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The National Archival Heritage and the General Inventory

Michal Wanner

Keywords: *Archival Legislation; the National Archival Heritage; General Inventory of Archival Records*

This article deals with a Czech legal institute called The National Archival Heritage, its significance in legislation, and the archival records registration in the Czech Republic. Such an institute is nothing of a novelty, and is not a Czech particularity either. The concept has been developing since the 1950s. Similar concept of the archival records definition exists, e.g., in Poland (*Spis zespołów*), Slovakia (*Afondy*), as well as in other countries in Europe. However, the most significant progress in this composed system is most likely to occur in the Czech Republic. The article talks about the basic features of this tool, its role and genesis.

The Concept of the National Archival Heritage

Act No. 499/2004 Coll., on archiving and filing service, and the law amendment, in wording of later regulations, defines the basic terms of archive legislation, which are documents and archival records¹. The document has been defined as: "Any piece of written, image, sound or else recorded information, either in analogue or digital form, created by an agency or delivered to them", whereas "archival record is a document that from its period of origin, contents, provenance and external traits aspects, as well as its permanent value set by its political, economic, legal, historical, cultural, science or informative significance has been selected for the permanent preservation in the public interests, and filed in the archival records registration; among archival records are also seals, stamps or other material possession related to archive fond or archive collection, which has been from its period of origin, contents, provenance and external traits aspects, as well as its permanent value set by its political, economic, legal, historical, cultural, science or informative significance selected and filed in the registration"². Therefore the Czech archiving legislative distinguishes common documents and archival records that are defined by two basic constitutive features: They have undergone a process of selection of archival records (either in the appraisal process or beyond it), and have been filed in the archival records registration. Therefore, neither their ownership and location (in archive, museum, or owner) nor their form (analogue/digital), and the

¹ Act No. 499/2004 Coll. on Archiving and Records Management and on the Amendment of Selected Acts. Issued in 173/2004 Coll.; the text is available on <http://aplikace.mver.cz/archiv2008/sbirka:2004/sb173-04.pdf>.

The annotated wording of the law came out as Special supplementum 2, "Archivní časopis" 55 (2005).

² *Ibidem*, section 2, art. 1, letters e) and f).

like, are essential but only the fact that they are kept in the archival records registration.

However, what should be stated is that both of the two conditions must be satisfied: the selection and registration. The first of them might arise from the legislative provision. This specifically concerns the archival records that are in care of research institutions (such as museums, galleries, science-research institutes and universities), but not those that have arisen from their production, that is those ones acquired by acquisition, usually collection-compiling activities. As the law stands, these archival records are considered to be selected in the regime beyond the appraisal process³.

The National Archival Heritage that this article points out is defined in §16, which says: "After the archival records selection the documents selected as archival records are filed in the archival records registration" and "the archival records that are registered in the territory of the Czech Republic form the National Archival Heritage." Therefore, the institute of the National Archival Heritage (*Národní archivní dědičství*, mentioned below as *NAD*) is the institute of the archival records registration⁴.

In broad terms, it is the property register related to a specific sort of property: archival records. Archival records do not automatically have explicitly estimated value in the form of price; it is set, if necessary, by a legal expert *ad hoc* (insurance, damage action, and the like)⁵. The archival records are not kept in files according to the act on bookkeeping⁶ but to the act on archiving. No less far-reaching consequences has filing the archival records registration from the regime aspect, which are archival records subjected to.

The Archival Records Protection and Use

Once the archival records registration is filed, they are provided with the basic protection according to the act on archiving, and are under the regime created for them. In Section 23 there is a codified ban on the transfer of the state or legal entities ownership of archival records to another person. It is not allowed to transfer them to a foreign country unless specific government regulation. The right to use these archival records might be waived and granted to an individual or legal entity provided it is approved by the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic⁷.

The Act, Section 22, states the rights and obligations of archival records owner or holder. The owner of an archival record enjoys the right to free expert help provided by the National Archive or state regional archives, and they may ask the state for contribution in the connection with the statement of documents as archival records and the care of them⁸, on the other hand they have an array of obligations defined in Section 25:

³ *Ibidem*, section 11, art. 5.

⁴ *Ibidem*, section 16, art. 1 and 2.

⁵ *Act No. 36/1967 Coll.*, on experts and interpreters, as amended.

⁶ *Act No. 563/1991 Coll.*, on accounting.

⁷ *Act No. 499/2004 Coll.*, section 23, art. 1, 2 and 3.

⁸ *Ibidem*, section 24, art. 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Owner or holder of archival records is bound to:

“(a) take proper care of an archival record in analogue form; to serve this purpose they are obliged to keep an archival record in good condition, protect it against damage, devaluation, destruction, loss and theft, and use it in such a manner that corresponds to its condition,

(b) create a replica of the document in digital form selected as archival record in a data form as specified in implementing legislation, and to hand it over with no delay to the National Archive or digital archive for storing after the selection process,

(c) prior to any intended transfer of the ownership of archival records or entering into agreement on its care immediately notify the National Archive or authorized state regional archive.”⁹

These obligations are understood as universal; provided the archival records are given custody based on a written agreement on custody they are automatically transferred to a custodian. If the owner is not capable of carrying out their obligations the National Archive or an authorised state regional archive gains custody of those archival records for a fixed period. The owner re-acquires that archival record immediately after the reasons for a change in care passes¹⁰.

The Act on Archiving also governs a transfer of the ownership of archival records, codifies giving the Czech Republic the first refusal to buy archival records unless it is the transfer between close persons, co-owners, ecclesiastical legal entities in the same Church or religious society, or the transfer to a territorial self-governing unit, qualified legal entity, or state enterprise or state allowance organisation. In such a case the law defines mechanism for making a written bid to the Czech Republic, carrying out a check on archival records by authorised staff of the National Archive, the Archive of Law-Enforcement or a relevant state regional archive for the purposes of the archival record description or making its picture used in a purchase agreement draft, its requisites, and a possible termination of the first refusal if the Czech state's procedural term time expires¹¹.

One of the most important provisions applying to the archival records protection concerns the archival records export. It is only allowed to export archival records from the Czech Republic territory with the Ministry of the Interior's permit issued for a fixed period, and on the archival record owner or holder's request. Such a permit might be issued for a fixed period, and only for exhibiting, conserving, restoring, or scientific examination purposes. Archival record owner or holder is obliged to bring archival records back to the Czech Republic territory within the fixed period set by the Ministry, and prevent damage on them. The Ministry does not issue any export permit unless the conditions applying to the archival record custody and protection have been satisfied, and the archival records condition allows that. In order not to fail to observe the regime conditions, the Ministry of the Interior might

⁹ *Ibidem*, section 25, art. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, section 26 and 27.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, section 28.

also issue a demand for a guarantee paid by an owner or holder. The Ministry keeps records of the issued permits that allow to export archival records from the Czech Republic territory on file, and check whether they are brought back to the Czech Republic territory with no damage¹².

For the practical use of archival records, naturally, it is the provisions in the Act that are important since they govern the ways to consult archival records, to exhibit them or make abstracts, transcripts and copies. Let us mention just a few of the procedural rules that are among the most significant ones. It is only allowed to consult archival records on request, and provided the conditions set by law and in a research code laid down by every archive in accord with the sample research code issued by the Ministry are satisfied. Consulted in archives are those copies of archival records that are for use of user's work. It is only allowed to consult original archival records provided no copies of them have been made. However, if a copy exists, the original archival records might be only consulted with a permit given by the archive, which have custody of them, and for a legitimate purpose.

The archival records in archives having custody based on the agreement on custody might be consulted under the conditions set by law and research code, and the agreed terms. Archival records in digital form are consulted through a national portal or portals providing access to them. Among the reasons to refuse consulting is the archival record physical condition that rules it out. Archival records must not be put on display unless their state allows that, and only under the conditions that ensure their protection and care set by law. The archival records under the Czech Republic's ownership might be exhibited in accord with provisions included in the loan agreement or written record. Archive founder is bound to stipulate provisions in the loan agreement or written record applying to a display and amount of insurance, in accord with a special legal regulation. That loan agreement or written record includes a list of archival records, and account of their state¹³.

The NAD Development

The genesis of such a composed institute, the National Archival Heritage, was rather complicated. The first legislative standard modifying the sphere of archiving in Czechoslovakia in the post-war period was the Czechoslovak Republic government's decree on archiving of 1954¹⁴. It established a legal institute of the Integrated State Archival Fond, which was in possession of all documents that were the property of state, and documents of their legal predecessors selected in accord with the directives on destruction procedure, and which had been designated as archival records. It was a brief, insufficient and imperfect one reflecting a high level of nationalization in socialistic Czechoslovakia, and the state's effort to centralize maximum amount of information and subject it to control.

¹² *Ibidem*, section 29.

¹³ *Ibidem*, section 39-41.

¹⁴ *Regulation no. 29/1954 Coll. of the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic on archives of 17 May 1954*. The Regulation was published in volume no. 17 1954 of the Collection of Laws on p. 103. The text is available at http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008_sbirka_1954_sb17-54.pdf.

In 1974 it was replaced by the first act on archiving that specified the definition of archival record more exactly, as well as broaden it, so also records of municipalities and individuals would be included¹⁵. The term Integrated State Archival Fond was replaced by the term Integrated Archival Fond (Czech abbrev. *JAF*). The export of archival records from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was imposed a ban unless permitted by the Ministry of the Interior. The Act also empowered the Ministry of the Interior to issue a series of operating instructions. In the terms of *JAF* structure, instruction no.10 on how to administrate archival records would assume a key importance¹⁶.

After highly important shift in society in 1989 there was urgency to amend the existing act. The solution was found in the amendment of the 1992 Act on Archiving¹⁷. It strengthened the position of archives as part of the public service supervising the archival records selection, searching for, verifying and certifying official records for the government bodies or citizens, and conducting related administrative proceedings¹⁸. This brought to bear pressure on the archival records quality improvement, since it had become imperative to identify which of the documents were subjected to the regime in question, and administrative decisions. The amendment of 1992 allowed archives to operate in that period of transition in the 1990s, however, it failed to largely solve an array of problems; it was just a question of time when a new act would be brought in.

That new one was *Act no. 499/2004 Coll.* on archiving and records management, and on some acts amendment¹⁹. It codified the basic principles of the Integrated Archival Fond registration management that had developed by that time, and whose development process would be called the National Archival Heritage (*NAD*) registration. Not only archives were obliged to manage the *NAD* registration,

¹⁵ *Act of the Czech National Council no. 97/1974 Coll.*, on archives. The Act was published in vol. 18/1974 of the Collection of Laws on p. 0333. The text is available at <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/1974/sb18-74.pdf>.

¹⁶ Instruction of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic No. 10, on the method of keeping registries of archival records.

¹⁷ *Act no. 343/1992 Coll.*, amending and supplementing *Czech National Council Act no. 97/1974 Coll.*, on archives. The Act was published in vol. 72/1992 of the Collection of Laws on p. 1978. The text is available at <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/1992/sb072-92.pdf>.

¹⁸ In the Czech legislation, administrative proceedings mean the procedure of an administrative authority that is aimed at rendering a decision that establishes, changes or abolishes the rights or obligations of a specific person in a certain matter, or that declares, in a certain matter, that such a person has or has not rights or obligations. Administrative proceedings in a broad sense also include procedures aimed to enforce an administrative decision, procedures aimed at issuing a statement, certificate or notice, procedures aimed at concluding public-law agreements and procedures aimed at issuing a measure of general nature. Administrative proceedings are governed in the Czech Republic particularly by *Act no. 500/2004 Coll.*, the Code of Administrative Procedure, which stipulates the general procedure in administrative proceedings, which is applicable unless other laws stipulate a special procedure.

¹⁹ *Act no. 499/2004 Coll.*, on archives and records management and amending some other laws. The Act was published in vol. 173/2004. The text is available at <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/2004/sb173-04.pdf>. The commented wording of the Act was published as Special Annex 2, "Archivni časopis" 55 (2005).

but also cultural-research institutions (such as museums, galleries, libraries, scientific-research institutions and universities) that provided care of archival records, but also owners and holders due to the restitution process and immense diversity of types of archival records ownership in the Czech Republic. Codified was also a manner of archival records excluding from the *NAD* registration. Most of the issues had been elaborated at length in *Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll.*²⁰, which, however, would undergo an array of amendments governing the sphere of digital archival records registration, as well as ones on technical storage media, which related to a series of amendments to the act on archiving reflecting the establishment of the National Digital Archive as part of the National Archive in Prague, owing to the new methodology for the 2012-2013 National Archival Heritage general inventory, which would be completed in the Czech archives²¹. The registration units had come a long way before they became firmly established in legislative, which was accompanied by methodical progress coming to climax by today's up-to-date version of the *Methodical Instruction on the National Archival Heritage Records Management*²².

Character of Archival Records Registration

The National Archival Heritage registration is primary, secondary and central. This regulation reflects a technological character of the registration management, which is run in information system administrated by the program PEVA, and created by the Department of Archives Administration and Records Management of the Ministry of the Interior. It is an immense and stable, fifteen-year-developing desktop application, but not an online system²³. The primary registration is being continuously updated. The data for the secondary and central registrations are collected in certain intervals, once a year, at least. The Department of Archives Administration and Records Management has been planning to solve the online *NAD*

²⁰ Decree No. 645/2004 Coll., implementing some provisions of the Act on Archives and Records Management and amending some other laws. The Decree was published in vol. 220/2004 on p. 22637. The text is available at <http://aplikace.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/2004/sb220-04.pdf>.

²¹ For more on the development of legislation, see Michal Wanner, *Interim Report on the Development of the Archives legislation in the Czech Republic*, in "Atlanti. Review for modern archival theory and practice-Rivista di teoria e pratica archivistica moderna-Revija za sodobno arhivsko teorijo in prakso" 20 (2010), p. 207-218.

²² *Methodical Instructions no. 1/2012 produced by the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Archives Administration and Records Management by the Regulation No. 645/2004 Coll.* that enacts selected articles in the Act on Archiving and Records Management and the Amendment of Selected Acts in the *Regulation no. 213/2012 Coll.* (Ref. No. MV-73402-1/AS-2012).

²³ Oskar Macek & M. Wanner, *Automatizovaný informační systém archivů ČR, vývoj, stav a perspektivy*, "Archivní časopis" 51 (2001), 1, p. 1-13; O. Macek & M. Wanner, *Automated Information System of Czech Republic Archives*, in *Archives in the New Age. The Strategic Problems of the Automatization of Archives* (ed. by E. Rosowska), Papers of the International Archive Conference, Warsaw, September 28-29, 2001, Warszawa, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych 2002, p. 64-71; M. Wanner, *Registers of Archive Fonds (Archive Groups) in the Czech Republic and Information Systems in Czech Archives*, Amsterdam, Archievenblad, Uitgave van de Koninklijke Vereniging van Archivarissen in Nederland 109/7 September 2005, p. 22-25.

registration for long, however, a way of its implementation in the money and technical terms has not been discovered yet. Nevertheless, the selected data that are essential for researchers are regularly added into the Web application *Archive Fonds and Collections in the Czech Republic* on the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic's Web pages²⁴.

The basic registration unit is an archive fond, archive collection or their portion, or a single archival record. The *NAD* primary registration, which includes increase and decrease in archival records, and the *NAD* registration sheets and register of finding aids, is managed by archives and cultural-scientific institutions that take care of them²⁵. The Act states that owner or holder of archival records in analogue form, which are stored outside archive, and whose *NAD* primary registration is managed by a relevant archive, is obliged to present essential data for the registration management on request²⁶. The primary registration of portion of the *NAD*, which does not belong to the care of archives or cultural-scientific institutions (archival records in analogue form are traditionally called archival records stored outside archive), is managed by the National Archive²⁷ or state regional archives²⁸ in accord with their jurisdiction.

Provided a document in digital form has been selected as archival record, then it is filed as archival record, and its replica is stored in the National Digital Archive or other digital archive. For the purposes of care of archival records in digital form, a replica is understood as a range of traits identical to a document in digital form it derives from²⁹.

The secondary *NAD* registration that belongs to care of archives or cultural-scientific institutions, which includes the *NAD* registration sheets and register of finding aids, is managed by the National Archive or state regional archives in accord with their jurisdiction. Archives and cultural-scientific institutions are obliged to provide the archive managing the secondary registration with the data from the *NAD* registration sheets and archival aids, and to send them duplicates of their finding aids. The secondary registration is, in fact, a technical tool that serves to amass data for the *NAD* central registration³⁰.

The *NAD* central registration that includes *NAD* registration sheets and register of finding aids is managed by the Ministry of the Interior, particularly the Department Archives Administration and Records Management. The archives and

²⁴ O. Macek & M. Wanner, *Webová databáze archivních fondů a sbírek archivů ČR již půl roku v provozu. Zamyšlení nad prvními zkušenostmi*, "Archivní časopis" 52 (2002), 4, p. 211-215; O. Macek & M. Wanner, *Báze archivních fondů a sbírek České republiky - geneze, stav a perspektivy*, "Slovenská archivistika" 36 (2003), 2, p. 202-209; M. Wanner, *Information Systems of Czech Archives*, "INSAR – Information Summary on Archives" 10 (Summer 2005), Brussels, Secretariat-General of the European Commission 2005, p. 2.

²⁵ *Act No. 499/2004 Coll.*, section 16, art. 4.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, section 25, art. 2.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, section 46.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, section 49.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, section 16, art. 3.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, section 16, art. 5.

cultural-scientific institutions managing the primary registration are obliged to provide the Ministry with the data from the *NAD* registration sheets and finding aids, and to send duplicates of their finding aids³¹.

Any of the *NAD* registrations are stored as hard copies or on technical storage media, or in a combination of both, and are presented in the identical forms³². In practice, only the registration in form of hard copies with signatures and stamps of owners, data processors or directors of archives remain in the *NAD* primary registration, the secondary and central ones are stored in a digital form.

Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll. governing some provisions in the *Act on Archiving and Records Management*, and some acts amendment, in the wording of *Amendments no. 192/2009 Coll.*, and *213/2012 Coll.*, and *Methodical Instruction no. 1/2012* on the *NAD* registration sheets management also modify some details of the procedural method in case of the archival records delimitation among archives, sharing data among single levels of the registration (including formats and schemes), the archival records removal from the *NAD* registration, measuring archival records, a way of filling in singular entries, rules of how to name archival fonds, and the like³³.

The Exclusion from the *NAD*

The law allows the Ministry to agree to removal from the *NAD* registration when proposed by the archive founder only in:

“(a) archive fond or archive collection from the reasons of their importance re-evaluation,

(b) archive fond, archive collection or archival record from the reasons of their destruction; understood as destruction in case of archive fond, archive collection or archival record in digital form is also damage to their contents, loss of their legibility, or metadata essential for manipulation with archive fond, archive collection or archival record in digital form

(c) archive fond, archive collection or archival record from the reasons of handing them over to a foreign country.”

The proposal to exclusion from the *NAD* registration is submitted by entities managing the archive fond, archive collection or archival records primary registration. Requisites and procedural details of the method for the removal from the *NAD* registration are described in legislation³⁴.

³¹ *Ibidem*, section 16, art. 6.

³² *Ibidem*, section 17, art. 1.

³³ *Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll.* that enacts selected articles in the *Act on Archiving and Records Management and the Amendment of Selected Acts in amendment no. 192/2009 Coll.* and *no. 213/2012 Coll.*, section 1,2 and 9.

³⁴ *Act no. 499/2004 Coll.*, section 17, art. 2.

The NAD Registration Structure

The NAD registration consists of the NAD registration sheets and registers of finding aids, and accounts of their external or internal changes³⁵. The oldest in the terms of history is the NAD registration sheet, which provides complete information on the current state of a particular archive fond. The external or internal changes document single changes applying to an object archival records in time, but also serve as a tool for updating data in the NAD registration sheet. The external change monitors the changes that have occurred to archival records in the relevant archive fond in relation to archive or cultural scientific institution managing the primary registration, to another individual or legal entity, e.g. agency, owner or another archive or cultural-scientific institution. The internal change measure changes that have happened to archival records in the relevant archive fond within the archive or cultural-scientific institution managing their primary registration, e.g., in archive processing, re-evaluation of their importance or their destruction. The internal and external changes registration facilitates to discover the extent of change in the data about archival records in the relevant archive fond or archive collection, when and why the change has taken place. The records on finding aids are only added to the NAD registration. They might be managed and created separately. This mostly refers to processing finding aids collection³⁶.

Each of the registrations mentioned above has own structure of data. The system is internally interconnected, and uses common dial-plates. Since the data from the external and internal changes registration primarily serve to update the NAD registration sheets, it is the structure of the data in the NAD registration sheets and registers of finding aids that are stated to suit the purpose.

Registration sheet always contains

- a) the number of archive or cultural-scientific institution from the dial-plate of archives managing the archive fond primary registration; it is not stated in archival records listed under letter (b),
- (b) the number from the archives dial-plate the archival records are filed under; these are archival records that do not belong to the archives or cultural-scientific institution care in the relevant archive,
- (c) the data on the archival records owners or holders, provided the archival records are stored outside archives or cultural-scientific institutions,
- (d) the number of registration sheet, which is unique and constant in the relevant archive or cultural-scientific institution,
- (e) the name of archive fond or archive collection,
- (f) the registration status of archive fond, which indicates the relation of the archive or cultural-scientific institution managing the primary registration of the archive fond, to the registered archival records,
- (g) the time span of archival records in the archive fond or archive collection,

³⁵ *Ibidem*, section 16, art. 3.

³⁶ *Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll. that enacts selected articles in the Act on Archiving and Records Management and the Amendment of Selected Acts in amendment no. 192/2009 Coll. and no. 213/2012 Coll.*, section 3.4.5.

- (h) the date of the registration sheet filling in and signing, or the date of the last change in the registration sheet
- (i) the data on access to the archive fond accessible for consultation
- (j) in the archival records in analogue form the length of the archive fond in running meters
- (k) in the archival records in digital form their size in bytes
- (l) the state of the archive fond preservation as to extent: completeness, physical condition; in the damaged archive fonds also the description of that damage,
- (m) the number of a thematic group registration and thematic description of the archive fond,³⁷ when the groups of thematic registration are general, superordinate terms as to the meaning summarising the common traits of a certain type of the archive fonds (e.g., self-government),
- (n) the place of provenance of archival fond and place of its storing,
- (o) the registration units of archival fond³⁸,
- (p) the overview of the finding aids on the archive fond,
- (q) the data indicating whether the archive fond contains a historical-cultural relics or national cultural relics³⁹,

³⁷ The terms indicating common features of a certain type of archive files. As a rule, any terms semantically superior, more general than the names of individual funds and collections. The advantage of these groups is that by using them we can collectively look for the files in the archive group without knowing for example, exact name of the archival fond. For example, State Conservation Management ranks with the group. 020200 Political governance after 1850, cf. *Methodical Instructions no. 1/2012 produced by the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Archives Administration and Records Management by the Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll.* that enacts selected articles in the *Act on Archiving and Records Management* and the *Amendment of Selected Acts in the Regulation no. 213/2012 Coll.* (Ref. No. MV-73402-1/AS-2012), ch. V, art. 5 letter ecc).

³⁸ Registration Units are basic, universal units for counting and recording the quantity of archival records. Generally, they refer to their material form. In some cases, they consider diplomatic categories, the form of their storage, and the like. The Registration Units have been effective in the Czech archival practice, and the most common terms ever used. They have been created to allow easy and first-sight identification of a particular archival file or individual archival records. The Registration Units have been developing: their definitions have been more precisely specified, and added to by storage media, and the like. The primary task of the registration units is to ensure registers of the National Archival Heritage. For more details on registration units: M. Wanner, *Registration Units - Specific Standardization Tool of Czech Archives*, "Scriinium" 68 (2014), p. 65-78.

³⁹ The concept of cultural relics (the current archival cultural relics) and national cultural relics was created with the aim to ensure protection and promotion of the most important archival records. An archival record, archival collection, archival fond or comprehensive parts thereof which, with regard to the period of origin, content, form, agency or external signs, are important for general, national or regional history, history of technology or culture, or, with respect to uniqueness or originality or to other types of singular features, their significance is exceptional for society, may be declared as an archival cultural relic; in respect of sets of archival records, their content and factual unity is taken into account. Decisions on declaring archival cultural relics are made by the Ministry of Interior on the basis of applications lodged by the archives where the archival records are stored, archives maintaining them in the NAH records or their owners. The Government of the Czech Republic may declare the most important archival cultural relics as national cultural relics.

- (r) the name of the archive fond agency in the original language, earlier or other names of the agency, the period of the name usage, and other data on the archival records owner,
- (s) the overview of internal or external changes related to the relevant archive fond with dates
- (t) the data on the archival records selection in the appraisal process or beyond it
- (u) the data on archival records that belong to an archive fond stored in other archives or other cultural-scientific institutions, or stored outside archives or cultural-scientific institutions,
- (v) the data on literature concerning the archive fond dealing with its contents and history, as well as edition from the archive fond,
- (w) the date of archival record storage in the archive, and the data on the prospective limitation of the archive fond access arising from agreement on custody, provided the archive funds are stored in the archive on the custody agreement,
- (y) the data on archival records owners, and the date of the agreement conclusion, in case the archival records are agreement-stored outside the archive or cultural-scientific institution managing their primary registration,
- (z) the date of the archive fond relay and the place of its storage, and other data in case the archive funds have been physically relayed to owners,
- (aa) the name of a registration sheet processor
- (bb) the name of a registration sheet operator when managed in digital form,
- (cc) the symbol of archive fond if established for the archive fond⁴⁰.

The primary, secondary and central registers of finding aids consists of

- (a) the number of the archive managing the primary registration of archival records described in finding aids (mentioned below as “archive with archive fond”)
- (b) the registration number of finding aid from the archive with archive fond; this number is unique and constant in the relevant archive,
- (c) the name, or names, and surname of an individual or legal entity having archival records in custody or possession, provided they are finding aids describing archival records stored outside archives or cultural-scientific institutions,
- (d) the number of archive that files a duplicate of finding aid, provided it is the finding aid duplicate registration
- (e) the unique registration number of a finding aid duplicate from the archive administrating the registration of the duplicate, in case it is finding aid duplicate registration,
- (f) a sort of finding aid in accord with Appendix No. 2, Regulation 645/2004 Coll,

Special rules apply to the protection of these archival records and making them available (cf. sections 21 and 22 of *Act No. 499/2004 Coll.*). Cf. M. Wanner, *Národní kulturní památky v archivnictví*, “Veřejná správa” 12 (2008), Supplement, p. IV-VI; Idem, *Základní kameny kulturního bohatství*, “Veřejná správa” 21 (2012), p. 16-17; Idem, *Nové archivní kulturní památky: Dramatické osudy rukopisů*, “Veřejná správa” 17 (2014), p. 14-15.

⁴⁰ *Regulation no. 645/2004 Coll.* that enacts selected articles in the *Act on Archiving and Records Management and the Amendment of Selected Acts in amendment no. 192/2009 Coll. and no. 213/2012 Coll.*, section 6.

- (g) the name of finding aid
- (h) the time span of archival records described in finding aid indicating the period the archival records described in finding aid come from
- (i) the year of finding aid origin
- (j) the form of finding aid creating
- (k) the data on supplements that do not have a special name, introduction and imprint,
- (l) the number of the thematic group registration that define archival records described in finding aid,
- (m) the name and surname of the finding aid processor (processors),
- (n) the place of provenance of archival records described in finding aid
- (o) the number of the registration sheet or registration sheets under the archival record described in finding aid are filed in⁴¹.

The NAD General Inventory

As stated above, the *NAD* primary registration is managed continuously, the *NAD* secondary and central registration is updated once a year. Yet, a general inventory of the *NAD* is conducted in ten-year periods, more or less, in accord with the tradition and legislation. The aim of these inventories is to discover the precise extent of the National Archival Heritage (*Národní archivní dědictví*, abbrev. *NAD*), compare the physical condition of archival records with the *NAD* registration recorded in the PEvA system, specify the existing data and add new ones to gain the true picture of the *NAD* extent and structure. The *NAD* general inventory also aims to assess the physical condition of archival records, at least estimated quantification of that condition by the number of registration units and the *NAD* registration state improvement where imperfections have been revealed during auditing activities.

The fundamental importance in general inventories lies in specified, re-defined and added registration units whose definitions are adopted as a direct outcome of the working group's methodical performance. The core of the work is formed by the data transformation into a new format of the PEvA program, and subsequent re-examination, specification and addition of a number of newly defined registration units. The basis modification in accord with these newly defined registration units also presents the implementation of the state that is usually fixed in amended legislation.

Taken as an example might be the *NAD* general inventory of the 2012-2013 documents that has been just completed, which reacted to the amendment of Regulation No. 645/2004 Coll., (Regulation No. 213/2012 Coll.) and the outcome of the widened working group for the new *Basic Rules for Archival Records Management*⁴². The newly specified registration units helped open up a large

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, section 7, art. 2.

⁴² *Základní pravidla pro zpracování archiválií* (kolektiv pracovníků pod vedením Michala Wannera), Prague 2013; basic characteristics of English given by the author in the study *Basic Rules of Archival Processing, or the Evolution of the Czech Archivists' Bible*, "Atlanti, Review for modern archival theory and practice-Rivista di teoria e pratica archivistica moderna-Revija za sodobno arhivsko teorijo in prakso" 23 (2013), 1, p. 87-97.

spectrum of valuable archival records, which deserve attention, as they are the object of researchers' interest, and are in danger of theft (e.g., ancient prints). Part of the new registration units also reflects the start of the new digital environment.

Another part of the *NAD* general inventory related to finding aids; the records on finding aids have been transformed into a new dial-plate. Earlier finding aids have been added to by requisites, in some instances reinterpreted or modification of existing finding aids. These changes reflected the definition of new types of finding aids, resp. redefined the existing ones, and reinterpreted some types of earlier finding aids in accord with the principles established in legislation. The new data in the PEvA program indirectly facilitated introduction of the National Portal of the Czech Republic's Archives that had been built⁴³.

The general inventory is conducted on the basis of the updated archive legislation, and is initiated by the Department of Archives Administration and Records Management of the Ministry of the Interior⁴⁴. It is conducted in the National Archive, Security Services Archives, all State Regional Archives, Archives of Local Government Units, specialized archives, private archives and security archives⁴⁵. It is also taken in cultural-scientific institutions. All owners and holders of archival records stored outside archive are obliged to make the *NAD* inventory as well.

Elaborated methodology is created for every particular general inventory⁴⁶, which adapts data, its length (the last one was 1.5 year in length), or theoretical possibilities of its postponement from the legitimate reasons (but within one year), the basic principles and rules, suggestions on working methods (tasks allocation, work timing, groups organisation, tools of data collecting, database tools transformation, form of storing in computerised systems, and the like), possibilities of the research regime, the method in the sphere of archival records acquisitions, the archival records delimitation, loans of archival records, specific terms, and organisation for data loading. The methodology also includes the precise definitions of registration units and finding aids, principles that apply to recording archival records level of processing, principles applying to archival records measuring (their length in running meters, size in bytes and their multiples in archival records in a digital form), archival records physical condition recording, new registration units and checked length into the existing finding aids recording, and the like. During the *NAD* general inventory, the Department of Archives Administration and Records

⁴³ Jiří Bernas & M. Wanner. *Long-term preservation of digital records in the Czech Republic and the National Digital Archives project*. "Atlanti, Review for modern archival theory and practice-Rivista di teoria e pratica archivistica moderna-Revija za sodobno arhivsko teorijo in prakso" 21 (2011), p. 101-111.

⁴⁴ General inventory is declared in accordance with section 44, letter i) of the *Act no. 499/2004 Coll.*

⁴⁵ Cf. section 46, art. 2, letter e); section 49, letter i); and section 52, letter n); section 53, art. 3, letter d); section 55, art. 1, letter j); section 57, letter h) of the *Act No. 499/2004 Coll.*

⁴⁶ For example, *The General Inventory 2012-2013* is regulated by the *Guidance of the Department Archives Administration and Records Management of the Ministry of the Interior* to carry out the General Inventory of the National Archival Heritage in the Archives of the Czech Republic in 2012–2013 (no. j. MV - 127762-51 AS-2011), available at <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/metodiky.aspx?q=Y2hudW09Mg%3d%3d>.

Management of the Ministry of the Interior provides all participants in the general inventory with consultations, and solves issues that have not been solved yet, which encourages fresh initiatives for the methodology specification.

Finally, every archive writes account of the general inventory completing, which includes data about the inventory start and finish, the amount of spent time (during the working weeks), an overview of the used data, and the names of those engaged in the inventory compiling. The account includes appendixes and a CD-R disc of the *NAD* updated primary registration in the relevant archive, control statistics, which presents the PEVA program output, and outputs alike relating to the place of archival records storage, and their position in the registration, the survey of damaged registration units, the list of the rest archival records that have not been found with the name of archive fond (archival records description, name of archive fond, number of the *NAD* registration entry), and the archival record function within an archive fond – inventory number, signature, number of a box. and the like). At disposal is also a description of the archival records that have not been found.

