanization or fragmentation of a particular political entity to many smaller ones who are hostile, such as the Balkans after the First World War, that is, the division of a territory into more small and hostile parts.¹⁰

Unlike the Balkanism, the primary Byzantinism has the characteristic of unitarity, that is, the national rather than the ethnic determination of the elites and the masses. Thus, the Byzantine elite determined themselves "nationally", or did not emphasize its ethnicity, but simply determined themselves as Byzantines (Rhomaïos – Roman), that is, "subjects of Rome".¹¹ It itself explains that the Empire had a unifying power for the subjects (the population that lived therein), and the identification of the population as "subjects of Rome" meant nothing but that it was not important for the subjects to which ethnic group they belonged and that all were assimilated according to the specific eastern Roman-Orthodox culture if they wanted to make progress in the imperial hierarchy. In this way, this primary Byzantinism (before starting to favor the Hellenistic culture and language) was a unifier, not a divider as the Balkanism from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present. Thereby the Byzantinism managed to preserve the multi-ethnic empire from decay because the state and the civil sector were important, not the national and the ethnic. In such a condition of a multi-ethnic society such as Byzantium, the ethnic determination comes much later when the Slavs began to migrate to the Balkans while refusing to define themselves as Byzantines (Rhomaïos), i.e. subjects of Rome.¹² With the migration of the Slavs, the transformation of Byzantinism began. Specifically, from unifying factor for the entire population on the territory of the Empire, Byzantinism began to show the first signs of multiculturalism and multi-ethnic dimension, which gradually transformed itself into Balkanism, which will grow and develop into the form we know today. Byzantium during its existence has never started a *long durée* process for creating a nation. The essence of that state was to respect the imperial authority. Namely, in the period of the Byzantine existence on the political map of the world, in fact, there were no nations, but only states. The unity of the Byzantine population was not achieved through unifying elements of the identity of the group¹³, but through the policy of the uniqueness of the imperial authority and the religious dogmas of the Orthodoxy. For the Byzantine authorities, and later the same will turn into an inheritance of the Ottomans, ethnicity is minor in relation to the religious affiliation.¹⁴ That is how the Byzantinism, which forms the basis of Balkanism, consolidates its existence to the perennial, unlike Balkanism, which is increasingly based on the primordial, thus creating a pejorative nationalism among the Balkan ethnicities.

¹⁰ Pound, 1994, 40.

¹¹ Koder, 1990, 103–111.

¹² Curta, 2011.

¹³ Hutchinson, 1996.

¹⁴ Smith, 1998, 145–198.

The Byzantine identity as a fundament of the modern Balkanism

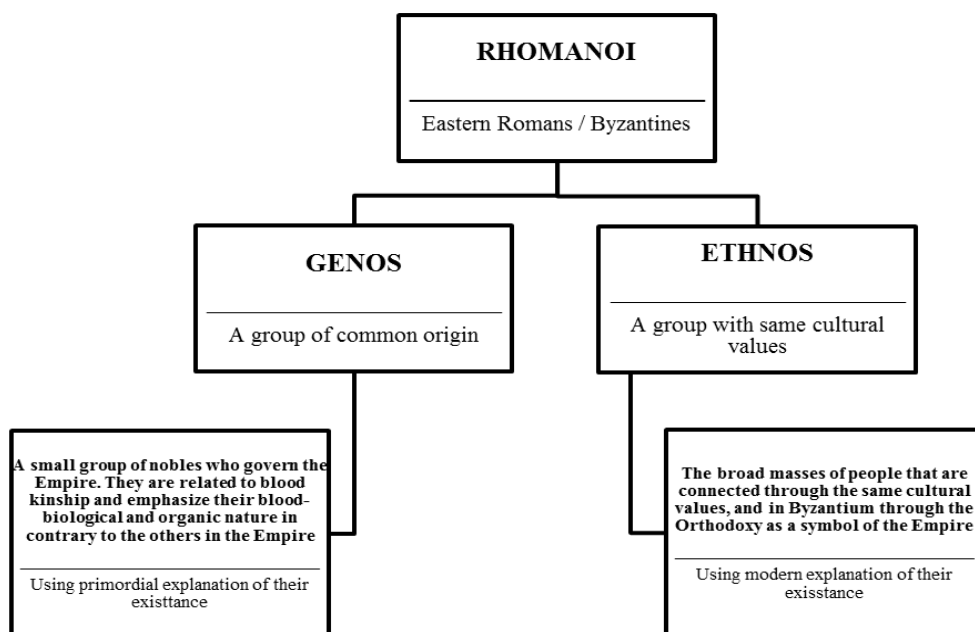
The Balkanism is closely linked to both the past and the territory, the geographical area inhabited by all Balkan nations. What makes it interesting for research, this specific “Balkan” nationalism, is the fact that it appears very quickly, which is likely to also quickly disappear at a time point when all Balkan states and their leaders will begin to implement the idea of a united Europe in this region. The biggest mistake for the emergence of nationalism in the Balkans, which is very different from nationalism created by the nation-state, according to Ernest Gellner is in the transition to the formation of the pre-national identity into the national, that is, in the addition of the already existing identity fragments of the Balkan peoples, with new features that will shape them in a nation with a distinct national identity.¹⁵ That is a transitional historical moment for all societies in the process of forming the nation-state when the pre-national identifications such as religious, ethnic, tribal, kin, or local traditions and landmarks are suddenly taken as features that are identical for the whole nation. This process of transformation of the pre-national into a national identity of the Balkans comes to a point in which the territory inhabited by a particular group is connected with the history, and in this way, the territory itself is mythologized and enters as a basic defining element of the nation. The conflict between the identities in the Balkans occurs when a territory is penetrated as an identity and a historical landmark of two or more nations. On the other hand, it is normal considering the turbulent past that the region had, to exist interference in territories between the ethnicities that inhabit the region.

The most significant breakthrough moment for starting with the creation of nationalism between the different groups in the Balkans is the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Until then, there were no ethnic or religious problems in the Byzantine Empire. They seem to have been pulled away from the imperial authority in order to maintain the unity of the Empire. During the period of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056), the emperor's power intensifies, and the role of the Emperor is strengthened. This is the period when the Empire consolidates itself from the previous wars with the Slavic tribes from the north, especially after the *Battle of Belasica* (Mountain in today's Macedonia and Bulgaria) in 1014. But after the death of Basil II in 1025, Byzantium enters a political and dynastic crisis, from which it did not come out for more than fifty years. Throughout this period, the development of identity issues in the Empire stagnates, Byzantium is not defined as a nation-state of one of the groups that live on its territory, but simply as a state (the same is happening later with the determination of the Ottoman Empire that was never officially named Turkey). With the coming into power of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081, nothing changed in the creation of a new kind of identity in the empire - the Byzantine. Namely, during the reign of the Komnenos, the identification with the Ancient Rome was preserved, that is, the empire itself was still considered to be the descendant of the great Roman Empire. The Byzantine-Roman identity will not change, i.e. it will not begin to transform itself into “ethnic” until the Fourth

¹⁵ Gellner, 1983.

Crusade from 1202–1204. Until that period, the subjects of the Empire deeply remembered the legacy of the ancient Rome and their ethnic or cultural commitment was marginalized from their status of citizens of Rome and subjects of the Emperor of Constantinople – the New Rome. During the Komnenos dynasty, the emperors were too busy with wars with the Seljuk Turks and the Hungarians, so they did not pay attention at all to the growing moment of non-identification with the imperial power of the Byzantine population that was not Greekophone. An interesting moment from that period of the Byzantine history, which explains more about the Byzantine self-identification, are the poems of the epic hero Digenes Akrites from the poem *Anatolia*. In this poem is described the life of Di-genes, that is, the twice-born border gourd man and his travels on the borders of Byzantium with the Muslim countries of the east,¹⁶ but what is interesting about Digenes Akrites is that he is described as a child of a father foreigner and a mother "Roman", that is why he is defined as "twice-born". This tells us that the Byzantines in the period of Komnenos have not yet developed a national, or pre-national "Greekophonic" identity, which would be the basis for the transformation of the Empire into a nation-state.

When it comes to understanding the Byzantine identity from that period, it can be explained by the following graphic:



According to this graphic representation, it can be understood that in the period of the Komnenos, there is a duality in the Byzantine identity. Namely, the Byzantines as such were never determined. Duality is seen in the relation to the nobility and the broad masses of people. As shown above, the "genos", that is, the nobility in the Empire explains its identity

¹⁶ Akrites, IV.51.

according to the contemporary primordial theory. This means “they” were considered that they had the same organic-biological origin, that they were blood-related. Thus, representing themselves as the descendants of some of the glorious heroes of the past, the “*genos*” in the Empire managed to retain power thanks to the evidence that they were blood-related to their ancestors who had formerly ruled Constantinople, and in that way perennially associated with the period of the birth of the Empire. Therefore, the “*genos*” in Byzantium, although unintentionally used the primordial and perennial theory, managed to hold power for about a millennium. Regarding the “*ethnos*”, in other words, the broad masses of people, they identified themselves through the language, the culture, and the traditions. Unlike the “*genos*”, members of the “*ethnos*” did not consider themselves blood-related, that is, they had the same organic-biological relationship. Such a duality in determining the identity of the Byzantine population did not allow the creation of a single national Greekophonic identity in the Empire, and thus in some way maintained the Empire in life. Recognizing the inconsistency in the identity of the Byzantine population, the imperial authorities managed to achieve unity and peace on all sides of the Empire, and also by not imposing one single identity as superior to the rest to keep the various ethnicities in peace in the vast multi-ethnic Empire.

But when it comes to the Byzantine understanding of the term “*ethnos*”, it must be emphasized that it meant *a group that lives together*, without emphasizing whether it is a cultural or animal group.¹⁷ Therefore, when the commoners, that is, the “*ethnos*”, was not associated with identity, culture, and tradition (except for the language, but for the empire, the Greek language was not national but only *lingua franca*) with one identity was achieved the authority of the Empire from Constantinople over all ethnicities. That is why the Byzantine emperors, whether Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Roman, Slavic or Thracian, were not interested in imposing their individual identity as the basis for creating a national one, something that would happen much later during the rule of the Palaiologos (1259–1453), the period after the restoration of the Empire from the Crusades in 1261.

If in Byzantium until 1185 the “*ethnos*” was the commoners and the “*genos*” - the nobility, then by order of things, the “*genos*” is contained in the “*ethnos*”. Namely, if *ethnos* connects itself through the culture, traditions, customs and legal frames of the Empire, and the *genos* through its organic-biological nature, however, the *genos* itself is connected through the same features as the *ethos*. According to this case, it can be concluded that the essence of the Byzantine identity is *ethnos*, that is, the Byzantine primordial is contained in the Byzantine modern, but not *vice versa*.

If in this way the Byzantine identity is interpreted, in every way it gives the fundament of the Balkanism and all the Balkan identities. So if we take for example the modern Greek identity, if we compare it with the so-called Byzantine one, we will note that the Greek for its own basis takes the primordial-perennial way of interpretation which is a characteristic of the Byzantine *ethnos*. Namely, if for the Byzantinism can be said that at its core has the *ethos*, and the *genos* is part of the very *ethos*, then the modern Hellenism represents nothing but state-regulated nationalism. In explaining this, it can only be said that

¹⁷ Liddell, 1968.

the *genos* in Byzantium, although it differs from the *ethnos* because of its organic-biological and historical connection, it is superior over the *ethnos* and as its integral part is transformed into its derivate, so that the *ethnos* is transformed later into Byzantinism. On the other hand, the modern Hellenism is the reverse of the definition of Ernest Gellner: “*It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round.*”¹⁸

In other words, if the Greek people are the *ethnos*, and the Greek state elites are the *genos* of the group, then the Greek nation is formed by creating state-regulated nationalism which aims to create a united and unique nation after 1832. Thus, after the founding of the modern state, the Greeks proclaim themselves as descendants of Byzantium, and their nation is constructed in the same way as the structural division of the population was constructed in medieval Byzantium. The difference is that in modern Greece there is no division of the population, but the role of the *genos*, i.e. the primordial-perennial engine in the formation of the nation, is assumed to be the state apparatus. In this way, the modern Greek state continues what the Palaiologos (1259–1453) of the late Byzantine period withdrew: the mythologization of the Hellenism and the imposition of Greek culture on all the subjects of the Empire. Namely, the modern Greek nation-state is a result of the spread of state-regulated nationalism through the processes of denationalization and the assimilation of an entire autochthonous population group on the territory of Greece through a distorted spread and interpretation of the identity of the nation, that is, through the continuous imposition of a single culture, a radical process of transformation of the cultures of smaller ethnic groups is approached, which creates a totally imaginary¹⁹ ethnic homogeneity of the Greek nation.

While in the study of the Byzantine identity there is one contradiction for that historical period, that contradiction is lost in the period of the creation of the modern Greek state. In the medieval Byzantium, the *genos* is so strong that it turns into an indicator of ethnic identity in the period of the Palaiologos. During this period, in a multi-ethnic Empire, it is quite contradictory that the aristocracy imposes its identity on the masses because it could lead to rebellion by the ethnic groups on which a violent demonstration of the hegemony of the identity of the *genos* is performed. However, in modern Greece, it is skilfully carried out by the state apparatus, with which in the process of assimilation and disassembly of different identities the basic role has not the national, but the local identity or the individual one. Namely, the Greek state authorities succeed in expanding the Greek identity by immersing non-Greek ethnic identities and assimilating them by the hegemonic Hellenic identity and the Hellenic culture.²⁰ When comparing it with Byzantium, we can say that in the case of Byzantium, the *genos* spreads from the aristocracy to the masses to stimulate the homogenization of the *ethnos*, on the entire population in the Empire. This is the way, the multi-ethnic character of the state,²¹ which was characteristic not only for Byzantium, but also for the Roman Empire, is reduced, and on the other hand to hegemonize and mythologize the Greek one, so that today we have the idea that Byzantium was not the

¹⁸ Gellner, 1983.