The outcomes of the general inventory are statistically evaluated by the Department of Archives Administration and Record Management of the Ministry of the Interior, and are usually published in archive periodicals⁴⁷. At the regional level, and the level of single archives they serve to make the archival records management more effective.

The *NAD* Extent

The regular updating and general inventories raise awareness about the archival records in the Czech Republic. Out of dozens of data, I only present those essential. At the moment, there are 169,422 archive fonds and archive collections in the Czech Republic that are 798,808.52 metres in length in total. From the overall number of archival records, 61.41 per cent stored in the Czech archives have a finding aid, the rest of them have not been processed yet. Filed are 66,266 finding aids of all types, either in analogue or digital forms.

End

Finally, one more piece of information. The National Archival Heritage concept celebrates the 60th anniversary of its foundation. The fact alone shows that it is a useful institute of the Czech archiving that has become common. Howsoever it traces its heritage back to the centralisation relating to the communist era in Czechoslovakia, it has proved effective also in the democratic environment, more over it has survived the decentralisation of the archive net in the Czech Republic. Therefore in a larger measure, it might also be a source of inspiration for foreign countries.

⁴⁷ The last report of this kind was the publication Josef Hora & M. Wanner, *Jednotný archivní fond v roce 2002. Nové poznatky o struktuře JAF po generální inventuře v roce 2001*. "Archivní časopis" 53 (2003), 1, p. 1-11.

The National Archival Heritage and the General Inventory

(abstract)

This article deals with a Czech legal institute called The National Archival Heritage, its significance in legislation, and the archival records registration in the Czech Republic. Such an institute is nothing of a novelty, and is not a Czech particularity either. The concept has been developing since the 1950s. Similar concept of the archival records definition exists, e.g., in Poland (*Spis zespolów*), Slovakia (*Afondy*), as well as in other countries in Europe. However, the most significant progress in this composed system is most likely to occur in the Czech Republic. The article talks about the basic features of this tool, its role and genesis.

Les Archives scolaires de Bucarest dans une étude publiée pendant les années de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale

Mădălina-Diana Rușanu-Radu

Keywords: *Second World War; Bucharest School Region; School Archives*

Le but de cet article est d'analyser la situation des archives de certains écoles et lycées de Bucarest sur la base d'un article réalisé par Remus Ilie (Inspecteur des Écoles) et intitulé "Les collèges de la Région du Bucarest"¹.

Cet article fait partie d'un projet plus large portant sur le problème de la destruction des archives roumaines.

L'étude mentionné a été publié dans le Bulletin Officiel du Ministre de la Culture Nationale et des Cultes, *Școala Românească*, dans deux numéros (juin 1943-avril 1944).

Du point de vue du chercheur et de l'archiviste, cette contribution historiographique s'avère être très utile en ce qui concerne l'histoire des archives roumaines en général et celle des archives des établissements scolaires, en particulier.

Le chercheur Remus Ilie se pose le problème de l'utilité de sa recherche:

"J'ai considéré que la présentation de certaines dates historiques et statistiques concernant les écoles de cette Région scolaire, intéresserait beaucoup de professeurs et chercheurs du passé de l'enseignement roumain"².

¹ Sur la création de la Région du Bucarest, les auteurs du livre *Le guide des Archives de l'État de Bucarest*, II, précisent que: "Par la loi concernant le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de novembre 1936, continue le principe de la décentralisation, étant créées 10 régions scolaires, où fonctionnaient les Inspectorats scolaires [...].

La Région IV scolaire, qui était formée des départements Argeș, Muscel, Dâmbovița, Prahova, Buzău, Teleorman, Vlașca, Ilfov, Bucarest, Ialomița, Constanța, avait comme résidence la ville de Bucarest et le contrôle était réalisé par l'Inspectorat régional de Bucarest ou de la Région de Bucarest, comme il apparaît dans la correspondance officielle; entre 1938-1940 il s'est nommé l'Inspectorat Scolaire du Territoire Bucegi et il a exercé ses attributions dans les départements Brașov et Constanța; entre 1941-1948 la dénomination est revenue à l'Inspectorat Scolaire Régional Bucarest.

Dans l'année scolaire 1942-1943 il y avait 3.078 écoles qui fonctionnaient au sein de l'Inspectorat, sans compter Bucarest, avec 2.616 locaux scolaires et 9.674 membres du corps didactique [...]. Toutes ces écoles et cadres didactiques étaient coordonnés et guidés par l'Inspectorat Scolaire Régional Bucarest." (la Direction Générale des Archives de l'État [DGAS], *Le guide des Archives de l'État de Bucarest*, II, Bucarest 1948, p. 12-13).

² Remus Ilie, *Școalele secundare din Regiunea Bucegești (Provincia)*, "Școala Românească", 1943, 7-8 (juillet-août), p. 547.

En ce qui concerne la procédure de sélection des institutions d'enseignement, le même chercheur mentionnait:

“Je présenterai les écoles existantes en citant également celles qui ont été désaffectées – en insistant sur celles qui avaient un passé historique riche dans l'activité d'enseignement [...]”³.

1. Lycées théoriques:

- Le Lycée Théorique de Filles “Mihail și Sevastița Vasilescu”, Pitești;
- Le Lycée Théorique de Garçons “I. C. Brătianu”, Pitești;
- Le Lycée Théorique “Dr. I. Meșotă”, Brașov;
- Le Lycée de Filles “Principesa Elena”, Brașov;
- Le Lycée “Mircea cel Bătrân”, Constanța;
- Le Lycée Théorique de Filles “Domnița Ileana”, Constanța;
- Le Lycée “Enăchiță Văcărescu”, Târgoviște;
- Le Lycée de Filles “C. Carabella”, Târgoviște.

2. Écoles normales

- **d'institutrices:** à Pitești et à Buzău;
- **d'instituteurs:** “Spiru Harel”, à Buzău.

3. Écoles de théologie:

- Le Séminaire Théologique “Chesarie episcopul”, Buzău;
- Le Lycée Orthodoxe Roumain “Andrei Șaguna”, Brașov.

4. Lycées commerciaux:

- Le Lycée Commercial des Garçons, Pitești;
- Le Lycée Commercial “A. Bârseanu”, Brașov;
- Le Lycée Commercial de Filles, Brașov;
- Le Lycée Commercial de Garçons “Tasse Dumitrescu”, Mizil;
- Le Lycée Commercial de Garçons “Regele Carol I”, Constanța;
- Le Lycée Commercial de Filles, Constanța;
- Le Lycée Commercial de Garçons, Târgoviște.

5. Écoles industrielles:

- Le Collège Industriel Ménager, Pitești;
- L'École Technique Industrielle de deuxième degré, Pitești;
- L'École Technique Industrielle de deuxième degré, Brașov;
- L'École Technique Industrielle de deuxième degré, Buzău;
- L'École Technique Industrielle de premier degré Mizil, Buzău;
- Le Lycée Industriel de Filles “La Réunion des Femmes Roumaines” (RFR), Brașov;
- L'École Technique Industrielle de premier et deuxième degré, Constanța.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 548.

6. Écoles professionnelles:

- L'École Professionnelle de Filles "Teiuleanu", Pitești;
- L'École Professionnelle de Filles, Buzău.

7. Écoles ménagères:

- L'École Rurale de Ménage, Teiu, Argeș;
- L'École Urbaine de Ménage de premier degré, Buzău.

8. Écoles des métiers:

- L'École des Métiers, Pătârlagele (Buzău);
- L'École des Métiers, Sapoca (Buzău).

La situation réalisée montre un numéro total de 33 écoles citées par l'auteur, parmi lesquelles il y a 8 lycées théoriques, 3 écoles normales, 2 écoles théologiques, 7 lycées commerciaux, 7 écoles industrielles, 2 écoles professionnelles, 2 écoles de femmes au foyer, 2 écoles des métiers.

Elles sont réparties sur 5 départements (Argeș, Dâmbovița, Buzău, Brașov, Constanța), du total de 11 faisant partie de la Région Scolaire de Bucarest, pendant la période discutée.

Remus Ilie a mentionné un nombre plus grand d'écoles pratiques, comparativement à celles théoriques. Ce rapport peut être expliqué par le fait que les autorités roumaines de l'époque ont essayé de déplacer l'accent sur les écoles pratiques, en défaveur des écoles théoriques:

"La Reconstitution de l'Europe et de Notre Pays se fera avec des gens capables au niveau pratique et non pas théorique. D'entre eux, on aura besoin uniquement d'une minorité pour gouverner et donc d'une organisation urgente des écoles pratiques; et en parallèle avec cette organisation, on fera une propagande au niveau des masses populaires, pour l'enseignement pratique"⁴.

Nous apprenons de l'auteur que l'étude publiée dans *Școala Românească* a été réalisée avec les dates prises des questionnaires envoyées par le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, dans l'année scolaire 1942-1943, et remplies par les écoles.

Les rubriques du questionnaire, reprises par l'auteur dans chaque numéro de la revue sont: l'historique, le bâtiment de l'école, l'inventaire, le budget, les archives (un cas particulier est représenté par le Séminaire Théologique "Chesarie episcopul", de Buzău, pour lequel nous ne trouvons pas des références dans les archives), les directeurs, les élèves.

En ce qui concerne la rubrique "Les archives", elle nous offre pour chaque école des informations relatives aux dates des documents, les unités d'enseignement qui ont des archives complètes et celles qui en ont des parties qui manquent, les années pour lesquelles il n'y a pas des documents, les causes de leur inexistence et les institutions scolaires qui détiennent des archives d'autres écoles.

⁴ Iosif I. Gabrea, *Probleme de administrație și politică școlară*. Bucarest 1942. p. 9.

Des personnalités du monde de la culture et des archives ont écrit sur le problème des documents créés par des institutions, qui ont été perdus ou détruits. Parmi les raisons invoquées constamment par ces personnalités on retrouve celui d'une mauvaise législation des archives:

"[...] Des archives de 1867 à 1906 ne peuvent pas entrer dans le Patrimoine des Archives de l'État, à cause d'une mauvaise interprétation de la loi des Archives de l'État, qui n'oblige pas les institutions de l'État de rendre leurs archives au moment exigé par la loi"⁵.

C'est certain que la Loi d'organisation des Archives de l'État, avec ses modifications, est contraire au bon fonctionnement de l'activité scientifique des Archives de l'État, puisqu'elle n'oblige pas les institutions de l'État de rendre leurs archives à l'institution des Archives de l'État⁶.

Une autre raison qui a déterminé la destruction de quelques archives, mentionnée fréquemment dans l'étude parue dans *Școala Românească*, est la guerre (La Première Guerre Mondiale, n. n.). Ainsi, dans un bilan réalisé en 1943-1944, nous avons repéré quelques institutions de la Région Scolaire Bucarest dont les archives avaient été détruites:

Le Lycée commercial de garçons, Pitești: "Pour la période 1908-1919, l'école garde une petite partie des archives, détruite – la plupart – pendant la guerre de 1916-1919; [...]"⁸.

L'École Technique Industrielle, deuxième degré, Pitești: "[...] certaines dossiers ont été perdus [1902, 1903 et 1904] durant la guerre de 1916-1918"⁹.

⁵ Emil Gane, *Arhiva și războiul*, "Revista Arhivelor" 7 (1946), I, p. 146.

⁶ Les mêmes points de vue sont également partagés par Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu, *Arhivistica*, Bucarest 1970, p. 82-83: "[...] Par le décret no. 2231 de 1925, nous promulguons «La loi de l'organisation des Archives de l'Etat». [...] Par ceci nous précisons [...] le terme fixe de 30 ans d'ancienneté pour déposer les archives [...]".

L'importance de cette loi réside dans la mise au point du principe de la centralisation, l'unification du régime des archives dans toutes les provinces du pays et la stabilisation du pouvoir centrale. Néanmoins, son application a été aléatoire. La loi de 1925 ne se référerait pas à l'extension du principe que n'importe quel document, publique ou privé, indépendamment de qui l'a créé, devait être considéré comme un intérêt pour l'état. C'est pour cela, que la loi n'a pas pu empêcher la destruction et l'évasion des documents.

⁷ Une autre contribution au sujet de la destruction des document à cause de la guerre appartient à Constantin Moisil, *Problema Arhivelor Românești*, "Revista Arhivelor" 3 (1936-1937), 6-8, p.15-16 (l'étude a été publiée aussi dans le volume anniversaire *Arhivele Statului. 125 de ani de activitate. 1831-1956*, Bucarest 1957, p. 38): "[...] A l'occasion de la Première Guerre Mondiale, quelques archives ont été détruites, en partie par les armées de l'ennemi qui ont envahi les différentes régions du pays, et en partie par les armées alliées. La principale cible a été représentée par les archives des autorités provinciales de la région du front des Carpates, du Dunăre, și du Siret. Dans tous les villes et les villages où ont eu lieu des batailles ou par où les armées sont passées, toutes les archives ont été complètement anéanties".

⁸ R. Ilie, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 554.

Le Collège Industriel Ménager, Pitești: “Nous retrouvons les archives de 1911, mais ayant des manques considérables pour les années 1911-1917, – étant détruites par les armées d’occupation; de même, les archives des années 1917-1924 sont en grande désordre”¹⁰. L’idée de désordre des archives apparaît également dans ledit livre d’Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu¹¹.

L’École Rurale de Ménage, au village Teiu-Argeș: “Notre école détient les archives depuis sa création [1904], mais la majorité des documents enregistrés entre 1904-1918 a été perdue ou détruite durant la guerre”¹².

Également, les archives des unités d’enseignement du département de Buzău ont été détruites: “Le même destin ont eu aussi les archives scolaires et celles paroissiales, car à l’entrée des armées d’occupation, toutes les écoles élémentaires ont été transformées dans des étables, des hôpitaux et des casernes militaires”¹³.

Voici quelle était la situation des archives dans le bilan rédigé durant la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale.

L’École normale des garçons “Spiru Haret”: “Les archives de l’école entre 1901-1918 ont été détruites pendant l’occupation des années 1916-1918”¹⁴.

L’École technique industrielle de deuxième degré: “Les archives de l’école, depuis leur création [1902] et jusqu’au 18 septembre 1918, ont été détruites pendant l’occupation des années 1916-1918”¹⁵.

L’École Technique Industrielle “Grigore I. Mizil”: “Les archives entre 1902-1918 ont été anéanties pendant la guerre de 1916-1918”¹⁶.

Emil Gane concluait dans la revue des archives, *Revista Arhivelor*, parue en 1946, que “la période moderne et l’avant-guerres, notamment l’intervalle 1860-1944, demeure inconnue, dans beaucoup des domaines du passé de la ville Buzău. Ce fait représente une perte irremplaçable, car les archives, contrairement à la bibliothèque, ne peuvent plus être remplacées par un deuxième même document et dossier”¹⁷.

Même dans la ville de Constanța, nous rencontrons un cas où une partie des archives du Lycée “Mircea cel Bătrân”, contenant des documents de créés entre 1896 et 1919, a été détruite par la guerre¹⁸.

À cette occasion, il faut faire préciser que, à part les archives scolaires détruites par la guerre et mentionnées plus haut, il y avait des écoles qui détenaient leurs archives complètes, dès leur création, à compter le reste du total de 33.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 557.

¹¹ A. Sacerdoțeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 53: “A cause des évacuations et notamment du front de guerre, beaucoup d’archives ont été anéanties pendant cette horrible guerre. Les dégâts sont incalculables. Les matériels documentaires qui ont survécu à la conflagration ont été désorganisés [...]. De même, les archives personnelles ont beaucoup souffert”.

¹² R. Ilie, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

¹³ E. Gane, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁴ R. Ilie, *op. cit.*, novembre 1943, 11, p. 820.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 823-824.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, décembre 1943, 12, p. 898.

¹⁷ E. Gane, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

¹⁸ R. Ilie, *op. cit.*, janvier 1944, 1, p. 56.

Il existait aussi l'habitude de garder les fonds d'archives au sein d'autres institutions ou d'autres écoles. Ceci s'explique par "[...] la démolition des écoles au fil de l'histoire [...], par leur changement de spécialisation [...], par la dispersion des fonds suite à des calamités"¹⁹ ou à la suite de l'évacuation des écoles situées sur les territoires roumains cédés par la Roumanie en 1940 (le NV de la Transylvanie et le Cadrilater).

Voici quelques exemples d'écoles qui gardaient entre 1943-1944, à part leurs propres archives, les archives d'autres écoles.

À l'École normale de maîtresses, Pitești, se trouvaient les archives des écoles suivantes, désaffectées:

- L'École Normale de Filles, Pitești (désaffectée le 1^{er} novembre 1930);
- L'École Normale de Filles, Turnu Măgurele (désaffectée, le 1 septembre 1938);
- L'École Normale de Garçons, Pitești (désaffectée le 1^{er} septembre 1933)²⁰.

Le Lycée Théorique de Garçons "I. C. Brătianu", Pitești, détenait les archives des écoles suivantes, désaffectées:

- Le Collège Théorique "Principele Nicolae";
- Le Collège "Despina Doamna", Curtea de Argeș²¹.

Au sein du Lycée Théorique "Dr. I. Meșotă" de Brașov, se trouvaient les archives des écoles suivantes, désaffectées:

- Le Collège mixte de Bran;
- Le Collège mixte de Sf. Gheorghe;
- Le Collège mixte de Târgu Secuiesc²².

Au sein du Lycée de Filles "Principesa Elena", Brașov, existaient des documents provenant des écoles suivantes:

- L'École Civile et Commerciale Hongroise de Filles, Brașov;
- La Section Normale de Filles "Elena Doamna", Bucarest, qui a fonctionné à côté de ce lycée à partir du 1^{er} septembre 1921 jusqu'au 1^{er} juillet 1929;
- Le cours d'été pour les directrices d'établissements scolaires;
- L'École Normale d'application de la Section Normale;
- L'École Secondaire de Filles, Satulung, Brașov;
- Le Collège de Filles, Sfântu Gheorghe.

L'École Normale de Filles, Ploiești, avait en possession les archives de l'École Normale de Filles "Domnița Florica" pour les directrices d'établissements scolaires, Brașov, qui a fonctionné entre 1921 et 1932²³.

¹⁹ DGAS, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁰ R. Ilie, *op. cit.* juillet-août 1943, 7-8, p. 555-556.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 549.

²² *Ibidem*, septembre 1943, 9, p. 662.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 664.

De même, l'École technique industrielle de deuxième degré, Brașov, détenait les archives des établissements scolaires suivantes:

- Le Collège industriel, Bran;
- Le Collège industriel, Sf. Gheorghe;
- Le Lycée industriel, Târgu Mureș (seulement une partie de ses archives);
- Le Collège industriel, Odorhei²⁴.

L'École professionnelle de Filles (département de Buzău) gardait une partie des archives de "L'Orphelinat Munca", désaffectés²⁵.

Le Lycée commercial de garçons "Tasse Dumitrescu" de Mizil gardait des documents provenant de l'ancien Collège théorique de filles, qui a fonctionné entre 1934-1938²⁶.

À l'École des métiers Pătârlagele nous trouvons les documents de l'ancien Collège théorique mixte "Dr. C. Angelescu", qui a fonctionné entre 1919-1938 et ceux de l'ancienne École des métiers Grivița – Ialomița²⁷.

L'École des métiers Sapoca – Buzău avait dans sa possession les archives de l'École élémentaire des métiers de Vintilă Vodă – Buzău et du Collège industriel de Monteoru²⁸.

À ce niveau, les écoles de Constanța avaient une situation particulière, car elles abritaient, principalement, les archives des établissements scolaires évacuées de Cadrilater, territoire perdu par la Roumanie en 1940, comme suit:

- Le Lycée "Mircea cel Bătrân", Constanța, avait: "les archives de l'École Normale d'Instituteurs Constanța, [désaffectée en septembre 1931], celle du Séminaire théologique de Constanța [désaffectée en septembre 1931] et celle du Collège Mixte de Medgidia et du Lycée N. Filipescu, évacués de Bazargic [1940]"²⁹.

- Le Lycée Théorique de filles "Domnița Ileana": Conformément à l'étude "ici se trouvent les archives de l'ancienne École Normale de Filles, Constanța, [qui a fonctionné entre 1919-1938] et du Lycée de Filles «Regina Maria», évacué de Bazargic [1940]"³⁰.

- Le Lycée Commercial de Garçons "Regele Carol I": "Ici sont gardées les archives du Collège Commercial Mixte Balcic, du Collège Commercial de Garçons Bazargic et de l'École Commerciale Supérieure Bazargic [évacuées en 1940]"³¹.

- Le Lycée Commercial de Filles: "Il abrite les archives de l'École Élémentaire de Commerce (filles) des années 1929-1931, quand a fonctionné séparément, jusqu'en 1931"³².

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 665.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, décembre 1943, 12, p. 895.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 897.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 900.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 901.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, janvier 1944, 1, p. 56.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

³¹ *Ibidem*, février 1944, 2, p. 143.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 145.

- L'École Technique Industrielle de deuxième degré garde les documents du Collège industriel de Garçons de Bazargic, évacué en 1940³³.

Un dernier point dans la liste des lycées qui détiennent les archives des autres établissements scolaires est représenté par la ville Târgoviște (du département de Dâmbovița):

- Le Lycée "Enăchiță Văcărescu" a gardé, à part ses propres archives, celles de l'École Normale "I. H. Rădulescu" (Târgoviște) et celles du Collège Mixte "Nicolae Titulescu" (Pucioasa)³⁴.

- Le Lycée Commercial de Garçons: "[...] ici se trouve les archives de l'ancienne École Commerciale de Filles, désaffectée le 31 Août 1933 [elle était créée le 1 septembre 1929]"³⁵.

On rencontre, également, trois lycées dont les documents avaient été confiés à d'autres établissements scolaires.

- Le Lycée Industriel de Filles "La Réunion des Femmes Roumaines" (RFR), Brașov. Dans ce cas-ci, une partie des archives a été confiée à la Bibliothèque Astra³⁶.

- Le Lycée Commercial "A. Bârseanu", Brașov: "Les archives de l'ancienne École Commerciale Roumaine qui a fonctionné entre 1869-1918 se trouvent au sein des archives du Lycée «A. Șaguna». L'école possède des archives propres à partir de 1918, y compris les archives de l'ancienne École Supérieure Hongroise de Commerce"³⁷.

- Le Lycée de Filles "C. Carabella", Târgoviște: "Entre 1929-1933 à la place de ce lycée fonctionnait une École Supérieure de Filles (des cours extrabudgétaires), dont l'archive a été confiée au Lycée Commercial des Garçons de Târgoviște"³⁸.

En conclusion, nous considérons que cette étude est significative, par l'utilité et la variété des dates qu'il met à la disposition des lecteurs. Au-delà des informations réfléchissant la situation des archives scolaires de la Région de Bucarest, analysée en détail dans le présent article, une autre caractéristique du système d'enseignement qui en résulte est le changement fréquent du réseau scolaire et de la politique éducationnelle en Roumanie, pendant la première moitié du XX^{ème} siècle.

³³ *Ibidem*, mars 1944, 3, p. <211>.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, avril 1944, 4, p. 478-479.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 482.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, septembre 1943, 9, p. 668.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 669.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, avril 1944, 4, p. 481.

School Archives in Bucharest in a Study Published during the Second World War

(abstract)

Since 1943, in the interval of nine issues between July 1943 and April 1944, the Official Bulletin of the Ministry of National Culture and Cults, "*Școala Românească* [Romanian School]" published the study entitled *Școlile secundare din Regiunea București* [The Secondary Schools in Bucharest Region]", written by the General Inspector Remus Ilie, relying upon data in the questionnaires sent to the schools during 1942-1943 school year.

The most important schools – according to the author – from the counties that at that moment composed the Bucharest School Region are presented one by one. It is about the counties of Argeș, Brașov, Buzău, Constanța, Dâmbovița. The respects taken into account when presenting the secondary schools refer to the school's history and building, the inventory of the goods, the budget, the archives, the directors, the pupils.

This study presents and examines the summary of the heading entitled "Arhiva [The Archive]", in which one could find important information for each school, related to: the extreme dates of the documents, the years when the archives is missing, as long as the causes for this absence, such as: the delivery of the documents to other institutions, but especially their loss or damage by the occupation armies during the First World War, a cause that made that even the entire archive since the setting up of a school to be lost.

Meanwhile, in order to understand the history of the school archives, we regard also significant the information according to which the schools taken into account held the archives of other educational institutions that had been suppressed in time or evacuated in 1940, as it is the case for the schools in Cadrilater, Constanța county.

El Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926): lazo histórico permanente entre Rumanía y España

Andreea Mira

Keywords: *Documentary Fonds; Spanish Legation in Bucharest; Diplomatic Relationship between Spain and Romania*

Introducción

El Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest se encuentra en el Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), uno de los seis archivos nacionales de España. Dicho archivo, es considerado “el tercer archivo del mundo en lo que a volumen se refiere y su consulta es obligada para obtener cualquier antecedente sobre la arquitectura, el urbanismo, las obras públicas, la educación, la cultura, el turismo, la economía, la hacienda, la justicia, etc.”¹

Todos estos temas mencionados abarca también el Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926). Podemos asegurarlo por el trabajo de investigación presentado en junio 2014 en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Documentación, Universidad Complutense de Madrid². Para dicho trabajo se llevó a cabo un estudio histórico empleándose una metodología cualitativa, de modo que se ha trabajado con el fondo documental físicamente en el AGA y con la legislación vinculada al mismo.

La información, bibliografía y las fuentes documentales relacionadas con el fondo documental objeto de este artículo, se ha buscado y consultado en bases de datos como:

PARES, el Portal de Archivos Españoles para la localización del fondo documental, búsqueda de copias, originales y otros documentos relacionados con el fondo documental objeto de estudio del trabajo.

Gazeta, base de datos histórica de disposiciones y noticias publicadas en los diarios oficiales, para las búsquedas de la legislación y noticias entre 1880-1926, relativas al fondo documental objeto de estudio del trabajo.

Hemerotecas Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España para la búsqueda de la legislación y noticias entre 1880-1926, relacionadas con el fondo documental.

¹ Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte. Archivos. Archivo General de la Administración. Presentación del Archivo General de la Administración [en línea]. <http://www.mecd.gob.es/cultura-mecd/areas-cultura/archivos/mc/archivos/aga/presentacion.html> [Consultado el 20/10/2014].

² Andreea Mira. *Instrumentos de descripción del fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)* (Tutora Susana M^a Ramírez Martín), Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Facultad de Ciencias de la Documentación. Departamento de Archivística. 2014.

Dialnet, base de datos de publicaciones científicas, para la localización de trabajos que hacen referencia al Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest entre 1880-1926.

Google Académico, base de datos de trabajos y publicaciones académicos, para obtener información sobre referencias a la Legación de España en Bucarest entre 1880-1926 o datos relacionas con el fondo documental estudiado.

Catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Rumanía para la búsqueda de obras, publicaciones que puedan ser de nuestro interés para la realización del trabajo.

Catálogo General de la Biblioteca Nacional de España, para la búsqueda de referencias bibliográficas disponibles en la biblioteca sobre el fondo documental.

Igualmente se han consultado los inventarios en línea de los fondos del Archivo Nacional de Rumanía, para buscar copias, originales y otros documentos relacionados con el fondo documental objeto de estudio del presente trabajo.

Y en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de España (AHN) se han encontrado otros fondos documentales complementarios al fondo documental estudiado³.

En general la información relacionada con el Fondo Documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926) es escasa, aunque sí se han encontrado obras que hacen referencia a los empleados de la Legación de España en Bucarest.

Un trabajo muy complejo, ya que cita sendas obras y habla sobre varios trabajadores de la Legación, como son el ministro plenipotenciario Duque de Amalfi y el secretario Ramón de Basterra⁴, es *Diplomacia en torno a La obra de Trajano: un discurso y un artículo desconocidos de Ramón de Basterra sobre Rumanía*. Su autor Mariano Martín Rodríguez ha empleado como fuente documental los fondos complementarios al fondo documental del Archivo General de la Administración, custodiados actualmente en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de España⁵. El discurso al que se refiere, es el leído por Ramón de Basterra en la inauguración de la Universidad de Cluj, donde fue recibido con vítores⁶.

En el mismo discurso se menciona también la hermandad de España con Rumanía, ya que fueron los emperadores españoles Trajano y Adriano fundadores de Dacia. Y relata el secretario el plan ideado junto a autoridades rumanas, de realizar visitas culturales a Sevilla, España, tierra de estos emperadores.

En general, y testigos son los documentos analizados, Rumanía y España deseaban construir proyectos comunes. Es por ello que se fundó la Legación de España en Bucarest nada más ser Rumanía declarada independiente y proclamada

³ Fondo documental *Correspondencia-Embajadas y Legaciones-Rumania*: Mº Exteriores_H,1714 a Mº Exteriores_H,1719 (1850-1931) y el fondo documental *Correspondencia-Consulados-Bucarest*: Mº Exteriores_H,1842 (1900-1924).

⁴ En la obra *Diplomacia en torno a La obra de Trajano: un discurso y un artículo desconocidos de Ramón de Basterra sobre Rumania* el autor menciona que Ramón de Basterra era amigo de Nicolae Iorga, y este se refería a él como "Amicul meu spaniol Basterra".

⁵ Véase cita 3.

⁶ Carta de Ramón Basterra, como encargado de negocios al Ministro de Estado fechada 5/02/1920 en Bucarest. AHN. Mº Exteriores_H,1714. 1er legajo. Carta nº 19.

reino⁷, cuyo rey fue Carlos I (1881-1914). Le sigue en el trono su sobrino Fernando I hasta 1927, un año después de la fecha extrema del fondo documental estudiado.

Fue época de inestabilidad política en Rumanía y de convulsiones sociales. No obstante, hay mejoras y poco a poco consiguen tratados comerciales⁸ e intelectuales⁹.

España, también es país de dos reyes entre 1880 y 1926 (años límites del fondo documental de nuestro interés): Alfonso XII hasta 1885 y su hijo Alfonso XIII desde el día del nacimiento de este en 1886, hasta 1941 y con la regencia de su madre, María Cristina¹⁰, hasta 1902.

Las turbulencias sociales, como el nacionalismo catalán, la rebelión de la Península de Cuba, y la mala situación de las clases populares, también representan el reinado de Alfonso XIII, que empezó a gobernar desde los 16 años. Aunque el número de la población aumenta, se desarrolla la industria y florece la cultura, la inestabilidad política es un grave problema de la monarquía.

Todas las situaciones comprometidas que atañen a ambos países, y también a Europa o al mundo, se reflejan en los documentos del Fondo Documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926). Explicaremos más adelante qué series documentales componen el fondo documental, una vez descrito con la norma ISAD(G).

Pero antes, haremos una parada en el camino para fijarnos en uno de los documentos del fondo documental el cual, nos da pistas de cómo era el fondo documental en 1920. ¿Será distinto del que hemos descrito en 2014?

Así como, hablaremos sobre la Legación de España en Bucarest para determinar ¿qué es una legación?, ¿quién trabaja en una legación? y ¿por qué es importante una legación?

Y dicho lo dicho, vamos a empezar por lo último mencionado, es decir, por la legación.

¿Por qué una Legación de España en Bucarest?

Una legación de España en otro país es una representación diplomática del Reino de España en aquel país. Es una oficina, más pequeña que un Consulado o que una Embajada.

Entre los documentos de la Legación de España en Bucarest, hay documentos firmados por el cónsul, lo que nos indica que según dicta el Reglamento de la Carrera Consular¹¹, el Consulado se consideraba adjunto a la Legación.

⁷ En 1878 se firmó el Tratado de Berlín por el cual Rumania es declarada independiente y en 1881, se declara reino.

⁸ *Tratado de Comercio y Navegación entre Rumania y España*. Caja nº 11889. Año 1882. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

⁹ *Tratado de la Propiedad Intelectual*. Caja nº 11899. Año 1921. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

¹⁰ María Christina Désirée Henriette Felicitas Rainiera von Habsburg-Lothringen (cambiado a Österreich), segunda esposa del rey Alfonso XII, archiduquesa de Austria y princesa de Hungría, Bohemia, Eslovenia, Croacia y Dalmacia.

¹¹ *Reglamento de la Carrera Consular de 1883*. Capítulo Primero. Art. 1º.

Además del cónsul, estaba el enviado extraordinario y ministro plenipotenciario que según la ley¹², ocupa el segundo rango en la escala de cargos diplomáticos. Después le sigue el cargo de ministro residente y los secretarios de primera, segunda y tercera clase.

En realidad, para la Legación de España en Bucarest es muy difícil establecer un organigrama fijo ya que, las normas¹³ permiten asumir funciones de varios cargos por falta de personal y los empleados cambian frecuentemente. Por ejemplo, en 1884 en la Legación trabajaban un ministro residente y su secretario,¹⁴ en 1920 trabajan el ministro plenipotenciario¹⁵, el primer y tercer secretario, pero hay documentos donde firma un vicecónsul.

No obstante, la antefirma de encargado de negocios, enviado extraordinario y ministro plenipotenciario y del secretario, aparece en los documentos regularmente. El primer ministro plenipotenciario que trabaja en la Legación de Bucarest es D. Juan Pedro de Aladro, mandado el 25 de mayo de 1881¹⁶ a Bucarest para felicitar a SS MM los Reyes de Rumanía por su coronación. Ciertamente es que, pasado poco más de un mes, el 1 de julio de 1881 se abre oficialmente la Legación de España en Bucarest.

La idea de crear una legación en Bucarest se barajó inmediatamente después de saber que Rumanía ya es reconocida como independiente por todos los países. En la sesión del Senado Español celebrada el 27 de febrero de 1880, Rumanía ha sido uno de los temas del día ya “que en ese reconocimiento no va el Gobierno a llevar a cabo solamente un acto oficial sino [sic!] entablar relaciones entre dos pueblos de un mismo origen, pues sabido es que el pueblo rumano data de una colonia española de la época de los Emperadores romanos, y no ha olvidado las costumbres y simpatías del que con él tiene un origen común”¹⁷.

Añadiéndose a nuestro origen común otros intereses respecto a Rumanía: “La posición de ese país es de gran influencia política: tiene la llave del Danubio, por estar colocado entre la Rusia, los Estados que se formen después y el Estado Otomano, y formará indudablemente causa común con los demás Estados de la Europa civilizada. Felicito, por tanto, al Sr. Ministro de Estado y al Gobierno por esa predisposición que ha manifestado hoy, que resonará en los corazones de Bucharest, muy simpáticos a los corazones españoles”¹⁸.

¹² *Ley Orgánica de la Carrera Diplomática. Consular y de Intérpretes de 1883*. Título primero. Art.1º.

¹³ *Reglamento de la Carrera Diplomática*. 1883. Capítulo II. Art.22.

¹⁴ El ministro residente, Marqués del Moral (Miguel Bertodano). Caja nº 11886. Año 1884. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

¹⁵ El ministro plenipotenciario, Duque de Amalfi (Antonio de Zayas). Caja nº 11886. Año 1920. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

¹⁶ ...el Sr. Aladro lleva a Bucharest una misión de mera cortesía... *Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid*. Num. 145 de 1881.

¹⁷ Marqués de Seoane. Senado. *La Época*. Madrid. 1880, suplemento al número 9, 940.

¹⁸ Véase cita 12.

El sí definitivo a la Legación, lo tenemos con la coronación del rey Carlos I: “Dice Le Nord de París, que el gobierno español ha felicitado al de Rumania y que se piensa en crear una legación de España en Bucharest”¹⁹.

A ello ha contribuido Carlos I, ya siendo príncipe llamó a entrevistas privadas a representantes españoles que llegaban a Bucarest para ofrecerles su confianza, así relata uno de ellos: “SAR me cogió con cordial benevolencia. Hízome sentar a su lado y más de media hora departió conmigo. La expresión sincera de los sentimientos de amistad y simpatía del Príncipe de S.M. el Rey: sus recuerdos de España donde estuvo en 1861... Puede VE asegurar a S.M. el Rey que en el Príncipe de Rumanía tiene un amigo verdadero y un admirador entusiasta de la altas prendas de Su Majestad, de la energía del pueblo español y del valor de nuestro ejército”²⁰.

Desde su fundación, la Legación de España en Bucarest ha sabido mantener, estimular y desarrollar puntos de unión entre los dos países. Sus funciones eran proporcionar documentos a los españoles residentes en Rumanía y velar por sus intereses, proporcionar información y apoyo a los visitantes de los dos países e informar al Ministerio de Estado Español sobre la situación de Rumanía. En consecuencia, se transmite información desde la Legación para Madrid sobre asuntos de política, información financiera, sanitaria, demográfica, geográfica, cultural, etc.

Se mandaban despachos cada día, cada semana y memorias mensuales con información, así como se recibían documentos desde el Ministerio de Estado de Madrid o de otras instituciones, personas físicas y jurídicas. Lo que se recibía, más los borradores y las minutas de los documentos, se guardaban en el archivo de la Legación de España en Bucarest.

El fondo documental producido y archivado por la Legación entre 1880-1926, se ha mandado a España, se guardó en el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y se custodia actualmente en el Archivo General de la Administración donde se registró su entrada el 24 de abril de 1974.

Desde que entró en el archivo y hasta la fecha (año 2014) está sin tratar y presenta signos de haber sido consultado muy pocas veces (los documentos tienen polvo acumulado, están metidos en las cajas plegados y en legajos, grapados o juntados con alambres).

Entre los documentos hay índices del archivo de la legación elaborados por los ministros plenipotenciarios según el reglamento de archivos de cancillerías²¹. Estos índices se mandaban regularmente a España y pueden ser un apoyo para los investigadores; permiten seguir las huellas de los documentos, los expedientes y las series documentales. A continuación les presentamos uno de estos índices.

¹⁹ *El Globo*. Madrid. 06/04/1881. Num.1996.

²⁰ Carta del ministro plenipotenciario de Berlín en misión extraordinaria en Bucarest, El Conde de Benomar al Exmo. Señor Ministro de Estado. 11/05/1880. Mº_Exteriores_H,1717. Despacho nº 4.

²¹ *Reglamento de contabilidad. servicios de cancillerías y custodia de archivos en los Consulados de España*. 02/06/1889.

Anejo al despacho n° 84

El anejo al despacho n° 84 del 28 de junio de 1920 es *el Índice del archivo de la Legación de España en Bucarest*. De hecho, es una minuta, el último borrador, ya que el original fue mandado al ministro de estado en Madrid. El ministro plenipotenciario que elabora el índice es el Duque de Amalfi (Antonio de Zayas-Fernández de Córdoba y Beaumont).

El índice nos confiesa que aquél día había 29 legajos en el archivo de la Legación con las fechas extremas 1899-1918. De estos legajos, 11 corresponden al Consulado de España en Bucarest. Los otros legajos atienden a asuntos de la legación, muy diversos, pero sólo con leer el tema de estos podemos entender algunas de las funciones de la Legación y además veremos los movimientos más importantes de nuestros países reflejados en él. A continuación, citaremos algunos de estos:

El legajo n° 12 tiene la fecha 1910 y comprende:

Legación de S.M en Bucarest. Despachos = Reales Ordenes = Reales Ordenes Circulares = Notas = Consulados = Varios.

Los despachos son las minutas y borradores de las cartas que manda a Madrid. Las Reales Ordenes y Reales Ordenes Circulares son las recibidas de Madrid para el conocimiento de la Legación. Las reales Órdenes son manuscritas y comentadas, directas para los empleados de la Legación, y las Circulares son mecanografiadas y públicas. En todo caso son en español.

El legajo n° 13, fechas extremas 1910-1911:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest = Expedientes Personales de Riquelme (1910) = Bottalico (1911) = Alexandre (1911) y Sampere (1911).

Aquí es importante mencionar que los expedientes personales no están en el *Fondo Documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. Sólo hay un documento testigo indicándonos que sí han existido.

Legajo n° 17, fecha 1912:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Consulados = Varios = Epidemia colérica.

Como se puede observar, uno de los asuntos que tratan en estos legajos es sobre el cólera. Es frecuente encontrar informes sanitarios en el fondo documental con listas de enfermedades, qué zonas, número de enfermos, plano de morbilidad y mortalidad. Y sobre todo con las enfermedades de la monarquía rumana.

Legajo n° 18, fecha 1913:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Despachos = Reales Ordenes = Reales Ordenes Circulares = Notas = Consulados = Varios = Información Política del Ministerio de Estado sobre Los Balcanes.

Legajo n° 19, fecha 1914:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest = Rumania. Servia [sic]. Bulgaria = Despachos = Reales Ordenes = Reales Ordenes Circulares = Notas = Correspondencia Consular. = Varios.

Legajo n° 23, fecha 1918:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Despachos = Notas = Varios = Tratado de Paz de Bucarest. = Independencia de Ukraina.

Como en estos casos, información política básicamente encontramos en todos los despachos, con muchos detalles de planes, estrategias, etc. Entre los materiales adjuntos a los despachos encontramos mapas de distanciamientos entre ciudades, entre los puertos y puntos clave con descripciones.

Legajo nº 25, fechas 1909-1915:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest = Cuentas pagadas. = Documentos referentes à los Señores Don Manuel Multedo y Don Luis Losada. = Correspondencia con la Casa Huth de Londres y con el Banco de Rumania = Recibos Referentes a las Protecciones Rusa y Rumana. = Tratado de Extradición = Reglamentación Consular. = Algunos Mensajes de la Corona de Sus Majestades Los Reyes Carlos I y Fernando I de Rumania = Propiedad Intelectual.

Los señores Multedo y Losada, fueron trabajadores de la Legación. Encontramos en fondo documental exhortos de los empleados, referencias, méritos, etc.

En cuanto a los mensajes de los reyes y de las reinas, siempre se transcriben como cita. Los reyes sobre todo, dan discursos en las Cámaras Rumanas, y el ministro plenipotenciario de turno en la Legación manda el discurso mecanografiado en francés, tal como lo recibe de la institución rumana correspondiente, más la traducción al español hecha por él mismo y manuscrita, junto a una carta con comentarios.

Legajo nº 26, fechas 1912-1915:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Servia [sic] = Despachos políticos = Notas = Correspondencia Varia. = Protección de Servia [sic] durante la guerra. = Protegidos Españoles Israelitas. = Epidemia Colérica.

La protección de los españoles israelitas en Rumanía, era una de las preocupaciones de la Legación de España en Bucarest. Desde Madrid se le solicita informes sobre su situación y se le pide incentivar a la población hebrea para no perder sus costumbres e idioma²².

Legajo nº 27, fechas 1915-1918:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Bulgaria = asistencia a los prisioneros de guerra Rumanos por la Legación de S. M. en Sofía.

Legajo nº 28, fechas 1914-1918:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Protección de Beligerantes durante la guerra (I).

Legajo nº 29, fechas 1914-1918:

Legación de S. M. en Bucarest. = Protección de Beligerantes durante la guerra (II).

²² Se ofrecen estimulaciones salariales a los hebreos que quieren ser administrados en España. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. Carta nº 10. 2/07/1881. Legajo nº 1. Caja 54/11885. AGA.

Alcance y contenido actual del fondo documental

En 2014 se describió el Fondo Documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926) con la norma ISAD(G). En el área de contenido y estructura se ha determinado su alcance y contenido:

1. Cónsul:

- Informes: manuscritos, castellano (1886-1926)
- Memorias: manuscritos, castellano (1920-1926)
- Pasaportes: preimpresos, manuscritos, castellano (1886-1926)

2. Enviado extraordinario. Ministro Plenipotenciario. Encargado de Negocios:

- Informes: manuscritos, minutas, castellano, algunos tienen material adjunto (1881-1926)

- Índices archivo: manuscritos, castellano (1920-1926)
- Recibos: preimpresos, manuscritos, castellano, rumano (1886-1926)
- Registros recaudación: mecanografiados, castellano (1881-1926)
- Registros gastos extraordinarios: mecanografiados, castellano (1881-1926)
- Cuentas de gastos: manuscritos, minutas (1886-1926)
- Instrucciones: manuscritas, castellano y francés (1882-1926)

- Correspondencia recibida: manuscritos, preimpresos, mecanografiados, castellano, inglés, francés, sellados y firmados, originales, llevan material adjunto (1881-1926)

- Correspondencia enviada: manuscritos y mecanografiados, preimpresos, minutas, llevan material adjunto, en castellano, francés, inglés, carta cifrada (1880-1926)

- Telegramas: preimpresos, mecanografiados, manuscritos, castellano, francés, rumano (1882-1926)

- Memorias: manuscritas y mecanografiadas, castellano, minutas (1883-1926)

3. Secretaría

- Correspondencia Ministro plenipotenciario: mecanografiados, castellano, francés (1920-1926)

La documentación que nos brinda este fondo documental es impresionante. Hay información triste (guerras, atentados, muertes, etc.) pero también gratificante (bodas, banquetes, agradecimientos, etc.) Además, los documentos adjuntos a los despachos enriquecen el fondo por partida doble (por la información y por sus características). Se pueden encontrar aquí periódicos (ej. ejemplares de *Le Peuple Roumain*, *Journal Quotidien*, etc.), ejemplares de la Constitución de Rumania de 1866, sellos, billetes de dinero antiguo, libros, cuadernos, pasaportes, documentos de identidad, mapas antiguos, guías de armas, tarjetas de militares, etc. Sobre todo las cartas sensibles de las personas físicas, no tienen precio.

Conclusiones

Llegados a este punto, hemos visto que los índices elaborados por los diligentes de la Legación nos sirven de referencia en las investigaciones. Nos

advierten de lo que guardaron para buscarlo, si en el fondo documental que estudiamos falta.

El ejemplo dado anteriormente es una tarea entre muchas otras que efectuaron los diplomáticos españoles en Rumanía. Ya que, aunque puede parecer que lo más importante eran el comercio y la política, trabajaron también para la cultura y la amistad.

Sobre todo los ministros plenipotenciarios le tenían gran afecto a la monarquía rumana y no perdían ninguna ocasión para acudir a las veladas organizadas por la Casa Real Rumana. Así lo narran en las cartas: “[...] ha habido gran recepción en el Palacio... un gran banquete... en la que tuvimos la honra los individuos del Cuerpo Diplomático de presentar nuestras felicitaciones a SSMM [...]”²³. Otro ejemplo es la carta de agradecimiento que le manda el director de la *Revista de Beneficencia* de España a la reina de Rumanía en 1885²⁴, o los tres epitalamios sonetos del Duque de Amalfi para la Princesa María en sus bodas²⁵.

Todo lo cuentan en las cartas con el más mínimo detalle y resaltan la hospitalidad del pueblo rumano. Basterra queda sorprendido cuando en una visita junto a Nicolae Iorga, las escuelas le reciben con la bandera española alborada y le saludan con *Traiasca Hyspania*.²⁶

En plan cultural, encontramos información sobre congresos, como la sesión celebrada por la Academia Rumana en honor al S. Ramón y Cajal o el *1^{er} Congreso de Estudios Bizantinos en Bucarest*²⁷, la Oficina de Relaciones Culturales Españolas²⁸, etc.

En conclusión, consideramos importante el hecho de que existió una Legación de España en Bucarest, primero por habernos dejado este maravilloso fondo documental: lazo permanente entre Rumanía y España. Aun cuando se condensa en 16 cajas, 2m/l, contiene tanta información todavía sin explotar, pareciendo un diamante en bruto.

Segundo, por haber mantenido las relaciones entre dos países tan lejanos pero semejantes:

“El Gobierno Rumano aprecia en cuanto vale y tiene en mucho la amistad del pueblo español; no olvida que una Colonia española traída por Trajano fue el origen del pueblo de Rumania que conserva idioma usos y tipo semejante a los

²³ Memoria mensual del mes de diciembre 1884.24/01/1885. Mº Exteriores_H,1717. AHN.

²⁴ Caja 11888. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

²⁵ *A Su Alteza Real la Serenísima / Señora Princesa Maria de Rumania / en Sus Bodas con Su Majestad el Rey / Alejandro I de los Servios. [sic] Croatas y Eslovenos*. Carta 161. 1920. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

²⁶ Carta de Ramón de Basterra al ministro de estado. 22 /05/1919. Leg 2º. Mº Exteriores_H,1717. AHN.

²⁷ Carta fechada en Bucarest el 21/04/1924. Caja 11898. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

²⁸ Libro registro. 1922. *Fondo documental de la Legación de España en Bucarest (1880-1926)*. AGA.

de sus antepasados y desea vivamente cultivar relaciones con España, pueblo latino como ellos [...]”²⁹.

The Documentary Fonds of the Legation of Spain in Bucharest (abstract)

The Documentary fond of the Legation of Spain in Bucharest (1880-1926) was produced by the Legation of Spain in Bucharest, officially opened on 1 July 1888. It was created in Romania and transferred to Spain, Madrid. It is guarded by the General Administration Archive since 1974 and is constituted mainly of correspondence between the Minister Plenipotentiary shift in Bucharest and the Ministry of State for Madrid, but is supplemented with other materials attached to the offices, with other correspondence and other documents archived by the Legation. This documentary fonds offers political, financial, geographic, cultural, health information, etc. and it is a faithful mirror of the geographical, political and social context of Romania and Spain at that period.

²⁹ Carta nº 4. Conde Benomar al Exmo. Ministro de Estado. 10/05/1880. Leg 2º. Mº Exteriores_H,1717. AHN.

The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino (Dolfin) and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni¹

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Keywords: *Medieval Chronicles; Medieval Manuscripts; 15th century Venice; 16th century Venice*

Manuscript:

Codex It. VII. 794 originated in the donation of Girolamo Contarini (no 96²) and was mentioned in the former catalogue at Marciana National Library as “*Cronaca di Venezia dall’origine della Città sino all’anno 1458 (attribuita al Zorzi Dolfin)*”, while the other former catalogue – “*Soggetti Veneti*” – changed the finishing year: “*sino al 1468, attribuita a Giorgio Dolfin*”. Nowadays, it could be consulted only as microfilm, Pos. Marc. 143.

According to the Marcian catalogues and also to the viewpoints of those that have taken it into consideration, the codex belongs to the 16th century³ or, as Freddy Thiriet considered, to the first years of that century⁴. Its technical features were emphasized by Maria Zannoni⁵, and the chronicle inserted in it is entitled “*Cronicha*

¹ It is necessary to underline that when this study has been written, we had not the edition of this work at disposal, published as Zorzi Dolfin, *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destretto. Origini-1458* (ed. by Angela Caracciolo & Chiara Frison), 2 volumes, Venice 2007-2009.

² See also Angela Caracciolo Aricò, *Nel gran mare delle cronache: la Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua Provintia et Destretto di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Quaderni veneti*” 34 (2001), p. 17-32 (17).

³ Maria Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*” 101 (1941-1942), part II, p. 515-546 (515); Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin. cronista veneziano del sec. XI*, “*Atti e Memorie della [Reale] Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti in Padova*”, new series, 58, 343 (1941-1942), p. 37-55 (47 note 2); Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari nella Cronaca di Giorgio Dolfin*, “*Nuova Rivista Storica*” 26 (1942), VI, p. 201-215 (201); Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 116; Julian Raby, *Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II*, “*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*” 43 (1980), p. 242-246 (242); Rona Goffen, *Bellini. S. Giobbe and Altar Egos*, “*Artibus et Historiae*” 7 (1986), 14, p. 57-70.

⁴ Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l’histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, “*Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire, publiés par l’École Française de Rome*”, 1954, p. 241-292 (286).

⁵ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 515; see also Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani – Classe VII (nn. 501-1001)* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanello), Florence 1963, p. 85-86 apud A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

*de la nobel cità de Venetia et de la sua provintia et destretto*⁶ or “*Cronaca delle famiglie nobili di Venezia e della stessa città dalla sua origine sino l'anno 1478*”⁷, although the title in the Marcian catalogue notes that it would have been ended when narrating events in year 1458⁸, a detail that corresponds to the chronicle itself, and not to the codex as a whole. Considered by F. Thiriet as “*le codex le plus beau, sans doute, des premières années du XVI^e siècle*”⁹, the codex has two page numberings, among which the original one is discontinuous, while the modern one covers the entire codex¹⁰, for which reason we would refer hereafter to the latter. The manuscript counts 474 leaves¹¹, among which the first ones include various stuff, such as a historical fragment due to Pietro Dolfin, referring to the release of Venetian *provveditore* Giorgio Corner in 1433 (p. 3a-14a)¹² and named by M. Zannoni as “*cronachetta Corner*”¹³, the list of the patrician families with the respective coats-of-arms (p. 38a-68b), a list of the doges (p. 69a-84b) and finally a summary indicating the corresponding leaves in the chronicle (p. 85a-105a)¹⁴. The chronicle itself covers the leaves between 112 and 450 of the codex¹⁵, with a proper original page numbering along with the modern one (1-350)¹⁶. According to F. Thiriet and A. Carile, it starts as follows: “*Questo si e il tratado de la cronicha de la magnificha e nobel zita di Venetia ...*” (p. 112a)¹⁷. On the other hand, I have personally noted a reversal of the first words: “*In questo tractado si e la Cronicha de la magnificha et nobil cita de Uenetia et de tutto il suo destretto la quale citade e stata edificata da ueri et boni Christiani [...]*”. In addition, this incipit is introduced through the following title, noted only by A. Carile: “*Capitolo primo de lo exordio de la cronicha de la nobel cita de Uenetia et de la sua prouintia et destretto.*”¹⁸ Unfortunately, the microfilm comes to an end with p. 51a, when referring to year 893, regarded as being under the dogeship of Giovanni Partecipazio, which certainly means a dating error,

⁶ A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio (Zorzi)*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 40, Rome, 1991, p. 498-499 (499); Christiane Neerfeld, «Historia per forma di Diaria». *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, p. 75.

⁷ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider*, “*Art Bulletin*” 41 (1959), 1, p. 39-57.

⁸ See also Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983, p. 16; Maria Maddalena Sarnataro, *La rivolta di Candia del 1363-65 nelle fonti veneziane*, “*Studi Veneziani*”, new series, 31 (1996), p. 127-153 (131 note 26).

⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁰ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 516; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2.

¹¹ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 515-516; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹² See also M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 516.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 517-518, 519-520.

¹⁴ See also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 517; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47 note 2; see also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

¹⁶ See also M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 47 note 2.

¹⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116.

¹⁸ See also *Ibidem*.

so often in the Venetian chronicles: this doge ruled the Venetian state between 881 and 888, while the dogal position was held in 893 by Pietro Tradomenico (888-912). Related to our investigations, this situation has created a serious obstacle in following the subsequent text, for which reason we relied upon the information delivered by other scholars, while for the events of the Fourth Crusade upon the fragments generously offered by Anne-Laure Keiser. The chronicle itself ends with the resignation of Doge Francesco Foscarei (October 18, 1457) and with the events immediately subsequent¹⁹, more precisely with the epigram of the same doge: "*Uos iustitiam et concordiam, quo sempiternum hoc sit imperium conseruate.*" (p. 450a)²⁰. Afterwards, codex M 794 inserts the texts of the Dogal promises (p. 450b-460b)²¹, that are extended to year 1478²², coming to an end with the following note: "*Et che de cetero i canonici di S. Marcho siano facti 12 piovani de Venetia et 12 capellani de San Marcho.*" (f. 460b), erroneously regarded by A. Carile as the end of the chronicle itself²³.

As M. Zannoni noted, the handwriting is not uniform²⁴, but the detail is not put into connection to a particular fragment or another and this to the composite feature of the codex. For instance, the last leaves of the codex and the text of the dogal promises ultimele file ale cronicii și textul promisiunilor dogale din finalul codicelui sunt scrise identic cu primul pasaj al cronicii²⁵. At any rate, it results that there have been at least two copiers, who contributed successively to the transcription of the entire codex. Among the copiers, it is only to be nominally confirmed, by the note saying "*et essendo io Nicolò Gussoni ...*" (p. 73)²⁶ that represents the beginning of a passage registering events in 1503-1521 (p. 73-77) and has the similar handwriting with "*cronachetta Corner*" and with the last pages of the codex²⁷.

Paternity:

It has been unanimously considered that the entire codex represents the unique manuscript preserving the chronicle of Zorzi Dolfin, father of Pietro, the paternity of the manuscript being regarded as doubtless²⁸ and incontestable²⁹, Maria Zannoni even noting that "*non deve affatto generare dei dubbi sulla paternità dell'opera, riconosciuta giustamente a Giorgio. [...]*"³⁰. As a matter of fact, A. Prost had already inserted a chronicle of this Z. Dolfin in his directory, meaning a

¹⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 517.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 518.

²³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 519-520.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Idem*, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47.

²⁹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

³⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

chronicle regarded as being lost³¹. Doubtlessly, the connection between our codex and the name of Zorzi Dolfin, suggested by E. A. Cicogna, G. Lefèvre-Pontalis or R. Bersi³² and considered as a *fait accompli* by M. Zannoni and the subsequent scholars³³, could be concluded from the numerous passages in which this character

³¹ Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 and 34 (1883), p. 199-224 (222).

³² R. F[ulin], *Saggio del catalogo dei codici di Emmanuele A. Cicogna*, "Archivio Veneto", IV, part I (1872), p. 59-132, 337-398 (110 note 1); Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Étude sur Antonio Morosini et son oeuvre. Annexes et tables*, in *Chronique d'Antonio Morosini. Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de France* (ed. by G. Lefèvre-Pontalis & Léon Dorez), IV, Paris 1902, p. 178 note 1; Ruggero Bersi, *Le fonti della prima decade delle Historiae Rerum Venetarum di Marcantonio Sabellico*, "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", new series, 10 (1910), tom 19, part II p. 422-460 and tom 20, part I, p. 115-162 (146).

³³ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515 ff.; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 ff.; Idem, *La Roumanie vénitienne au moyen âge. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 16; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani. A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Rome, 1969, p. 334; Silvana Ozoeze Collodo, *Attila e le origini di Venezia nella cultura veneta tardomedioevale*, "Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti" 131 (1972-73), p. 531-567 (563 note 121); Stanley Chojnacki, *In Search of the Venetian Patriate: Families and Factions on the Fourteenth century, in Renaissance Venice* (ed. by John R. Hale), London 1973, p. 47-90 (87 note 88); A[gostino] Pertusi, *La lettera di Filippo da Rimini, cancelliere de Corfu, à Francesco Barbaro e i primi documenti occidentali sulla caduta di Costantinopoli (1453)*, in *Memoria Antoniadis, Venice 1974*, p. 120-157 (120-121, 122, 136, 147); Raymond-J[oseph] Loenertz O. P., *Les Ghisi dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel 1207-1390*, Florence 1975, p. 321; Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople. 1201-1204*, [Leicester] 1978, p. 215 note 60; Ed. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 16; A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499; D. Queller, *Il patriato veneziano. La realtà contro il mito* (transl. by Paolo Pavanini), Rome 1987 [original ed.: *The Venetian Patriate. Reality versus Myth*, Urbana-Chicago 1986], p. 455; Ed. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, p. 81 note 43, 94 note 84, 108 note 16, etc.; Donald M. Nicol, *Împăratul fără de moarte. Viața și legenda lui Constantin Paleologul, ultimul împărat al romanilor* (transl. by Maria Magdalena Székely & Ștefan S. Gorovei), Iași 2003 [original ed.: *The Immortal Emperor. The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge 1992], p. 95; Margaret L. King, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello*, Chicago-London, 1994; André Jean-Marc Loechel, *Le rappresentazioni della comunità* (transl. by Ernesto Garino), in *Storia di Venezia. Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, IV: *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura* (ed. by Alberto Tenenti & Ugo Tucci), Rome 1996, p. 603-721 (682, 718 note 286); Reinhold C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market. Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1300-1500*, Baltimore 1997; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75, 78, 79, 233; Șerban Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders in the Fourth Crusade. According to the Venetian Chronicles' Tradition*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 4 (2002), p. 111-171 (159); Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire'. The Imperial Elections in Constantinople on 1204 in the Representation of the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 5 (2003), p. 185-245 (189 note 66); Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius Imperii Romaniae. The Fourth Crusade and the Dogal Title in the Venetian Chronicles' Representation*, "Quaderni della Casa Romana" 3 (2004), p. 119-150 (135 note 79); Idem, *A Precedent to the Fourth Crusade. The anti-Byzantine Campaign of Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 according to the Venetian Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca umanistica di Venezia" 6-7 (2004-2005), p. 239-266 (244 note 67); Idem, *Giustiniano Partecipazio and the Representation of the First Venetian Embassy to Constantinople in the Chronicles of the Serenissima*, "Historical

speaks about himself in the chronicle, referring to various contexts of years 1446 (p. 295a), 1448 (p. 299b), 1449 (p. 302a), 1450 (p. 307a-307b), 1452 (p. 310a), 1454 (p. 327a), 1455 (p. 329a)³⁴. The same conviction that the chronicle belong to Zorzi Dolfin has made that, by noting the existence of another codex that would have belonged to Zorzi Dolfin, that is Ci 3755-3756, Chr. Neerfeld would regard this latter as a simple copy³⁵, without noting that even our manuscript is nothing but another copy³⁶, as if codex M 794 would have been the original.

Nevertheless, there are several fragments in the manuscript in which Pietro Dolfin, on his turn, mentions himself, when referring to years 1448 (p. 299b), 1449 (p. 302b), 1450 (p. 307b), 1456 (p. 333a), 1457 (p. 336b)³⁷. Confronted with this evidence, M. Zannoni resorted to rhetorical interrogations: “*Come si spiega ciò?*”, then making various suppositions: “*Pietro ha trascritto la cronaca del padre, interpolandola talvolta d’osservazioni relative all’epoca, in cui è vissuto, e ponendovi accanto il proprio nome? Oppure legendola, per curarne forse la divulgazione, forse per trarne materia per la propria opera, egli ha segnato in margine talune postille od aggiunte, inserite poi dal copista nel testo stesso della cronaca?*”. In the end, the scholar offered the explanation: “*Mi sembra sia possibile attenersi alla seconda ipotesi: 1°) perchè le parole di Pietro si riducono a brevi cenni di conferma su quanto scrive il padre: 2°) perchè la scrittura non risulta nè di Pietro, nè di Giorgio, quindi è di un amanuense.*”³⁸

M. Zannoni also recognized that the various handwritings of this codex have no similarity with the autographic wills of the two Dolfins, father and sons, preserved at the State Archives in Venice³⁹.

From our viewpoint, we follow the principle to rely the investigation strictly upon the existing codices. In the particular case of the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi

Yearbook” 2 (2005), p. 75-92 (83 note 58); Chr. Neerfeld & Anja Wolkenhauser, *Pietro Dolfin di Giorgio: Ein venezianischer Humanist und seine Bibliothek*, “Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch” 39 (2004), 3, p. 407-440 (409 note 10, 413 note 28); A. Caracciolo, *Lineamenti di cultura e civiltà dell’umanesimo e del rinascimento. Parte seconda: Umanesimo veneziano*, no year [= http://lettere2.unive.it/caracciolo/Cultura_Venezia.htm]. An exception could be the study of Holly S. Hurlburt, *The Dogaressa of Venice. 1200-1500: Wife and Icon*, New York 2006, which refrains from identifying the person of Zorzi Dolfin and confines to name the work as “*Cronica Dolfin*”, as Hans Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses of the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-23): Their Date and Partial Forgery*, “*Speculum*” 27 (1952), 3, p. 323-342 (339 note 2, 341 note 61) also does. Previously, it had also been S. Romanin that had also named it constantly as “*cronica Dolfina*”, see S[amuele] Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 volumes, Venice 1853-1861, III, p. 51 note 1, 267 note 1, 278 note 3; IV, p. 61 note 2, 276 note 2, 285 note 3, 290 note 1. Meanwhile, the same scholar had referred to another chronicle under the name of “*Dolfina*”, contained in codex Ci 2609 (*Ibidem*, III, p. 309 note 2; IV, p. 300 note 4).

³⁴ M. Zannoni, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47-49; see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 117 and note 1.

³⁵ Chr. Neerfeld, «*Historia per forma di Diaria*», p. 232.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

³⁷ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 518-519.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 519.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 519-520; for the text of Zorzi Dolfin’s will, see Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 52-55; see also Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes*, p. 287 and note 2.

Dolfìn, there is no certitude that the two copiers of this manuscript would have transcribed faithfully the text at their disposal. Henceforth, it could very well have been that Zorzi Dolfìn's work be annotated by his son Pietro, but the final result – that is codex – was not transcribed by the latter, but by copier Nicolò Gussoni and one of the latter's fellow workers. In order to strengthen this view, M. Zannoni herself admitted at a certain moment that "*un compilatore si rileva questo copista, avendo radunati tanti brani anche abbastanza disparati, togliendoli chissà da dove ed inserendoli nel manoscritto stesso della cronaca dolfina.*"⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, being not able to take advantage of the autograph of this chronicle, it is impossible to know whether and to what an extent these copiers would have intervened in the original text. Therefore, being deprived by other data, we start from this last premise and credit N. Gussoni and his colleague as authors, although maintaining the necessary condition over the proportion, according to M. Zannoni's interrogations: "*Che l'amanuense di tutti i fogli, che portano il nome di Pietro, sia da identificarsi con Niccolò Gussoni? Oppure con questo nome s'inizia una narrazione [emphasis mine, p. 73-77], che non ha nulla a fare con il trascrittore?*"⁴¹

In addition, the insertion of the dogal promises coming to year 1478 excludes any possibility for Zorzi Dolfìn to be their writer, since he died sometime between 1455 and 1458⁴². Although noting these interval as period when Dolfìn passed away, some modern scholars have made statements that, through an oversight, deny exactly this date, when they have affirmed that "*e con la morte del vecchio Foscari, avvenuta nel 1458, Dolfìn termina la sua Cronaca, rievocandi con animo commosso la figura di quel principe valoroso e saggio, ma tanto infelice [...]*"⁴³ or that "[...] 1457, dopo la qual data la sua [Dolfìn's, emphasis mine] attenzione si rivolge di preferenza alla politica di terraferma"⁴⁴. Thus, they exclude what they had considered previously referring to the period when the chronicle himself deceased, by considering him as eyewitness to Doge Foscari's death. This disagreement rather raises another question: whether Zorzi Dolfìn deceased prior to 1458, then who would have written the last part of the chronicle (post-1458), which deals exactly with those years in which the death of Dolfìn took place? The same question is risen under the circumstances that that data abovementioned are modified, as A. Pertusi proposed when saying that "*il Dolfìn nacque nel 1396 e morì verso il 1468, ma la Cronica continua la narrazione fino al 1470.*"⁴⁵

⁴⁰ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² Idem, *Giorgio Dolfìn*, p. 46; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 154; Idem, *Dolfìn, Giorgio*, p. 499; Raffaella Zaccaria, *Dolfìn, Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 40, Rome 1991, p. 562-565 (563).