¹⁹ Anderson, 1991.

²⁰ Каракаси́ду, 2011.

²¹ Chrysos, 1996, 7–16.

Roman Empire, but Greek. This process of nation formation, which the modern Greek state (after 1832) adopted from Byzantium at the time of the Palaiologos (1259–1453), is later adopted by all the Balkan states. In this way, the state apparatus in all Balkan countries turns into the Byzantine *genos*, which aims to shape the ethos and make it a nation. In fact, the *genos*, that is, the modern Balkan states - the state apparatus constructs the identity of the nation that needs to be formed.

Another interesting element in the construction of the so-called Byzantine identity is the equalization of religion, in this case, the Orthodoxy, with the very identity of the population. In Byzantium, there were two types of people. There were barbarians (*barbaros*) who at the time of the Palaiologos dynasty were considered as non-Greeks, and there also were the *Rhomaioi*, that is, those Orthodox Christians who are subjects of the Emperor and of the political system in the state. In this way, in Byzantine, *ethnos* equates with religion and the state. Thus, the identity itself is attached to other non-ethnic, that is, national attributes such as the political system and the religious determination of the majority, and it can be concluded that the Byzantines created a very complex identity model. Thereby, adding the religion as an identity attribute interferes with the primordial or perennial link in the determination, while the insertion of the political framework into the identity implicates the modern connection in the interpretation of identity. Another problem in determining the Byzantine identity is that Barbarians (*barbaroi*) may be subjects of the Emperor, or it is considered that even though they are not Orthodox, they have the right to live in the state only if they obey the political order. By this, it can be concluded that the Byzantine authorities used the modern basis in the determination of identity, not only the perennial-primordial one, so that all the Barbarians (*barbaroi*), if they are submissive, they will enjoy the same rights as the so-called Byzantines.²² Consequently, modernism appears in Byzantium, much before it is developed as a theory of nations and nationalism. The only difference was that the Emperor was forbidden to enter a marital union with a non-Byzantine.²³ In the Balkans, this way of determining the identity was only in Macedonia (1991–2010). Namely, before the Government of Nikola Gruevski (2006–2016) began to change the theoretical interpretation of the Macedonian identity from the modern into a perennial, i.e. primordial, the Macedonian identity was defined and interpreted exclusively according to the modern theory.

What is the greatest fascination in the construction of the so-called “Byzantine identity” is the thousand years of history of the Empire. The historical imperial past in the Balkans and Asia Minor creates a situation of perennial connection of the entire population living on the territory of Byzantium to be identified not with the distinctiveness of the culture or the language, but with the state-bureaucratic apparatus, as well as with the imperial power in Constantinople. In fact, the Emperor in Constantinople is itself a unifying element of the population, which is declared as Byzantines (*rhomanoi*).²⁴ This itself means that the perennialism within the Byzantine Empire has gradually shifted into modernism. And yet, although for the modernity applies the rule that “*the modern man is not loyal neither to the*

²² Bartusis, 1992.

²³ Bartusis, 1992, 272–286.

²⁴ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 44.

ruler, nor to the state, nor to religion as it is loyal to the culture”²⁵, according to the associates of this theory, what connects the group is the general legal and economic framework in the state, as well as the language with which the society itself is promoted. The success of the Byzantine emperors before the Palaiologos restored the Empire, to separate the nation from the state, that is, to prevent the supremacy of any group in the Empire, thus preventing the creation of proto-nationalism which is actually a mixture of nationalism and populism.²⁶ The responsibility for the decline of the Byzantine Empire can be found in the proto-nationalism which began by the Palaiologos after 1261, when Michael VIII occupies Constantinople and proclaims himself as the Emperor. In order to rebuild the Empire, Palaiologos began to transform it as a Greek nation-state while hegemonizing its Hellenic identity over other cultural identities of various groups in Byzantium. This is the start of the so-called the revival of the Hellenism which actually led to not supporting the Imperial Government in Constantinople by the rest of the groups in the Empire and unwillingness to support it in the struggle against the Ottomans. In fact, it can be concluded that the change in the interpretation of the identities in Byzantium from perennial, that is, modern into ethno-symbolic, or primordial, leads to a collapse of it after more than a thousand years of existence.

After the re-renewal of the Empire, the term *Rhomanoi*, gets ethnic character. In the Palaiologos era, a process of transformation begins in which process of *Rhomanoi* from a political category, that is, political-state identity becomes an ethnic Hellenic, i.e. orthodox, Christian identity. In fact, it represents a kind of identity transformation of *Rhomanoi*, which already finalized identity transformation will later be inherited by the Ottomans, which through this identity will determine all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. In this way, the Hellenic and Orthodox identity from *Rhomanoi* will gradually turn into a Rûm (Rûmeli) specification that the Ottoman authorities will use to denote the entire Orthodox population in their state, which was under the authority of the Constantinople Patriarch according to the Ottoman Millet system. The identity crisis in Byzantium as mentioned above is due to the transformation of the *Rhomanoi* identity of the population. Although the various groups that live in Byzantium, such as Bulgarians, Serbs, Georgians, Arabs, etc., accepted the Orthodox Christianity, they cannot be identified with the hegemonic Hellenic identity that is imposed upon them as subjects of the Emperor. In this way, all those different people who live in Byzantium (except) the Greeks cease to be identified with the term *Rhomanoi* and begin (some and again) to lead a secessionist policy of secession of their people from the Empire. This crisis in the identity of Byzantium has actually derived from the Emperors themselves, that is, from the ruling elite in the state who define themselves as *Rhomanoi* - Greekophones, while imposing their cultural identity as hegemonic in relation to others in order to assimilate them.²⁷ This similar, if not the same case, is noticed after the creation of the Modern Greek state - the Kingdom of Greece, when is created a continuous process of hegemonization of Hellenism over the Slavic and Albanian identity in the territory of northern Greece, aiming to immerse the population and create a

²⁵ Gellner, 1983, 36.

²⁶ Hobsbawn, 1984.

²⁷ Dagron, 1976, 177–216.

homogeneous nation. But, while the modern Greeks succeeded in that, it was fatal for the Rhomanoi Greekophones in Byzantium.

The first attempts to transform the Roman imperial identity into national – Byzantine or Greek one, were observed in the year 800 when Theodore the Studite for the first time used the term Graikos - Γραικός as a proposal for identifying the entire population that inhabited the Empire.²⁸ This is the beginning of the so-called a conflict of identity in Byzantium that will last until its final decline in 1453. Namely, Theodore the Studite proposes a collective rejection of the identification adjective “Rhomaïos” because it is associated only with the legal-political framework of the state, that is, with the Roman imperial heritage. In fact, this proposal of Theodore the Studite marks the beginning of the hegemonization of Hellenism, which will permanently lose the identification values that connect the Empire with its glorious past. From this, it can be clearly seen that Byzantinism, in its essence, although it cannot be defined as an identity, by its Hellenic hegemonization gives the fundament of today's Balkanism.

The proposal for the collective rejection of the identification of the entire population in Byzantium with the ancient Rome in the ninth century actually coincides with the period when the Western European states in order to seize the Roman heritage for themselves, that is, to root it in their identity marks, began to determine Byzantine subjects such as Graeci, and the Emperor of the East as the Imperator Graecorum. However, during that period in Byzantium the Roman heritage could still be felt, so the Emperors of Constantinople consider that this is nothing but an insult denying their direct connection and descendancy of the Roman Emperors.²⁹

By transforming the identity in Byzantium, that is, by the hegemonization of Hellenism over the other Slavic, Georgian, Arabian or Armenian identities, the Hellenism enters into a conflict of identities. Although a conflict of identities is a characteristic only for similar identities, this Byzantine conflict is artificially created by favoring one that presents itself as culturally superior, in this case, the Hellenic one, that is, as such should dominate the rest and at a later stage also assimilates them. The end of the Empire that survived for about a millennium begins with this. Namely, the Slav population was not identified itself with the imposed Hellenic hegemonic identity by the Emperors in Constantinople, leading to an identity crisis that would result in a number of riots and uprisings for the secession of these peoples from the Empire.

It can be concluded that the biggest mistake of the Byzantine emperors, as well as the bureaucrats who created the policy in Byzantium, was only cultural. Namely, by imposing one culture they managed to destroy the entire Empire. This hegemonization of the Hellenic identity as a thread will go through history to this day and will be the basis for today's Balkan crises and conflicts. It is, therefore, free to say that the Byzantine Hellenism, or Byzantinism, forms the basis of today's Balkanism.

²⁸ Kaldellis, 2007.

²⁹ Becker, 1915.

The Balkans between Byzantinism and Modernism

The Balkans in modern history are becoming more and more popular for the first time during the wars led by then the new Balkan nation-states formed after the European pattern, to liberate the remaining European territory from the Ottoman rule. These wars, which in history are known as "Balkan wars" (1912–1913), are synonymous with the fact that barbarism and genocide can occur in the territory of "civilized" Europe even in the 20th century, even though it happened on a remote peninsula located in the south eastern part of the continent.³⁰ But, apart from being synonymous with barbarism, the Balkan Wars are an example of state institutionalization of the ethnic homogenization of the region through ethnic cleansing, exoduses, genocides and the exchange of populations with different ethnic and national identity between two or more neighboring countries.

Such a perception of the Balkans is not normally happening at once. It is the fruit of his past and of the collective memory of all the Balkan peoples that draws its essence from the specific history and imperialism that flourished in this territory. And at the moment when thinking about Balkanism one cannot say that it per se is part of the Balkans. Balkanism is something that has been born a thousand years ago, but only today is coming on the stage thanks to the modernization of the human civilization. What exactly is Balkanism? Balkanism is not a natural state of the Balkan nations! Balkanism is neither barbarity! Balkanism is the very Balkans, the way of life of the peoples and the ethics of this territory, as well as the way of understanding the culture, the nation, and the state. However, in order to come to the Balkanism, one must first understand the "Balkanization".

Balkanization and Balkanism have their basis in what is called Byzantinism, that is, the Hellenic identity in the Eastern Roman Empire - Byzantium. Even though Balkanization was understood in the nineteenth century, it actually appears as a phenomenon in the Byzantine covenant of nations. Namely, the attempts to transform the Byzantine Empire into a pre-modern nation-state began with the abolition of the Latin and the introduction of Greek as an official language in the state. Favoring the Greek Hellenic culture and language and their hegemonization, creates a state in the Empire of repulsion of other non-Greek ethnic groups towards the bureaucracy and the imperial authority. Byzantium ends as an empire and instead of turning into a nation-state as the Greeks planned with forced Hellenization the entire population on its territory, it turns into a multinational conglomerate that begins to receive elements of a multicultural society. By favoring the Greek language and the Greek culture, the Byzantine authorities began a process of favoring the so-called a Greek medieval identity that was invented as a descendant of the classical Greek civilization. The problem arises when the hegemonization of the Hellenism does not bring the desired results, and instead of assimilating the cultures and languages, it creates counter-effect, that is, reinforces the ethnic identities of all other ethnicities in the Empire such as the Slavs, Armenians, Georgians, etc. who begin a process of creating their own

³⁰ Schevill, 1991.

collective memory in which Byzantium with its Hellenism will have a pejorative meaning. Thus, the idea of the eternity of Rome and of its Empire dies, and the idea of the Balkanization and the Balkanism has arisen.

The Balkanization of Byzantium begins from the inside, just as it begins in Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman state or the Soviet Union. The Byzantine balkanization is the fruit of the new collective memory of the various ethnicities in the state. In the process of creating a separate collective memory, all ethnic groups who live on the territory of Byzantium begin with a *longue durée* process for finally distinguishing from the Empire. The *longue durée* process actually aims to change the identification of ethnicities as subjects of the Emperor with the idea of the new Rome, Orthodoxy, the glorious legacy of the Roman Empire, because all of these state symbols have already been hegemonized by the identity of one ethnic group in the state – the Greeks.³¹ Through this process of separating its collective memory from the imperial one, all the Balkan ethnicities begin to glorify their culture, language, and traditions, reinforcing the battles and aspirations for independence from Constantinople and the results are persistent uprisings against the imperial authority which in certain historical periods end with the formation of independent states of different nations. That is how the Balkanization that is popular today is actually only a prolonged Byzantine process. However, what is interesting about Byzantium is that the basic mistake of Byzantium is that by hegemonization a single identity the state begins to destroy itself, i.e. it becomes more porous to external aggressions. Namely, by favoring the Greek identity, Byzantinism starts the Balkanization giving fundament to the Balkanism. In fact, the collapse of Byzantium started by the Byzantine elite as early as the 13th century, opening the Pandora's box of ethnic conflicts in the Balkans that are still current, except for the period of five hundred years of Ottoman rule, when the Balkanization was a frozen conflict.

Regarding Byzantinism, it can be concluded that it is the fruit of Hellenism. And, if actually Balkanism is a product of ancient Byzantinism, the conclusion can be that Balkanism is a product of Hellenism itself and the desire of the Greek ethnos to turn into an identity hegemon which would absorb all of the smaller identities in the Balkans. In fact, it can be concluded that Balkanism is born as a reaction to the Byzantine Greek hegemonism and the inability of other ethnic groups in Byzantium to become identical with Byzantine-Greek nationalism.

If the nationalism *“uses the permanence of historically inherited cultures, but when it uses them, it uses them very selectively and drastically changes them”*³², then the same can be said of the Balkanism. In fact, Balkanism stems from nationalism mixed with Byzantinism, or at least from one of its aspects. Balkanism represents that radical and brutal nationalism that does not aim to strengthen the love of one's own group, or to strengthen the sympathy with the collective destiny of the group, but aims to lift its own group up onto a pedestal, to make it into all segments different from the neighboring groups, as well as to undermine the identity of the others. Therefore, in this part of Europe, all definitions fall into the water. Here, the science of history does not serve as an interpretation of history but is fully put in service of the political

³¹ Kaldellis, 2007.

³² Gellner, 1983, 55.

elites. And if in Europe, the nation and nationalism on any basis can be interpreted as positive elements in terms of strengthening the unity of the group, then here they are used as a method to prove the “divine” and organic nature of us, and artificiality and the fictitiousness of those who are like us, but do not live within the borders of our nation-state.

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SHORT STORY OF KISELEFF GARDEN

Ana–Maria Lepăr*

Abstract: The territorial expansion of Bucharest and the increasing number of inhabitants were determined by the economic activities and by the definitive establishment of the capital of Wallachia here, in 1659. Moving the capital from Târgoviște to Bucharest made the city “the biggest one in Europe under the Ottoman Empire”. The 1830s were marked by the Russian protectorate, which played, among others, a major role in the reorganization of the administrative, political and legal life of the Principalities. The Organic Regulations were adopted in 1831 in Wallachia and one year later in Moldavia. They brought the Principalities into a common governing model, for the first time in their history. The key figure behind these regulations was the Russian general Pavel Kiseleff, in honour of whom, the garden in Northern Bucharest bears his name. The most important street in Bucharest was “Mogoșoaia Bridge”, which linked the two royal residences – “Mogoșoaia Palace” (located outside the city) and “Curtea Veche” (“Old Princely Court”), located in downtown, in the current “Old Center”. This was the best street in the town, being covered with trunks of wood, to avoid the mud. Today, Kiseleff is one of the most crowded roads in Bucharest: a large number of cars go here daily. It is open without any time restrictions, to any visitor. The noise of the cars and the smog did not affect so much the beauty of the Park, which has the same name with the Road. It reminds us of the 19th century garden.

Keywords: Pavel Kiseleff, Bucharest, Mogoșoaia Bridge, “The Road” (“La șosea”), Kiseleff Garden.

Europe from 17th–19th centuries was full of small towns, characterized by the following features: they had a small geographic area, low number of economic activities, there were no paved roads, and the houses had the same architecture as in the nearby villages.¹

The Romanian Principalities capitals – Bucharest and Iași – were part of this classification of urban centers. They were considered by the foreign travelers: “rather villages than cities, made up of cottages and houses with large gardens and courtyards [...] the markets were in the centre of the city, as usual in Turkey. Common goods and food were sold there. Most cottages were made of wood and clay; the streets were covered with beam bridges”.² The description given by Stephan Ignaz Raicevich confirms the characteristics of a

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¹ Câlția, 2011, 93.

² Alexandrescu–Dersca *et alii*, 2000, 507, 508.

small town, that Bucharest met at the end of the 18th century and the first part of the 19th century: the geographical area occupied was small, the streets were narrow and covered with boards, the buildings were represented by huts and houses of one floor that did not have any particular rules of architecture, economic activities were focused in the central square of the city, after the Ottoman model.

Bucharest in the 1830s

Bucharest was located near the Dâmbovița River. It was formed spontaneously, with the core in parishes that have evolved over time in “mahalale” (slums), the oldest being: “Mahalaua Sărindarului”, “Mahalaua Sf. Sava”, “Mahalaua Sf. Nicolae Șelari”, “Mahalaua Bisericii Grecilor”, “Mahalaua Bisericii de Jurământ- biserica Sf. Dumitru”.³ The term “mahala” has the meaning from Turkish, meaning “a neighbourhood”, whether it was marginal or central⁴. It defined not only the space occupied by that suburb, but also the community living there.⁵

The territorial expansion of Bucharest and the increasing number of inhabitants were determined by the economic activities and by the definitive establishment of the capital of Wallachia here, in 1659. These changes made Bucharest by the beginning of the 19th century “the biggest city in Europe under the Ottoman Empire”.⁶

Dâmbovița and the road leading to Moldavia have had a generator role, in the city construction, both past and present. The nucleus of the city, represented by: “Radu Vodă” Monastery, Metropolitanate Hill, “Mihai Vodă” Monastery and “Cotroceni” Monastery, was formed around these two axes, which are perpendicular.⁷

“Moving the Princely Court in the Dinicu Golescu boyar’s properties on “Podul Mogoșoaiei” (“Mogoșoaia Bridge”)⁸ represents an important step in shaping the image of the city, because a new axis was created. By the beginning of the 19th century, there were two poles: “Curtea Veche” (“The Old Court”) and “Mogoșoaia Bridge”, around which the economic life of Bucharest focused.

The first Prince from Wallachia after Phanariotes regime, Grigore IV Ghica (1822–1828), was interested in creating a modern city in Bucharest. He fixed the city’s main streets, replacing the old system (streets covered with wood) with a new one (streets paved with stone). The first paved street in Bucharest was “Podul Târgului de Afară” (“Outside Market Bridge”), in 1825.⁹ The Russian–Turkish war started in 1828 and it stopped the actions of modernization initiated by Prince Ghica. On May 16, 1828, the Russian troops entered

³ Mucenic, 2004, 7.

⁴ Majuru, 2003, 8.

⁵ Câlția, 2011, 422.

⁶ Berindei, 2012, 39, 146.

⁷ Harhoiu, 2005, 30.

⁸ Mucenic, 2004, 9.

⁹ Giurescu, 2009, 230.

Bucharest, and during this period, the Principalities leadership was taken over by the Russian general Pavel Kiseleff (1788–1872).¹⁰

The 1830s were marked by the existence of the Russian protectorate, which played, among others, a major role in the reorganization of the administrative, political and legal life of the Principalities. The Organic Regulations were adopted in 1831 in Wallachia and in 1832 in Moldavia. They brought the Principalities in a common governing model, from the first time in their history. The people perceived them as a brutal intervention of Russia in their domestic politics. Nevertheless, these documents contained some positive aspects, like: separation of powers (legislative – “Adunarea Obștească”, executive – The Prince and “Sfatul Domnesc” and justice – “Divanul Domnesc” and courts), setting up the state budget, reorganization of the army, creation of a sanitary and a fire system, modernizing the capitals.¹¹

The key figure behind these regulations was the Russian general Pavel Kiseleff, in honour of that, the garden in Northern Bucharest bears his name. He was governor of the two Principalities until 1834, when local princes were elected: in Moldavia – Mihail Sturdza (1834–1849) and in Wallachia – Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica (1834–1842), succeeded by George Bibescu (1842–1848). They ruled based on the Organic Regulations. They remained in Romanian history known as “domniile regulamentare”.

The Organic Regulations of Wallachia had a chapter dedicated to modernizations of the capital, named “Regulamentul pentru starea sănătății, înfrumusețarea și paza bunei orânduiei în Poliția Bucureștilor”.¹²

The project proposed:

- a cleaning system of the city: cleaning the streets regularly and cleaning the mud from Dâmbovița
- beautifying streets
- paving streets, in less than four years
- creating a lighting system¹³
- increasing the safety of the inhabitants, by increasing of number of the guards¹⁴
- creating wide streets in the outskirts
- imposing rules for new buildings and those who do not respect them, being severely punished

According to Article 10, all the lakes and mud should be diverted into the Dâmbovița, through five major channels, with six hands deep and five hands wide.¹⁵ For the first time in the history of the city houses were numbered, and the streets received proper names.¹⁶ Kiseleff paid attention to the city sanitation problems: 50 carts drawn by two oxen

¹⁰ Ofrim, 2011, 138.

¹¹ Xenopol, 2008, 66–102.

¹² Translation: „Rules for health, beauty and good security in Bucharest”.

¹³ They added 450 lights in the city. Check Pippidi, 2012, 25.

¹⁴ In the document, they are mentioned as “străjii temnițelor”; Georgescu, 1966, 38.

¹⁵ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 34–35.

¹⁶ Ofrim, 2011, 139.

circulated on the streets during the day with the mission to collect the garbage, which was thrown in certain places. The Organic Regulation fixed the structure and the duties of Police, known as “Agia”. The headquarters were decided to be located behind “Hanul lui Manuc” (“Manuc’s Inn”).¹⁷ The most experienced five doctors were chosen to create a committee at city level, which would take care of the organization of hospitals, validate the knowledge of the doctors and gave diplomas to other new doctors.¹⁸

The places for recreation and entertainment for Bucharest citizens were not ignored by Kiseleff, who proposed the establishment of a theatre and “three public squares” for promenade, in “Department IV – For city beautification”:

„1. On “Mogoșoaia Bridge” – to buy the places near the “Filaret Inn”: of boyar Dimitrie Ghica and Princess Cleopatra Trumbeșcoi, and join them, to become one;

2. at top of “Mogoșoaia Bridge”, where the garden and the pavilion of Mavrogheni were;

3. at the bottom of “Metropolitanate Hill”, in Filaret’s orchard.

The purchasing of the first place (see paragraph 1) is delayed by the mud drains and in this case, the works for the other two walking places should start (planting trees and other necessary works). 5000 lei will be allocated yearly, for each place; “Cișmeaua lui Mavrogheni” (“Fountain of Mavrogheni”) and for the place from Filaret”.¹⁹

We can see that the creation of places for promenade was on the second place on the list of priorities, after the mud drain. Kiseleff tried to prioritise the works, as a proof: he allocated funds for the gardens located at the beginning of “Mogoșoaia Bridge” and at the bottom of the “Metropolitanate Hill”, because they were not blocked by other works. The decision of creating public gardens was based on the reality by the beginning of 19th century, when no public gardens were in the city. This information is confirmed by the historian N.D. Popescu, in his study related to Kiseleff Garden: “Bucharest by 1830s had many private gardens and no public garden.²⁰ Each boyar and wealthy merchant had a large, spacious, shady and cool garden, with thick trees and perfumed flowers, in the back of his house. Some of them were open by the boyars to the public, to enjoy for a few hours a day the shadow of the trees and the cool temperature.”²¹ We do not know if the desire of the Russian governor was related only to modernize the city or he had in mind to win more supporters, since the Organic Regulations were received negatively by the population.²² To be honest, the plan to create three public gardens solved an old problem of the citizens who did not have the benefit of personal gardens.

¹⁷ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 43.

¹⁸ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 46.

¹⁹ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 41–42.

²⁰ For Romanians, by the beginning of 19th century, „any space with plants was considered garden”. Check El-Shamali, 2010.

²¹ Popescu, 1914, 172–173.

²² The time has shown that General Kiseleff was inspired – the boyars were very excited about this measure.

In this context, Kiseleff named Michel de Sanjouand as chief of Architecture Department from Municipality of Bucharest. Michel received the task to create the plan of the city. Unfortunately, the twelve drawings made by Sanjouand have not been preserved until now. This plan helped the members of “Marea Vornicie” (“Great Vornic Department”) to determine optimal locations for: the fifty fountains that were to be built in 1834 in Bucharest, the four squares, the five towers of fire, the public garden and the theatre²³.

The North and the East edges of the city were similar to the current ones, the capital being bordered by “the current roads – Iancu de Hunedoara – Ștefan cel Mare – Mihai Bravul”²⁴. Bucharest was defined by 23 stones. Building anything outside these stones was strictly forbidden: “from this time forward, any building outside the city will be sequestered”²⁵. The justification was that the surface of the city was bigger than the number of the inhabitants. There were fixed 10 barriers to entry and exit from the city: “Podul Mogoșoaiei”, “Ulița Herăstrăului” (“Herăstrău Street”), “Podul Târgului de Afară”, “Drumul Pantelimonului” (“Pantelimonului Road”), “Drumul Dudeștilor și Vitanului” (“Dudești and Vitan Road”), “Ulița Dobrotesii” (“Dobrotesii Street”), “Podul Șerban Vodă” (“Șerban Vodă Bridge”), “Podul Calicilor” (“Paupers Bridge”), “Podul de Pământ” (“Mud Bridge”) și “Ulița Târgoviștei” (“Târgoviștei Street”).²⁶

In 1831, the capital was divided into five “văpsele” (“colours”) or regions. Each “colour” was led by a commissar.²⁷ In this context, it was determined that the city had 78 districts (“mahalale”). The centre of the city had 12 districts, grouped in “Plasa²⁸ Târgului din Năuntru”, known as “red colour”. “Plasa Broștenilor”, known as “blue colour”, had 16 districts and it was located in the South of the city. The North had 21 districts, grouped in “Plasa Podului Mogoșoaiei” or “yellow colour”. “Plasa Târgului de Afară” or “black colour” had 18 districts, in the East. The 11 districts from the West of the city were grouped in “Plasa Gorgani” or “green colour”.²⁹

This information is confirmed by the diary of the French traveller, Raoul Perrin, who visited Bucharest in the second part of the 1830s.³⁰ From his descriptions, we find that “the most populated part sums up 7 districts or foburguri”.³¹ According to Perrin, the surface of the city can store about 500.000 inhabitants and in that moment the number of the citizens was less than 130,000³². His estimations were confirmed by the census created in 1832: Bucharest was inhabited by 53,888 people: 28,419 men and 25,469 women.³³

²³ Berindei, 1959, 140.