⁴³ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁴ G[ino] L[uzzatti], review of Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes*, in "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 84, 89-90, LIV-LV (1954), p. 126-128 (128).

⁴⁵ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 2. Nowadays, A. Caracciolo, *Nel gran mare delle cronache*, p. 17 prefers the period 1396-1458 as years of life for the author, and then notes the interval between 1396 and circa 1457, see *Ibidem*, p. 17 note 1.

Returning to the matter of the dogal promises ending in 1478, it is a first proof that it is impossible that Z. Dolfin be the author of the entire work. Having it as a starting point, this conclusion could very well be extended over other passages in the chronicle. Henceforth, even taking only these two respects into account – that is, the impossibility to regard Z. Dolfin as author of the fragments dealing with the period between 1455 and 1458, and the mention of the dogal promises –, and also the presence of “*cronachetta Corner*” and other materials that deal more with Pietro than with Zorzi Dolfin, it seems more comfortable to reject Zorzi Dolfin as author of this chronicle. It is also due to the lack of the original manuscript and – by strictly reporting to manuscript M 794, written a century later – to regard this latter codex as the work of the copiers, that is N. Gussoni and his colleague. Since they added elements to continue the work, these latter could very well have been operated changes, additions or deletions of passages. Since the chronicle’s original, written a century before by Zorzi Dolfin, has not been discovered by now, the truth is impossible to be detected.

Under these circumstances, we are not to insist upon the data related to Zorzi Dolfin’s life⁴⁶.

Dating:

Relying upon the references to the dogal promises attached to the chronicles, year 1478 has been considered as the ending term for the work⁴⁷. Afterwards, the options came upon year 1458⁴⁸, more concretely upon Doge Francesco Foscari’s death⁴⁹ or resignation⁵⁰.

As for the period when the work was written, M. Zannoni considered that Z. Dolfin should have been involved much time in composing his chronicle and

⁴⁶ For the life of Zorzi Dolfin (1396-1455/1458), see especially M. Zannoni, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 37-47; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116; Idem, *Dolfin. Giorgio*, p. 498-499.

⁴⁷ Girolamo Soranzo, *Bibliografia Veneziana*, Venice 1885, p. 73, no 950; G[eorg] M[artin] Thomas, *Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453, aus einer Venetianischen Chronik*, “Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften”, 1868, II, p. 1-41 (1); H[einrich] Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II, 1920, p. 542, all of them *apud* M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 521 and notes 1-3; see also F[rederick] W[illiam] Hasluck, *Constantinopolitana*, “*Journal of Hellenic Studies*” 43 (1923), 2, p. 162-167 (167); A. J.-M. Loechel, *op. cit.*, p. 718 note 286. See also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 117, who regards that the work reaches year 1470, although it is clear a typo, the intention being to refer also to 1478.

⁴⁸ E. A. Cicogna, *Famiglie* *apud* M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 521 note 4; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Vittorio Lazzarini, *Marino Faliero. Avanti il Dogado - La Congiura*, Florence 1963 [1897] [previously in “Nuovo Archivio Veneto” 13, part I, p. 5-107], p. 102; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 520-521; H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*, in Idem, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968 [first ed., in *Essays in history and literature presented by fellows of the Newberry Library to Stanley Pargellis*, Chicago 1965, p. 19-36], p. 177; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Ed. Muir, *Leopold von Ranke*, p. 16; M. M. Samataro, *op. cit.*, p. 131 note 26.

⁴⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 521; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 202, 215.

⁵⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

supposed that the final version would have been written during the years after 1450⁵¹, opinion retaken by H. Baron⁵². On the other side, D. Nicol considered that it should not be dated prior to April 1454⁵³. Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence in this sense. Besides, less precise datings have been suggested, such as the first⁵⁴ or the second half of the 15th century⁵⁵, subsequently to the chronicle in codex M 2034⁵⁶, to N. Trevisan's, A. Morosini's and G. Zancaruolo's chronicles⁵⁷ or to the other Venetian great chronicles of the 15th century⁵⁸, or even generally speaking in the 15th century⁵⁹. When analyzing the entire "C" family of chronicles, A. Carile considers the period between 1429 and 1455 as date when this group of chronicles would have been composed⁶⁰.

Nevertheless, according to the methodology that we use, meaning to strictly rely upon the existing manuscripts and thus to take the period when the codices at disposal were written into account, we place this work in the 16th century, when manuscript M 794 is dated, according to both the catalogue at Marciana and the almost unanimous opinions of the scholars⁶¹ (in this sense, F. Thiriet was more concrete, by placing the codex in the first years of this century⁶²). In addition, the insertion of some references to period 1503-1521 (p. 73-77) strengthens this conviction.

Sources and influences:

Certainly, the main source of the copier-compiler N. Gussoni is Zorzi Dolfin's work, which original nothing is known about at the present day. When considering manuscript M 794 as being Dolfin's work, the scholars have attempted to establish connections with other chronicles, mainly for the period prior to year 1433, regarded by M. Zannoni as completely not original⁶³. In the mosaic of dates established for various chronicles – including the supposed to belong to Z. Dolfin – it is difficult to establish the sources-influences relationship.

However, one could establish with certitude that some of these chronicles had been written prior to M 794, being clearly elaborated previous to the 16th century. Thus, it has been spoken about the most ancient Venetian chronicles, such as Diacono⁶⁴, Altinate⁶⁵, Gradense⁶⁶, and *Singulis*⁶⁷. In each of these cases, it has been

⁵¹ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 521.

⁵² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 183, 184-185.

⁵³ D. M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁵⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 246, 272.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 290; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 125, 200.

⁵⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

⁵⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 286.

⁵⁹ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; St. Chojnacki, *op. cit.*, p. 87 note 88.

⁶⁰ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁶¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 515; Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 47; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁶² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁶³ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 522.

⁶⁴ See Giovanni Diacono, *Historia Veneticorum* (ed. by Luigi Andrea Bertò), Bologna 1999.

considered that the use would have been done through the mediation of Andrea Dandolo's works⁶⁸. Although without specifying which one between *Brevis* and *Extensa*, M. Zanoni regarded the Dandolian chronicles as a whole as sources for our chronicle⁶⁹, by following comparisons for each page⁷⁰, offering examples – for the episodes related to St. Mark's passing away, Constantine the Great, King Theodoric, the son of Doge Giovanni in Malamocco, Maurizio, the peace concluded between Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederic Barbarossa during Doge Sebastiano Ziani, the conquest of the city of Comacchio, the war between Cittanuova and Jesolo, and so on⁷¹. Comparative texts referring to the relationship with the city of Ancona⁷² and the fights against the Scaligeri of Verona⁷³ are offered, while the repeating of A. Dandolo's errors in the description of the campaign led by Giacomo Dolfin in 1262 against Emperor Michael Palaeologus is noticed⁷⁴. It seems that a similar influence would have had codex Marc. Lat. X 36, ascribed to Piero Giustinian (*Venetiarum Historia*)⁷⁵, while Maria Zannoni followed a page by page comparative analysis also

⁶⁵ For the three manuscripts of Altinate chronicle, see: Anon., *Cronichon Venetum vulgo Altinate quod prius editum an. MDCCCXLV iuxta codicem Patriarch. Veneti Seminarii demuo prodit ex ms. codice Reg. Bibliothecae Dresdensis* (ed. by Luigi Polidori), "Archivio Storico Italiano" 5 (1847), appendix, p. 12-128; Anon., *La cronaca veneta detta Altinate di autore anonimo in latino* (ed. by Antonio Rossi), "Archivio Storico Italiano" 8 (1845), p. 20-22, 41-61, 81-103, 116-129, 152-184, 192-198, 204-216, 220-228, and Anon., *Chronicon Venetum quod vulgo dicunt Altinate* (ed. by H. Simonsfeld), in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores*, XIV, Hannover, 1883, p. 5-69 respectively. For the chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Considerations regarding the Place of Chronicon Altinate in the Venetian Historical Writing*, "Revue des études sud-est européennes" 51 (2013), 1-4, p. 83-103.

⁶⁶ Anon., *Chronicon Gradense*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime* (ed. by Giovanni Monticolo), I, Rome, 1890, p. 17-51.

⁶⁷ Anon., *Chronica de singulis patriarchis nove Aquileie*, in *Cronache Veneziane antichissime*, p. 3-16.

⁶⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 530-531. A possible direct use of *Singulis* refers to the speech delivered by Patriarch Elias of Grado to the clergy of Venice and Aquileia, which is not to be detected in Dandolo's chronicles, see *Ibidem*, p. 531. See Andreae Danduli, *Chronica brevis*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12, part I (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1938, p. 351-373 and *Andreae Danduli Ducis Veneticorum Chronica per extensium descripta aa. 46-1280 d. C.*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 12 (ed. by Ester Pastorello), Bologna 1923, p. 5-327. For Andrea Dandolo, see Ş. Marin, *A Double Pathfinder's Condition: Andrea Dandolo and His Chronicles*, "Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica" 12-13 (2010-2011) [forthcoming].

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 522 note 1, 526, 528, 530-531; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76 note 146.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 528-529.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 529.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

⁷⁴ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁷⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 1, 526, 528; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146. See Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, [Pietro Giustiniano?], *Cronica Venetiarum*, manuscript Lat. X. 36a, 14th century, and *Historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano Iustiniani filio adiudicata* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Fanny Bennato), Venice 1964. For these chronicles, see also Ş. Marin, *Some Considerations regarding the Anonymous Venetiarum Historia (14th Century)*, "Historical Yearbook" 7 (2010), p. 177-194.

in this case⁷⁶ and proposed textual comparisons in connection to the struggles of Nicolò Pisani with the Genoese⁷⁷. For these two possible influences – A. Dandolo and “P. Giustinian” –, M. Zannoni considered that Zorzi Dolfin would have translated almost *ad litteram* from them⁷⁸, but personally we are not to exclude the possibility for author to have studied them not necessarily in their original Latin, but to have resorted rather to their many vulgar versions.

Relations with Antonio Morosini’s chronicle have been taken into account⁷⁹, and “Zorzi Dolfin” has been regarded as a possible mediator between Morosini and Pietro Dolfin⁸⁰. Connections between the two chronicles have been established when referring to the manner of presenting the wars against Milan in 1426 and 1427-1428⁸¹ and offering a comparative text regarding the Hungarian-Byzantine relationship against the Ottomans⁸², and also referring to the general methodology of composition⁸³.

As long as no question mark has been raised about the connection between codex M 794 and Zorzi Dolfin, Marcantonio Sabellico’s work dated in the second half of the 15th century could have not been regarded as source for our chronicle, but as being influenced by the latter⁸⁴. We should also note here the relationship proposed by R. Bersi, referring to the description of the legend regarding Emperor Manuel I Comnenus⁸⁵.

On his turn, when describing the campaign of Giacomo Dolfin in România in 1262, R. Loenertz⁸⁶ noted the similarity of M 794 with other Marcian codices

⁷⁶ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 528.

⁷⁹ See also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 69 note 149. See *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094-1433)* (ed. by Andrea Nanetti), 4 volumes, Spoleto 2010. For Antonio Morosini’s chronicle, see Ș. Marin, *Considerații asupra cronicii venețianului Antonio Morosini*, “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie” 28 (2010), p. 169-191 (for an English version of the article, see *Idem*, *Considerations regarding the Venetian Antonio Morosini’s Chronicle*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 14 (2012) [forthcoming]).

⁸⁰ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177. See Pietro Dolfin, *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1422*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscripts It. VII. 2557-2558 [- 1249-12450], 18th century. For the chronicle, see also Ș. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes. The Case of Pietro Dolfin*, “Annuario. Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica” 10-11 (2008-2009), p. 207-259.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 178 note 1.

⁸² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁸³ *Ibidem*; see also G. Luzzatti, *loc. cit.*, p. 128; see also A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499.

⁸⁴ M. Antonii Sabellici, *rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita, ad Marcum Barbadicum, Sereniss. Venetiarum Principem & Senatam, Decadis Primae*, in *Degl’istorici delle Cose Veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per Pubblico Decreto*, Venice, 1718. See also Ș. Marin, *Marcantonio Sabellico’s Rerum Venetarum and “the Definitive History of Venice”: The Beginnings of the Official Historiography in Venice?* [forthcoming].

⁸⁵ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 148-149.

⁸⁶ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321. For M 550, see also A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 118, 125.

dated in the 15th century, that is M 2051⁸⁷, M 104⁸⁸, M 550⁸⁹, and also with codex Vindobon. 6147⁹⁰, as F. Thiriet brought a similarity with M 788⁹¹, also from the 15th century⁹², into discussion.

Yet the main dependence has been regarded the one on chronicle M 2034⁹³, regarded as the preferential source⁹⁴ or as pattern⁹⁵, when referring from our codex's structure and composition⁹⁶ to its writing in dialect⁹⁷. Thus, "Zorzi Dolfin" has been regarded as the mediator between M 2034 and Marino Sanudo's *Vite de' Dogi*⁹⁸ or as "the successor and continuator of the chronicle preserved in the «2034» manuscript"⁹⁹. On the other hand, H. Kretschmayr's viewpoint reversed the relationship, by considering M 2034 as a compilation of M 794¹⁰⁰, which represents clearly an error, when taking the dating of the two manuscripts into account. Actually, it was another consideration of the same scholar that came into contradiction with the previous one. According to it, the use of the material in M 2034 by "Z. Dolfin" would have been so inclusive "that it would seem superfluous to study the anonymous author of the '2034' directly"¹⁰¹, an opinion that has been regarded as exaggeration and distorting the meaning of the two chronicles¹⁰². Unless M. Zannoni, H. Baron considered that "[emphasis mine, M 2034] is different in method, scope, and attitude from Giorgio Dolfin's work."¹⁰³ It is also true that, while M 2034 insists more upon the economic-commercial respects, our chronicle

⁸⁷ See Antonio Vituri, *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città fino all'anno 1396*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2051 [= 8271], dated in 1464.

⁸⁸ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dal principio della Città fino al 1443*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 104 [= 8611], 15th century.

⁸⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca dall'origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1442*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 550 [= 8496], 15th century.

⁹⁰ R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 123-124, 125. See Anon., *Cronaca veneta, dalla fondazione della città al 1454*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, manuscript VIII [= 6147], end of the 15th century.

⁹¹ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁹² See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città sino alla morte del Doge Francesco Foscarini (an. 1456)*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 788 [= 7293], 15th century.

⁹³ R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522 note 1, 524, 526-528, 531-538, 545-546; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252, 253; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177-178, 180-183; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107, 117; Idem, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 75 note 146. See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dalla fondazione della Città fino all'anno 1453*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2034 [= 8834], 15th century, microfilm Pos. Marc. 145.

⁹⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 531, 537, 538.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 524, 526.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

⁹⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 178; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146.

¹⁰⁰ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 542 apud A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2.

¹⁰¹ H. Kretschmayr, *op. cit.*, II, p. 542 apud H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

substitutes this interest by focusing upon those events related to the setting up of the Venetian state on the Italian *terra ferma*¹⁰⁴, while when referring to the final events described “Z. Dolfin” seems to be less passionate than M 2034¹⁰⁵.

Anyhow, our chronicler’s interest towards M 2034 proves to be clearly stronger than towards Dandolo’s or Giustinian’s works¹⁰⁶. The analogies with M 2034 are regarded as very close for the period from the city’s origins to the dogeship of Marco Corner¹⁰⁷ (1365-1368), although serious differences have been noted in the manner to present the basilica of San Marco in 1073¹⁰⁸ or the action to Palestine in 1124¹⁰⁹. The relation is especially available for the period after the dogeship of Giacopo Tiepolo¹¹⁰ (1229-1249). M. Zannoni noted that the dependence on M 2034 is interrupted when referring to the dogeship of Andrea Contarini (1368-1382)¹¹¹, but would be retaken on the occasion of the election of Michele Morosini as doge in 1382¹¹². The scholar also noticed that from that moment the use of the data from M 2034 is not as faithful as it had been previously, and something from our author’s personality begins to be affirmed¹¹³. Thus, the invocations towards God and St Mark – so typical for M 2034 – are already excluded in M 794¹¹⁴, and the terms typical to the Venetian dialect are diminished¹¹⁵. For the period post-1423 – the beginning of the dogeship of Francesco Foscari – the chronicler introduces comments that comes into contradiction with M 2034¹¹⁶, such as the viewpoint over Carmagnola’s position towards the Venetians¹¹⁷, and even new data¹¹⁸. Thus, “much of the wealth of information found in the older chronicle [emphasis mine, M 2034] is shortened, paraphrased, omitted, or replaced in Dolfin’s account”¹¹⁹, so that the it is not about a direct influence¹²⁰.

The relation of M 794 with M 2034 has been illustrated by presenting comparative text, such as those referring to the conquest of Carthage by the king of France¹²¹, to King Pierre I of Cyprus (1358-1369)¹²², the beginning of the Chioggian

¹⁰⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287 ş. u., 290; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 528.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 526.

¹⁰⁸ See Monticolo, in the introduction of his ed. of Sanudo, p. 153 ff. apud H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187; see also Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 181.

¹¹⁰ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 531.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 537.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 545; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹¹⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

¹¹⁹ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

¹²¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

¹²² *Ibidem*, p. 534.

war with the Genoese (1378-1381)¹²³, the evacuations of the Venetians from Tana¹²⁴, the Venetian defeat in the Po area¹²⁵.

For the period post 1443¹²⁶, it has been spoken about the influence of the chronicle erroneously called as Zancaruola¹²⁷, which was, at the time of those investigations, at Braidense Library in Milan, that is the former M 48-M 49 from Marciana. Thus, G. Baretta stated that the prologue of the Marcian codex of Zorzi Dolfin would correspond to those of "Gasparo Zancaruolo", "*con poca varietà nella lezione, con qualche giunta od omissione e con alcune trasposizioni de' capitoli. In seguito nella storia deo Dogi fino a Francesco Foscari, anzi fino al 1446, nel qual finisce la Zancaruola, vi si incontra maggiore diversità fra l'una e l'altra. La sostanza però e l'andamento è sempre lo stesso e vi si trovano sovente le stesse parole, se non che nella Zancaruola vi hanno assai più cose che nella nostra* [emphasis mine, than in M 794]; [...]"¹²⁸. However, by analyzing the relation between the two chronicles on the whole, M. Zannoni considered that it is about a complete disagreement between them, "*anche se perfettamente uguale risulta il proemio e simile schema, a cui s'attengono i cronisti.*"¹²⁹ To draw a conclusion, excepting the introductory part referring to the legends of the origins, the two works estrange themselves from each other in the chronological series of the doges to Antonio Venier (1382-1400), "*per forma, abbondanza di particolari e notizie del tutto nuove. Non mancano tuttavia dei punti di contatto, riguardo più al contenuto che allo stile.* [...]"¹³⁰ As for the style, we should also add the fact that it is constant enough in all the Venetian chronicles written in vulgar, so that it is not typical for the relationship between M 794 and Zancaruola chronicle. In the same sense, F. Thiriet considered that, "*s'il existe des rapports entre Dolfin et Zancaruolo, ils ont loin d'être constants; chacun garde son originalité. Dolfin ne montrent jamais pour l'histoire du Levant le même intérêt que Zancaruolo.*"¹³¹ On the contrary, M. Zannoni noted a real parallelism between them for the period beginning with the second half of the dogeship of Michele Steno (1400-1413), while for the remainder of M. Steno's and Tommaso Mocenigo's dogeships (1414-1423) the connection would have been even *ad litteram*¹³². Finally, for the period of Doge Francesco Foscari, the narration in the chronicle ascribed to G. Zancaruolo would seem shorter

¹²³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹²⁴ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 545-546.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 538.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 522, 538-539, 541-543, 545-546; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287-289; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 117; Fr. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo, in Memoria Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 58-64 (63). See *Cronaca Veneta supposta di Gasparo Zancaruolo, dall'origine della Città fino al 1446*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1274 [= 9274], 18th century.

¹²⁸ G. Baretta, *Codici Latini Italiani Illustrati*, manuscript Marc. It. XI. 328, f. 289-293 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹²⁹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 542.

¹³¹ Fr. Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, p. 288.

¹³² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

than in M 794¹³³. On the contrary, the exposure of “Zorzi Dolfin” is more lacunose in presenting various previous events, such as the Fourth Crusade¹³⁴ or the Cretan revolt in 1342¹³⁵, and even in the general presentation of the 13th century¹³⁶, while previously the Venetian-Byzantine relationship during Emperor Manuel I Comnenus had been similarly presented, almost word by word¹³⁷.

In connection to the relationship with the chronicle supposed to belong to G. Zancaruolo, comparative texts have been proposed, referring to the introduction¹³⁸, to Vettor Pisani¹³⁹, to the Hungarian-Byzantine relation in the context of the Ottoman expansion¹⁴⁰ or to the confrontations with Milan in the Po area¹⁴¹.

Codex 87.1. from Newberry Library in Chicago¹⁴² was taken into account by H. Baron, who carefully analyzed it. Since he started from the premise that this codex could not be a copy from our chronicle¹⁴³, the scholar came to conclusion that 87.1. is an element of connection between the narration in M 2034 and the one in M 794¹⁴⁴ and that “Zorzi Dolfin” had not M 2034 or the chronicle ascribed to Zancaruolo at disposal, but a manuscript of the text contained in this 87.1.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, Z. Dolfin would have rather been as intermediary between 87.1. and Sanudo’s *Vite de’ Dogi*¹⁴⁶. During his demonstration, H. Baron brought some textual comparisons into discussion between 87.1. and our chronicle, dealing with San Marco at 1073¹⁴⁷, the beginnings of the war of Chioggia¹⁴⁸, the earthquake in 1455¹⁴⁹.

Dated in the 16th century, it does not appears as source, but as being influenced by the chronicles written in the 15th century, a fact that contradicts what Fr. Thiriet said: “*pour le XV^e siècle, les codex anonymes se réfèrent essentiellement à Antonio Morosini. Zorzi Dolfin et Zancaruolo; même s’il ne les citent pas, l’imitation est évidente et souvent servile.*”¹⁵⁰

Beside the chronicles above, certainly previous to our chronicles, analogies have been taken into consideration with a second category of works, which are also

¹³³ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁴ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288 and note 1.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 288 note 3.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 288 note 2.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 287-288.

¹³⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit. fonti*, p. 541-542.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 542.

¹⁴⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹⁴¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 545-546.

¹⁴² See Anon., *Cronaca veneziana*, Chicago, Newberry Library, manuscript F 87.1, middle of the 15th century.

¹⁴³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 182-183.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 182-183, 184, 187-188, 191; see also Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146.

¹⁴⁶ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 191, 192.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 186-187.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 182.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 180-181.

¹⁵⁰ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

dated in the 16th century, a fact that impedes the establishing of the dependence report. Thus, M. Zannoni referred to codex M 760¹⁵¹, due to the very close relations with “Dolfina” for the passages referring to the war of Chioggia¹⁵², in the sense that it would include several details that are absent in M 2034, but not in M 794¹⁵³. In additions, Zannoni offered some textual comparisons dealing with the Venetian relations with the king of Cyprus¹⁵⁴, the betrayal of some Venetian noblemen in favour of the Carraresi of Padua¹⁵⁵, or details during the siege of Chioggia by the Genoese¹⁵⁶, to which H. Baron added the one referring to the causes of the Chioggian War¹⁵⁷.

M. Zannoni took also a codex from Civic Library in Padua into consideration, inventory C M 548¹⁵⁸, that ends with year 1446¹⁵⁹. The scholar did not analyse it punctually, limiting herself to regard it as “*copia della Dolfina; copia quasi perfetta dal proemio fino a tutto il dogado di Giovanni Dandolo*”¹⁶⁰. After this period, the Paduan codex abridges the text of M 794 from the dogeship of Pietro Gradenigo (1289-1311) to the end¹⁶¹. However, the report could easily be reversed. Once again, it seems that, once the stamp of “*cronaca Dolfina*” applied to manuscript M 794, M. Zannoni ignored the fact that this manuscript is dated lately, that is in the 16th century, and that consequently one could not establish its priority towards, for instance, C M 548.

Some similarities with codices M 791¹⁶² and M 793¹⁶³ were noted by F. Thiriet, both of them belonging to the 16th century. For the case of M 791, V. Lazzarini noticed the similitudes referring to the description of Doge Marino Falier’s conspiracy¹⁶⁴. As for M 793, the scholar insisted upon the idea that it could be no more than a copy of Dolfin’s chronicle, relying upon the codex’s incipit and

¹⁵¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522, 531-537; see also H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182-183; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117. See Marino Sanuto, *Cronaca della creazione di alcuni Dogi (da Sebastian Ziani (1172)) fino a Leonardo Loredan (1502))* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 760 [= 8582], 16th century.

¹⁵² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

¹⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 533-534.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 534.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 534-535.

¹⁵⁷ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹⁵⁸ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 522, 543-545.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 543.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*; see also A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁶¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

¹⁶² Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 252. See Anon., *Cronaca di tutte le Casade della Nobil Città di Venetia*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 791 [= 7589], 16th century.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 252, 253. See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia dall'origine della città al 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 793 [= 8477].

¹⁶⁴ V. Lazzarini, *op. cit.*, p. 103 note 1.

content¹⁶⁵, as upon a textual comparison referring to the achievement of Corfù in 1386¹⁶⁶.

By admitting the use of M 2034 – meaning “C” family of chronicles, according to his classifications –, A. Carile concludes that Z. Dolfin used another chronicle group, that is the third recension of “D” family for the episode of *partitio Romaniae*¹⁶⁷. On the other hand, R. Loenertz illustrated his “E”, regarded as a contamination of “C” and “D” groups, exactly through our codex, along with manuscript Vienna 6147¹⁶⁸. In our case, we established the inclusion of this codex in category 11b, along with M 798¹⁶⁹, M 2560¹⁷⁰, M 2563¹⁷¹, and M 550, and adding M 46¹⁷², M 80¹⁷³, and M 628a¹⁷⁴ during our further investigations. The reasons for this classification rely upon the description of the beginnings of the Fourth Crusade¹⁷⁵ and of the election of Baldwin of Flanders as Latin emperor¹⁷⁶. In other cases – the appointment of the Marquis of Montferrat as leader of the Fourth Crusade¹⁷⁷, the naval expeditions that led to the conquest of Ragusa, Durazzo and Corfù in 1205¹⁷⁸, the achievement of the dogal title of *Dominus*¹⁷⁹ – we also proposed the comparison with the codices in category 11a¹⁸⁰, and also with pseudo-Barbaro¹⁸¹, pseudo-Savina¹⁸², and M 2580¹⁸³, regarded as approached to category 11.

¹⁶⁵ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁷ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 107, 108, 200. For this group of chronicles, see above, notes 86 and 89, when analyzing codex M 550; for the derivation scheme of this family, see *Ibidem*, p. 125; for comparisons with various other codices in this family regarding the episode of *Partitio Romaniae*, see *Ibidem*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 219.

¹⁶⁹ See Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'origine della città sino all'anno 1478*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 798 [= 7486], 16th century.

¹⁷⁰ See Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1432*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2560 [= 12452], dated around 1450.

¹⁷¹ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1441*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2563 [= 12455], 15th century.

¹⁷² Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dalla fondazione della Città fino al 1444*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 46 [= 7603], 15th century.

¹⁷³ Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dall'anno 1400 fino al 1684*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 80 [= 8026], 17th century.

¹⁷⁴ Anon., *Cronaca breve Veneziana dalla origine di Venezia sino all'anno 1465* [in miscellanea], Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 628a [= 8049], 16th century.

¹⁷⁵ Ş. Marin, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ Idem, *The Venetian 'Empire' in the East*, p. 228-229.

¹⁷⁷ Idem, *Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders*, p. 145-146.

¹⁷⁸ Idem, *The First Venetian on the Patriarchal Throne*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁹ Idem, *Dominus quartae partis et dimidia totius imperii Romaniae*, p. 137.

¹⁸⁰ Category 11a means the following codices: Anon., *Cronaca Veneziana dall'anno 1190 all'anno 1332*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 78 [= 9135], 15th century; Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1356*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2543 [= 12435], 16th century; Anon., *Cronaca della Città di Venezia dalla sua fondazione fino all'anno 1400*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1577 [= 7973], 18th century; Anon., *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della città fino al 1450*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 1586 [= 9611], 18th century; Anon., *Cronaca Veneta attribuita a Marcantonio Erizzo. fino all'anno 1495*, Venice, Biblioteca

Connections have been taken into account with chronicles doubtlessly subsequent to “Zorzi Dolfin”, like Pietro Dolfin¹⁸⁴ or Marin Sanudo¹⁸⁵. But this doubtless feature becomes relative, under the circumstances that our manuscript, M 794, is not original, was not written by Zorzi Dolfin, but by Nicolò Gussoni, and belong to the 16th century, thus being contemporary with P. Dolfin’s or Sanudo’s chronicles.

As for the relationship between M 794 and this second category of chronicles, one could not establish precisely the sources-influences report, because of the approximate dating in the same 16th century as M 794 is. It is interesting the report between M 794 and pseudo-Zancaruolo chronicle (M 48-49). Whether initially F. Thiriet considered “Zancaruolo” as obvious source for Zorzi Dolfin¹⁸⁶, in another article written 20 years later the scholar reversed the relationship, considering that “Zancaruolo” would have been the one who integrated “[les] schémas des grandes chroniques du XV^e siècle” in his work and exemplifying through M 2034 and Zorzi Dolfin himself¹⁸⁷. The same is the case of M. Zannoni, who proceeded to the same directions during one and the same study, that is to regard “Zancaruolo” as source for Zorzi Dolfin, and then to conclude that “non dimentichiamo che la prima d’esse [emphasis mine, Zancaruolo] è una compilazione, la qual cosa ci fa supporre che i brani in parola possano essere stati stralciati proprio dall’opera di Zorzi.”¹⁸⁸ It is

Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 56 [= 8636], 16th century [for the latter chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes - Between Being in Abovance and Involvement. The Case of the Chronicle Ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo*, in *Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ştefan Andreescu* (ed. by Ovidiu Cristea, Petronel Zahariuc & Gheorghe Lazăr), Iaşi 2012, p. 121-144 (121-123)].

¹⁸¹ See Daniele Barbaro [?], *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1275*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2554 [= 12446], 17th century. For this chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *Some Notes with Regard to the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia. The so-called ‘Barbaro Group’*, “Historical Yearbook” 8 (2011), p. 233-252 and 9 (2012), p. 139-152.

¹⁸² See Girolamo Savina [?], *Cronaca Veneta dal principio della Città sino al 1616*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 134 [= 8035], 17th century. For this chronicle, see also Ş. Marin, *The Muslims Seen through Venetian Eyes (660-1346). The Case of Codex It. VII. 134 (8035) at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and the ‘Savina Group’ of Chronicles*, in *Retrospecții medievale. In honorem Professoris Emeriti Ioan Caproşu* (ed. by Victor Spinei & Laurențiu Rădvan & Arcadie M. Bodale), Iaşi 2014, p. 427-453.

¹⁸³ Anon., *Cronaca di Venezia fino al 1556*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, manuscript It. VII. 2580 [= 12472], dated around 1556.

¹⁸⁴ R. Fulin, *op. cit.*, p. 353; G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Roberto Cessi, *Introduzione*, in *Petri Delphini Annalium Venetorum Pars quarta* (ed. by Roberto Cessi & Paolo Sambin), Venice 1943, p. xx, xxvii; xxviii-xxix, xxix; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, p. 72; Ovidiu Cristea, “Anotimpurile” venețiene: cronica unei hegemonii eşuate (1204-1484), in *Marea Neagră. Puteri maritime-puteri terestre (sec. XIII-XI’III)*, Bucharest 2006, p. 76-101 (90 note 28).

¹⁸⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 537; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 214; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177, 182-183, 191, 192; Chr. Neerfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76 note 146; cf. A. Caracciolo, *op. cit.*, p. 17 note 1 (who refers to the period 1423-1474 of the Sanudian chronicle).

¹⁸⁶ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287, 289; see also G. Luzzatti, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁷ Fr. Thiriet, *Encore sur le pseudo (?) Zancaruolo*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁸ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 543.

also illustrative the case of the relation with M 760, regarded by M. Zannoni as source for Z. Dolfin¹⁸⁹, despite the fact that that manuscript represents nothing but a draft of Marin Sanudo¹⁹⁰, hence – according to Zannoni herself’s view, which considered Dolfin as belonging to the 15th century, while Sanudo to the beginning of the 16th century – an improbable report. Actually, the scholar herself recognized at a certain moment the possibility for M 760 to be a copy of Dolfin chronicle itself¹⁹¹. This inconsistency has been emphasized by the subsequent scholars¹⁹². Thus, H. Baron inclined in the end for Z. Dolfin’s priority¹⁹³, while A. Carile for the inclusion of the two works into “*una famiglia molto più vasta e profondamente differenziata e diramata di quanto non supponesse la Zannoni.*”¹⁹⁴

At any rate, generally speaking, each connection to one of the above chronicles should not necessarily lead – as in M. Zannoni’s or F. Thiriet’s cases – to the conclusion of a certain direct dependence between two or more chronicles, since it is anytime possible the presence of an intermediary chronicle.

In connection to the methodology of the use of sources, Maria Zannoni stated that “*la lettura del testo dà l'impressione, che egli abbia preso un'esatta visione di tutte [emphasize mine, sources] contemporaneamente e ne abbia fuso le notizie desunte in un racconto più organico e completo, sostenuto da uno stile meno sciatto e meno monotono. Questa affermazione non impedisce tuttavia d'ammettere anche, che il cronista si sia soffermato più particolarmente su una sola delle opere, ch'erano a sua disposizione.*”¹⁹⁵ Practically, in the context of the lack of any clue, we are not able to regard these considerations more than simple speculations.

All the connections with the chronicles above, proposed by the scholars, are available for the first part of our chronicle, which as a whole presents the particular tone of the old chronicles¹⁹⁶, the author never renouncing to the usual method of writing of the Venetian historiography¹⁹⁷.

As for the chronicle itself from codex M 794, excepting the place where it speaks about the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it does not mention explicitly the use of any source. The chronicles limits himself to give the reader notice about several vague references when dealing with the period of Attila: “*Unde che la historia tace el modo de costoro e parla ...*” (p. 15a, interrupting the legendary narration about Attila and King Janus, in order to introduce a new character, that is Capicello); “*Hora dice la historia ...*” (p. 15b, in order to return to the Attilian legend); “*Per le antique scripture si troua ...*” (p. 23b, speaking about the city of Reggio, which is exempted

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 531-532.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 531, 533, 536.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 533, 536-537.

¹⁹² H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 117.

¹⁹³ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 188 note 42.

¹⁹⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁵ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 522.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*; in the same sense, see also Idem, *Giorgio Dolfin*, p. 49, 50; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; for the strong influence of its predecessors in general, see also Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287-288, 290.

by Attila's wrath); "*Como si leze ne le antique scripture ...*" (p. 23b, when describing the foundation of the city of Grado)¹⁹⁸. Certainly, these references are not enough to let establish precisely which sources the chronicler had at disposal. Confronted by this situation, when presenting an episode in the prologue of the Fourth Crusade and referring exactly to our chronicle, L. Streit noted that the information had been drawn out "*evidentemente del fonte più antica*"¹⁹⁹, but without naming it.

The last part of chronicle, meaning from describing the events since 1443, does not find comparison with any other work, so that it is indeed original and offers a narration of the last years of the dogeship of Francesco Foscari²⁰⁰. The only sources explicitly nominated by the chronicler are brought in discussion only towards the end of the chronicle, that is the part regarded as independent confronted by the previous Venetian chronicles. It is about the official accounts about the fall of Constantinople due to Leonardo Giustiniani from Chios²⁰¹ and Filippo da Rimini, chancellor in Corfù (p. 313b)²⁰². It is surprising that M. Zannoni neglected a third source clearly mentioned by the chronicler, that is Jacopo Languschi (Langusto)²⁰³, while A. Pertusi even added that these three materials would have not been the only sources used in our chronicle for the description of the conquest of Byzantium²⁰⁴. Analysing more minutely the description of the event in 1453, A. Pertusi rejected Zannoni's conclusive opinion, according to which "Dolfin" remains practically independent although using those sources²⁰⁵, and stated that this "*è una affermazione che non può essere accettata*."²⁰⁶ Thus, Pertusi indicated that three quarters of the passage dealing with this episode represent nothing but a translation from Latin to vulgar of the

¹⁹⁸ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 523.

¹⁹⁹ Lodovico Streit, *Venezia e la quarta crociata* (transl. by R. Fulin), "Archivio Veneto" 8 (1878), tom 16, part I, p. 46-94 and 239-271 [original ed.: *Venedig und die Wendung des vierten Kreuzzugs gegen Konstantinopel*, Anklam 1877], p. 253 note 1.

²⁰⁰ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

²⁰¹ For Leonardo Giustinian of Chios, bishop of Mytilene, see also Marios Philippides, *The fall of Constantinople in 1453: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts*, "Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies" 22 (1981), p. 287-300; in general, for the Genoese Giustiniani in Chios, see Karl Hopf, *Les Giustiniani dynastes de Chio*, Paris 1888; Anon., *La vita amministrativa dei Giustiniani a Chios*, no year [= <http://www.giustiniani.info/amministrativa.html>].

²⁰² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 546; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 209; see also A. J.-M. Loechel, *op. cit.*, p. 682. For Filippo Morandi da Rimini (b. circa 1407-d. 1497), author of *Invectiva in vanissimos oratores*, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. B. 62, see Carlo Tonini, *La coltura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini dal secolo XIV ai primordi del XIX*, Rimini 1884, I, p. 235-241; M. L. King, *A Study in Venetian Humanism at Mid-Quattrocento: Filippo da Rimini and his Symposium de paupertate. Analysis and Text*, "Studi Veneziani", new series, 2 (1978), p. 75-96; 3 (1979), p. 141-186; 4 (1980), p. 27-44; Renata Fabbri, *Per la memorialistica veneziana in latino del Quattrocento. Filippo da Rimini. Francesco Contarini. Coriolano Cippico*, Padua 1988.

²⁰³ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 3. On the contrary, D. M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 95 considers that the work of Languschi is directly inserted in our chronicles. For its use, see also J. Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 242. For this character, see also Arnaldo Segarizzi, *Jacopo Languschi, rimatore veneziano del secolo XV*, "Atti della I. R. Accademia degli Agiati a Rovereto", 3rd series, 1904, p. 179-185.

²⁰⁴ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 120-121.

²⁰⁵ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 546.

²⁰⁶ A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, p. 121 note 3.

epistle of Leonardo Giustiniano to Pope Nicholas V, to which the chronicler takes care to delete the theological references and the forms of addressing towards the Pontiff²⁰⁷. In order to illustrate this, the scholar offers comparative texts with both Leonard of Chios²⁰⁸ and Filippo da Rimini²⁰⁹. One could also add the use of the episode referring to the relics of the passion of Christ from Nicolò Barbaro, with small additions²¹⁰.

Under the circumstances that our chronicle has been regarded as belonging doubtlessly to Zorzi Dolfin, the gradual detaching from M 2034 has been related to the fact that the chronicler became eyewitness of the events²¹¹, especially for the period between pentru perioada 1443-1458. This has been also connected with the use by "Dolfin" of the exchange of letters with relatives and friends, such as his son Francesco (p. 336a-336b)²¹², or Andrea Querini, member of the Council of Ten (p. 297b-298a²¹³), or probably with those that took refuge in Venice after 1453²¹⁴.

In the same note one could insert here the possibility for the chronicler to use official sources. Zorzi Dolfin's political positions – senator, *provveditore di Commune* and *Ufficiale agli Uffici* – and implicitly his facility in having access to such a documents have been invoked²¹⁵. M. Zannoni tended to the same conclusion when noting the reference to three letters written in Latin and addressed by the Signoria to captain G. Barbarigo (p. 126a), since they are not to be detected neither in M 2034 nor in M 760²¹⁶. The existence of these letters in the text of M 794 led the scholar to the conclusion of the use of the acts of dogal chancellery or to the archive of Barbarigo family²¹⁷, but H. Baron identified them in manuscript 87.1. and thus disapproved this supposed proof for the use of archives by "Zorzi Dolfin"²¹⁸.

²⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 121-122.

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136-137. From this textual comparison, *Ibidem*, p. 136 concluded about the direct or indirect use of Filippo in at least three details.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 147. Nicolò Barbaro, surgeon, ambassador to Constantinople in 1453 and thus eyewitness of the event, was the author *Cronica dell'assedio e della presa di Costantinopoli del 1453*, in manuscript at Marciana: M 746 (original from the 15th century) and M 698 (18th century copy). His account was published by Elissen in his *Analecten*. Leipzig 1857; then, edited by John Melville-Jones, as Nicolò Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople*, New York 1969 (this latter version could be also consulted at <http://www.deremilitari.org/resources/sources/constantinople3.htm>); Alessio Sopracasa also prepares a commented translation in French, as *Journal du siège de Constantinople. 1453*.

²¹¹ M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 538; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201, 204; R. Cessi, *op. cit.*, p. xvi; H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 177-178.

²¹² M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 205.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 210.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 204, 209; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 287; A. Carile, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117; Idem, *Dolfin. Giorgio*, p. 499.

²¹⁶ M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 534-535.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 537.

²¹⁸ H. Baron, *op. cit.*, p. 185-186.

Editions:

The chronicle in manuscript M 794 incited the interest of G. M. Thomas, who published two fragments, referring to the Fourth Crusade²¹⁹ and to the fall of Constantinople in 1453²²⁰ respectively. The passage about this latter event was also included in a collection edited by J. Melville-Jones²²¹. In addition, R. Loenertz offered a text from the chronicle dealing with the campaign commanded by Giacomo Dolfin in 1262 against Michael Palaeologus²²², while L. Luzzatti reproduced one of the speeches delivered by Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423)²²³. On his turn, A. Carile presented the version for the passage about *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204, inside of the third *recensione* of "D" family of chronicles²²⁴.

The lack of a complete edition of this chronicle has been underlined²²⁵, along with F. Thiriet's appeal for the publication of the period 1430-1460 at least²²⁶.

The Venetian Chronicle in Codex It. VII. 794 (8503) at Marciana National Library – Ascribed to Giorgio Delfino (Dolfin) and Transcribed by Nicolò Gussoni (abstract)

Among the around 1,000 codices representing the Venetian chronicles written between the 11th and 18th centuries, we selected the chronicle ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin. The present paper focuses upon manuscript M 794 at Marciana National Library in Venice, usually ascribed to Zorzi Dolfin, a character that lived in the 15th century. According to our examination, it results that this ascription should be reconsidered, since there is no evidence to prove it definitely. Moreover, it results that the 16th century copier

²¹⁹ G. M. Thomas, *Über die handschriftlichen* apud G. Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 178 note 1; see also R. F[ulin], *op. cit.*, p. 110 note 1; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 1; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2; Idem, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499. The edition was used by L. Streit, *op. cit.*, p. 253 note 1.

²²⁰ G. M. Thomas, *Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453* apud G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 178 note 1, where the excerpt comprises leaves 312-324 apud M. Zannoni, *op. cit.*, p. 520; see also M. Zannoni, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 209; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286 note 1, 289; A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 116 note 2; E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 519 note 39; A. Carile, *Dolfin, Giorgio*, p. 499.

²²¹ John R. Melville-Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453*, Amsterdam 1972, p. 125-130.

²²² R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

²²³ See *Bilanci Generali della Repubblica di Venezia* (ed. by Luigi Luzzatti), I, Venice 1912, p. 94-97 apud H. Baron, *The Anti-Florentine Discourses*, p. 339 note 2.

²²⁴ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana*, p. 474-481, with the references at p. 481-483.

²²⁵ G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op. cit.*, p. 177; R. Bersi, *op. cit.*, p. 146; M. Zannoni, *Le fonti della cronaca veneziana*, p. 520; Idem, *Il dramma dei Foscari*, p. 201; Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 286; H. Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle*, p. 180, 184; A. Caracciolo, *Nel gran mare delle cronache*, p. 17 note 1; Idem, *Lineamenti di cultura*.

²²⁶ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 290; see also Idem, *La Romanie vénitienne*, p. 17. Meanwhile, the chronicle was published under the patronage of Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna", see above, note 1.

Nicolò Gussoni should be regarded as the author of this chronicle, by relying upon the chronicle indeed written by Z. Dolfin a century before. Beside these clarifications referring to the paternity and dating of the chronicle inserted in manuscript M 794, the paper insists also upon the sources and influences that this work had in connection with other Venetian chronicles.

The Morlachs from Sibenik's Territory in Reports of the Venetian Officials in the 16th Century

Silvia-Dana Caciur

Keywords: *Morlachs; Dalmatia; Stato da Mar; Local Administration; Venetian Officials; Border Negotiations; Ottoman Regional Officials*

Observing the historiography on the history of Morlachs, it often appears a specific moment when the Morlach name begins to define a mixed population. The events that occurred in the Dalmatian territory of the Venetian 'Empire' during the 16th century created the proper context for the Morlachs to become a specific social group inside of *Stato da Mar*. The most important three conflicts between Venice and the Ottomans (the war of 1499-1503; the war of 1537-1540, and the war of Cyprus, 1570-1573) affected directly the life conditions on the border region of Dalmatia. The mixture of population on this border region became a natural consequence since the central administration was over Adriatic and the Ottoman threat in the close proximity. Thereby, the Vlachs became Morlachs especially because "*il termine «morlacco» è la versione veneziana per definire una popolazione della penisola balcanica che ebbe un importante ruolo nelle vicende belliche e nella vita lungo la frontiera tra l'Impero Ottomano, la Repubblica di Venezia e l'Impero Asburgico*"¹. For Venetians, the Morlachs represented the population living outside the city dealing with specific pastoral activities (sheep breeding, etc.), livestock and practicing commerce with the inner Balkans. In war periods, when the the Muslims are the main enemy, the religious affiliation is not an important factor in ethnical distinction any more². Likewise, neither the language is important since, for the Venetian officials, all the inhabitants of Dalmatia were speaking a Slavic language. The purpose of this paper is to make a point on the perception of the Venetian official on the Morlachs living in the Sibenik territory during 16th century. This perspective is useful in identifying the specificity of this social group, the relations built between them and the urban citizens, as well as the relations with the administrative factors of the region. Meanwhile, by observing this Venetian perception on the Morlachs, it is possible to identify some features of the lifestyle in Dalmatian border region.

¹ Tommaso Stefani, *Irregolarità e rapporti di forza nella Dalmazia del Cinquecento*, "Studi Veneziani" 59 (2010), p. 631: "the "morlacco" name is the Venetian definition for the population of the Balkan Peninsula which played an important role in the wars and life on the frontier between the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Venice and the Habsburg empire."

² Kelemen Pust, *The Popular Politics on the Mediterranean Periphery: Social Conflicts and Solidarity in the Venetian Towns of the Eastern Adriatic in the 16th Century*, argument exposed at "The XIth International Conference on Urban History", Prague, August 29-September 1, 2012, p. 8.

After almost a century since Sibenik was included in the administration of the Republic of St. Mark (1412), this city was an autonomous entity strictly controlled by Venice, as well as all the Venetian cities in Dalmatia. The officials (public officials) sent there by Venetian metropolis represent the instruments of the republican monopole over the resources and administration. Nevertheless, to maintain the popularity among noblemen, Venice invited them to be a part in administrative process, still keeping away the key offices³. Therefore, the will of Venice is respected and applied through the work of the *provveditori* and *sindici* (in charge with a larger territory or a certain domain, like the administration of salt, ships, forests, etc.), or counts and captains. These officials had multiple duties and responsibilities, being involved in public life of the city where they were in charge and its territory. Because of that, the documents they issued offer an increasing number of information about the Morlachs.

In the region of Sibenik, the Morlachs are an ancient presence. They are first mentioned in the conflict between Mladen Subić of Bribir, *Ban* of Croatia and count of Zara, and Ioan Babonić, *Ban* of Bosnia, around the year 1322⁴. The amount of sources that mention the Morlach communities in Sibenik's territory increases with the settlement and consolidation of the Venetian administration in this city. Regarding the typology of these documents issued starting with the second half of the 15th century, they are predominantly administrative papers and letters. Through these documents, the Venetian functionaries from Sibenik let the central authorities know about the events in their jurisdiction, they ask for advice and approval in different decisions that must be taken. The most detailed descriptions of the Dalmatian territory of the Saint Mark's Republic were written by the general governors in region (*provveditori*) and the inspectors (*sindici*) in charge with the evaluation of different administrative fields. These descriptions are in fact the final reports the Venetian officials had to present in front of the Senate after they have accomplished the mandate and returned to Venice. Thus, I will use this type of documents to outline the presence and the image of Morlachs in the territory of Sibenik in the 16th century as they were seen by Venetians. Together with already published documents I will use some inedited ones discovered in the archival fond *Capi del Consiglio di X. Lettere di Rettori e di altre cariche* from *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Hopefully the study will be completed and detailed as the new documents will be identified.

The Morlachs and the mills on the Scardona River

In his report presented to the Venetian Senate in May 17, 1539, the former count of Sibenik, Giovanni Francesco (Joannis Francisci) Sagredo, mentions the restoration of the mills on the Scardona river burnt during the fights with the Turks.

³ Monique O'Connell, *Men of Empire. Power and negotiation in Venice's maritime state*, Baltimore 2009, p. 32.

⁴ Apud Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii din Nordul Peninsulei Balcanice in Evul Mediu*, Bucharest 1959, p. 69.

He considers necessary to restore these mills because their income is used "to pay the mercenaries of the great fortress, those from the harbor's tower and those from the landward tower"⁵. In order to accomplish the restoration of the mills, the count used the incomes of the salt trade with the Turkish Morlachs. The reconstruction of the mills and the strengthening of some castles in Sibenik's territory were also possible since the salt was sold to the Morlachs with "5 *lire*, holding for the treasury (*camera*) only 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ *soldi*"⁶.

These mills from Scardona river were important not only for the economical activity of the region, but also for the evolution of the relations between Turks and Venetians in this border area. In his report presented to the Venetian Senate in 1553, Giovanni Battista Giustiniano⁷, as former general inspector of Dalmatia and Albania, describes how the Venetian and Turkish subjects used the river. Certainly, the most important thing was the presence of the mills: those of *Serenissima* were downstream, on the Sibenik's bank, and the Turkish ones on the side with Scardona⁸. Further, in the middle of the river is an island, "a mount of rocks nearly 200 steps long, 20 wide"⁹, useful for the boats that cross the river. The Venetian mills works for Sibenik, the city treasury receiving an annual rent of "almost 1700 de ducats"¹⁰. These mills have nine wheels that grind for the Venetian subjects and another three used by the Morlachs, Turkish subjects, living on that side of the river. The activity of the Venetian mills is carefully managed by one *contestabile* and one *bombardiero*, paid by those who collect the taxes for the usage of mill, under the strict authority of Sibenik's Treasury¹¹. On the other side, the Turkish mills are organized in two buildings with only seven wheels. In contrast with the Venetian mills, the Turkish ones "don't grind whit such a speed, because they are not build with art"¹² like those of *Serenissima*. In this context one could see appearing an economic competition between the Venetians and the Turks based on the attraction of Morlachs in using the mills of a part or another. Even the inspector Giovanni Battista Giustiniano notes this fact saying, slightly ironic, that: "the Turks are consumed by envy, because the Morlachs, theirs subjects living in Sibenik's neighborhood," might come to use the

⁵ *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, II: 1525-1553, in *Monumenta spectantia Historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, VIII (ed. by Simeon Ljubić), Zagreb 1877, p. 149. ("Sonno etiam li molini da Scardona, del tratto dei quali se pagano i stipendiarii della fortezza granda e la torre del portoet quelli della porta da terraferma.")

⁶ *Ibidem*. ("Se non havesse venduto certa poca quantità de Sali a precio de lire 5 quella misura, della qual la camera solea trazzer solamente soldi 17 $\frac{1}{4}$.")

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 203.

⁸ *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, II, p. 203.

⁹ *Ibidem*. ("In mezzo vi è un'isoletta, ove per comodità delle barche et altri navili v'è un mollo di pietre longo forse ducento, largo passa venti in circa.")

¹⁰ *Ibidem*. ("Questi molini sono affittati dalla camera di Sebenico ducati mille settecento all'anno.")

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*. ("I molini del Turco [...] non macinano con quella velocità [...] per non essere fatte con quell'arte. che sono le predette [the Venetian mills, emphasis mine].")

Venetian mills to grind their grain"¹³. To reduce from the injury caused by the Venetian mills the Turks "decided to build, against the rules, a bridge over the river to ease the crossing of the Morlachs in the Turkish territory to happily use their mills"¹⁴. The Turks explain this fact invoking their duty to satisfy the Morlach's need to use the mills they were provided by the real masters, mostly because they are separated by this river. Once built the bridge, the problems appear to be serious again, this time on the Venetian side of border. It seems that this damage caused by the Turks' bridge opened an older wound: the Venetian inspector remembers that "the Turks took unduly in possession the river and the place where they built de mills, only because they wanted to be in Sibenik's jurisdiction"¹⁵, hence to compete the Venetian economy.

In a later report, inspector Giustiniano¹⁶ rediscuss the issue of the Turkish mills built against the rules on Scardona river. To gain the economic advantage, the Turks "brought and continue to bring stones and rocks to make a reinforced place", which is said "to exist before and a bridge which should connect the mills of Serenissima with the Turkish ones"¹⁷. Again, the justification is based on the needs of the Morlachs who cannot cross the river to grind the grain at the Turkish mills, the real masters, being forced to use those of *Serenissima*. These constructions and their consequences affected the profit of the fiscal office of Sibenik, which was of 1,700 ducats per year¹⁸.

Another Venetian inspector, Antonio Diedo¹⁹, mentions in his report the competition between the Venetian and the Turkish mills built on the both sides of Scardona river. The mills of *Serenissima* have 12 wills, from which three grind the Morlach's grain, the rest of them working "for the Office of Mills, which pays annually to the treasury of Sibenik 1,700 ducats"²⁰. The Turkish mills, built against the rules, on the opposite side of the river, have "7 wills in 2 wooden houses, but

¹³ *Ibidem*. ("Dalla qual invidia mossi i Turchi, acciochè i Murlacchi suoi sudditi, li quali confinano da molte parti col territorio di Sebenico, non vadino a macinare ai molini veneziani.")

¹⁴ *Ibidem*. ("Si hanno posto in opinione di voler constuer un ponte contra capitulazione, che traversi il fiume della sua banda, appoggiando sopra la giurisdizione veneziana, per il quale i Murlacchi possino a loro beneplacito passar a massinar ai suoi molini, et loro aver tutta quella utilità, perchè que' sudditi turcheschi, che sono dalla parte de Sebenico, non possono passar il fiume per andar ai molini Turcheschi.")

¹⁵ *Ibidem*. ("Che essi Turchi indebitamente hanno anco occupato quell'acque et quel luogo da far detti suoi molini, per essere ivi giurisdizione di Sebenico.")

¹⁶ *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, III: 1553-1571, in *Monumenta spectantia Historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, XI (ed. by Simeon Ijubić, Zagreb 1880, p. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*. ("[I Turchi] hanno codotto et tuttavia conducono pietre et calcina per fabricar una fortezza, che affermano esser altre volte ivi stata, e un ponte, che passa dalli loro molini ai molinia quelli della Sublimità vostra, acciochè i Morlachi, che vanno a macinar ai molini della Serenità vostra, possano passar senza impedimento a' suoi per haver essi tutta quella utilità.")

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17. ("che per quella camera (casa di detti molini) s'affitano ducati mille sette cento all'anno.")

these are not so fast and don't grind so well"²¹ competing with those of the Republic. This is the reason why the Morlachs, "Turkish subjects, are attracted to use the Serenissima's mills", provoking the envy of the Turks, which set the mind on building a bridge over the river, so the Morlachs are "able to cross without obstacles to grind the grain at their mills and to enjoy their entire utility"²².

The Morlachs and the commerce of Sibenik

Speaking about the commercial activity of Sibenik, the inspector Giovanni Battista Giustinian notes in 1553 a number of "almost 15 merchants, even less, which hardly support the traffic"²³. Henceforth, if the activity of these merchants is not enough for the efforts made by the Venetian administration and economical support, more important appears to be "the universal commerce the Sibenik has with the Morlachs, Turkish subjects and this because they import more than 50,000 ducats per year"²⁴. Based on an already ancient collaboration with the Morlachs, this economic branch is useful also for the community and its economical interests in this area, like for the public and private comfort. The importance of the commerce made with the Morlachs is simply explained by the memory of those times when this trade was blocked and *the people of Sibenik did not only suffer, but were completely ruined*²⁵. The merchandise exchanged between these two groups, the Morlachs and the people of Sibenik, were largely products of immediat necessity. So, the Morlachs used to bring in city cheese, meat, cereals, honey, wool, blankets wax and other things the people from Sibenik couldn't buy from other places, and buy oil, drugs, wine, bread, white wax, sugar and other similar stuff, which kept alive the activity of the particulars²⁶.

The Morlachs and the salt supply from the salines administered by the treasury of Sibenik

The involvement of the Morlachs in the commerce of Sibenik is also important for the selling of salt extracted from salines administrated by this city. The Morlachs are those who buy large quantities of salt "from the storehouse built at the end of the harbor especially for them". The construction of a storehouse dedicated to

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 16. ("Dall'altra banda del fiume sono stati costrutti da Truchi altri molini di ruote sette in due case di legname, che non macinano così bene ne con tanta velocità.")

²² *Ibidem*. ("Perciò che i Murlachi sudditi Turcheschi sono astretti a viva forza macinar ai molini della Serenità vostra [...] de che avvedutisi Turchi, da novo s'hanno posto in opinione di far un ponte sopra la detta aqua, acciochè i Murlachi possino passar senza impedimento a macinar a i suoi, et per aver loro tutta quella utilità.")

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 268. ("Li trafichi della terra sono fra poche persone, perchè non sono oltra que quindeci marcanti, benchè ne sono assai.")

²⁴ *Ibidem*. ("Ma il traffico o commercio universale, che hanno questi da Sebenico con Murlachi sudditi turcheschi, è grande, utile et necessario: è grande, perchè importa più di ducati cinquanta mille all'anno.")

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 224.

the Morlach's salt was necessary because "they used to come in city around 500 – 600 persons at once, causing a lot of damages and mischieves"²⁷. Therefore, to keep this commerce on and to fulfill the formalities, without chaos and damages for town, "it was built there [outside the city, in the region of harbor] a house for the office of the Turkish *emin* [administrator]"²⁸.

The sale of salt to the Morlachs is an important pylon of the local economy in Sibenik, and it is proven by the letter sent by the count and captain of Sibenik to the *Consiglio dei X*, in March 28, 1535²⁹. In this letter, the count and captain explains the reason why he cannot send to Venice the entire amount of money expected for the salt sale. The reason is the incapacity of the *emin* to pay the amount that should be collected from the salt sale to the Morlachs. This did not happen because of the Turk's malevolence, but because the Morlachs were unable to descend from mountains to buy salt due to the bad weather conditions.

The inspector Antonio Diedo also speaks about this important trade with salt maintained by Morlachs. This official says that since this city "doesn't have anymore its territory, it survives mostly because of the tax on salt sale (*gabella*)"³⁰. The main customers for this salt used to be the Turkish subjects. They gained the right to buy salt from the salines of Sibenik through an agreement concluded "between the Serenissima and the Turk thanks to Pietro Zeno, ambassador at Constantinople"³¹. For the appropriate functioning of this agreement a Turkish official (*emin*) was appointed, who had a residence in town, fact that was not very well received by the Venetian subjects living in that community. Since the *emino* was the responsible with the salt sold to the Morlachs, he had the obligation to record any quantity of salt sold to them, which "usually came in town around 500-600 Morlachs on horses, with caravans to take the salt kept for them"³², causing a lot of damages. This is the reason why the Venetian inspector suggests to move the house and office of *emino* outside the city, near salt storehouses, near saline. Thus, the caravans would avoid the city being charged in the harbour region near salines "as it was done before and is asked by the registers of fiscal office of Sibenik"³³. It was also necessary for the office of

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 266. ("Perchè vengono alla volte conque cento, sei cento Murlachi nella città con pericolo, che un giorno non facessero qualche insulto dannoso et vergognoso.")

²⁸ *Ibidem*. ("Et perciò ivi medesimamente è fabricata una casa per stanza dell'emino turchresco, che al presente abita nella città.")

²⁹ ASV, *Capi del Consiglio di X. Lettere di Rettori e di altre cariche*, busta 280, doc. 52, see Appendix, doc. 1.

³⁰ *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, III, p. 18. ("Quella città, hora ch' ella non ga il suo territorio, si mantiene primieramente per la gabella d' i Sali.")

³¹ *Ibidem*. ("Sali che ai sudditi Turcheschi si vendono in quel solo luogo per via di capitulationa della Serenità vostra e del signor Turco concordamente costituita per mezzo del clarissimo m. Pietro Zen [...], già ambasciatore a Costantinopoli.")

³² *Ibidem*, p. 18. ("Et per ordinario vanno conquecento et seicento cavalli di Murlachi al tratto, che sono le caravane, che levano i sali.")

³³ *Ibidem*. ("Come andavano altre volte, et come è espressamente ordinato per ordini registrati in quella camera.")

emino to be outside the city because "it is inappropriate that in such important border city the presence of enemies and their subjects should be so large"³⁴.

The initiative of building an administrative office dedicated to selling salt to the Morlachs belongs to the inspector Giovanni Batista Giustiniano³⁵. He exposed strongly and detailed the necessity of this office in one of his reports (without date, but later than the one presented in 1553). In this report he draws the attention of the Venetian Senate over the problem of salt trade in Sibenik's region, saying that is the only one that keeps alive the city since it does not have its territory anymore³⁶. The salt sales to the Morlachs, through the payment of *gabella* (tax on buying salt), represents "the main nerv of this treasury"³⁷. This trade assures plenty of things necessary for survival, bringing in Sibenik "merchandise whitout which the Dalmatins would not be able to live in those territories"³⁸. After the agricultural lands were conquered by Turks, the Venetian officials were somehow forced to allow more importance and attention to the salt trade. The lost of fields "opened the officials eyes over the numerous and untapped salt resources that can be sold"³⁹.

In the end of his report, Giovanni Batista Giustiniano renews the problems that need an urgent solution. Through these appears the request that the Turkish administrator should not be "allowed to live in city, for the reasons of respect, but at Madallena, where is built a special house for him, avoiding this way the entrance into the city of 500-600 Morlachs on horses, coming to take salt and for the respect of the rules proper to a border city."⁴⁰

The Morlachs presence in Sibenik for the salt trade seems to be entered in the attention of central institutions of *Serenissima*. Because of that, the former inspector of Dalmatia and Albania, Giovanni Batista Giustiniano has to present a new report⁴¹ about this trade in front of *Provveditori al Sal* (the authority of salt administration in all territories of Venice). He explains that "half of the extracted salt is given to a Turkish minister named *emin*, who collects all the taxes, brings the Morlachs, Turkish subject, in Sibenik, and lives in town against the sacred rules of the Republic"⁴². The former inspector insists over the fact that it is not something

³⁴ *Ibidem*. ("Perchè non si conviene, che in una città importantissima, come è quella di confin. pratichino domesticamente tali personaggi et amti suoi sudditi ad un tratto.")

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ *Ibidem*. ("è il primo nervo di quella camera").

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 36. ("Senza li quali Dalmatini non potriano durar ad abitar que' sterili paesi.")

³⁹ *Ibidem*. ("All' amministration d' i quali Sali si diè aprir gli occhi, perchè i fondi di essi et i grossi intacchi.")

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 38. ("Non permetter, che l'emino del signor Turco habiti nella città per convenienti rispetti, ma alla Madalena, ove gli è fabbricata et assegnata la stantia sua; et che entrino nella città cinquecento et sei cento cavalli al tratto di Murlachi, che sono le caravane, che vanno a cargar i sali, ma alla gabella, ove è ordinato.")

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁴² *Ibidem*. ("La mettà del tratto di questi sali è dato ad un ministro del signor Turco detto emino, che parimente anco scode il datio di tutte le robe, che portano i Murlacchi sudditi Turchesci a Sibenico, il qual contra i santissimi ordini di questa republica habita nella città.")

good that a “pagan minister, natural enemy of the Christians, lives in a so important border city, and that, at time of salt selling enter in city [emphasis mine] around 500-600 horsemen once”⁴³. To avoid, in a diplomatic manner, all these inconveniences “it was built a house for this Turkish office, one mile far from Sibenik”. In this place, named *Madalena*, the Morlachs come to take salt, “like it was done since ever”. After Giovanni Batista Giustiniano exposed the facts he asks for the approval in doing so⁴⁴.

Giovanni (Joannis) de Quarzonibus, former count and captain of Sibenik, exposes also in his report (in 1557) the importance of renting this salt “*gabella* [tax] which doubles the incomes and can support the life of almost all the inhabitants”⁴⁵. In addition to that, the salt tax is important because the Morlachs coming to buy salt bring in town “wool, cheese, leather and other similar things”. According to the counts’ approximation, a profit of “300,000 and more ducats every year”⁴⁶ results from this trade.