²⁴ Mucenic, 2004, 7

²⁵ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 40

²⁶ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 38.

²⁷ Vârtosu *et alii*, 1936, 55.

²⁸ Region.

²⁹ Georgescu, 1966, 54–55

³⁰ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2006, 748.

³¹ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2006, 750.

³² Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2006, 750.

³³ Olteanu, 2002, 138–139.

The Initial Design of the Kiseleff Garden

The most important street in Bucharest was “Mogoșoaia Bridge”, which linked the two royal residences – “Mogoșoaia Palace” (located outside the city) and “Curtea Veche” (“Old Princely Court”), located in downtown, in the current “Old Center”. This was the best street from the town, being covered with trunks of trees,³⁴ to avoid the mud.

By 1830s, there were few buildings and plenty of greenery on “Mogoșoaia Bridge”. “Mahalaua Dracului” (“Evil Slum”) was the nearest district to it. This district was known for misdoings and for “Hanul Galben” (Yellow Inn), where the travellers could be robbed. This was one of the final points of the city, as we can analyze from the city plans created by the Austrian officers by the end of 18th century, Ernst and Purcel.

A fountain with spring water³⁵ and a church built by Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni (1786–1789) in 1786, dedicated to “Zoodoh pighi”³⁶, were located by the end of this historical road which linked the capital with Ploiești. They were known as “monastery from Fountain of Mavrogheni and monastery from Cesspool water from the end of <<Podul Mogoșoaiei>>”.³⁷ The Map of Ernst shows there was a windmill at the end of “Mogoșoaiei Bridge”, which was demolished during the Kiseleff’s reign.³⁸ Folk legends say that here Prince Mavrogheni would ride in a carriage pulled by deer with golden horns.³⁹ This image is immortalized by artist Paulus Petritsch.⁴⁰

This “Heaven of greenery, the songs of birds and flowers”⁴¹, long about 3 kilometers, has the birth certificate in the Organic Regulations for Wallachia, document presented in the previous chapter of this research. According to this document, it was established that the public garden will be arranged in the northern end of “Mogoșoaiei Bridge”. They give the name – “la Șosea” (“At Road”). This name remained in the memory of the citizens and it is used also today to identify this beautiful place. The place was not randomly chosen, since there was already a promenade area, “Băneasa”, which in terms of landscape design was in a primitive stage.

In 1832, the design of the “Big Alley from the head of Mogoșoaia Bridge and Băneasa Forest” started.⁴² This walking place was absolutely necessary for Bucharesters, which in 1830 had not only two places where they could go: “Grădina cu Cai” (“Garden with

³⁴ They were often changed.

³⁵ On Ernst map was marked with the name “Türkenschanz Alte”. George Florescu gave an incorrect interpretation, considering it was an Ottoman fortress. In fact, it was “House of Waters” (“Casa Apelor”), which fed the city with a net of fountains (in 1830, there were 14 fountains in Bucharest). Check Florescu, 1935.

³⁶ Muzeul Municipiului București, Colecția Hărți și Planuri, Planurile Purcel și Ernst.

³⁷ Olteanu, 2002, 96.

³⁸ Potra, 1942, 15.

³⁹ Popescu-Lumină, 2007, 347.

⁴⁰ Nicolaie, 2005, 15.

⁴¹ Popescu-Lumină, 2007, 364.

⁴² Olteanu, 2002, 139.

Horses”, near nowadays “Mihail Kogălniceanu” Square) and the Metropolitanate Hill.⁴³ In a first phase, the works were carried out slowly, limiting to lindens planting.⁴⁴ Initial plans envisioned an alley with four rows of trees, linking “Mogoșoaia Bridge” with “Băneasa Forest”, passing near the “Fountain of Mavrogheni”.⁴⁵

The report of the “Great Vornic”, on March 1833, shows us the Alley was drawn from the end of “Mogoșoaia Bridge” until “Băneasa Forest” and the workers should add sand and plant some trees.⁴⁶ The first planting tasks were done by gardener Iohan Iovanovici, well known in Bucharest during his life, since he was involved in other landscape design activities in the capital.⁴⁷

In 1833, we can speak of a primitive garden, which met minimum criteria necessary to serve as a place of promenade for the inhabitants: several alleys, surrounded by trees, providing coolness in the hot summer days. The granite paving option was not taken into consideration, since the paving with sand was the cheapest and easiest solution.

A description done by the French traveller Stanislas Bellanger in 1836 shows us that this walking place was, in fact, a small forest, crossed by straight alleys and with some small portions of water⁴⁸: “Băneasa is for Romanians what are Saint-Cloud, Montmorency, Enghien or Saint-Maur for Parisians. [...] It is a small forest, crossed by straight and curved paths⁴⁹, which increase the beauty of the nature”.⁵⁰ The Bucharesters were from beginning attracted by this garden, which became a “Champs Elysées”⁵¹ of the city, as the French writer Auguste Labatut noted in 1837⁵², in his diary. The same image was depicted ten years later, by the director of the famous French newspaper, “L’Illustration”, Adolphe Laurent Joanne. The geographer finds an explanation for the Bucharesters preferences, considering that “Romanians love pleasure and to do nothing. They like to rest, ride, dance, visit friends and play card game”.⁵³

Kiseleff’s departure in 1834 did not mean giving up the design of the “Public Garden from Băneasa”, for which Prince Gheorghe Bibescu (1843–1848) has allocated important amount of money. In 1843, the Prince relocated for the garden a part of the 15,000

⁴³ Vătămanu, 2014, 78.

⁴⁴ Giurescu, 2009, 777–778.

⁴⁵ Popescu, 1914, 175.

⁴⁶ Analele Parlamentare, 1832–1833, 577.

⁴⁷ Popescu, 1914, 178.

⁴⁸ We can see that the water is an essential element in this landscape design. The sociologist Dolores Toma explains water has for Romanians a divine character, being a component of Paradise; see Dolores Toma, 2001.

⁴⁹ This information is confirmed by the documents related to Kiseleff Garden, stored at National Archives of Romania (hereafter: ANIC). Check ANIC, Fond Regia Exploatărilor Agricole și Zootehnice (R.E.A.Z.).

⁵⁰ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2006, 575.

⁵¹ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2007, 700.

⁵² He visited The Romanian Principalities in his travel from Vienna to Constantinople.

⁵³ Bușă *et alii*, 2009, 33.

“galbeni”(“goldens”)⁵⁴ originally intended for the future National Theatre.⁵⁵ For the first time is used the term “Șoseaua Kiseleff”, in the document signed by the Prince: “poruncim Sfatului ca suma de 15.000 galbeni, hotărâți de către Obșteasca Adunare pentru ridicarea acestui monument⁵⁶, să se întrebuițeze pentru aducerea cișmelelor în Capitală, oprindu-se lei cinci zeci de mii pentru dregerea și înfrumusețarea Șoselei Kiseleff, pentru a cărei statornică ținere în bună stare, Noi vom hotărî deosebit fond anual”.⁵⁷ The name of this important avenue was not changed in time, even if political regimes changed. We conclude that this allocation of funds was not an isolated episode, since the Prince believed that maintaining this entertainment place needed annual investment. In this context, in 1840, the gardener Iohan Sopanovici received a contract with the Bucharest Hall, for planting another 2,000 lindens, on both sides of “The Road”.⁵⁸ The Prince was interested to create a garden “in the first round”, on the both sides of the road.

Bucharest didn't have at that time any specialists in landscape design,⁵⁹ and the Prince Bibescu signed an agreement with the Austrian architect, Carol Friedrich Wilhelm Meyer,⁶⁰ who was involved in the design of “Grădina Cișmigiu” (“Cișmigiu Garden”). The works of Meyer on designing the most important gardens from the city determined the doctor Nicolae Vățamanu to call him “the Bucharest gardener”.⁶¹ The surface affected by these changes was about 150 fathoms⁶² length and 100 fathoms width.⁶³

Meyer created a nice park, with ornamental trees, from different parts of Europe: Italy, France, in the first round of “The Road”. He put some artificial stones between these trees, a small lake and a nice artesian fountain.⁶⁴ This oasis was surrounded on both sides by plowed fields and oat fields.⁶⁵ Meyer decided to pave the alleys with small pieces of granite. He was helped by Franz Harer, an Austrian gardener, until 1848.⁶⁶

The architect needed to decide what trees are the most suitable - lindens or acacia. In the end, he thought lindens were the most suitable, due to their popularity among the Romanians and their adaptability to the current climate.⁶⁷

⁵⁴ The money used in the Romanian Principalities.

⁵⁵ Popescu, 1914, 206.

⁵⁶ The Bucharesters intended to build a statue for Kiseleff, in sign of gratitude for his work.

⁵⁷ Popescu, 1914, 206–207.

⁵⁸ Popescu, 1914, 208.

⁵⁹ Vățamanu, 2014, 77.

⁶⁰ Zamani, 2008, 117.

⁶¹ Vățamanu, 2014, 78.

⁶² In the Romanian Principalities, 1 fathom = 1.96 meters.

⁶³ Popescu, 1914, 211.

⁶⁴ Ofrim, 2011, 788.

⁶⁵ These were located on the current place where now there are Ion Mihalache Blv and Ion Mincu Street.

⁶⁶ Vățamanu, 2014, 80; Giurescu, 2009, 778.

⁶⁷ See the notes of Meyer, at ANIC, Fond Ministerul Agriculturii și Domeniilor Statului: „4. Dacă se va întrebuița salcâmi la sădirea aleii, atunci se pot pune și ei, dar în deosebire rânduri, și fără a se amesteca cu teii.

Benches for the visitors' relaxation were put in the garden. They are mentioned in the documents as "canapele" ("couches").⁶⁸ The Prince Gheorghe Bibescu came with the idea to add a buffet, where visitors can drink coffee or other beverages.⁶⁹

The Prince Gheorghe Bibescu continued the project of the city modernization in the direction of a centralized way of water supply system. A plan of a stone pool for Kiseleff Garden was done by the French engineer, Jean Marsillon, in 1846.⁷⁰ We do not know if this project was related to the artificial lake created by architect Meyer or it was related to another pool, which was never built. The design of an aqueduct from wood, on "Kiseleff Road", created by M.C. Mănciulescu⁷¹ is part from the same category with the Marsillon's diagram. The sources from the epoch do not confirm the implementation of these projects. The Bavarian doctor, Ernst Anton Quitzmann,⁷² thought the garden was similar with an English park, with "temples from woods, artificial ruins".⁷³ As stated by Quitzmann, the "trees from the alleys, on which a little number of summers passed, promised dense shadow".⁷⁴

The beauty of this garden impressed even the Russian monk Porfirie Uspenski,⁷⁵ who arrived in Bucharest, in 1846. In his notes, he revealed some interesting details about the "public garden located outside the city [where] trees <were planted> recently and still give shade; there are built fountains; the Prince's kiosk, with arches, on four pillars, is quite nice".⁷⁶

The existence of "Rondul I" ("Round I") is confirmed by the plan created by Major Borroczyn, in 1846 and redone in 1852. The Diagram no 5 shows that the Round had on the right side the "Mavrogheni Church" and on the left side the "Herăstrău Road", "The Garden of Iancu Filipescu" and in the South - the "Bariera Mogoșoaiei" ("Mogoșoaia Barrier").⁷⁷

The Garden was inaugurated on 23rd of September 1847.⁷⁸ At that time, it occupied only Round I (nowadays: The Museum of Natural History "Grigore Antipa", The Institute

5. Mai frumos este, atât pentru alee, cât și pentru laturele sale de a se sădi: sau numai salcâmi, ori numai tei în câte patru rânduri de arbori.

6. Salcâmi cresc într-adevăr mai curând, însă nu dau umbră așa de bună ca teii; afară de aceasta teiul se găsește în țară în mare cătățime."

⁶⁸ Vătămanu, 2014, 81.

⁶⁹ Potra, 1942, 15.

⁷⁰ Arhivele Naționale Direcția Municipiului București (The National Archives – Bucharest), Fond P.M.B, General.

⁷¹ ANIC, Fond Ministerul Lucrărilor Publice – Planuri.

⁷² He travelled to Athens and Constantinople with documentation purpose. In this context, he visited the Romanian Principalities. His memories were published in the volume called *Deutsche Briefe über den Orient*.

⁷³ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2007, 575.

⁷⁴ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2007, 575.

⁷⁵ The purpose of his travel was to collect more information on the Orthodox places under Turkish rule.

⁷⁶ Cernovodeanu *et alii*, 2007, 456.

⁷⁷ ANIC, Fund Planuri, Jud Ilfov.

⁷⁸ 21st of September 1847 – at George Potra, 1942, 17.

of History “Nicolae Iorga”, until the crossroad with “Architect Ion Mincu” Street). The Bucharesters could admire the alleys between the decorative bushes, the rounds with flowers, the garlands of greenery and the lindens. An artificial lake was created near the current Institute of History. Three pavilions from clay, in the national colours, were put on the opposite side.⁷⁹ About 70.000 people participated at this event.⁸⁰ This nice atmosphere was completed with music, with the consecration, and the thunder of cannon. A general joy felt everywhere. The citizens sent to Kiseleff their gratitude. This message was also provided by the speech of Prince Gheorghe Bibescu: „Grădina aceasta precum și fântânele a căror înființare se nădăjduia atât mai puțin, cu cât a lor lipsă era mai simțitoare, s'au început cu sumele orânduite pentru ridicarea unui monument hotărât a consfinți vecinica pomenire a facerilor de bine pe care contele Kiselef îndeplinind generoasele cugetări ale unei înalte voințe, a revărsat în această țară”.⁸¹

Changes suffered in time by the Kiseleff Garden

Although time has passed, the Garden destination stayed the same, the difference being the number of buildings that appeared on both sides of the road, embracing the green paradise. Throughout its existence, “The Road” has witnessed only fun, but also attempts against people with political influence. In this category we can include the attempt against the Prince Gheorghe Bibescu, on Kiseleff Garden, on 9/12th of June 1848.⁸² It was organized by the Forty-Eighters, who considered the Prince would not serve their interests. The Prince was lucky and escaped, because the bullet was stopped by the epaulet.

Princess Aurélie de Soubiran Ghica, the sister-in-law of Prince Grigore IV Ghica, described the atmosphere on this Garden, before the beginning of Revolution from 1848: “At one of the borders of the city, there is a walking place, named “Șosea” which has the label of an elite society. The luxury of the carriages from its large alley reminds me of London and Paris. [...] The waters, the flowers, the trees make it a fabulous relaxing place”.⁸³ From her description, we conclude that the city has not been extended to the “Kiseleff Road”, which was away from the noise of the city.

We find similar information by the Scottish diplomat, James Henry Skene,⁸⁴ who considers that outside the city “there was the most elegant walking place, where trees were planted on both sides of the road and nice alleys were cut between them”.⁸⁵ The large crowds

⁷⁹ The event was presented in the local newspaper, “Vestitorul Românesc”; this information was taken by Vătămanu, 2014, 82 and Giurescu, 2009, 778.

⁸⁰ I believe this is an exaggeration of the media, because this number means that all the citizens participated to the festivities.

⁸¹ Potra, 1942, 18

⁸² Ofrim, 2011, 140; Berindei, 2012, 206.

⁸³ Busa et alii, 2009, 153.

⁸⁴ He was married with Ralu Rizo-Rangabe. His memories were published in volume - *The Danubian Principalities: The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*.

⁸⁵ Bușă et alii, 2009, 599.

and the desire to show the best clothes is observed also by Skene, who noted: “hundreds of people with colourful clothes are walking daily from bottom to top [and the] women are wearing the latest models of caps”.⁸⁶

Withdrawal in 1851 of the Ottoman troops sent in Wallachia, in the context of Forty-Eighters Revolution, led residents return to the social life before the Revolution.⁸⁷ In the same year, the Hippodrome was built on the current place of “Casa Presei Libere” (“House of the Free Press”).⁸⁸ In this context, “The Road” was extended to the Rondul al Iliea” (“Round II”), where the carriages returned. The connection between the two rounds was made by two parallel roads and four rows of lindens.⁸⁹ These changes can be checked on the “Plan of the Kiseleff Road and the Kiseleff Garden”, created in 1860, by J. Pienkovski.⁹⁰ In that period, the Garden was enriched with an artificial cave, at the initiative of the “Great Vornic”, A. Vilara.⁹¹

The status of a luxury garden and the importance for Bucharesters of “The Road” are observed by the French writer, Hénocque-Maleville, who noted in 1854: “cleanliness is only at <<Șosea>> and in luxury gardens”.⁹² This information is confirmed by the memories of the Wallachian Prince, Barbu Știrbei: “Kiseleff Road, Cișmigiu Garden, which now is known as <<Știrbei-vodă Garden>> has a special air: there was the singing of military music and Gypsy folk music bands”.⁹³

The Union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859 gave Bucharest priority against Iași. This decision influenced the future of the city, which become bigger from year to year. As appreciated by the historian Dan Berindei, “the union opens new perspectives to Bucharest”,⁹⁴ as the new Prince, A. Ioan Cuza (1859–1866) was interested in making from the new capital a European city. Improvements of the Dâmbovița river course, paving streets and cleaning the lakes were on the list of priorities set by the Prince.

“The Road” remained the first option in top of leisure preferences of the citizens. We find some details about it in the novel, “Mistere din București”,⁹⁵ published by Ioan M. Bujoreanu, in 1862. The first chapter entitled “Frații Lungeni. Grădina Kiseleff. Pădurea Bănesii”,⁹⁶ begins with a dialogue between the two brothers, Ștefan and Matei, from which we find that the “honourable Kiseleff garden”⁹⁷ was a place where “love scenes are happening [in] summer nights”.⁹⁸ It still had the romantic air, created by Meyer thirty years ago. The

⁸⁶ Bușă *et alii*, 2009, 599.

⁸⁷ Berindei, 2012, 215.

⁸⁸ Ofrim, 2011, 139.

⁸⁹ Zamani, 2008, 117.

⁹⁰ ANIC, Fond Planuri, Jud Ilfov.

⁹¹ Potra, 1942, 19.

⁹² Iorga, 2008, 231.

⁹³ Iorga, 2008, 237.

⁹⁴ Berindei, 2012, 225.

⁹⁵ Translation: *Mysteries of Bucharest*.

⁹⁶ Translation: *Lungeni Brothers. Kiseleff Garden. Băneasa Forest*.

⁹⁷ Bujoreanu, 1862, 21.

⁹⁸ Bujoreanu, 1862, 19.

events happened in the Garden (the romantic encounters) made Matei to consider this Garden the “nest of vices”,⁹⁹ which was visited in morning by “paupers”,¹⁰⁰ who took lost items: needles, ribbons, handkerchiefs, cigarettes, watches and money.¹⁰¹

A similar description is provided by the French journalist, Ulysse de Marsillac, who noted in his novel, *Bucharest in the 19th century*: “The Road consists of a large paved road, on which you can encounter carts with hay, horse-drawn carriages and carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes. The Road is the meeting place for high society. Anyone with self-esteem should come here at least once a day, from two to four in winter and from seven to ten in summer. Romanian women show the greatest luxury here [...] most of the visitors remain in carriages, being satisfied to see and be seen”.¹⁰² The tastes of Bucharesters were unchanged from the 1830s, when the garden was opened. It was for the citizens the best place to show the most expensive clothes and carriages. An interesting fact is that the Garden was opened to the public between certain hours: from two to four during the winter and from seven to ten, during the summer. The historian Lelia Zamani explains why this schedule was adopted: “during the summer, it should be watered in abundance, for more coolness and during the winter, the snow should be removed”.¹⁰³ The Road was available for the Bucharesters entire year; the carriages were replaced with sleigh with bells, during winter.¹⁰⁴

The plan done by Major Dimitrie Pappasoglu in 1871 shows how much the city had expanded: “Garden Chiseeff”¹⁰⁵ no longer being a place so far from the hustle and bustle of the capital. According to this plan, “Herăstrăului Road” became “Șoseaua Nouă” (“The New Road”) and a “School of Arts and Crafts” was built close to “Mavrogheni Church”. This school was located on the place where now is located the “Museum of the Romanian Peasant”. By the end of the century, the destination of the building was changed and it became the “Monetăria Statului” (“State Mint”).¹⁰⁶ The first coins with the figure of Charles I were minted here. They were called “golden Caroli” (“Caroli de aur”). The life of this building was not too long, being demolished in 1912 to begin construction of the current “Museum of the Romanian Peasant”, a good example of Brâncoveanu style¹⁰⁷.

Until the War of Independence (1877–1878), there could be seen in carriages some nostalgic people after Phanariotes times, as presented by the journalist Constantin Bacalbașa in his memories: “Familia Grigore Șuțu avea un caracter special și era una din curiozitățile bucureștene. Aproape în toate zilele când era vremea frumoasă, domnul și doamna Grigore Șuțu ieșeau la Șosea în echipajul lor sui-generis. Într-o trăsură-victoria, prințesa stătea drept, maiestuoasă iar prințul Grigore, mărunțel, ghemuit între perne, de unde d-abia îl vedeai; iar

⁹⁹ Bujoreanu, 1862, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Bujoreanu, 1862, 21.

¹⁰¹ Bujoreanu, 1862, 21.

¹⁰² Ofrim, 2011, 140, 141, 144; Bacalbașa, 2014, 169.

¹⁰³ Zamani, 2008, 118.

¹⁰⁴ Ofrim, 2011, 140.

¹⁰⁵ ANIC, Fondul Planuri, Jud Ilfov.

¹⁰⁶ Olteanu, 2002, 219.

¹⁰⁷ Colfescu, 2001, 96.

un câine pudel de o talie mare, întotdeauna bine spălat și pieptănat, stătea culcat la picioare. Pe capră, arnăutul cu fustanelă, cu fesul de ciucure lung, cu sabie și cu pistoale la brâu. Era vechea tradiție și vechiul fast al Curților domnești din perioada fanariotă. Arnăuții nu mai erau decât câțiva în București, mai aveau și alte câteva case”.¹⁰⁸

“The Kiseleff Road” was considered worthy of celebrations and important events of the era. One of them was the success of Romania in the War of Independence, which was marked by the triumphal entry of the Romanian troops in Bucharest, through “Kiseleff Road”.¹⁰⁹ A Triumphal Arch from wood was built near the “Round II” of the “Kiseleff Road”, to celebrate the victories registered by the Romanian army against the Ottomans at Plevna, Grivița, Smârdan, Belogradcik, etc.

Another important event for the history of Romania – the coronation of Prince Charles I¹¹⁰ as King of Romania, on May, 10th 1881 – was celebrated with parades on the “Kiseleff Road”.¹¹¹

Building places for relaxation, restaurants, and cafés was another step to improve the experience of the visitors on “Kiseleff Road”. The most famous place was “Bufetul de la Șosea”¹¹² (now “Doina restaurant”), built in 1894 by architect Ion Mincu. It was appreciated for the Romanian classical style, and it was awarded at the World Exhibition in Paris, in 1889.¹¹³ It was a café frequented by the elite of Bucharest, becoming more famous than Capșa.

The expansion of the city and the reputation of the area determined the authorities to build an elite school, in 1896,¹¹⁴ which today is still one of the best schools from the city. The architecture of “Școala Comunală” (“Public School”), now known as “Școala Gimnazială Nr. 11 – Ion Heliade Rădulescu” was inspired by “Bufetul de la Șosea”, being built after sketches of the capital's chief architect Giulio Magni.¹¹⁵ The eyes of the passers are attracted by the frieze carved with the most famous scholars of the Principalities: Gheorge Șincai Vasile Alecsandri, Ion Heliade Radulescu, Ion Văcărescu Balcescu and Gheorghe Asachi. The building has retained its original design and it is included on the list of the historical monuments from Bucharest.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ Bacalbașa, 2014, 158.

¹⁰⁹ Check the description provided by Constantin Bacalbașa: „În ziua de duminică 8 octombrie armată română își face intrarea triumfală în Capitală. Programul a fost următorul: La ora 8 dimineața, 21 lovituri de tun. La ora 12, Măria-Sa Regală Domnul și Doamna au venit la Băneasa, unde, în mijlocul trupelor, erea un altar de câmp. Împrejurul altarului ereau trofee luate de la inamic. Mitropolitul primat a oficiat. La capul șoselei Kiseleff, a fost ridicat un arc de triumf, iar la dreapta și la stânga tribune pentru corpul diplomatic, autoritățile înalte, etc”. Check Bacalbașa, 2014, 45.

¹¹⁰ Carol I

¹¹¹ Bacalbașa, 2014, 351, 123.

¹¹² It was built on the place of the old buffet, which become too small for the visitors.

¹¹³ Popescu–Lumină, 2007, 345; Zamani, 2008, 121; Olteanu, 2002, 294.

¹¹⁴ It was built on the place where the Fountain of Mavrogheni was located. It was known as „Școala lui Mavrogheni” („Mavrogheni's School”).

¹¹⁵ Micul bucureștean.

¹¹⁶ Ministerul Culturii, 2015.

“Planul Oraşului Bucureşti, lucrat de Institutul Geografic al Armatei pentru Primăria Capitalei în al XXXIII-lea an al Domniei M.S. Regelui Carol I” (“The Bucharest plan, created by the Geographical Institute of Army for City Hall in the 33rd year of reign of His Majesty, King Charles I”) created between 1895 and 1899 confirms the new buildings from “Alea Kisselev”¹¹⁷ and the existence of the “Round II”. Basically, the length of “The Road” had doubled:

- South: “Piaţa Victoriei” (“Victory Square”)
- West - “Şoseaua Jianu” (Jianu Road)
- East from “Round I” were “Şcoala Mavrogheni”, “Monetăria Statului” and at some distance the “Protestant Cemetery”.

Round II was at the intersection between “Alea Kisselev”, “Strada Sălcia” and “Şoseaua Herăstrău”. It was close to “Velodromul Român” (“Romanian Velodrome”). The city had expanded very much in the last decades. There were several private properties – for example Kogălniceanu's house (in an alley that has his name – “Alea Cogălniceanu”).