Equally, the inspectors Michiel Bon and Gasparo Erizzo are aware of the importance of Morlachs trade. They suggest that “without the Morlachs, which come at mine to buy salt bringing grain, wool, chesse and leather, the people of Sibenk would be much worse, because their territory is the most sterile in entire Dalmatia”⁴⁷. This opinion is based on the changes produced in territory during the war with Turks (1537-1540). Thus, if Sibenik had under administration “150 villages” before war, afterwards there were only “28 villages poorly inhabited”⁴⁸.

The opportunity bounds the two types of commerce practiced by the Morlachs in Sibenik. Coming to buy salt, which had a small price since it was not in the best quality, the Morlachs bring various manufactured products and buy merchandise difficult to be obtained in other circumstances. On the other side, the Venetian treasury in Sibenik gains a lot of advantages: a good income from selling significant salt quantities, subsistence products at small prices and land market for local products, all of these as a result of a free trade (no taxes for transport, etc.)

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 44. (“*Che non stà bene, che un infedel ministro, natural nimico di christiani, stantij in una città nostra di confin così importante, et che vadino cinquecento, sei cento cavalli al tratto ordinariamente.*”)

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 43. (“*Et assegnata la stantia sua fuori della città, lontano un miglio, dove medesimamente è ordinato.*”)

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 98. (“*Gabella [...] mediante la quale s'affitano doppiamente gli dattii, che non si faria, et si sostentano quasi tutti quei popoli.*”)

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*. (“*Che per la gran quantità di lane, formazi, pegole et altre robbe simili, che sono condotte nella città dalli Morlchi s'affitta il datio dil XXXmo mille et più ducati all'anno.*”)

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 126. (“*Et se non fusseno li Murlachi, che venneno alla gabella per comprar Sali, et portano formaneti, lane, formazi et pegole, Sebenzani steriano molto male, perchè quello paese è più sterile di tutto il resto della Dalmatia.*”)

⁴⁸ *Ibidem* (“*Inanzi le guerre il territorio soleva esser de 150 ville, et al presente fra le isole et terra ferma non sono altre che 28 mal habitade.*”)

33 Morlach villages between Venetian and Ottoman administration

Joannis de Quarzonibus, count and captain of Sibenik, presents in front of the Venetian Senate in 1557 how did he solved the conflict concerning the jurisdiction of 33 Morlach villages in the border region of Sibenik. These villages were occupied many years back by "Morlachs, Ottoman subjects, and are still kept by them without any reason"⁴⁹. The lost of these villages and their territories caused serious problems for Sibenik, regarding the city supply and the income from renting the lands.

The controversies seemed for a while to find a path for solutions: Busdocan Kadi visits the territories, speaks with the inhabitants of Sibenik and decides to send an *arz* at the Porte to describe the situation and to ask for advice; Vincenzo di Prioli, former count and captain of Sibenik, also sends an *arz* at the Porte to reveal the voice of city's inhabitants; and the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, Domenico Trevisan, obtain from the *sanjak* of Clisa one decree which approves the return of the villages to Sibenik, like Busdogan Kadi agreed⁵⁰. But the *sanjak* refers to a previous negotiation, with Filippo Bragadin predecessor of count Quarzonibus, who promised 300 *cechini* for the return of the villages. With this offer, the *sanjak* and the count fix a meeting in November 7, 1553 in Scardona, for conciliation and signing the agreement. Unfortunately, the conclusion of the situation was postponed, first because the *sanjak* wanted to extend the motion of the Morlachs during the entire winter⁵¹, and secondly because the count did not agree with this term, invoking the consent of *Serenissima*, which delays to occur. A new *arz* is sent to the Porte by the *sanjak* explaining the new situation: the Venetian refusal in extending the term of the Morlachs motion. The Porte responds with a decree stating that nothing should be done until new orders. On the other side, the Venetians kept looking for solutions. The ambassador in Constantinople convinced with a letter the *sanjak* to send Moratbeg, brother in law and lieutenant of *sanjak*, in Venetian territory for new discussions about the return of villages⁵². The ambassadors' letter asks also for reconciliation between the parts, but while the count acted as requested, the *sanjak* looked for other elusions to earn time. Thus, the *sanjak* sent a new *arz* to the Porte asking for the Sultan's consent in receiving those 300 *cechini* negotiated by Busdogan kadi with the Venetians. Because of that, the release of the territory was postponed until the new instructions will be reached from Constantinople⁵³.

In 1560, the problem of these 33 Morlach villages was not solved yet. The count and captain Paolo Marcello notes for December 14, 1560 the return of his delegates from *sanjak* of Klis. They negotiated the return of villages and obtained a "beautiful promise"⁵⁴ to have them back soon. But, the promise was not fulfilled, the

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 92. ("La parte di terra ferma [...] sta occupato la già maggior parte molti anni fa da Morlachi sudditi Turcheschi. li quali fino al presente tengono contro ragione.")

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 94. ("A bel principio").

sanjak sending a letter written in Slavonic to the count (December 23) and informing about his intention to ask the Sultan about a compensation they should pretend after they “lose” the villages to the Venetians. According to his calculations, the Venetians should pay to the Ottomans 55,000 aspers, a payment that he hoped to be fulfilled until the end of his mandate⁵⁵.

A new similar Venetian report (without author) describes the settlement of the Morlachs in these villages from Sibenik's jurisdiction beginning with the moments following the lost of Scardona in Turkish hands. Those territories, abandoned by the old inhabitants fled by fear of Turks, were colonized with “Morlachs, Turkish subjects, to cultivate the lands abandoned by our subjects”⁵⁶. The complaint of rightful owner of lands was obvious, so that an intense negotiation began between the two ruling powers. The count of Sibenik, Piero Zeno and Husref, the *sanjak* of Bosnia were the first ones who discussed the situation of the 33 Morlach villages. The main cause is found in the decision of Turkish *sipahis* to colonize the Morlachs in Venetian territories. A compromise is obtained by Venetians, Husrefbey accepting that “the Turkish subjects should leave the territory of Sibenik letting it free for its rightfull owners”⁵⁷. Meanwhile, Husrefbey sends an *arz* to the Porte to present the discussed resolution.

However, a new event changed the decisions of the ruling powers. This time, the Morlachs are those that “came in Sibenik and concluded agreements with the patrons of the abandoned villages in exchange for the fifth part of the agricultural products and some animals, for the pasturlands and streams they used”⁵⁸. These agreements between the Morlachs and the people of Sibenik became public contracts approved by the count. Even so, the collaboration did not work as expected: the Morlachs sent animals for the patrons from Sibenik as payment for pasturlands and streams, but did not pay the rent in grain, because “they didn't bother to seed the fields”⁵⁹. Because of these agreements between the Morlachs and the people of Sibenik, the Turks register those 33 villages as part from the Croatian territory, already conquered by them⁶⁰. As a result of the complaints made by the inhabitants of Sibenik, deprived of their territories, the *Illustrissima Signoria* attempts to solve the problem with some letters sent to the Porte, obtaining some “decrees which state that the Morlachs, Turkish subjects, should be moved from the territory of Sibenik”⁶¹. Again, nothing happens, this time because the Turkish *sanjaks* refused

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 239. (“*Facendo venir alcuni Morlachi sudditi Turcheschi a cultivar le ville abbandonate dalli contadini nostri*”)

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*. (“*Molti Morlachi sudditi Turcheschi venero a Sebenico et fecero accordo con li patroni delle già ditte ville abbandonate, promettendoli di dar el quinto delle biave et alquanti animali per li pascoli et aque*”)

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 240. (“*non si curavano di seminar*”)

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*. (“*Per via della Porta furono mandati piu commandamenti, che li Morlachi sudditi Turcheschi fussero levati dal territorio di Sebenico*”)

the execution of decrees, supporting the idea of the affiliation of those Morlach villages to the already conquered territory.

The next step is made by the *kadi* of Klis who is invited in Sibenik's region to see with his own eyes the reality. The *kadi* goes in the problematic region, confirms the villages as Venetian possessions and sends *arz* at Constantinople to describe what he saw. On the Venetian side, the count of Sibenik is asked to send two trustful persons at Constantinople, at Venetian ambassador, to inform him about "these 33 villages inhabited by Morlachs"⁶². There, the delegates of Sibenik face the opposition of Achmat Zelebi, the secretary of Zatalovich, the *emin* from Sibenik, who described in first place the villages as part of conquered Turkish territory. The controversies are reopened. In this context, *bailo* Domenico Trevisan receive from Sultan a decree confirming the movement of Morlachs in Turkish area. When the *kadi* of Klis saw the decree, he refused to act as requested claiming that this decree is important only to confirm the Morlach presence in Sibenik's region⁶³. For the motion of the Morlachs, the *kadi* requires a new *arz*. Again, Venice sends delegates at the *sanjaks* of Kils and Bosnia, and also "beautiful gifts brought from Venice"⁶⁴, but no solution seems to be found.

Finally, Marino di Cavalli, the new Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, obtains an unconditioned decree. According to this Mustafabey, the new *sanjak* of Klis, has to return the villages to Sibenik. At the end of his mandate as *bailo* at Constantinople, Marino di Cavalli passes through Sibenik hoping to settle a meeting with the *sanjak*, but, since the *sanjak* was in Hungary, the Venetian official continued his travel back to Venice. The count of Sibenik, Paulo Marcello is charged to remember the *sanjak* about the restitution of villages and to give him, 1,100 *cechini* as gift⁶⁵. Piero Zavoreo is the one who meets the *sanjak* in Cliuno. The *sanjak* examines the documents showed and, receiving the money sent by Venice, "concludes the return of those 33 villages in the jurisdiction of Sibenik"⁶⁶. Next day, Zavoreo is stopped from his way back to Sibenik by the *sanjak*'s messenger who informed him that the "*sanjak* thought better the problem and decided not to conclude anything until he sees all the original documents"⁶⁷. Zavoreo turns back to the *sanjak*'s residence, renegotiates and accept to be accompanied by a Turk when he will make the copy after the decree received by de Cavalli in Constantinople. Although the original document was copied in the presence of the Turkish emissary and new gifts were presented to the *sanjak*, the conflict did not come to an end and the Morlachs were not moved back in Turkish territory. At least now, the real reasons for postponing the motion of Morlachs appear to be shown. Pleading for the absence

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 241. ("Et cosi li Morlachi continuorno ad habitar le 33 ville")

⁶³ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*. ("Doi nostri gientilhomeni con belli presenti portati da Venetia")

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*. ("et rissolsesi di far la restitutione et consegnatione delle già dette 33 ville")

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*. ("dove vi venne un Turco al suo alloggiamento dicendo, chel sangiacco havea considerato meglio, e chel non si potrà levare fino che non veda l' autenticho del detto chochiume")

of a territory where to “banish the Morlachs from all those 33 villages together with their stuff”, and for the loss of all the advantages obtained from the “Morlachs, inhabitants of these villages which every year produce an income bigger than 1000 *cechini*”⁶⁸ (amount that should have been paid by Venetian to the Turks for the motion of the Morlachs), the *sanjak* seemed to stop the Venetian claims over the villages. This complete report over the facts, history and interests regarding the return of 33 villages in jurisdiction of Sibenik ends in a compassionate note for the state of the inhabitants of Sibenik: “the poor people from Sibenik, once masters over so many villages and over the field of Velin, very beautiful and rich, have now so few possession on the mainland”⁶⁹.

The Uskok threat over the Venetian and Ottoman subjects – jeopardizing the peace of the border region

The Uskok incursions represented a new problem the Venetian officials from Sibenik had to face to, in order to keep good relations with the Ottomans in the border region. Stopping these Uskok raids, from its territories and the Turkish ones, became an obligation for the Venetian Republic since, consequent to the peace concluded in 1540, *Serenissima* was recognized as hegemon in the Adriatic⁷⁰. It is very difficult to differentiate ethnically the Uskoks by the rest of population present in region. What can be done is an identification of some specific elements that characterized these social groups according the name used by the 16th century documents.

A good example appears in the letter sent in 1575⁷¹ to *Consiglio di Dieci* by count and captain of Sibenik, Vincenzo da Canal. He notes in his letter that “one Turk and one Morlach”⁷² were kidnapped by the Uskoks and brought to Segna where they can be sold as slaves. The kidnap possibly took place when the victims came in Sibenik to sell some products. The count needs support in recovering the victims and solving the problem to avoid an open conflict with the Turks. So, in two of his letters, dated in August 12 and 13⁷³, the count asks *Consiglio di Dieci* for advice and for the authority to make an intervention against the Uskoks. The fact that the victims would be released results from a copy of letter written by the *sanjak* of Klis in August 23, the same year⁷⁴. The *sanjak* collects from victims some information about

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*. (“*Chel volea scriver alla cesarea porta. et dinotar. che non havea dove alogar li Morlachi. che conveniva levar dalle 33 ville. et questo avere tutto. perchè il detto suo luocotenente lo persuase a questo con dirli che trazeva maggior utilità ogni anno dalli Morlachi habitanti in dette ville. che non erano li mille cechini [...] sempre che più*”)

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 242. (“*Questo è quanto è successo di quella parte del territorio da levante. in modo che li miseri de Sebenico. petroni già de tante ville in terraferma et già patroni della campagna di Velin molto bella e fertile. sono rimasti con poche terre in terra ferma.*”)

⁷⁰ T. Stefani, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

⁷¹ ASV, *Capi dei Consiglio dei X*, b. 280, doc. 70, see Appendices, doc. 3.

⁷² *Ibidem* (“*un turco e un Morlaco*”).

⁷³ *Ibidem*, doc. 71, see Appendices, doc. 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 72, see Appendices, doc. 5.

the kidnapers and their accomplices and sends them to the count as a proof of friendships and assistance. A new letter sent by the count to the Venetian ministers in May 1576 suggests the lack of success in the operations against the Uskoks and their kidnapers of Turks and Morlachs⁷⁵.

The Uskok problem is not specific for the territory of Sibenik, their incursions being present in entire Dalmatia. The damages the Uskoks left behind, the fierceness of their actions and the silent protection of the Habsburgs⁷⁶ would represent for the Venetians a very difficult matter of inner politics, influential for the evolution of *Stato da Mar*.

* * *

To draw a conclusion, one could note how the names used by the Venetians when speaking about the people they rule in Dalmatia vary depending on a set of specific features. These specificities of each differently named groups and the tradition of using them to define these groups seem to base more on some general perceptions – universal accepted by the Venetian authorities in Dalmatia – than on ethnic features. If one would consider this social naming convention, it appears a particular system. Thus, for the Venetians, the people who live in the urban community, loyal and civilized, are *Sebenizani* (the name used in documents) or inhabitants of Sibenik. The Ottomans are the Turks, subjects of the Porte and the main cause for everything that goes bad in Dalmatia. The Uskoks became a provocative community, which challenges more and more the Venetian administration, these characters being outsiders, neither Venetian nor Turkish subjects.

In this context, the Morlachs represent a community coming from outside, but willing to be settled, although they seem to have their own rules. They became useful for different economic activities supporting the city welfare and furnishing it with various vital products. It is easy to observe that at the middle of the 16th century the Morlachs form a particular community. The documents speak about them without the use of names like Serbian, Croatian or Dalmatian. The Morlachs are individualized by their pastoral activities, improving their profile with commercial and military skills and also with the integration in social life of the Venetian-Ottoman region. Beginning with this period full of changes brought by wars, the Morlachs built a new profile. It would be itemized with enthusiasm during the 18th century and would become the image of *Le bon sauvage* from the Balkans.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 73, see Appendices, doc. 6.

⁷⁶ T. Stefini, *op. cit.*, p. 636.

Appendices

6. December 20, 1540. The Venetian vice-chancellor Cornelius Bonimus is sent to Sibenik to solve the conflict between the nobleman Ioannes Ferro (Zuan) and the count and captain of Sibenik, Iacob Boldu. The last one refused to give Ioannes Ferro (Zuan) the right to sell some sorghum (*sorg*) to the Morlachs living outside the city. The count denied the request of Ioannes because this *sorg* should be sold for the benefit of the *Serenissima* and not for personal profit, as Ioannes intended. This document contains some testimonials submitted within few days, confirming the intention of Ioannes to sell this sorgum for personal benefit.

Die 20mo mese decembre 1540

Excelentissimi

Cum hodie coram clarissimo domino Iacobo Boldu dignissimo comite et capitano Sibinici in camera sue solite audientie comparvissar ser Ioannes Ferra nobili huius civitatis pretendo a sua Magnificentia licentiam possa extrati facere ex hoc civitate per portam terraferme staria quatuor surgu per cum banditi quibusdam Morlachis, et per suam magnificentiam ingata fuisset talis licentia doveris prius nelle et honostrius esse venuti surgu illustrissime Domini Doge hoc miserum suo computo fabrice quam surgus dicti ser Ioannes et si dicti Murlachi volunt concesso illum ormant de dicto surgo ad hoc ut de prioris eius retrahitur sua magnificentia possit satisfacera in sero ex mano oppribus quod magistris laborantibus ad dictam fabricam qui ser Ioannes rimettens dritum illustrissimi domini doge surgum misum fuisso pro dispensando pauperibus huius civitatis et non pro computo fabrice predictae per eius magnificentia offense fuore littere ducales imponetes sub pena furantium dictum surgum non debrie aliarum distribui vel vendi nisi pro computo dicte fabrice quonibus litteris visis et intellectis idem ser Ioannes quondam presumptione e arogantia motus ofendens malum animum sarum erga prefatum illustrissimum doge ressiens in circumstantes prorusci in hec verba formalia dicens el venira per un giorno che uscirimo de tirania et potremo veder la nostra robba.

Quo verba cum prefatus clarissimus dominus comes et capitaneus consideraverit esser maxime ponderationis per quo infertur ipsum ser Ioannes desiderat fare civitatem esse subiectam alio domino imputando illustrissime devotionem nostram de tiranitem mandavit mihi Cornelius vicecancelarios suo examinari debere processum ad hoc in constita supradictorum verborum veritate sua magnificentia possit opportunitate providere pro ut morliis sibi huic ivi competero ut debero ricolitum.

Dominic civis Sibinici

Ser Stephanus Cralieci

Domino presbiter Ioannes Chissolovich et

Ser Ioannes Mussich

Die 21 stesso

Ser Ioannes Mussichex officio sumptis citatus novitus iurantis et diligentes exminatus super verbis de quibus super iuramento suo ita deposuit diens tutto quello o notado qui avanti e la verita et fui presente quando la magnificentia del conte non volendo dar licentia a ser Zuano ferro da trazar per terraferma quod stara disse sorgo chel voleva vender a certi Murlachi esso ser Zuane disse chel dito sorgo era sta mandato qua per la

poverta et non per conto de fabriche et alhora el magnifico conte monstraro lettera ducale che comandanno sotto pena de iuranti che dito sorgo non si desesso spender in altro che in le fabriche di questa cita, alhora esso ser Zuane inteso el tener de dite litere se volto verso de noi astanti dicendo et venira per un giorno che insistemo de tirania che potremo vender le nostre robbe et aliarum non sai R. Co et non suscriptis fa ignotum.
Super generalibus incerto

Die 21 ut autem

Ser Stephanus Craliech litteris ut ante suprascriptas citatus monitus iuratus et examinatus super premisus iuramento suo tam scire dixii litteri atrovandomi licentia sua Magnificentia di poter trazar prudentia da terraferma stria quanto di sorgo chel voleva vender a certi Murlachi allaqual sua magnificentia rispose non volevo per che litera sta mandato qui lo sorgo della Illustrissima Signoria el qual se dovera vender per conto di questa importantissima fabriche del porto et chel era piu honesto doverse vender prima quello che el suo acciaio se possi col retenutto pagar le opere et maistrame che sara e materia vengono da sua magnificentia in dimandar denari per sua mercode non havendo altro modo de venir se di quello lavorano a ditta fabriche et ricedendo esso Ser Zuane disse chel sorgo predicto era sta mandato per la poverta et non per la fabrica alhora esso magnifico conte li monstro le littere ducale et quelle littere sui ser zuane non suprendo che altro rispondere havendo inteso il tenor di quelle qual era conte havea ditto sua magnificentia disse presente quella tal passolla insuccesso per uno di de servitio che potremo vendet le nostre robbe come ne piacera et et sentendo questo sua magnificentia dissa verso noi altri che eramo li che ni par di queste parolle, alhora sui ser Zuano repplico piu volte dicendo mandei si che uno giorno veniva che ussieremo di servitu et aliarum nescit R Con. Et non subsripsit fa ignotum.
Super generalibus incerto.

Die 23 stesso

Domino presbiter Ioannes Chiserlovich littis ut antesumptus citatus monitus et more sacerdotali de licentia domini Vistanii sui superioris in verbo veritatis iuratis coram clarissimo domino comito et capitano antestesso super verbis prelati esser antescritum ser Ioannes Ferra pervia tamen protestatione pena sanguinis ita deprosuit dicens io mio ho trovato presento qui in comitia di vostra magnificentia latro giorno quando ser Zuan Ferro iseno a dimandar licentia di vender quod stara di sorgo a certu Murlachi per trazar fuora della porta di terraferma alqual Vostra Magnificentia non volsa concederli dicendo chel era piu honesto doverse vender prima lo sorgo de Sna Marco per poter del intento pagar le maistranza et aperte de la fabrica che el suo al qual ser Zuane disse quel sorgo non e sta mandata dalla Signoria per conto de fabriche ma per la poverta di questa terra alhora vostra magnificentia li lesce le littera ducale qual dicovano in effetto che ditte sorgi foserno venduti per conto de fabriche et ser Zuane perduto visto el tenor de dictis litere disse el ut in via per un giorno di che insivenco di servitu, et potremo vender le nostre robbe a chi no piacera et molte altre parolle arrogante verso Vostra Magnificentia per il che noi circumstanti lo cominciassero respinder el non dovesse multiplicar in parolle cum Vostra Magnificentia et chel facta mal a responder cosi come el facea per che la Magnificetia Vostra li dita che quello la faceva era tutto per beneficio de questa

cita a fortificarla come si fa et che la facta per noi de la terra et non per se ne in sua spretialtade et aliter non scit et subscripsit super generalibus incerto lo presente Zuano Chiserlovich rattiffico ut supra Cornelius Bonimus venetus vicecancelariis mandato excelatissime

(ASV, CCD, b. 280, doc. 54)

2. March 21, 1560. Paulo Marcello, count and captain of Sibenik, denies the charges brought by a man from Sibenik, renegade and refugee in Constantinople. This man accuses the count that would be hidden the fact that some friends of Uskoks live in the city, which help them to enter the city (either through a hole in the wall or through the main gate) and in the salt mines, where they take salt and sell it to the Morlachs without paing the tenth. The count denies these actions, although he knows that some feared and respected bandits live in his territory.

Illustrissimi et excelentissimi Signori, signori mei osservami

Con la debita reverentia si ha ricevuto le lettere dette Excellentissime Signorie Vestre de di VII del instate: le quali sono sta portate in fin a Lesina et mandatemi poi per quel clarissimo rethor con barcha a posta; per li quali le mi dinota che e compasso un sebenzano renegato a Costantinopoli; il qual ha suo padri vivo in questa terra et ha refferto al clarissimo Baylo che sono qui in Sebenico alcuni amici d'Euscochi che hanno in questa terra le moglie et li figlioli et loro mariti furono gia mandati ad habitar alla foresta nel contado di Zara; li quali amici di ditti Euscochi al presente accettano in questa citta essi Euscochi li quali entrano et usciano dalla dicta citta per un buso che hanno fatto loro nelle muraglie et anno ancho le chiave de una Porta di Mare contrafatte: per la qual portano la note fuori contra qualita de Sali et li vendono poi a Murlachi senza pagar x^a ni cosa alcuna. Et de piu ha detto il dito renegato ad esso clarissimo Baylo che egli ito venir a Sebenico per manifestarmi tutte queste cose dandomi li nomi di quelli che accettano li ditti Euscochi con speranza di havene poi beneficio da Vostra Illustrissime Signorie commettendormi quelle che procurar debbia cen quel cauto et desstro mod che meglio mi parera di venir in luce di tal cosa e quando io la trovase rescir vera debbia castigar li deliquenti di quel modo che conviene a un facto et cosi gravami delicto el specialmente quando fuse il vero che questi tali havessero contrafatte le chiave delle porte et havessero fatto alcun buso nelle muraglie; si che di quello potesseno intrare et uscire a suo piacere; Allequal cose respondendo con ogni termine de riverentia dico alle Illustrissime signoria Vostra che noon e porto de verita, che in questa tarra siano al presente alcuni amici de Euscochi et che accettino Euscochi non ni essendo alcuno: imper che dal primo giorno che io venni in questo Regimendo mai alcuno li e venito ne meno si ha sentito che alcuni , over alcuno delli ditti euscochi sia comparso in questa terra ne meno transitato per questo territorio ne dalla parte di mare ne dalla parte di terra ne meno e la verita che habbino loro fattp alcun buso nelle muraglie per il quale possino intrat et uscir a suo piacere. Ma quello che piu importa et che concerne la verita Vostre Signorie Excelentissime intenderano et saperano che s'atrova in questo territorio quatro scolestissimi banditi da terra luoco li quali tutti colleggati insieme sono talmente tenuti et

respectati che non e alcuno che ardisca noiarli anchor fussero danneggiato et depredati da loro veniendo li ditti banditti di rapina cose come sempre hanno avuto
Da Sebenico il di 21 marzo 1560
Di Vostre Illustrissime Signorie Servitor Paulo Marcello Conte et Capitano de Sebenico

(ASV, CCD, b. 280, doc. 60)

3. August 12, 1575. Vincenzo da Canal, count and captain of Sibenik, informs the *Consiglio dei X* about the problems that Sibenik and the Turkish subjects from the border region have with the Uskoks of Segna. The Uskoks kidnapped lately a Turk and a Morlach and brought them in Segna, where other slaves are to be sold. The count asks for advice in solving the situation avoiding any possible conflict that may occur with the Turks.

Illustrissimi et eccellesntissimi Signori ossevarmi.

Astretto delli rechiami che continuamente me vengono dal Magnifico sanzacho de questo confini et suoi ministri convegno scriver le presenti a Vostra Eccellentissime che per esser di cose importanti rispetto alli tempi presenti ho che non potranno esser senza qualche travaglio, non di meno voglio piu tosto supplire con ogni potere al debito mio, che mancare in parte alcuna al benefittio delle cose publiche. Saperano donaquem Vostra signoria Illustrissime che sono tanti li danni et depredationi ce da alcuni scelerate di questo contado vengono fatte a Turchi et sudditi loro che tutti questi vicinanti, anci l'istesso sanzaco sono concitati a publico ressentimento contra li sudditi di sua Serenita Dolendosi fra molti particolari che ritrovandoli la Domenica delli Apostoli prossimamente passata a Trisca luogo nel canale de questa citta un turco et un morlaco da Scardona sono stati persi da Nicolo Buccalovich. Gregorio Taglenovich, Gregorio Billocuich et Zuane Palicucich huomeni dal stretto et slosella ville di questo territorio et condotti a Segna dove ancora si trovano schiavi da loro venduti et tanto maggioramenti si doleno per che hanno presentito che oltra che le ditti malfattori in tempo de quieta piace le hanno depredati li detti huomeni suoi, essendo anco per le molte secleratezze loro banditi di terre et luoghi dell' illustrissimo Dominico. Doi di essi si trovano al servitio del Clarissimo Capitano in Colfo in scio a mio giuditio de suoi mensfatti dicendo che da questo comprendeno chel tutto schia di volere di sua Serenita et che per cio manderano a dolersi a Costantinopoli et faranno quel maggior danno che potranno. In modo che considerando che tutti questi disordini non si potranno ridure a quieto riposo senza qualche travaglio, ho voluto darne particolar aviso a Vostra Signoria Illustrissimo accioche col sapiamento loro giuditio possino provvedere a tanti riconvenienti; et per che delle sopranominati non se ne possono haver nelle mani se non doi che sono Nicolo Bucalovich et Zuane Palicucich per esser Gregorio Taglenovich morto dopoi et Gregorio Billocuich andato a Segna. Ho giudicato che sarebbe bene che Vostra Signoria Eccellentissime commettese al sudetto calrissimo capitano poi che io fin hora non ho potuto abboccarmi, ne far offitio alcun in questo proposito con sua Magnificentia come desiderava per non trovarsi in questi mani, che per ogni modo debba tenir in ferri per conseguir nelle forze mie o mandarmi col primo sotto poste alla giurisdittione mia si per astrigerli al riscato, come per rihaver Doi innocenti delle sudette ville persi da Truchi in

luogo delle Doi venduti a Segna, et per venir in luce d'altri complici, per far poi di loro quella essemplar giustitia che ricercano li tempi presenti et sara conveniente alle delitti commessi et con cio alla graciam di Vostra Signoria Eccellentissime riverentemente mi raccomando.

Di Sebenico alle 12 d'agosto 1575

Vincezo da Canale, conte et capitano

(ASV, CCD, b. 280, doc. 70)

4. August 13, 1575. Vincenzo da Canale exposes the difficult situation created by the intrusive Uskok actions over the subjects, Venetians and Turks, in the border region of Sibenik. The main menace consists in endangering the peaceful relations between Turks and Venetians. That is why, the count requests the approval in opening a process for searching more accomplices or to discover more, through testimonies, about the way this bad events are produced.

Illustrissimi et Eccellentissimi signori osservami

Essendomi in questa hora capitato in mano le qui occluse mandatemi dal sanzacho de questi confini, in proposito di quanto scrissi heri a Vostra Signoria Eccellentissime circa la depredatione d'un turco et d'un Morlaco, et come si trovato a Segna venduti de Nicolo Buccalovich, Gregorio Taglenovich, Gregorio Billocuich et Zuanne Palicucich, ho voluto in delegentia mandarle a Vostra Signoria Illustrissime accio che poassino col sapevano suo giuditio prevennire alle molte inconvenienti, che per cio potrebbono occorese, per che io vedo l'animo del sanzaco a fatto inclinassetmo a volesse ressentire della predita delli detti turco et Morlaco si nelle persone de questi sudditi, come col voler scrivere a Costantinopoli, che quando cio facesse non potrebbe esser altro, se non travaglio grandissimo et disturbo delle cose publiche, tuttavia che io non habbi maneato de usarle ogni sorte de amorevoli parole si pro metterli, che seben questa depredatione fu fatta al tempo del magnifico mio precessore non manchero di far quel piu che potro per la recuperatione loro, et per castigar li malfattori. Poi de quali sono al servitio del clarissimo capitano di Golfo, come essi le scrisse particolarmente, per che havendosi nelle mano li Doi predetti oltra che si recupererano il Turco et il Morlaco che sono a Segna si potra venir in luce delli altri complici, che a mio giuditio, anci tengo per certa, non sono altri che Uscochi venuti in tempo di guerra et tratenuti da sua Serenita per che continuamente convego procieder a retentione de loro per li mensfatti et sceleratezze che commettono contra Turchi et sudditi suoi. Ho voluto darne aviso a Vostra Signoria Eccellentissime affine che possino far quella miglior provisione che conoscerano far bisogno in questa stretezza de tempi alla gratiam delle quali riverentemente mi raccomando.

Di Sibenico a 13 d'agsoto 1575

Vincezo da Canale conte et capitano.

(ASV, CCD, b. 280, doc. 71)

5. August 23, 1575. Copy of the letter sent by the *sanjak* of Klis to the count and captain of Sibenik, informing him that the hostages brought by the Uskoks in Segna have returned in their communities. The letter contents the testimonies of the hostages about the kidnappers and the intentions in finding definitive solutions for this kind of actions. The *sanjak* also mentions his decision to send a letter at Constantinople asking for advice in maintaining good relations in this border region.

Copia

Da me Alibey Sanzacco da Clissa et Cliuno

Molto honorato et di ogni honore et laude degno Conte et Capitano reverentie et salutatione come vicino et amico nostro, hora sappi Vostro Magnifico cume una et l'atra volta scrissi circa dui da Scardona quali nostri sudditti apresso nostra citta presero et li hanno tenuto nella villa del stretto conque gironi et lu condussero a Segna et li hanno vencuto cosi il fatto e passato; lavite sapieto et hora si sa che fu e tutti sono acasa et nel poder et comandamento nostro et intendessimo che non haveti fatto cosa alcuna, ne di questo haveti fatto conto che nella amorevol per et vicinanza cosi delle sudditti essere fattc, et che fati giustitia et noi mi risponete questo nostre stato al tempo mio ma scritto il precessor cosa ce ne par strania et se si cambiemo nostre stato permesso che sempre sterro fermi in un luoco a comandare, ma la giustitia et la raggion la giustitia e ferma cosa seben quel conte e combiato et noi nel suo luoco seti mandato et se lui nel haveria fattc et essequito il tutto, ma noi essequite et fate raggione donere et giustitia et sudditi da ogni mal et cativa strada li vardate io inteti la una risposta et opinione cosi feci da quella villa che l'aspetto male retenir due nostri sudditti per nome Zuanne Buccalovich et Paulo Xarconich et volse intender il fatto come e passator da loro et il tutto mi hanno confessator come all'hora quando li suddeti nostri hanno persi li mei sudditti et quali sono stati in quell fatto fo Magnifico Psitrovich Hatraglettato. Hassan Brissovich da Slossella, Nicolao Buccalovich dal stretto et Gregor Cagllinovich dal Stretto hanno concotti et vendutti a Segna horo e il dovere che cosi si facciere mi pare et vicinanza , quando noi lo date i mei et nostri lassareno iuramenti et se essi pro suddetti nostri mandarete per iuramenti a Segna et noi iuramenti mandaremo all' eccelssa porta dove e in vero Baillo amico chel sappia et miterla come in pace et in vicinanza si vive et alor haveti restituito quattro concime ? masso le robbe dell ,istesso schiavo qual mi porta litte et alli sera li cossero quattro cechini et quattro mossa de vino et coperta et masarino, quando i cavalli haver restituito restituite anco le robbe et sudditti nostri et nostri schiavi quali sono hora da voi et nelle vostre mani spetto rispostar et amico lasso i vostri sudditti overo ch'io le mandaro alla Porta et vetre lettere nelle qual scriviti da questa nostre stato al tempo nostro ma e sudditti sono sotto la nostra obedientia in domine Dio vi allegre.

(AS^v, CCD, b. 280, doc. nr. 72)

6. May 23, 1576. Vincenzo da Canal demands the members of *Consiglio dei X* for the right to intervene in the punishment of the Uskoks that rob the border territories of Sibenik, provoking damages and concern between the Venetian and the Turkish subjects. He exemplifies with the Morlachs taken hostages by the Uskoks and brought in Segna.

Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi signori mei sepre esser^{mo}

Se la molta autorita di Vostra Serenita illustrissime et il timore che ogn' uno prende dalli gravissimi suoi comandamenti non metterano ferenno alle inque operationi di quelli che senza rispetto della giustitia et del voler di Vostra Serenita Illustrissime seguitano in travaglia questi confini et la buona pace senza datio ogni giorno si veno cavanno li danni a sudditi turcheschi et li travagli di questo reggimento et per che l' autorita mia non ha quelle forze, ne potera di proceder contra simile triste meritevoli di quel sicuro castigo che si vuol prendere dal supremo magistrato di Vostra Serenita Illustrissime Pero havendo io dalli 14 marzo passato fin hoggi aspettato quella licentia, che per mia del giorno prenotato li dimandai per poter bandir di tutte terre e luoghi del Serenissimo Doge navili armati et disarmati le infrascritti cio e Nicolo Malagrudich, Juol et Chodach fratelli Zuanne Marsa, Martino Maiel, Thoma Armencich, Rade da Cossovo et Michel Chialetich Uscocchi, gia venuti alla devotione di sua Serenita et possi colloni alla villa di capocesta giuriditione di questa citta li quali oltra molte depredationi fatte in tempo di pace in questi confini, delle qualo sono seguite diverse querelle et disturbi di rappresentanti turcheschi, hanno havuto ordimento si come le scrisse per le ditte mie di 14 marzo di andar alla volta di Nerenta di quelle contorni far preda come se fusse tempo di guerra di due parte che pasco lavano alcuni animali et levando circa ottanta di essi animali col qual bosino venuti sotto l' isola di solta preseno uno mari navo d'una navetta che era in quel loco facendosi dare prima che uscisse dalle loro mani una quantita di fermento uno sacco di pane, una barilla di vino et alcunealtre robbe ne contenti di cio sono doppo andati nel paese turchesco et preso sei Morlacchi et una pluta per condur seco questo bottino a Segna, nel qual loco partiti da questa devotione sono andati per far stantia accompagnando insieme la loro pratica consimile male operationi, capitati all'isola di Pago con li detti schiavi et palta et smontali in terra diece di loro di undici che erano per far carne, lasciatore uno alle custodia delle schiavi li quali accedendosi superiori di numero fecero dar volta alla barca et capitati all' isola di Parvichio di questa giuriditione si sa lucmo in casa d'uno miser Zorzi di Dominis con animo di venire alla citta ma la notte istessa a circa due hore di notte fusero violentamente levati di detta casa et da novo menati in captivita col voler ammazar esso Zorzi buttandoli e serra la porta d' una camera si come dalla denuntia del dicto Zorzi et dal costituito d'uno delle dette Morlacchi che casualmente si salvo quali all' hora a Vostra Serenita Eccellentissime mandai, elle havevano potuto vedere et perche doi delle detti scelerati oltre quanto ho narato a Vostre Serenita Illustrissime cioe Nicolo Malagrudich et Martin Maich insieme con uno che si ritrova setento in poter mio si sono ritrovati alla morte d'alcuni poveri mercanti da Fiume scavandoli et spogliandoli di tutto il loro havereli e bastato l'animo con tutti li altri sopraditti compagni venir alle 12 dell' corente mese alla villa predicta di Capocesta et a hora di mezzonotte piglia violentemente diversa robba alle giudeci di essa ville et ad altri si come dal costituito di essi giudici mi e stata data notitia. Pero per estirpar questo pestifero seme et per quiete delle cose publiche vedendo io, che da Vostra

serenita Illustrissimeser qui non mi e stata mandata l'auttorita che li ho dimandato per le ditte mie di 14 marzo ho voluto con queste supplicarle a voler quanto prima inviarmi la ditta autorita di bando et insieme che un bandito per homicidio pero si possi aggiutar prendendo o amazzando qualsi vogli di loro et che uno si possi amazzer con l'altro per haver il beneficcio di poter ripatriare per che dubitandosi del male che li potrebbe occorrer non si federanno di tenir insieme, et a questo modo si stara in quiete. Altramente questi scelerati continueranno nel primo ml operareet come pratici di questi contermi solescrivanno altri uscocchi per far insieme con loro danni et depredationi a suditi turcheschi in queste parti le supplico anco che insieme mi diano liberta di poter proclamar et bandir di tutte terre et luoghi navili armati et disarmati Pietro Parvicize patron della barca con la quale fu levato il botteno fatto delli animale et delle pulte et insieme Mattio Pritovich Giacomo Gliubich Zuanne Fortuna Simon Dotesich ? et Nicolo Solio come quelli che sono intravenuti al detto botteno. Havendo tenuto fin hoggi le presente mi e venuta fatta querella et mi son certificato che luni prossime passato che fu alli 21 delle certente dei Morlacchi, sudditi turcheschi che conducevano lana et formazzo verso questa citta in compagna d'uno da Sebenico furono presi in questo territorio da Juol, da Zuanne Marsa, da Poglizza, da Martin Maich et da Rade da Cossovo antenominati in compagna anco di Thomaso Bilussevich da Zaton et doi altri uscocchi novitati l'uno Zorzi et l'altro Obrad li quali doi Morlacchi insieme col preditto sebenzano furono da questoi sette condotti legati nella villa di Capocesta dove tolta per forza la barca del giudice si partirono con le schiavi per condurli a Segna dando liberta a quello de Sebenico qual fu preso accio che non portasse nova alla citta della presa di essi Morlacchi fatti schiavi cosi vicino a questo loco. Pero Vostra Serenita Illustrissime havendo quella consideratione che pasera alla prudentia sua in tanto importante delitto saranno contente darmi alla prudentia la autorita che li dimando senza la quale vedo apertamente che li travagli non cessarano ma che continuarranno dalla insolentia di questi li quale fatte gia pratici come ho detto di tutto questo paese dara uno guida anco ad altri malfattori se per mezzo della giustitia di Vostra Serenita Illustrissime non si opprime l'inquieta loro col detto perpetuo bando di terre di luoghi et sopra tutto diposer con la morte loro agiutare banditi per puro et l'uno con l'altro per che ogn'uno cerchera di attender alla loro estirpatione come gia con speranza de benefitto mi sono stati presentati doi di quelli che sono intravenuti all' assassinamento de quelli da Fiume a quale daro quel supplicio che recerara l'inquieta loro et in bene gratia di Vostra Serenita Illustrissime humilmente mi racomando.

Di Sebenico alle 23 maggio 1576.

Vicenzo da Canal, conte et capitano

(ASV, CCD, b. 280, doc. nr. 73)

The Morlachs from Sibenik's Territory in Reports of the Venetian Officials in the 16th Century

(abstract)

The peace period established in Dalmatia between the Venetian-Ottoman conflicts of 1537-1540 and 1570-1573 (the war of Cyprus) challenged the regional Venetian administration from the hinterland of Sebenico (Šibenik) in the matter of the new inhabitants arrived from the inner Balkans and their relations with the locals and the Turks. During their mandates, the Venetian officials had to find the best solutions in maintaining the already reduced territory, collecting any profit from the newly arrived (settled or unsettled) people and facing the permanent Ottoman teasing of the permissive border. In this difficult administrative context, the Morlachs were probably the best example for the manner in which Venice found answers to these challenges. Involved in the local commerce, in various local activities – the use of the public space, public goods or lands – or becoming the victims of the Uskoks (a threat for the good peace with the Ottomans), the Morlachs from the hinterland of Sebenico (Šibenik) played a significant role in the local affairs and became an acceptable element of the regional politics of the both great powers, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire.

Chemical Warfare in the 18th Century?

A Wallachian Chronicle and other Written Sources about it

Andrei Pogăciaș

Keywords: *Hronograf/Chronograph; Chemical Weapons; Russian-Austrian-Turkish War*

Short History of Chemical Warfare

History has always been marked by conflict. As an individual, or in organized structures, man has always tried to triumph over the others, for material gains and/or for fame. As conventional means were not always enough to ensure a total or swift victory, man has turned to more sophisticated means of killing, rapidly and in great numbers. Chemical weapons, as nowadays biological and nuclear weapons, were also a matter of prestige and deterrence, giving a clear advantage to their owner from the very beginning.

Chemical weapons are best known for their use in the 20th century, especially in the awful trenches of (especially) the Western front of World War I. The famous Battle of Ypres has become a landmark in the history of chemical warfare.

Few know that this kind of weapon, together with the biological weapons, was used ever since ancient times. Ancient Persian archers would dip the tip of their arrows in manure or blood of corpses. The Scythians used the same method. Other poisons used by archers were snake or ant poison and plant toxins. Poisoning wells was widespread from ancient times – Germanic tribes and Romans, for example – to the Middle Ages – Romanian history is full of descriptions of the scorched earth tactics and the poisoning of the wells, which could easily be done by simply dropping a rotting animal carcass in the water.

Clear material evidence for the use of chemical weapons was found in a collapsed tunnel at Dura Europos, dating from the fall of the city to the Persians, in 256. The skeletons of several Roman soldiers were found by the archeologists, intrigued that the bones had no mark of violence, and the alignment of the bodies. While conducting a chemical analysis of the material from the walls of the tunnel, specialists found traces of bitumen and sulphur crystals, a combination which, on fire, generates a choking smoke, death coming in minutes.

One of the most famous was the Greek fire, used by the Byzantines on land, underground, and on sea. Its composition is not known, although it is believed it included raw petroleum from around the Black Sea. Portable and highly effective, its last use occurred in 1453, in the tunnels, by individual soldiers carrying “flamethrowers”, at the siege – and fall – of Byzantium.

Flamethrowers on carts were also used by the Chinese, who also employed gas to kill their enemies, in tunnels or in open field. As composition, they used wolf or human feces, mixed with arsenic, poisonous herbs and insects.

Catapulting dead bodies infected with plague, for instance, over the walls of besieged cities, became widespread in the Middle Ages.

The Portuguese of the 16th century, while conquering what is now Brazil, were “welcomed” by the natives with chilli pepper smoke, causing them severe damage to the eyes.

In the 18th century, a few substances are known to have been used for the manufacturing of chemical weapons, such as aconite, antimony, arsenic, belladonna, ceruse, euphorbe, hellebore, lead, minium, nux vomica, orpiment, veridgris. Until now, there was no information about the use of chemical weapons in the 18th century. Well known in this century was the use of biological weapons, such as in North America, in the wars against the native Indian tribes.

It seems that the 19th century was “clean” from such weapons, as a new type of military chivalrism and honour was adopted, quickly dropped in World War I. In 1914-1918, all belligerents used much gas to empty the other’s trenches, especially chlorine, chlorinate-phosgene mixture, phosgene, benzyl bromide, cyanhydric acid, mustard gas. After 1918, war gas was used in the Russian Civil War (1920), the Rif War (Morocco, 1921-1927), the Italian invasion in Abyssinia (1936) and the Japanese invasion of China.

In the second World War, gas was used as a weapon on the frontline only in the Orient, by and/or against the Japanese. After 1945, gas was used in the Vietnam War, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Irak-Iran War, and by terrorist organizations¹.

The Events

The fifth² (and the last) Russian-Austrian-Turkish War of the 18th century occurred in the years 1787-1792. Austria was mainly involved in the Danube area and Wallachia, while Russia in Crimea and Moldavia. As usual, the fight was bitter, and required many men and equipment, over large areas, where food and lodging was hard to find, let alone roads or other amenities so necessary for an army.

¹ For the history of chemical and biological weapons, see the following websites: <http://www.io9.com/5798230/ancient-chemical-weapons-that-were-ahead-of-their-time>; <http://www.chemical-biological-attack-survival-guide.com/history-chemical-biological-weapons.htm>; http://www.emedicinehealth.com/biological_warfare/article_em.htm; http://www.dshs.state.tx.us/preparedness/bt_public_history.shtm.

² The other 18th century wars were:

- a. the Campaign on the Pruth in 1711;
- b. the Austrian-Turkish War of 1714-1718;
- c. the Russian-Austrian-Turkish War of 1735-1739;
- d. the Russian-Turkish War of 1768-1774.

Austria³ was defeated by the Turks, after a few initial successes, and had to abandon the fight in 1791, also because of the French Revolution which was threatening the European establishment and the Austrian possessions in the Low Countries. Russia managed to win the battles against the Turks, but had to sign the peace after its ally abandoned the cause. There are multiple reports and information on the battles, movements and tactics of this war, yet no hint on any particular aspect such as ... chemical warfare. The only source talking about such a thing is the "Chronograph"⁴ of a Wallachian monk, Dionisie *Eclesiarhul*⁵.

About the Author

Dionisie, the future chronicler, was born around 1740 in a village in the north of Oltenia. He attended as a child a church or monastery school, and then became a priest. He got married, but became a widower very soon, so he became a monk at the Hurezi monastery. Here he copied old manuscripts and books, and some time in 1770-1771 he became abbot of Arnota monastery. Then he became the preserver of the archives at the monastery in Râmnicu Vilcea. Here he put the archive in order and made codices of old documents.

Fired by a new bishop, Nectarie, of Greek origins, in 1792, he wandered between several monasteries in Oltenia, where he made codices, copied documents, etc. In 1804 he is to be found as preserver of the archives at the Metropolitan Church in Bucharest, where he also created a school of calligraphy and archives, and wrote several codices.

As Nectarie became Metropolitan of the Wallachian Orthodox Church in 1812, Dionisie was fired again and returned to Oltenia, where he continued his activity as archivist, copier, etc. He wrote his famous "Chronograph" between 1814 and 1820.

He was a very educated man, knew several foreign languages, history, geography, drew miniatures and portraits, and translated documents. He wrote over 30 codices, the "Chronograph", and other works.

He got sick from the painstaking work as a copier, as he writes in his work. Nevertheless, he was convinced that his writings were useful and it seems that he enjoyed his work very much, as he wrote at the beginning of his "Chronograph": "*Cu dulceață iaște oarecum a povesti cinevaș de patriia sa și a istori de ceale ce s-au întâmplat neamului său [...] / With sweetness it is somehow for somebody to speak about his motherland and tell the things that happened to his people [...].*"

³ After the victorious war of 1683-1699, when it managed to drive the Turks back from Vienna and then Hungary, Austria had another success only against the Ottoman Empire: the 1714-1718 war, also unofficially called "the War of Eugene of Savoy". The next war, 1735-1739, saw the Ottomans inflicting defeat and humiliation upon the poorly lead Austrian armies, taking back Belgrade, Serbia, and Oltenia/Little Wallachia.

⁴ Dionisie *Eclesiarhul*, *Hronograf (1764-1815)*. Bucharest 1987.

⁵ The term *Eclesiarh* refers to the monk who was preserving the records of a monastery's income.

His Work

For the period described, 1764-1815, he gives many information of historical, social, and political nature, for which he used several sources: written sources, especially for European events – journals, newspapers, brochures –; information obtained as an eye witness; information from documents he had seen; information obtained directly from people involved in the events – “*câte am auzit de la cei bătrâni și câte îmi sunt în știință în zilele stării vieții mele / as many as I have heard from old people and as many as came to my knowledge in the days of my life.*”

He presents the events in a somehow objective manner, describing what happened in Wallachia and other areas in the period mentioned above. As his first editor⁶ wrote, Dionisie “*nu e mai învățat decât ceilalți cronicari ai Țerei Românești. El urâște pe turci, râde de nemți și ține cu muscalii / is not more educated than the other Wallachian chroniclers. He hates the Turks, laughs at the Germans and likes the Russians.*” His writing has many ironies, even funny comments, short analysis, and personal ideas. Well informed, he has a critical approach and proves much curiosity for the events. In all, the chronicler wishes to present the truth.

His work is thus very useful. On top of everything, his most interesting and somehow unbelievable information comes in form of a description of chemical warfare at the end of the 18th century – the Russians against the Turks in Crimea, during the war in 1787-1792. The author cannot be accused of writing fantasy, as the description and information he provides are very accurate and plausible. Nonetheless, his information is backed by other sources from the same century, contemporary or not, both Romanian and Russian.

The “Secrets”

Defending Crimea, perhaps in 1788, Dionisie writes that the Russian army used “*secreturi / secrets*”, i. e. toxic gas, against the Turks. Faced with a powerful Ottoman offensive, the Russians found themselves in a grave situation on the front line and asked for help from Catherine II. The Empress “*a poruncit de au scos secreturile / ordered that they take out the secrets*”⁷ with the armies that were ready and sent them right away to Crimea. The “*secrets*” eventually arrived with the army, while the Turks had their camp in a wide valley. The officers were studying the landscape, in order to shoot better with “*cu tunurile ceale mari ce le trag cu câte 40 de boi, de sănt ca butea, și cum ar putea slobozi și secreturile într-ânsii / the huge cannons which were pulled by 40 oxen, and looked like huge barrels, and how they could shoot the secrets at them*”. “[...] *au așezat secreturile 4 și doao tunuri ca butea, în gura acei văi / [...] they put 4 secrets and 2 of those huge cannons like barrels at the mouth of that valley*”; the huge cannons were shooting cannonballs, full or just pieces, pieces of Turkish cannons, horseshoes, “*și orice / and anything else*”. Very effective on a wide range, as they cleared the fields in front of them, these huge cannons could only fire once.

⁶ Alexandru Papiu Ilarian.

⁷ Dionisie Eclesiarhul, *Hronograf*, p. 43.

The chronicler writes that he got this information from a very reliable eye witness. After firing the huge cannons, and causing much damage to the Ottoman camp, the Russians prepared for the Ottoman attack. Shattered but not destroyed, the Ottomans, cavalry and infantry alike, charged the Russian positions. "*Iar înțeleptul comandir, văzînd năvala turcilor și mulțimea nenumărată că s-au apropiat de ei, de grab au poruncit de au slobozit secreturile într-ânșii; și întâmplându-să (cu voia lui Dum[ne]zeu) de au suflat vântul asupra lor pe acel șleau, au mersu fumu secreturilor de au intrat pe nările și gurile turcilor și a cailor lor; și, fiind acel fum foarte otrăvit, câți l-au mirosit toți au murit, zbierând caii și oamenii, căzând ca znopii. Perit-au și din muscali câți au ajuns de au mirosit acel fum.* / And the wise commander, seeing the hurry of the Turks and the huge number closing in, immediately ordered the secrets to be released onto them⁸; and as it happened (with the will of God) that the wind was blowing towards them, the smoke of the secrets went and entered the nostrils and the mouths of the Turks and of their horses; and, being that smoke very poisonous, everybody who smelled it died, horses and men crying out, and falling like sheaves. The Russians who got to smell that smoke also died." The rest of the Turks withdrew, the Russians pillaged the camp and the dead, burned the dead, "*să nu facă putoare* / so they don't make stench", and returned with plenty of captured material⁹.

Very interesting is then the description of the making and use of the "secrets":

"*Așa spun că aceale secreturi, doao sau, precum spun unii, patru, iar nu mai multe, cum că au fost pe acea vreme un franțuzoi, meșter foarte iscusit la facere de tunuri și, cerând de la împăratul multe feliuri de metaluri, le-au băgat în topitoare, amestecându-le și cu multe feliur[i] de otrăvuri iuți, împreunându-le și fierbându-le cu foc iute, după ce s-au topit toate materiile le-au vărsat în tipar, eșind tunuri nu prea mari, cu gura ca de somnu. Și apoi au adunat otrăvuri foarte iuți și scumpe foarte de pe la spițăriile împărătești, de la Hindiia, Franța, Englitera iproci, amestecându-le și coleșându-le cu prafuri iuți și cu alte materii veninoase; și făcându-le barut, cum au știut, au făcut și măsura cu cumpăna cât să bage într-unul ca o umplutură. Și cercându-le, spun că mare trăsnet fac și numai fum iase dintr-ânsele, că ghiulele sau altceva nu bagă în iale. Și fumul acela, răsfirându-se, cine îl va mirosi moare îndată și de năprasnă, ori omu, ori dobitoc și ține multe ceasuri acea putoare iute.* / They say about those secrets¹⁰, two, or, as others say, four, but no more, that there was in those days a Frenchman, very skillful in making cannons, and, asking from the Emperor¹¹ many types of metal, he put them in the foundry, combining them with many types of pungent poisons, combining them and boiling them at rapid fire, and after all materials melted, poured them in the cast, making cannons not too big, with the muzzle like that of a sheat fish. And then they got very pungent and very expensive poisons from imperial drugstores, from India, France,

⁸ *Idem*, p. 43.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*

¹¹ Perhaps, Peter the Great.

England and others, mixing them and combining them with pungent powders and other venomous substances; and making gunpowder out of them, as they knew, they also measured the quantity necessary for a shot. And after testing them, they said that they make huge noise and only smoke comes out of them, and there's no need to put shrapnels or anything else in them. And that smoke, while spreading, whoever will smell it will die at once, either man or beast, and that pungent stench holds for many hours."

The Emperor convinced the Frenchman to write down for him all the recipes and the names of the ingredients and of the products. After that, he gave him the command of a cavalry unit, much money and awarded him titles and a high social status, but never let him be alone, go wherever he wanted, or write to anybody, for fear he could make such things for other rulers.

"Și aceste tunuri sânt oprite a nu da cu ele nicidecum, cu mare legătură și poruncă, pentru căci prea mult omor face" in both armies. / And it is ordered that these cannons shall not be used, because they make too much killing." And it is with much spending that the gunpowder of the secrets is made, costing millions of rubles, and those poisons are hard to be found, and only when it is absolutely necessary will they be used, so the Empire will not be defeated, and they should be shot only once, and not more." / "Și cu mare cheltuială să face acel barut al secreturilor, cu milioane de ruble și cum că cu anevoe să găsească acele otrăvuri, fără numai când va fi mare nevoe, ca să nu să răpească înpărăția, atunci să le sloboază, adecă să dea cu ele numai o dată, iar mai mult nu."

"Spun cum că tunarii și cei ce așază secreturile cu meșteșug sunt legați la gură și la nas, când le sloboade; iar unii spun că au bășici de sticlă sau cristal, și bagă capu în ele, încheindu-le cu meșteșug la gât. / They say that the gunners and those who carefully handle the secrets have their mouths and noses covered, when they are shooting; and some say they have glass or crystal bubbles, and they put their heads inside, closing them at the neck."

Dionisie also writes that others say that the Frenchman was beheaded by the Emperor, but the author does not believe this version, as the Frenchman saved the Russian Empire from being overrun by the Turks, Swedes, and French¹²!

"S-au mai izvodit de s-au făcut și niște tunuri de dau cu ele umplându-le cu barut și cu smoală și, slobozindu-le smoala, să aprinde cu foc de la barut și, improșcând, cade pe turci cu ințime și să lipește de haine și le arde și cade pe cai de arde cai[i], iar cai[i] încep a fugi în toate părțile și nu-i pot ținea turcii și dau cu picioarele și trântesc pe turci jos și-i calcă cai[i] cu picioarele. / And they also made other cannons¹³ that are fired after they fill them with gun powder and tar, and, shooting the tar, it catches fire from the gun powder, and, scattering, it falls on the Turks rapidly and gets stuck to the clothes and it burns them and falls on the horses and it burns the horses, and the horses begin to run all over the place and the Turks

¹² There is no information regarding the use of toxic gas against the Swedish army or that of Napoleon!

¹³ Dionisie Eclesiarhul, *Hronograf*, p. 45.

cannot keep them in order and they kick with their feet and knock down the Turks and trample them with their feet.” And so the army of the Turks was utterly defeated.

It is very possible that the Emperor mentioned in the text is none other than Peter the Great. It is well known that, in the attempts to modernize Russia, the czar brought from all over the Western world specialists in different domains – architecture, ship building, artillery, military tactics, sciences, art –, and of different nationalities – Scots, French, English, Dutch, Germans, etc. It would not be strange that among all these, a specialist in making toxic chemicals was employed, and his name lost, or not yet known.

How could Dionisie, a monk, get this type of information? The most obvious version is that he got it while in Bucharest, during the Russian occupation of the country, in 1806-1812. In 1787-1792 he had been in Craiova. Also, the detail regarding the defeat of the French by the Russians, and the layout of the text itself could lead to the idea that both information were fresh.

Also, information about the battle could be passed on by anybody, but the mixture of details regarding the battle and the origins of the chemical weapons leads us to think that his informer was a Russian officer, maybe of the highest rank, one that had participated in the Crimean campaign more than 20 years before. A prosaic yet possible explanation how the information could pass on to Dionisie is rather simple – during the occupations of the Romanian Countries by the Russians and/or Austrians, social life flourished in the two capitals. The officers of the foreign armies organized and attended balls and soirees, where they would invite the local elite, boyars and high clerics. It was not hard for a less sober officer, maybe sad and nostalgic, or even bragging, to tell military stories.

The scenarios could go on, as we may actually never know the truth...

Other Sources

A first mention of the “secrets” in a 18th century source is the campaign notes of Russian Field Marshal Boris Petrovich Sheremetev¹⁴, the commander of the Russian army during the 1711 campaign. While writing about the decisions taken before attempting to break through the incirclement, the Field Marshal notes that the cannons, the cannonballs and the secrets should be thrown in the river, so they are not captured by the enemy¹⁵.

For the same event, Ion Neculce, the hetman of the Moldavian army, wrote in his *“Letopiseful Țării Moldovei [Moldavian Chronicle]”*, that, while being surrounded by the enemy, *“Zicea împăratul moschicesc că are și el două cumbarali de cele mare, făcute cu altu meștersug, cu otravă, care îl ține una câte 50 pungi de bani, și să căiești că n-au luat mai multe. Că acum ar arunca și el vro una, dar n-are la cine arunca, că ordia turcilor încă nu-i strănsă, să fie așăzată la un loc. Că acel fel de cumbarale sunt nu numai herăle ce-s într-însele, ce și mirosul; pe cine agiunge, cade de moare. Ce oricum, dimineată, dintr-acele doao a arunca una, unde*

¹⁴ Sheremetev (1672-1719) was a diplomat and Field Marshal of Russia, one of the most capable commanders of the army of Peter the Great.

¹⁵ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, VIII, p. 429.

a vedea ordia lor strânsă. / The Russian emperor was saying that he has 2 of those big bombs¹⁶, made with a different method, with poison, which cost him 50 bags of money each, and he is sorry he didn't take more with him. Because now he would throw one, but he has nobody to throw at, because the army of the Turks is not gathered in one place. Because that type of bomb consist not only of the iron they are made of, but also the smell; whoever the smell reaches, falls dead. Anyway, in the morning, from these two he will throw one, where he will see their army gathered."¹⁷ As we already know, the Russians did not use the "secrets", which were actually thrown in the river Pruth... An Ottoman source says that, on that morning, the wind was blowing all the dust and smoke towards the allied camp.

A short mention of the Russian "secrets" appears in the chronicle of Wallachian boyar Ienăchiță Văcărescu, when describing the war of 1768-1774. In a battle with the Turks, in southern Bessarabia, the ammunition carts of the Russians caught fire, by mistake. The flames were raging, and the Turks, "*crezând că sunt lagumuri sau secreturi, s-au întors înapoi și au năvălit la fugă.* / believing they were mines/tunnels or secrets, turned around and fled." ¹⁸

For the same war, relating about the battle at Silistra in 1773, another boyar, the *medelnicer* Dumitrache, wrote that the Russians stood ready to storm the fortress. The Turks attacked, crushed the Russians in front of them, and captured "*un tun al infanteriei și încă unul secret al artileriei.* / a cannon of the infantry and another secret one of the artillery."¹⁹ The secret cannon would be recovered the next year²⁰. From the description of the facts, we believe the cannon in question was not one used for firing "secrets", but a type of mortar, maybe a new model being brought to the front for testing. The Russians had many types of cannons developed in the 18th century, and there was a must in keeping the secrecy about the capacities of the new weapons. Also, both parts were too close to use the "secrets", and the Russians were preparing to storm the fortress in a few hours. The ditches had already been filled with gabions, so the presence of a special cannon near the infantry was dangerous and even useless for this type of attack. Dumitrache was present at the battle, yet he does not deliver any information about the type of secret the cannon was holding...

Conclusions

So far, Dionisie's chronicle is the only clear proof that chemical weapons were used in the 18th century. The other sources used in this study speak for the existence and possibility of use of such weapons.

If used against Western armies, such as the Swedish or French, information about such weapons would have emerged immediately. There was never an

¹⁶ Big bombs, similar to the Turkish bombs, probably referring to mortar cannon balls.

¹⁷ Ion Neculce, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, Bucharest 1972, p. 210.

¹⁸ Ienăchiță Văcărescu, *Istoria othomanicească*, Bucharest 2001, p. 107.

¹⁹ *Istoria evenimentelor din Orientu, cu referință la Principatele Moldova și Valahia, din anii 1769-1774. Scrisă de biv vel stolnic Dumitrache și editată, după copia lui Necolai Piteșteanulu din anii 1782, de V.A Urechia, Membru al Academiei Române, "Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice" 2 (1887-1888), p. 441.*

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 448.

annihilation battle between the Russians and their Western European foes, so that nobody could tell about the horrors of a chemical attack. Many of the officers commanding the Russian armies were of Western origins, and the rules of chivalrism were generally applied. Also, the tactics of the period made quite impossible to catch a Western-type army crowded in a suitable place to be covered in clouds of poisonous gas. In our opinion, the Russians simply could not use this wretched killing method in the select club of European warfare.

On the other hand, fighting against the Ottomans was always difficult, as they did not obey to the rules of engagement, such as taking prisoners and not executing them, for example. The battles of Eastern Europe in the 18th century, as they had always been, were usually massacres, while honour or respect among enemy commanders and armies did not exist. Also, the sheer numbers of Ottoman soldiers sent into battle, and especially the almost medieval way of charging along the entire length of the front in no particular alignment, meant that the Russians had to develop a way to cause as much damage to their opponent, and gain as much possible in the shortest period of time, also for strategic reasons. Last but not least, fighting against Muslims implied that any means could be used. These are a few of the reasons why the Russians might have used these chemicals only against the Ottomans, and not against Western armies.

It would be very useful if, one day, some scholar would find buried documents to give clear and undisputable information on the subject somewhere in a Russian or Ottoman archive.

Chemical Warfare in the 18th Century?

A Wallachian Chronicle and other Written Sources about it

(abstract)

One of the most interesting texts in a Romanian chronicle is to be found in the *Hronograf* of a Wallachian monk, Dionisie. In a very clear and simple style, he presents the history and use of chemical weapons in war, by the Russians. Other sources regarding the same subject are also taken into consideration, in an attempt to present a subject that has been largely unknown to the public.