The plan from 1911 – 1914 shows that the surface of “Kiseleff Road” wasn't modified, but along it were more and more new properties¹¹⁸:

- Close to “Round II” – at West: “Leagănul Sfânta Ecaterina” (“Orphanage Saint Ecaterina”). It exists today. Michael Jackson visited this orphanage in 1992
- East – “Herăstrău Road”, “Properties of Agricultural School”, “Romanian Velodrome”
- South of “Round II” – properties of: “Carol Knappe”, “Popovici House”

Between the two rounds were properties of “Ştefan Luchianu”, “Creditul Funciar Urban”, “Ministerul de Interne”, “Proprietatea Capşa”, “Sanatoriul Sf Elisaveta”, “Propr. C. Boerescu”, “Colonel Ghica Mihail”, “Pr. Socec”, “Vila Radu Văcărescu”, “Scarlat”.¹¹⁹

The romantic lindens planted along the road were witness of the fights with flowers, until World War I. These events are described by the Romanian writer Camil Petrescu, in his novel, *Ultima noapte de dragoste, întâia noapte de război*:¹²⁰ “Au fost, în luna mai, câteva <<grandioase>> bătai de flori la Şosea, între rondul întâi şi hipodrom, la care am luat, bineînţeles, parte, în automobilul ascuns sub liliac, trandafiri şi garoafe ale Anişoarei”.¹²¹ A picture of Ştefan Luchian, *Bătaie cu flori la şosea*¹²² confirms the description given by Camil Petrescu in his novel and shows the notoriety of these events, which could be seen as “a form of cultural transfer”.¹²³

Another important event organized in the Bucharest was the first equestrian competition, in 1911. The place which hosted this event was “Kiseleff Road”, on May 30,

¹¹⁷ ANIC, Fund Planuri, Jud Ilfov.

¹¹⁸ “The Road” had the same limits as it had by the end of 19th century.

¹¹⁹ ANIC, Fund Planuri, Jud Ilfov.

¹²⁰ Translation: *Last night of love, first night of war*.

¹²¹ Petrescu, 2009, 48.

¹²² Translation: *Fight with flowers at Road*.

¹²³ Neagoe, 2017.

1911. The competition was composed from a couple of contests: dressage, jumping, hunting. The winners received art objects from Prince Ferdinand.¹²⁴

Museums with diverse specific: geology, ethnography, folklore, natural history¹²⁵ were built on both sides of the Road. The former Garden was divided into parks, as recorded by Rebhuhn, in the interwar period.¹²⁶

In 1936, in the North of the Road were: “The Herăstrau Park” and “The Village Museum”,¹²⁷ along which a track was built for horseback riding enthusiasts. The Village Museum was one of the first museums in the world with such topics. It is appreciated for the rich inventory of popular items, the impressive number of houses from different parts of the country.¹²⁸ The big number of tourists who visit the museum annually confirms the fame that it got abroad. We can consider the experiment of the sociologist Dimitrie Gusti has a great success.

The current Arch of Triumph was built from stone, in the same year, in the “Round II” of “Kiseleff Road”. The sculptor Ion Jalea and the architect Nicolae Grigorescu opened to the public the monument dedicated to the foot soldiers from the First World War – Monumentul Infanteriei,¹²⁹ in the first round of “Kiseleff Road”.¹³⁰

There were no buildings along the “Kiseleff Road” from the “Round II” until the Hippodrome. The first beach where the citizens could cool in the hot days of summer was done by the end of interwar period¹³¹.

The first “Masonic exhibition”¹³² was inaugurated on July 22, 1941, in a private house,¹³³ located on “Kiseleff Road”, as presented by the former Prime Minister, Constantin Argentoianu, in his memoirs. The exhibits were objects and documents found in the lodges of the “Grand Orient”. From the notes of the author, we do not know how this event was publicized; we only know that the inauguration was attended by members of the government and “the always present Mrs. Antonescu”.¹³⁴

Changes in Romanian society began to feel by the beginning of the Second World War, when some traditions and memories were lost. In the context of transition to a totalitarian regime, that of General Ion Antonescu, the only one agreed by Hitler, the changes did not involve only political life, but also in anything related to general society. An example of a significant change is that in August 1941, when the Royal Palace from “Kiseleff

¹²⁴ Olteanu, 2002, 330.

¹²⁵ Potra, 1942, 20.

¹²⁶ Popescu-Lumină, 2007, 364.

¹²⁷ Ofrim, 2011, 139.

¹²⁸ Olteanu, 2002, 432.

¹²⁹ Potra, 1942, 20.

¹³⁰ Olteanu, 2002, 432.

¹³¹ Potra, 1942, 22.

¹³² Argentoianu, 2008, 200.

¹³³ From Argentoianu we know that the house was on the property of someone, “Wieder” – check Argentoianu, 2008, 200.

¹³⁴ She was the wife of General Ion Antonescu, who become in 1940, after the abdication of King Charles II, the ruler of Romania; check Argentoianu, 2008, 200.

Road” was “put into the Ministry of Education authority, for students ‘interest’.¹³⁵ Actually, it was a way to decrease even more the power and the prestige of the monarchy, already wrinkled by an incapable King – Charles II (1930–1940), and succeeded by a young man without no experience, power and decision-making capacity – Michael I (1940–1947).

This decision was not kindly received by those who felt connected to history and customs of interwar period. They anticipated hard times: “The memory of the good and bad years spent there by Princess Elena was linked to the Royal Palace from Kiseleff Road. The tradition of this short time, but historical, will be deleted in this way. And why is in the interest of students? Students begin to get bored...”¹³⁶

King Michael was very popular among Romanians, especially with youths. The name day of the King on November 8 – Saints Michael and Gabriel – did not go unnoticed, being celebrated with all pomp in the capital, although the country was at war.¹³⁷ Details about this event are presented by Constantin Argentoianu: “entire Bucharest is moving. The troops from Transnistria and Odessa (a small part of them) go marching in front of the King and of the Marshal Antonescu. One hundred stands were put before and after the Arch of Triumph, and on the both sides of Kiseleff Road, which will be called from today Michael I Boulevard”.¹³⁸ The preferred place for such events was “Kiseleff Road”, due to a large area, which could carry troops, take stands and that can be easily reached from anywhere in the city.

December 30, 1947 marked the end of the monarchy in Romania and the beginning of a totalitarian regime, which would affect also the urban development of Bucharest. Companies, private properties, and factories were nationalized, in the following year. Many historical houses, built before the World War II, were destroyed in the following decades. Blocks and other buildings, with a communist architecture, were built for the needs of a city, which was in expansion. The architecture of this period was oriented on the functionality of the building and not on esthetical effects. The city plan created in 1974 with the name “București centrul istoric perioade de realizare a clădirilor” (“Bucharest, historical centre, the timeline of building”)¹³⁹ shows very well the changes of this period. The length of the “Road” remained the same as before World War II, but many of the properties outlined in the Plan of 1911–1914 disappeared. The entities from the right and the left side of the “Road”, between “Round I” and “Victory Square”,¹⁴⁰ are listed on this plan: Museum of Geology, “Mavrogheni Church”, “Museum of PCR”,¹⁴¹ and “Antipa Museum”.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ Argentoianu, 2008, 228.

¹³⁶ Argentoianu, 2008, 228.

¹³⁷ On June 22, 1941, Romania entered the war, by the side of the Axis Powers. The goal was the liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, annexed fraudulently by Bolshevik Russia, through the ultimatum of June 1940.

¹³⁸ Argentoianu, 2008, 430.

¹³⁹ This plan was developed in the context of systematization – “Building perimeters of towns restrict to a minimum and optimal use of land, which is an important national wealth”. Basically, they try to identify everything that belongs to the past, in order to demolish them and to build other buildings. The scope was to destroy the history and to remove any bourgeois identity.

¹⁴⁰ The same buildings and landscape we have today.

¹⁴¹ Today is The Romanian Peasant Museum.

During the communist period (1948–1989), August 23 was declared a national day. Parades and celebrations for this day were inspired by the Soviet system in the first phase, and after the '70s, after North Korea and China. These events were celebrated by the whole city.

In 1952, the parade for the eighth anniversary of National Day was held in the current “Aviators Square” (then “Stalin Square”¹⁴³). The participants reached what was obviously “Kiseleff Road”, as described in the Communist newspaper, “Scântea” (“The Spark”). “The imposing demonstration”¹⁴⁴ began with a military parade: troops, tanks, guns marching. Jets were in the air, for the public's amusement.¹⁴⁵ The most important members of the Communist Party were present at the demonstration, occupying the front seats from “the stands coloured in red, and decorated with fir tree garlands and bouquets of colourful flowers”.¹⁴⁶ As expected, the portrait of Stalin was always present and it could be seen at the official stand, surrounded by garlands of flowers.¹⁴⁷ The military parade was followed by “battalions of pioneers, wearing on their heads wreaths of flowers”, by the “working people”, and, finally, by the “athletes soldiers” who did various tricks: they opened a multi-coloured parachute, the athletes from “Locomotiva Sports Club” drew letters U.S.S.R., with their bodies.¹⁴⁸ All participants had in their hands the Romanian flag or paintings of important communist members. The march was done having in background, the hymn of the Communist International. The end of the event was marked by trumpets. It was attended by about 500,000 people.¹⁴⁹

The largest demonstration was that of 1984, which celebrated 40 years from the “victory over fascism”,¹⁵⁰ event which was presented in detail by a lieutenant, participating in demonstration¹⁵¹: “The official stand was in the current Charles de Gaulle Square. The detachment was formed in Victory Square and it marched along Kiseleff Road, until it

¹⁴² ANIC, Fund Planuri, Jud. Ilfov.

¹⁴³ The Romanian culture was deeply influenced by the Soviets in the first part of the communism. As in all communist countries, Stalin's cult of personality was adopted in Romania.

¹⁴⁴ Scântea, 1952, 1.

¹⁴⁵ They were the latest equipment in the Romanian Army. The jet plane invaded sky, according to the description from “The Spark” newspaper. More than likely, the author exaggerated in some aspects, but we give mitigating circumstances, given the historical context in which this information was written.

¹⁴⁶ Scântea, 1952, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Scântea, 1952, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Scântea, 1952, 2.

¹⁴⁹ Scântea, 1952, 1.

¹⁵⁰ The phrase was misused during the communist period. In fact, the day of August 23, 1944 represents the historical moment in which Romania left the alliance with the Axis (Germany, Italy, Japan) and took the Allies (among which are found and the U.S.S.R.).

¹⁵¹ During the communist period, 23 August, a significant number of Bucharesters was involved in these events, being forced to participate. Only few citizens could avoid, taking the annual leave (it was announced with long time before the events) or sick leave.

reached the Embassy of China. [...] It was the largest military parade to that date. It marched only with Romanian military equipment”.¹⁵²

The Kiseleff Garden today

The city expanded more and the traffic affected also the “Kiseleff Road”, which now is a major road in the city. There are modern buildings, alternating with those built before the World War I, interwar and communism periods. The only part of the “Road” where the impact was minimal is “Round I”, located at the intersection with “Victory Square”, where stands proudly “Antipa Museum”, “Museum of Geology”, “Romanian Peasant Museum” and “School No. 11”.¹⁵³

There was a project initiated by the City Hall, by 2016: traffic was banned on “Kiseleff Road”, during the students’ summer holiday and the kids could carry out various sports (basketball, tennis, foot tennis, football, table tennis).¹⁵⁴

“The Kiseleff Road” remained the favorite place for organizing the parades, the most impressive being the parade for the National Day of Romania, December 1.¹⁵⁵ The difference between the today parade and those organized during the communist epoch is given by the variety of the programme, the invitations and the speeches. The celebration of the National Day, in the 21st century, follows the template¹⁵⁶: “This year, more than 2,000 troops from the Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior, the Romanian Intelligence Service and Protection and Watch Service will take part in the military parade held on December 1st in Bucharest, celebrating Romania’s National Day. [...] The parade will start at 11:00 on Sunday, December 1. Moreover, for the National Day, the Romanian Government building – Victory Palace will be open for public on December 1st, between 9:00–15:00. The Chamber of Deputies will also organize the Open Doors Day at the Parliament Palace”¹⁵⁷. The traffic was closed until noon on “Kiseleff Road”, “Aviators Boulevard”, “Arch of Triumphs” and other regions near the place where the parade was organized.

The two parks¹⁵⁸ located along “Kiseleff Road”, in “Round I” and “Herăstrău Park” are always full of joyful children, come to play and adults who want to rest and forget the noise of the city. Various sporting events are organized here, on weekends from May to October, like “Colour-Run” Cross,¹⁵⁹ “Click!” Cross, “Samsung” Cross, “Nike” Cross, “Bucharest International 10k”¹⁶⁰, etc.

¹⁵² Urbology.ro, “Cum a trăit taică-miu momentul”.

¹⁵³ Muzeul Municipiului București, Colecția Hărți și Planuri, Planul cadastral al Bucureștiului, 2000.

¹⁵⁴ Adevărul, 2017.

¹⁵⁵ Gândul, 2013.

¹⁵⁶ Realitatea TV, “Parada de 1 decembrie 2016 București (completă)”.

¹⁵⁷ Romania-Insider.com, 2013.

¹⁵⁸ They are known as “Kiseleff Park”.

¹⁵⁹ Pomeanu, 2014, 114.

¹⁶⁰ Bucharest International 10k, 2018.

The westernization of Romania after 1989 meant also the importation of cultural events, such as “White Night of the Art Galleries”¹⁶¹ and “White Night of the Museums”¹⁶². The museums from Kiseleff Road were included in this programme and these events were very well received by the public. In 2012, the most visited museum was “Grigore Antipa Natural History Museum”.

Conclusions

The history and the evolution of “Kiseleff Garden” are directly linked with “Kiseleff Road”. This beautiful place followed the evolution of the city, being affected by the political events and urban changes. This is why we encounter buildings with different architecture and destination.

The first Garden created by Meyer in the 1830s is today only a small part from “Kiseleff Road”. If we make a short analysis using the current map of Bucharest, the current “Kiseleff Road” has the same shape and limits from beginning of 20th century: in the North – “House of the Free Press” and in the South – “Victory Square”. The three squares mark the evolution of the “Road” in time. The red square (the most central one) shows the first Round, where today is “Piațeta Mihai I” (“Small Square Michael I”). It is about 1 kilometre length. The green one marks the expansion to Arch of Triumph, which 1.6 kilometres is length. The blue square marks the entire length of the Road, which is 3.3 kilometres. We can consider it had a linear expansion, to the North.

The changes affected the pavement (which now is concrete, instead of sand or granite) and the buildings, gardens and properties from the both sides of it.

The walking purpose of this area was abandoned, due to the city expansion. The carriages from the 19th century and the sleigh are phantoms from past. Today, Kiseleff is like any other road from Bucharest: a big number of cars are going here daily (the only good point is that the cars can come from only one direction here – from North to South). It is open without any time restrictions, to any visitor. The noise of the cars and the smog did not affect so much the beauty of the Park, having the same name with the Road. It reminds us of the 19th century garden. The artificial lake created by Meyer still exists today and it is located near the Geology Museum. During the winter, the children go sledding there.

“Kiseleff Garden” and “Kiseleff Road” are still one of the most beautiful places from Bucharest, where visitors can relax, forgetting for a short time, the hustle and bustle of the city. They can admire the greenery and the nice architecture of the buildings. The oldest buildings are “Mavrogheni Church”, “Doina Restaurant” (the old “Bufetul de la Șosea”) and “School No 11”. The time and the political regimes didn’t affect their architecture, design and destination. We can consider them a triumph against the time and the history.

The lindens planted in the 1830s are now old and they can tell interesting stories to the passerby. They were witness to many historical events, like: the opening of the garden, the attempt against Prince Gheorghe Bibescu, the triumphal entry of the Romanian army after

¹⁶¹ Ziarul de Duminică, 2016.

¹⁶² Ziarul Financiar, 2012.

the Independence War, the festivities organized when Charles I became King of Romania, the parades organized by the communists on 23rd of August, the parades for the National Day of Romania, on 1st of December.

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ON SOME DONATIONS TO THE DIMITAR DIMOV HOUSE–MUSEUM

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Abstract: This essay will discuss about some of the more precious donations which enriched the collection of the Dimitar Dimov house-museum, part of the National Literature Museum structure since its establishment in 1976.

Keywords: Dimitar Dimov, donations, National Literature Museum, house-museum.

The first transformations of homes of Bulgarian writers and social activists into museums is an important step in the development of museology in Bulgaria. The first Bulgarian museologist, Professor Ivan Shishmanov, established and realized the complete concept of the creation, essence, functions, and social role of the literature museum. Having graduated in the West, Shishmanov studied, compared, and utilized the experience in European countries in transforming the homes, in which famous authors had lived, into museum spaces with specific social, cultural and research functions.¹

The work of Shishmanov as museologist was related, above all, to the arrangement of Ivan Vazov museum in Sofia. The idea for the creation of a museum of the Patriarch of Bulgarian literature was born during the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Vazov's career as a writer (1895). After his death, Stoyan Omarchevski filed in the National Assembly, a report for transforming the house of Vazov into a museum, and November 26, 1926 was the date of its official opening.² During the same year, a few months earlier, on May 15, 1926, the Aleko Konstantinov museum, also transformed from his house, was inaugurated in Svishtov. The idea for the creation of a museum of the author dates to 1911, but its realization was delayed with 15 years, because of the wars.³

With time, house-museums of famous Bulgarian writers, poets, publicists, and social activists were established – Petko R. Slaveykov; Pencho Slaveykov (1949), Hristo Smirneniski (1953), Peyo K. Yavorov (1954), Nikola Y. Vaptsarov (1956), Dimitar Dimov (1969), Elin Pelin (1977) and Emiliyan Stanev (1979).

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¹ Кръстева, 2012.

² НеДКОВ, 2006, 184–185.

³ НеДКОВ, 2006, 187–188.

National Literature Museum – history and structure

Based on the already established house-museums of Bulgarian classical authors, on January 1, 1976, by decree 254/19.06.1975 of Ministerial Council, the National Museum of Bulgarian Literature (NMBL) was established in Sofia. In 1992, the name of the museum was changed to National Literature Museum (NLM).

The task of the museum is to seek, gather, store, research and exhibit tangible and documentary materials related to the history of Bulgarian literature. The house-museums of writers on the territory of Sofia, were incorporated into the structure of the NMBL. The house-museums of poets and writers across the country also fell under the methodical guidance of the museum.

A standalone building of the newly established museum was not secured until 1982, when a collection depository was provided, and at that time the museum functioned solely through its affiliates.

Today, the NLM encompasses in its structure the house-museums of Ivan Vazov, P. K. Yavorov, Petko and Pencho Slaveyikovi, Nikola Y. Vaptsarov, Hristo Smirnenski, Dimitar Dimov, Emilian Stanev (in Veliko Tarnovo), Elin Pelin (in the village of Bailovo, Gorna Malina municipality) and the literature cabinets of Stilian Chilngirov, Ivan Bogdanov and Vladimir Bashev.

Furthermore, the department “Collection and literary heritage” stores writer’s libraries and archives of literary activists from the Bulgarian Revival until contemporary times – Nayden Gerov, Aleko Konstantinov, Todor G. Vlaykov, Anton Strashimirov, Elin Pelin, Kiril Hristov, Boris Shivachev, Nikolaj Liliev, Georgi Konstantinov, Dimcho Debelyanov, Emanuil Popdimitrov, Nikolai Rainov, Hristo Gerchev, Lyudmil Stoyanov, D. B. Mitov, Kalina Malina, Konstantin and Magda Petkanovi, Anna Kamenova, Dora Gabe, Elisaveta Bagriana, Chavdar Mutafov, Fani Popova-Mutafova, Zmey Goryanin, Aleksandar Gerov and many others. The collection preserves precious manuscripts, photos, documents, letters, first editions of Bulgarian books and periodical literature; hand-written and old-printed books, artwork; rare ethnographic materials.

The museum completes its collection by purchases and donations.

The emphasis of this article is on some of the more precious donations which enriched the collection of the Dimitar Dimov house-museum. This house-museum has become part of the NLM structure since its establishment in 1976.

Dimitar Dimov – brief biography

Dimitar Dimov was born on June 25, 1909 in Lovech, in the family of Vesa Harizanova and Totyo Dimov – lieutenant in 14th infantry Macedonian regiment. Totyo Dimov died tragically in the end of the Inter-ally war, and five years later Vesa Harizanova married the officer Rusi Genev.

Dimitar Dimov spent his childhood in Dupnitsa. In 1919, the family moved to Sofia, and Dimov studied first in “Vasil Aprilov” primary school and then in Sofia's First Male Gymnasium.

In the autumn of 1928, Dimitar Dimov entered the Veterinary medicine faculty of the Sofia University, where in 1934 he graduated as a Doctor of Veterinary Medicine. For five years, he practiced as a vet in the villages of Borima (Troyan region), Leva reka (Tran region), Vaksevo (Kyustendil region), Knezha (Oryahovo region), and in Burgas. On March 24, 1939, he started working as assistant professor in anatomy, histology, and embryology of domestic animals at the Veterinary medicine faculty of Sofia University. At the end of 1938, his first novel *Lieutenant Benz* came out, published by Dobromir Chilingirov.

In the period between January 1943 and March 1944, Dimitar Dimov specialized at the “Ramon and Cajal” Institute in Madrid. His one-year stay at the Institute brought Dimov not only achievements in his scientific and research work, but also strong impressions and experiences, which provided him the basis for the creation of a new novel – *Doomed Souls* and of several travel memoirs like *January spring*, *Castilian winter*, and *Hollow Spain*. His stay in Madrid initiated a big friendship – with the Spanish critic and translator Juan Eduardo Suniga.

In 1946, associate professor Dimitar Dimov started working as a dean of the Faculty of anatomy and physiology of domestic animals at the Plovdiv University. It was there, that Dimov, along with his highly responsible job at the university, started writing his third novel – *Tyutyun* (‘Tobacco’).

On March 31, 1966, Dimitar Dimov, in his capacity of a chairman of the Association of Bulgarian Writers, travelled to Bucharest as part of a delegation, to meet representatives of the Association of Romanian Writers. He died suddenly on the next day, April 1, at the Bucharest airport.

Establishment of Dimitar Dimov house-museum

To immortalize the memory of the novelist and preserve his rich heritage, the Executive committee of Sofia City Council, decided that the house of Dimitar Dimov, situated at 26 Krastyu Sarafov Str. in the Lozenets area, where the novelist spent the last 12 years of his life, was to be transformed into a museum.⁴ The minutes of meeting from the assembly dates July 10, 1967, a year after the writer's death, and contains the following items:

- The apartment to be transformed into a museum, and his heirs to be compensated with another property of equivalent value;
- Two full-time positions to be secured from the budget for 1967 – one curator and one cleaner;
- The sum of 10 000 Bulgarian leva to be granted for purchasing things, archives, and other museum exhibits;

⁴ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, Научен архив.

– “Culture and art” department is obliged to take the responsibility for building of the museum, targeting opening for visitors in 1968.

The decision remained unrealized until 1969, when with decree 385/23.10.1969 of the Ministerial Council, the Committee for Economic Coordination ordered the apartment to be expropriated, and its owner Sibila Dimova, daughter of the writer, to be compensated with another property.

By the end of the same year, valuation of the apartment was made, and the value of the furniture, archive, belongings, books, and Dimov’s laboratories were reimbursed to the heirs in a lump sum, without being evaluated separately. The first curator was assigned. By 1976, the museum was managed by the District council, and as was mentioned above, after its inauguration, it became affiliated to the NLM.

Long years of scientific research work on gathering and processing of the archive related to Dimitar Dimov and his family ensued – documents, photos, periodical literature, books. A huge amount of information was accumulated, hundreds of memories recorded, and most of the manuscripts found in the apartment as well as most important letters – deciphered. Approximately 9,000 artefacts were taken as inventory: books, belongings, archives, photos, artwork, periodical literature, and physics, electrotechnics and photography devices and apparatuses. A huge contribution to the processing of the collection was made by Ekaterina Ivanova, the first curator of the museum. She is author of the biography about the writer, *Pages of the private and creative life of Dimitar Dimov* (1981), the documentary research *Dimitar Dimov: Author, time, and characters* (1985), *Dimitar Dimov: Archive* (2009), an album with photos and texts, and dozens of articles published in the periodical literature.

Dimitar Dimov museum was opened for visitors in February 1989, when Anna Svitkova was assigned as major curator. She worked for nearly 30 years at the museum, held several national celebrations marking the birthday of Dimitar Dimov, authored dozens of exhibitions in Sofia, Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Varna, Burgas, Lovech, Gabrovo, Veliko Tarnovo, Dupnitsa, Karlovo, Kardzhali.

The main feature of this museum, the one thing that sets it apart from many other museums, is the absolute authenticity of the exhibition and the complete archive of the writer. Anna Svitkova set the ambitious goal to overcome the lack of prominence of the Dimitar Dimov museum, owing to the small exhibition area and its remoteness from the main streets of Sofia. She worked extremely actively, searching for interesting forms of museum exhibition – the “Museum in a suitcase” initiative, where she visited schools and gave lectures, carrying and showing copies from the museum archive. Other extremely intriguing formats were her collaboration with the National Academy for Fine Arts “Ilia Petrov” and the realization of the exhibition “Dimitar Dimov and the Tyutyun novel through the eyes of the artists”.

Thanks to Anna Svitkova, the museum received new belongings – archive materials related to Dimitar Dimov and his family – his daughter Teodora Dimova, Neli Dospevska,

Lena Levcheva, Ekaterina Nencheva and to his kin on the mother's side – the Harizanovi family.⁵

⁵ Бачева, 2012, 294–296.

Donations to Dimitar Dimov house-museum

During the years of its existence, the museum has received multiple precious donations, as a result of the active research and gathering work by the curators. Professor Boris Koychev, the best friend of Dimitar Dimov since his childhood, donated to the museum a copy of the co-published hand-written magazine *Scientific review* (1923), which had just one edition, as well as the so called *All-knowing chemistry notebook*.⁶ Professor Koychev donated all letters – some copied, others original – which Dimitar Dimov had sent to him during the student years in Vienna.⁷

One extremely valuable donation – a manuscript of an unknown movie script, probably written in 1945 – made another former schoolmate of Dimov, the film director Stefan Topaldzhikov.

A major donor to the museum is undoubtedly the wife of the writer – Lilyana Dimova – who donated works from the personal library of Dimitar Dimov – books in Russian, German, Serbian, Japanese, Czech, Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Polish, and Vietnamese languages. Among the donated precious documents is the verbatim report⁸ from the three-days' panel on the *Tyutyun* novel by the Association of Bulgarian Writers in 1952; a letter by Yako Molhov related to the work on the second edition of the novel; photos and materials related to Dimitar Dimov's travel to Chile in 1954, his personal typewriter, medals, and insignia of honour.⁹

Donations came from other relatives of Dimov, too. His sister Lyudmila Geneva donated 92 artefacts with various and interesting contents; Milko Harizanov – around 30 photos and documents related to the family of the writer; Neli Dospevska donated photos, manuscripts, letters.¹⁰

The Spanish writer Juan Eduardo Suniga made multiple donations of materials related to Dimitar Dimov – personal letters, two official letters related to his specialization in Madrid, a copy of a scientific research of Dimov published in the year-book of the Institute. Of interest is also an interview which Suniga took from Dimitar Dimov about the situation with contemporary Bulgarian literature, published on August 12, 1943 in the *Juventud* magazine.

Suniga donated to the museum also books, given to him as presents by Dimov, with inscription; a small Bulgarian-French dictionary which belonged to Dimov, a photo of the writer made in Seville, with inscription to the sister of Suniga – Emilia Carmen; postcards sent by Dimitar Dimov to the Spanish writer; a letter from Neli Dospevska, the wife of

⁶ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, Инв. № НАМ 4890, НАМ 4892.

⁷ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, Инв. № НАМ 3829 – НАМ 3853.

⁸ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, Инв. № НАМ 4198.

⁹ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, инв. № НАМ 4899 – НАМ 4902.

¹⁰ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, инв. № НАМ 7571, НАМ 7572.

Dimov, to Suniga, as well as extremely interesting cartoons of self, drawn by Dimov in Spain on the back of his business cards.¹¹

Another very precious donation is from Milen Berberov. It contains 92 letters received from Dimitar Dimov in Spain, during 1943–1944, manuscripts of Dimov, rare old editions of German and Spanish books on histology and embryology of domestic animals.

The famous hispanist Todor Neikov donated to the museum an extremely precious exhibit – the book *Life of Loyola* (Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the religious order called the Society of Jesus)¹² by father Pedro de Ribadaneira, published in Madrid in 1942. The book was given as a gift to Dimitar Dimov in Madrid on July 12, 1944, by father Venkus, with inscription: *To the famous dr. Demetrio Dimov as proof of affection and heartfelt fondness. His good friend father Venkus (from the Jesuit society).* Father Venkus is Dimov's model for the prototype of the priest Heredia from the *Doomed Souls* novel.

One more donation related to the writer's stay in Madrid, was made by his colleagues in the "Ramon and Cajal" Institute – photos, documents and printed materials related to his activities. It was exactly there where Dimov prepared many microscope solutions on histology, which he later used in teaching his students at the Agricultural academy in Sofia. These solutions were donated to the museum during 1970 by professor Todor Valov.¹³

Professor Mosko Moskov, whom D. Dimov assisted in the Veterinary medicine faculty of the Sofia University, donated to the museum ten manuscripts of the writer, four of which are letters from Spain addressed to him and which have significant historical value.

Along with many materials related to the social and scientific activity of Dimitar Dimov in Plovdiv, from his colleagues from the Plovdiv University – professor Nikola Nestorov and professor Geno Slavchev – manuscripts of lectures on anatomy, histology, and embryology of domestic animals¹⁴, the museum received the only preserved handwritten pages of the *Tyutyun* novel.¹⁵ The museum stores the table, on which Dimov wrote the novel – a gift from the Plovdiv University.¹⁶

Elena Baltadzhieva and Romyana Baltadzhieva–Arnaudova donated to the museum two very interesting photos – of dr. Marena Kolusheva and of Kocho Apostolov, the prototypes of Irina and Kostov from the *Tyutyun* novel.

The only illustrated edition of *Tyutyun* is the first publication of the second edition of the novel, published in 1953 by "Narodna kultura" publishing house. The illustrations were done by the artist Nikola Mirchev. In 2004, his heirs – Nina and Ivailo Mirchevi – donated to the D. Dimov house-museum, six drawings, on which the writer made his notes, also with a pencil. The drawings were not included in the publication, but complement the

¹¹ Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 6265.

¹² Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 4230.

¹³ Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 4170.

¹⁴ Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 4171 – НАМ 4173.

¹⁵ Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 4206.

¹⁶ Къща музей „Димитър Димов“, архив, инв. № НАМ 4890.

whole collection of the dozens of preliminary drawings for illustrations of the novel made by the artist, which are owned by the museum.

The *Tyutyun* novel is also related to one more precious donation – from Dimitar Madzharov – meticulously gathered newspaper and magazine clippings about the novel, letters to Dimitar Dimov by readers, and one interesting memory about Dimov from the writer Pelin Velkov.¹⁷

The list of donors is complemented by the Veterinary bacteriology centre in Burgas, which provided the typewriter¹⁸, used for preparing the *Lieutenant Benz* novel for printing.

Other donors include: Association of Bulgarian Writers, “Ivan Vazov” National theatre, “Lyudmila Zhivkova” National youth theatre, the Dramatic theatres in Plovdiv, Varna, Kardzhali, Blagoevgrad, Pleven, Stara Zagora, the National Army Theatre, the Actor’s Club in Sofia, etc.

Today, relatives of Dimitar Dimov continue donating to his house-museum. Ivan Kovachev, son of Ivanka Harizanova and grandson of Ivan Harizanov and Ekaterina Nencheva, the first Bulgarian poetess, donated photos from the family archive, postcards and upon need, financially supports the museum activities.

Teodora Dimova has a personal collection in the museum dedicated to her father. The collection contains all her works, materials and interviews related to her work.

During the years, the museum has maintained close relations with: “Cervantes” Spanish Culture Institute, “Dimitar Dimov” Theatre in Kardzhali, Veterinary medicine faculty of the Forestry University in Sofia, Thracian University in Stara Zagora, etc. Sponsors of the museum are: The Embassy of Spain, Burgartabac, Sopharma, Bulgarian Medical Association, Association of Bulgarian Writers, entrepreneurs-relatives, and admirers of Dimitar Dimov and his work.

The donations made during the years, enrich the knowledge and the idea of the private and creative life path of our grand writer, scientist, and person Dimitar Dimov.

As of September 2017, Dimitar Dimov house-museum has opened its doors for visitors again. The museum had been closed for several years, due to the cutting down of the position of the curator. Today, the goal of the staff of the NLM is to transform the home where Dimitar Dimov had spent the last years of his life, into an attractive spiritual center for literary meetings, book presentations, lectures for students, and to assume its deserved and dignified place on the cultural map of the Bulgarian capital.

¹⁷ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, инв. № НЛМ 6877 – НЛМ 6902.

¹⁸ Къща музей „Димитър Димов”, архив, инв. № 6740.

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Illustrations:



Fig. 1 – Dimitar Dimov in his house at 26 Krastyu Sarafov Str., Sofia, (инв. № НАМ 7103)



Fig. 2 – Dimitar Dimov with his wife Lilyana Dimova and their daughter Teodora, 1965, (инв. № НАМ 7205)



Fig. 3 – The typewriter, used for preparing the *Lieutenant Benz* novel for printing, (in exposition, photo by Milena Katosheva)



Fig. 4 – Interior of the house-museum “Dimitar Dimov” (photo by Milena Katosheva)

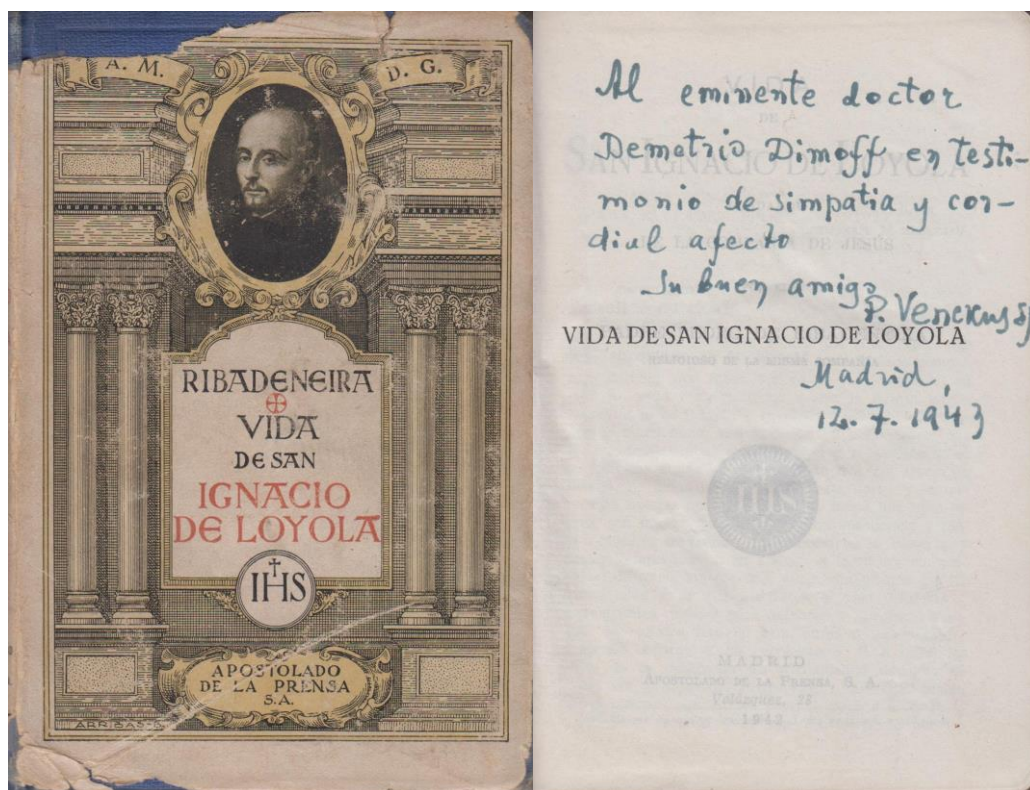


Fig. 5 – “Life of Loyola” – a gift to Dimitar Dimov by father Venkus, (инв. № НАМ 4230)



Fig. 6 – Some cartoons of self, drawn by D. Dimov in Spain on the back of his business cards. (инв. № 6265)

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTE ABOUT ROMANIAN RAȚĂ – ALBANIAN ROSË

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Abstract: As a note, the following paper tries only to signal possible etymological connections for Romanian rață – Albanian rosë, as inspired by an article of Joshua T. Katz.

Keywords: rață, rosë, Romanian, Albanian, Anatolian.

1. The Connections

Rom. rață – Alb. rosë are rightfully connected with the Indo-European $*h_2énh_2-t-$ / $*h_2énh_2-t-$ / $*h_2énh_2-ti-$ / $*h_2énh_2-ti-$, which gave: “Lat. *anas*, Lith. *antis*, Skr. *ātis*, Russ. *utie*, *utka*, Khot. pl. *āce* ‘waterfowl’, Germ. *anut*, *enit* / *Ente*, OE *ened* / *ænid*, ON *ǫnd*, OPruss. *antis*, Gk. Att. *νήττα* Ion. *νήσσα*, Oss. acc ‘wild duck’, OInd. *āti-* (< $*h_2n̥ti-$) ‘water bird’”.¹ For instance, Orel gave the etymology: Alb. *rosë*, pl. *rosa* < EPA $*anātjā$ < IE $*(a)n̥tjā$.²

However, the initial liquid remains as a peculiar construction. An interesting recent study of Joshua T. Katz, titled *The ‘Swimming Duck’ in Greek and Hittite*,³ even if written with a different purpose, helps us better understand the form of our word. The main idea of Katz’ article is that the root for ‘duck’ and that for ‘bathe, swim’, PIE $*(s)neh_2-$ (> Gk. *νήχω*, *νήχομαι*) are connected, giving the known Indo-European words, and explaining why Greek *νήσσα* and Hittite *lah(h)anza(n)* are cognates. The working hypothesis of Katz is “that speakers of pre-Greek replaced the inherited word for ‘duck’, $*h_2énh_2-t-$, with a phonologically similar and structurally identical form $*(s)nēh_2-t-$ ‘swimmer’ ...”.⁴ Without entering here in the details of the transformations discussed in the article, the author, supported by others, points out that the Hittite *lah(h)anza(n)* belonged to a class of words ended in *-anza(n)* (like *šumanza(n)*, cognate of Gk. *ύμην* ‘membrane’),⁵ and therefore “it becomes nearly certain that the original nominative singular is [-antsa], not [-ants] (...), and

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¹ Cf. Mallory & Adams, 1997, 171.

² Orel, 2000, 22, 138.

³ Katz, 2004, 195–216.

⁴ Katz, 2004, 197–198.

⁵ Katz, 2004, 202.

that it is to this astigmatic (!) base the suffix **(H)on* is added.⁶ While Melchert proposed as starting point a doubtful verb ‘to travel’, Katz explored the approximation of the Hittite *lah(h)anza(n)* with *lah(h)a-* ‘military campaign’, which he compares to Gk. Mycen. *ra-wo* > *λα(φ)ός* ‘troop, Kriegsvolk’, in contrast with *δημος* ‘normal populace, Volk’, both coming from a root **leh₂-(u-)* ‘plunder’ (Gk. *ληΐζομαι*, cogn. CLuv. *lawarr(iya)*),⁷ but he decided that *lah(h)anza(n)* must have had another origin, not in **leh₂-ont-* ‘traveling (as an army?)’, but rather in the participle **(s)neh₂-ont-* ‘swimming’.⁸ Then Katz explained the formation of the initial *l-*, as in some other cases a PIE **#(C)n-* gave a Hitth. *l-* (Lat. *nōmen* – Hitt. *lāman*, Old Lat. adv. *numerō* ‘immediately’ – Hitt. *lammar*, dat.-loc. *lamni* ‘at the moment’, Hier. Luwian *la-mi-ni*).⁹ The absence of the initial *s-* is in agreement with the phonological changes in other languages (Gk. *νήχω*, Lat. *nāre*), and with the fact that the *s-* was optional in the root **(s)neh₂*.¹⁰

2. Conclusions

Since the connections between the Anatolian and the Balkan languages has a good historical ground, that would explain the similar formation of Rom. *rață* / Alb. *rosë*; Gk. *νήσσα* / *νήττα*, and Hitt. *lah(h)anza(n)*, as well as the initial liquid in the first and the last instances, either if the Romanian and Albanian have, from their substratum, an Anatolian loan, or if a similar phonologic change would have happened in Thracian.

⁶ Katz, 2004, 203.

⁷ Katz, 2004, 203–206.

⁸ Katz, 2004, 206.

⁹ Katz, 2004, 207.

¹⁰ Katz, 2004, 208–209.

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