I mercanti ed i consoli italiani alle foci del Danubio: la famiglia Gagliardo

Raluca Tomi

Keywords: *Italian Emigration; Grain Merchants; Italian Consuls; Commercial Interests; Danube ports cities*

“Ovunque ci siano dei grandi lavori quali la costruzione di ferrovie, ponti, canali, insomma, di strade ed edifici, troveremo numerosissimi operai italiani... Ho sempre sentito commendare la loro esemplare moderazione e operosità, il loro bel carattere, la loro abilità ed intelligenza.”¹ Gli studi dedicati all'emigrazione italiana della prima metà dell'Ottocento analizzano soprattutto l'emigrazione politica, la quale è molto più spettacolare, visto che si ha a che fare con personalità della vita politica e culturale italiana che grazie alla loro attività influirono non solo sull'opinione pubblica della Penisola, ma anche su quella europea². Fino al 1871 quando fu realizzato il primo censimento degli italiani che vivevano oltre i confini della Penisola, l'emigrazione dei molti e degli umili è difficile da seguire e bisogna corroborare le fonti interne di ogni stato con quelle presenti negli archivi italiani. Nell'Ottocento, la Francia, l'Inghilterra, la Svizzera e la Germania continuano a essere le destinazioni predilette dell'emigrazione italiana in Europa, dove incontriamo, accanto agli emigranti politici e agli artisti, i commercianti ambulanti, gli artigiani e i braccianti, i suonatori ambulanti di organino ecc.³ Tuttavia incontriamo gli stessi anche nell'Europa orientale, nel bacino mediterraneo. In Russia sin dal Cinquecento gli italiani sono presenti alla corte di Mosca e poi a San Pietroburgo. Nell'ultima città, nell'Ottocento, anche se non era numerosa, la comunità italiana si distinse per il desiderio di integrarsi nella società russa. Molti italiani si convertirono al cristianesimo ortodosso orientale e cambiarono cognome. Gli artisti, i commercianti, i diplomatici, gli studenti venuti in contatto con l'aristocrazia russa cercarono di inserirsi nelle sue strutture. Nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento Odessa era uno dei grandi porti del Mar Nero. La colonia italiana di questa città annoverava 10 000 persone. Con l'avvio delle grandi costruzioni di strade e di ferrovie vi si stabilirono operai e costruttori provenienti soprattutto dal Piemonte e dal Friuli⁴.

¹ I. Barberis, *Despre relațiunile dintre România și Italia*, “Revista Ateneului”, 1907, 2, p. 15.

² *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, I: *Partenze* (a cura di Piero Bevilacqua & Andreina De Clementi & Emilio Franzina), Roma 2001; II: *Arrivi*, Roma 2002; per emigrazione politica italiana nell'Inghilterra vedi anche Isabella Maurizio, *Risorgimento in exile. Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford 2009.

³ Marco Porcella, *Premesse dell'emigrazione di massa in età prestatistica*, in *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, I, p. 42-43.

⁴ Marco Clementi, *In Russia*, in *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, II, p. 172-173.

Caratteristiche peculiari presenta l'emigrazione italiana nel bacino mediterraneo. Nella parte occidentale, cioè nei centri nord africani: in Algeria e in Tunisia, predominavano i siciliani⁵. In Egitto in base ai "capitolati" firmati sin dal dodicesimo secolo. Così, i genovesi e i veneziani ai quali si aggiunsero nel Settecento i livornesi condussero per secoli delle fiorenti attività commerciali si aveva una presenza italiana sin dai tempi delle crociate, che facilitarono intensi scambi commerciali. Nell'Ottocento, sotto il dominio di Muhammad Ali Pascià (1805-1849), la presenza degli italiani nella zona aumentò. Il pascià d'Egitto, un sostenitore dell'apertura verso l'Occidente e della modernizzazione dell'apparato statale, favorì la penetrazione degli stranieri negli alti incarichi amministrativi. Egli eliminò gradualmente tutte le restrizioni imposte ai cristiani: rinforzò l'autorità consolare, gli europei non erano più costretti a vivere in quartieri separati, avevano – per la prima volta in un territorio islamico- persino il diritto di acquistare terre, potevano indossare i propri costumi nazionali, possedere cavalli e cavalcare per strada, il che fino a quel momento era permesso solo ai musulmani. In questo modo, se nel 1820 c'erano circa 6000 italiani, principalmente nelle città di Cairo e di Alessandria, nel 1878 il loro numero era aumentato a 14 524. Dobbiamo agli italiani i servizi postali egiziani, che utilizzavano la lingua italiana, la modernizzazione del sistema sanitario e degli ospedali di Cairo e l'organizzazione di una scuola di medicina, la costituzione di un Consiglio delle quarantine destinato a sorvegliare e a combattere le epidemie di peste e di colera; gli italiani si occupavano della pubblica sicurezza e la maggior parte degli avvocati erano italiani. Non c'è da stupirsi se l'italiano diventava praticamente la seconda lingua parlata in Egitto, che ai tempi di Muhammad Ali era la lingua diplomatica, l'unica adottata dal governo egizio nei rapporti internazionali. Un articolare contribuì alla costruzione del canale di Suez lo ebbero gli operai e gli ingegneri italiani⁶.

Nel Mediterraneo orientale, nonché in Egitto, la presenza italiana è segnata dall'apparizione delle colonie veneziane e genovesi nel corso del dodicesimo e tredicesimo secolo. Numerosi studi ne mettono in evidenza la fondamentale importanza nelle relazioni commerciali dell'epoca medievale e moderna. L'uso delle monete italiane – i ducati e gli zecchini veneziani, i fiorini, i denari genovesi – indica il potere economico delle Repubbliche italiane, la cui influenza nella zona era dimostrata dall'uso dell'italiano quale principale lingua commerciale e diplomatica. Una delle più importanti colonie italiane era quella di Costantinopoli, formata dai discendenti degli ex mercanti, banchieri e diplomatici di Pera e Galata. Nel 1863 fu fondata una Società di Soccorso, e la comunità italiana beneficiava di scuole statali o private in cui si studiava l'italiano e di un ospedale inaugurato nel 1876. Inoltre nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento si stabilivano nell'Impero Ottomano degli operai per le miniere di pietra, piombo, carbone ecc.⁷

⁵ Paola Corti, *L'emigrazione temporanea in Europa, in Africa, in Levante*, in *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, I, p. 225.

⁶ Francesco Surdich, *Nel Levante*, in *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana*, II, p. 188-190.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 184-185.

Nei Balcani gli italiani erano presenti sulla costa dalmata, che era stata a lungo sotto il dominio della Serenissima. In Grecia, Serbia, Bulgaria la costruzione delle ferrovie e delle strade attirò la manodopera italiana. Da notare una cospicua presenza italiana nella costruzione del canale di Corinto⁸.

Il rilancio del commercio genovese alle foci del Danubio comincia dopo l'annessione del fiorentino porto al Regno di Piemonte nel 1815. Interessato a trovare delle nuove regioni cerealicole, da dove poter approvvigionarsi, il governo di Torino si rivolse alle zone ottomane per firmare dei trattati commerciali che gli permettessero la penetrazione nella regione del Mar Nero. "Seguendo l'esempio del Piemonte e spinti dal bisogno, i governi del Sud Italia rivolsero il loro sguardo verso le fertili regioni intorno al Mar Nero", affermava Dimitrie Bodin, i cui studi documentati mettono in evidenza la penetrazione delle navi napoletane alle foci del Danubio⁹.

I documenti dell'epoca attestano il numero crescente di navi italiane che arrivano nei principali porti danubiani, caratterizzati dai consoli italiani come "le principali città commerciali sulle rive del Danubio."¹⁰ I ricercatori che hanno studiato le relazioni commerciali degli stati italiani con i principati romeni nel periodo 1847-1856, specialmente Dimitrie Bodin e Constantin Ardeleanu, sono arrivati alle seguenti conclusioni: la maggior parte delle navi furono sarde, seguite da quelle toscane e napoletane; la presenza delle navi italiane fu influenzata dagli avvenimenti politici: la rivoluzione del 1848, la Guerra di Crimea; dal periodo della crisi economica, dalle condizioni climatiche: gli anni in cui il Danubio gelò; dalle epidemie dell'epoca-la colera ecc.

L'importanza commerciale delle città danubiane fu messa in evidenza nei rapporti dei consoli sardi e napoletani di Costantinopoli e Odessa, i quali suggerirono ai loro governi che si aprissero dei consolati. Secondo i trattati sardo-ottomani, il Regno di Piemonte ottenne così il diritto di stabilire consolati nelle città in cui aveva interessi commerciali. Così furono creati consolati sardi a Ismail nel 1827, a Galați nel 1833, un viceconsolato a Brăila nel 1838¹¹. I rapporti scritti dai consoli di Galați e di Brăila rappresentano una delle principali fonti documentarie sull'esistenza di comunità italiane nelle dette città: il numero dei sudditi italiani, le loro attività, la presenza temporanea o permanente, i rapporti tra questi e i governi di Bucarest e Jassy oppure con le autorità locali. Da notare che presso l'Agenzia consolare sarda di Costantinopoli si organizzava sin dal 1825 un corso di lingue orientali che fu

⁸ P. Corti, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁹ Dimitrie Bodin, *Politica economică a Regatului Sardiniei în Marea Neagră și pe Dunăre în legătură cu Principatele române*, "Revista Istorică Română" 9 (1939), p. 8; Constantin Ardeleanu, *Alcune notizie riguardanti la navigazione e il commercio degli stati italiani preunitari alla foci del Danubio (1829-1856)*, in *L'Italia e L'Europa centro-orientale attraverso i secoli* (a cura di Cristian Luca & Gianluca Massi & Andrea Piccardi), Braila 2004, p. 393.

¹⁰ Gobbi a *Ministerul de Externe*, Torino, 12 agosto 1834, Costantinopoli, in *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice dintre Principatele Române și Regatul Sardiniei* (a cura di D. Bodin), Bucarest 1941, p. 182.

¹¹ D. Bodin, *I Consolati del Regno di Sardegna nei Principati romeni all'epoca del Risorgimento*, Roma 1938, p. 142.

frequentato da giovani italiani attirati da un'eventuale carriera diplomatica nello spazio orientale del Mediterraneo, nel vicino Oriente o nel nord Africa. Tra questi si annoverano: Stefano Berzolese¹², Francesco Mathieu¹³, entrambi consoli a Galați, Romualdo Tecco¹⁴, conoscitore della diplomazia costantinopolitana, uno degli amici dei leader romeni del 1848, Rafaello Benzi¹⁵, membro della commissione europea dei Principati nel 1857, un costante difensore dell'unità romena.

In base ai rapporti consolari corroborati da altre fonti archivistiche¹⁶ possiamo stabilire almeno fino ad oggi, per Galați nel periodo 1831-1866 all'incirca

¹² "Excellence, je l'honneur d'informer Votre Excellence, que je reçu de Monsieur le Consul Général chancelier Truqui la somme de douze cent livres qu'elle a bien voulu d'ordonner de le compter pour fournir aux frais de mes uniformes de jeunes de langues. Ce gage précieux de la munificence de Sa Majesté que je dois à bonté de votre Excellence, n'a pu qu'exciter en moi le sentiment de la plus vive et de la plus profonde reconnaissance et je la prie de vouloir bien en agréer l'hommage sincère... Je n'ai pas oublié cependant, Monseigneur, qu'il faut à Votre Excellence des preuves de gratitude d'un autre genre. Elle attend de moi du zèle et de l'application à acquérir les connaissances nécessaires à la carrière à laquelle je suis destinés, à cet égard je m'en référé volontiers au compte qui lui sera rendu par Monsieur le Consul général chancelier de la manière dont j'ai taché jusqu'ici de remplir ce devoir. Mais je prendrais moi-même la liberté de la prière de vouloir bien agréer l'engagement que je prends envers elle de ne jamais cesser de réunir mes soins et mes efforts de tous mes instants à mériter les suffrages de mes supérieurs et surtout à me rendre digne de celui de Votre Excellence, afin que ses hautes bontés pour moi puissent abrégier l'époque où je serais admis à jouir de toutes les prérogatives accordées à mes autres collègues qui sont en activité et à soulager ainsi ma famille des charges que les frais de mon éducation comme jeune de langues font peser sur elle..." Etienne Berzolese à le général comte de la Tour, Constantinople, le 8 février 1826, Archivio di Stato Torino (AST), fondo Consolati Nazionali, Costantinopoli, mazzo 1, f. 35.

¹³ "Messieurs les jeunes de langue viennent à la chancellerie... Monsieur Mathieu est très diligent et surtout faisant des progrès rapides dans la langue turque", G. Truqui à général comte de la Tour, Constantinople, 26 mai 1826, AST, fondo Consolati Nazionali, Costantinopoli, mazzo 1, f. 47.

¹⁴ "De trois jeunes de langue nationaux que le gouvernement a envoyé à Constantinople pour y apprendre les langues orientales et suivre la carrière de dragomanat il ne me reste plus que monsieur Tecco, les autres deux se sont prononcés contre et le gouvernement en est instruit. M. Tecco se trouve au point quant à la langue turque de n'avancer plus grand-chose pour la parler foute de l'expérience et ici l'expérience est impossible. Conséquemment si Votre Excellence ne s'oppose pas je pense de l'envoyer passer une année à Iconia en Caramanie. Là sauf d'étrangers il se mettra à même et sera forcé d'apprendre en un an ce qu'il ne pourrait en trois restant ici... Monsieur Tecco ne désire que le moment de partir pour répondre à ses vues et pour se mettre à même de prouver au gouvernement de quoi est capable celui qui a de la bonne volonté", G. Truqui à monsieur le marquis Tropallo à Buyukdéré, Constantinople, 17 août 1826, AST, fondo Consolati Nazionali, Costantinopoli, mazzo 1 f. 59.

¹⁵ "Les jeunes de langues ont chacun une chambre ainsi que monsieur Benzi que je recommande de rechef à sa haute protection afin qu'il puisse suivre la même carrière de feu son père génois et consul général de Gènes à Valence en Espagne", G. Turqui à Son Excellence, comte De la Tour, ministre d'Etat et des Affaires Étrangères de Sardaigne, Constantinople, 10 janvier 1826, AST, fondo Consolati Nazionali, Costantinopoli, mazzo 1, f. 30⁵.

¹⁶ Informazioni per gli emigranti italiani in Galați sono presenti in Archivio Nazionale Storico Centrale (ANSC), microfilm Italia, r. 7, c. 745-746; r. 93, c. 1374-1376; *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice ale Principatelor Române cu Regatul Sardiniei*, p. 47, 48, 57, 67, 82, 181, 190, 191, 194, 231; Paul Pălițea, *Istoria orașului Galați*, II, Galați 1995, p. 14, 18, *passim*; Raluca

160 immigrati italiani. Dal punto di vista dell'origine la maggior parte di loro sono della costa ligure – delle città di Genova, Novi, Chiavari (dalle informazioni che abbiamo, perché non sempre nei documenti studiati è segnata la provenienza delle persone, circa 40 italiani provenivano da questa regione); una parte provenivano dal sud – da Napoli, Messina, altri da Livorno, Roma, Torino, Venezia. Una parte importante dei peninsulari venivano nei porti danubiani dopo essersi stabiliti e aver perso i propri soldi in seguito ai fallimenti nelle grandi città del Mediterraneo orientale: Alessandria, Smirne, Costantinopoli o nelle isole greche. Dal punto di vista dei mestieri esercitati dagli italiani stabilivasi almeno temporaneamente a Galați possiamo concludere che predominava il commercio di cereali. Circa 30 italiani fondarono aziende di esportazione dei cereali e almeno nove di loro fecero gli intermediari tra i proprietari e gli esportatori. Le professioni erano però tra le più diverse: agenti navali, allevatori di bachi da seta, libero professionisti (insegnanti di lingue straniere, medici, attori, tipografi, redattori editoriali, architetti); ufficiali italiani che venivano ad istruire i marinai moldavi all'uso delle cannoniere; artigiani con laboratori propri - gioiellieri, cappellai, osti, cuochi, inservienti presso le ditte italiane¹⁷.

La presenza degli italiani a Brăila veniva segnalata tanto dai consoli sardi quanto da quelli francesi. Da un rapporto del 1839 del console francese di Jassy veniamo a sapere che “i sardi abbondano” nelle città danubiane¹⁸. In base ai documenti editi ed inediti possiamo affermare che nella città danubiana la comunità italiana fu numerosa. Nel periodo 1834-1871 siamo riusciti ad identificare per ora più di 60 persone di etnia italiana, uomini, donne e bambini. Dalle informazioni che abbiamo possiamo affermare che la maggior parte degli italiani erano commercianti, soprattutto esportatori di cereali, insegnanti, medici, piccoli imprenditori, artisti e dal settimo decennio vi troviamo anche operai che lavoravano nelle ferrovie. Non a caso è nei porti danubiani che appaiono le prime pubblicazioni commerciali bilingui romeno-italiane. A Brăila, la prima pubblicazione commerciale è bilingue – *Mercur, jurnal comercial al portului Brăila*. Realizzata ad opera dell'instancabile Ioan Penescu, a cui si assocerà l'italiano F. Gussio, la pubblicazione appariva nel 1839 due volte alla settimana. Da agosto 1840 diventa una pubblicazione bilingue romeno-italiana, perché “l'italiano è una lingua commerciale e somiglia di più alla nostra”. A Galați, Marco Pietro Cugino ebbe l'iniziativa dell'apparizione di una pubblicazione bilingue romeno-italiana, *Il Danubio. Giornale di commercio, agricoltura e navigazione* (dicembre 1846-dicembre 1849)¹⁹.

Tomi, *Imigrația italiană în spațiul românesc: italienii din Galați și Ismail (1834-1876)*, “Revista istorică” 19 (2008), 3-4, p. 215-238; C. Ardeleanu, *La comunità italiana nella città portuale di Galați nel periodo risorgimentale 1830-1856*, in *Unità italiana e mondo adriatico-balcanico* (a cura di Gisella Nemeth & Adriano Papo), Trieste 2012, p. 65-78.

¹⁷ R. Tomi, *op. cit.*, p. 221-224.

¹⁸ D. Bodin, *Legăturile lui Arturo Graf cu românii*, “Revista Istorică Română” 5-6 (1935-1936), p. 193.

¹⁹ R. Tomi, *L'emigrazione italiana nei Principati romeni e il suo ruolo nella modernizzazione delle comunità urbane*, in *Unità nazionale e modernità nel risorgimento italiano e romeno* (a cura di Ioan Cârja), Cluj-Napoca 2011, p. 33-55.

Una parte dei mercanti che si erano stabiliti a Galați, Brăila ed Ismail avrebbero ricoperto diversi incarichi presso i consolati sardi o napoletani delle dette città. Già nel 1829 il console sardo di Odessa, Giovanni Milanta, proponeva come agente consolare a Galați Felice Lagorio, di Porto Maurizio, Genova, “il quale da lungo tempo abita in questi paesi, e chi è versato non solamente nelle materie di commercio e di navigazione, ma inoltre possiede più lingue, cognizione che é indispensabile in queste regioni”²⁰. Un altro mercante che ricopriva un incarico di rappresentazione, cioè era il viceconsole di Brăila, fu Giovanni Battista Pedemonte (1838-1843), membro di un’importante azienda commerciale di Galați, con succursali a Costantinopoli, Brăila, Calafat, Botoșani, ma che dovette dimettersi a causa dei numerosi impegni commerciali²¹. Sempre a Brăila i documenti menzionano il mercante Antonio Sarao (1846-1847), che godeva di una stima considerevole tra i suoi concittadini²². Nel 1854 l’incarico di proconsole nello stesso porto veniva proposto a Giacomo Gattorno, l’agente di una ditta commerciale di Genova²³. Il Regno delle Due Sicilie avvertì a suo turno l’importanza economica di questi territori e nel 1840 nominò a viceconsole a Galați Pasquale Lamberti, un mercante sardo della città, “un bravo commerciante, una persona di gran merito”, che ricoprì questo incarico fino alla sua morte nel 1851²⁴.

In base ai documenti editi e inediti degli Archivi Nazionali Storici Centrali di Bucarest e di Archivio di Stato di Torino, cercheremo di presentare il destino di una famiglia di mercanti oriundi di Chiavari: la famiglia Gagliardo (Gagliardi nei documenti italiani). Una parte dei suoi membri ricopriranno anche incarichi consolari, facendosi portavoce degli interessi commerciali dei sardi o dei napoletani stabilitisi alle foci del Danubio.

Del commercio di Ismail, Bois le Comte diceva nel 1834: “i porti di Ismail e di Reni esportavano cereali, cuoio, sego, cera, sale dalla provincia e la Russia cercò di ampliare il commercio, istaurando nel 1828 a Ismail il porto franco per un periodo di 25 anni. Ma l’approvvigionamento di questo porto era troppo debole per attirare le navi europee e la navigazione sul Danubio continuava a languire fin quando la libertà del commercio –riacquistata nel 1829 dalla Valacchia e dalla Moldavia – le diede una mossa.”²⁵ L’importanza della nuova città portuale danubiana fu avvertita dai consoli sardi di Odessa, che insistettero perché si creasse un viceconsolato anche a Ismail. Il primo rappresentante del Regno di Sardegna fu Giovanni Gagliardo di Chiavari, stabilito in Bessarabia dopo il 1823. La sua famiglia si occupava con il

²⁰ *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice ale Principatelor Române cu Regatul Sardiniei*, p. 9, 286.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 21; vedi anche D. Bodin, *I Consolati del Regno di Sardegna*, p. 158.

²² *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice ale Principatelor Române cu Regatul Sardiniei*, p. 201; D. Bodin, *I Consolati del Regno di Sardegna*, p. 167.

²³ *Documente privitoare la legăturile economice ale Principatelor Române cu Regatul Sardiniei*, p. 286; D. Bodin, *I Consolati del Regno di Sardegna*, p. 167.

²⁴ D. Bodin, *Contribuțiuni la istoricul consulatelor Regatului celor Două Sicilii în Principatele Române*, “Revista Istorică Română” 8 (1938), p. 74-75.

²⁵ *Călători străini despre țările române*, s. n., III: 1831-1840 (a cura di Daniela Bușă), Bucarest 2006, p. 146.

commercio di cereali nei porti di Odessa, Galați, Ismail. Dalle foci del Danubio il grano veniva trasportato a Genova e venduto sul mercato italiano. Di Giovanni Gagliardo sappiamo che fu viceconsole per vent'anni (1827-1847), il che ci fa pensare che avesse goduto della stima e della fiducia dei suoi connazionali. Mandava regolarmente dei rapporti al console di Odessa, che a suo turno li mandava al Ministero degli Esteri del Regno di Sardegna. Questi rapporti ci informano sulle quantità di cereali esportate verso i porti italiani, sul numero delle navi sarde, napoletane o toscane che si fermavano nel porto di Ismail. Così, nell'anno 1831 fu esportato verso gli stati italiani frumento di 1.121.116 ruble, e nel 1832, di 743.800 ruble. Nel 1831, 5 navi italiane (3 sarde, 1 napoletana, 1 toscana) approdarono a Ismail, ma l'anno seguente vi approdarono 36 navi italiane (33 sarde, 1 napoletana, 2 toscane). Nel 1836 Giovanni Gagliardo è stato sospettato di contrabbando, ma l'accusa è stata dimostrata di essere falsa²⁶.

Nel 1847, Giovanni Gagliardo morì, "rapito alla sua famiglia nell'ancora verde età di 48 a 50 anni". Dal 1850 al 1854, il viceconsole sardo di Ismail fu Giuseppe Gagliardo.

Nel 1852 egli chiese che gli affidassero anche l'incarico di viceconsole del Regno delle Due Sicilie nella stessa città. Si occupava anche dei sudditi del ducato di Parma, che facevano affari nel porto danubiano. Nel 1854 fu dimesso dal ministro napoletano di San Pietroburgo, per ragioni del fallimento della sua ditta. Nella sua corrispondenza con suo fratello, Lazzaro Gagliardo²⁷, con il console sardo in Costantinopoli, Stefano Berzolese²⁸ e con il Ministero degli Affari Esteri di Torino²⁹, Giuseppe Gagliardo racconta del fallimento provocato di Giovanni Crassa. Quest'ultimo, suo socio dal 1852, fu dal inizio un negoziante senza capitale, ma soprattutto senza onore. Investì, a sua insaputa, i denari ricevuti per l'acquisto delle lane, negli affari con cereali nella città di Galatz. Perse tutto capitale, la società fu dichiarata fallita e Giuseppe Gagliardo è stato rimosso dalla carica di vice-console di Ismail.

Abbiamo informazioni più numerose su Lazzaro Gagliardo, il fratello di Giuseppe Gagliardo. Nato a Chiavari nel 1817, si era stabilito a Ismail sin dal 1836. Dal detto anno fino al 1846 fu cancelliere del viceconsolato sardo diretto da suo zio, Giovanni Gagliardo³⁰. Dopo la morte di suo zio, nel 1847, ne assunse gli incarichi per un breve periodo³¹. Non li ebbe però ufficialmente e si stabilì fino al 1856 a

²⁶ Odessa, 6/18 febbraio 1836, AST, fondo Consolati nazionali. Odessa, mazzo V, non numerato, vedi allegato no. 1.

²⁷ Giuseppe Gagliardi a Lazzaro Gagliardi, Ismail, il 7 settembre 1853, AST, fondo Consolati nazionali Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato. Allegato no. 2.

²⁸ Giuseppe Gagliardi a Stefano Berzolese, Ismail, il 6 marzo 1854, AST, fondo Consolati nazionali Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato. Allegato no. 4.

²⁹ Giuseppe Gagliardi al Ministro degli Affari Esteri di Sua Maestà, Ismail, il 13 marzo 1854, AST, fondo Consolati nazionali Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato. Allegato no. 6.

³⁰ D. Bodin, *I Consolati del Regno di Sardegna*, p. 146.

³¹ Consolato Generale
di Sa Maestà Il Re di Sardegna
in Odessa
no. 204

Odessa, li 4 ottobre 1847

Odessa, dove diventò suddito russo. Dopo il Trattato di Parigi del 1856, che stipulava che il sud della Bessarabia spettasse alla Moldavia, Lazzaro ritornò a Ismail e chiese che gli fosse affidato l'incarico di viceconsole, promettendo di riprendere la cittadinanza sarda.

Ma gli toccò un altro destino. Fu naturalizzato romeno, occupò l'incarico di comandante di cavalleria e fu eletto nel consiglio ad-hoc della Moldavia quale rappresentante dei mercanti di Ismail. Il fatto è menzionato nei documenti e nell'elenco degli eletti, pubblicato su *Buletinul oficial extraordinar al principatului Moldovei* del 4 giugno 1857.

Nello stesso periodo fu coinvolto anche in un processo con suo zio Luca Gagliardo, in seguito a un conflitto provocato da problemi finanziari. I documenti di archivio che riguardano questo processo ci permettono di entrare nell'intimità delle relazioni commerciali dei mercanti italiani stabiliti alle foci del Danubio. In una lettera del 28 giugno/10 luglio 1857 rivolta a suo zio, ammetteva di avere molti problemi e di non essere in grado di pagargli un vecchio debito: "Mio caro zio, se avessi avuto dei soldi, vi avrei pagato più di quanto vi dovevo... Sono nell'impossibilità di fare il minimo pagamento, perché mi mancano i soldi e non so come farò a pagare i miei debiti quotidiani"³². Lo zio non s'intenerì nel sapere dei suoi problemi e porse una denuncia al consolato sardo di Galați perché fossero sequestrati i beni detenuti a Ismail dal nipote. A favore suo portava come garante un mercante di Galați, Francesco Delvecchio, le cui relazioni con gli aristocratici moldavi erano note nell'epoca. Il 5/17 agosto scriveva al console di Galați: "Insisto quindi energicamente che siano messi sotto sequestro i suoi beni (di Lazzaro) che si trovano a Ismail e che ne sia proibita la vendita a garanzia del mio credito"³³. A suo turno, il consolato sardo di Galați spediva al Tribunale commerciale di Ismail la petizione del suo suddito Luca Gagliardo, nella quale richiedeva il pagamento del

Viceconsole Antonio <...>* a Don Clementi Solaro Conte della Margarita. Ministro e Primo
Segretario del Stato per gli Affari Esteri
Eccellenza

Favorevoli informazioni
dei soggetti proposti pei
Vice consolati
d'Ismail e Teodosia

Relativamente agli ulteriori informazioni che l'Eccellenza Vostra con dispaccio di 22 maggio no. 226, m'ordinava di prendere sul conto di signor Lazzaro Gagliardo e Felice Lagorio ambi sudditi sardi soggetti da me proposti pelle vacanti cariche vice consolari della città d'Ismail e Teodosia, ecco posso a dirle in proposito: Ho ora una seconda volta il dolce contento di partecipare all'Eccellenza Vostra che tutti quanti le informazioni che ho potuto raccogliere sul conto delle persone in questione, furono tutti soddisfacenti sotto ogni qualsiasi rapporto. Perciò che sia della loro età e fortuna, il Gagliardo è un uomo di trenta e più anni, e la sua fortuna si crede possa ascendere a 100 mila franchi che se li raggira in Commercio [...].

AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato.

*indecifrabile

³² Lazzaro Gagliardo a Luca Gagliardo, 28 giugno/10 luglio 1857, in ANSC, Ministero della Giustizia. Direzione giudiziaria, ds. 58/ 1857-1858, f. 7-8.

³³ Francesco Delvecchio al console di Galați, 5/17 agosto 1857, in *ibidem*, f. 5.

debito di 5.612, 44 franchi e 16.417, 11 ruble di argento³⁴. Alla petizione veniva allegata una lettera di questi del 13/25 febbraio 1857, in cui si ammetteva l'esistenza di questo suo debito³⁵. Per difendere la causa del suo suddito, il console sardo di Galați, Giovanni Carpenetti, pregava il viceconsole britannico di Ismail, John Murley, di proteggere Luca Gagliardo in questo processo il che fu comunicato anche al Tribunale della città³⁶. Carpenetti, il console sardo di Galați, menzionava che Lazzaro Gagliardo possedeva a Ismail una casa e un deposito comprato sin dal 1837, e suo zio Luca era deciso di metterle sotto sequestro³⁷.

Il processo si prolunga nell'autunno e nell'inverno del 1857-1858, perché Lazzaro Gagliardo si trovava a Jassy, impegnato con i suoi incarichi nel consiglio ad-hoc. Per questa ragione, Francesco Delvecchio chiede che sia liberato dalla garanzia data a Luca Gagliardo, per poter disporre senza restrizioni dei suoi beni³⁸. A suo turno, Luca Gagliardo scriveva al consolato di Galați: "Nella mia petizione del 9/21 settembre ho pregato il consolato di costringere Lazzaro Gagliardo a pagare il debito. Il tribunale ha consegnato la mia petizione a Lazzaro Gagliardo, deputato della città di Ismail presso il consiglio ad-hoc, senza però stabilire un termine definitivo perché si presenti di persona... per cui il processo si prolunga."³⁹ Di fronte all'offensiva di suo zio, Lazzaro Gagliardo spediva a suo turno al Tribunale una lunga lettera in cui si difendeva. Egli esprimeva innanzitutto il suo stupore nei confronti dell'azione del tribunale, basata su documenti privati e non ufficiali. Ricordava gli affari con arance e limoni che aveva fatto a Odessa e Galați insieme a suo zio, e alla fine gli rimproverava che lo aveva ospitato per nove mesi senza chiedergli mai un pagamento, mentre adesso suo zio lo trascinava per i tribunali. Il tono della lettera era duro, accusava suo zio di aver causato il fallimento della sua azienda di Odessa in seguito a un cattivo affare con frumento e lana pecorina, che questi aveva venduto a Genova a prezzi inaspettatamente bassi. In seguito a queste transazioni aveva perso nell'anno 1851 l'importante somma di 25.000 ruble.

Il processo viene rinviato varie volte perché il tribunale commerciale invoca l'assenza di due dei rappresentanti della comunità dei mercanti di Ismail, che erano malati e non si erano potuti presentare ai dibattiti⁴⁰. Si crea una nuova confusione a causa delle pretese di Marina Gagliardo, la sorella di Lazzaro Gagliardo. Questa si lamenta in una petizione al Tribunale che tutte le possessioni di suo fratello che sarebbero state messe sotto sequestro appartenevano in realtà a suo marito Giovanni. Anche se aveva sollecitato più volte al Tribunale che le fossero fatti i documenti di proprietà, presentandosi a questo scopo persino al Segretario di stato in occasione di una sua visita a Ismail, i suoi diritti non vennero riconosciuti ufficialmente. Portava

³⁴ Il Consolato di Regno di Sardegna di Moldavia e di Valacchia a Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, Galați, 25 settembre 1857, *ibidem*, f. 14.

³⁵ Lazzaro Gagliardo a Luca Gagliardo, 24 febbraio-8 marzo 1857, ANSC, *ibidem*, f. 16.

³⁶ John Murley, il viceconsole della Gran Bretagna in Ismail al Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, 6/18 novembre 1857, *ibidem*, f. 27.

³⁷ Giovanni Carpenetti al Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, 6 novembre 1857, *ibidem*, f. 28.

³⁸ John Murley al Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, 8 dicembre 1857, *ibidem*, f. 39.

³⁹ Luca Gagliardo al Consolato sardo di Galați, 31 dicembre 1857, *ibidem*, f. 62.

⁴⁰ Il Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, 28 febbraio 1858, *ibidem*, f. 102-104.

invece come prova una lettera di Luca Gagliardo, nella quale questi affermava che la casa, le dipendenze, i magazzini appartenevano a Marina Gagliardo e si disculpava scrivendo che “io non ho mai avuto l’intenzione di vendere questi edifici... Ho voluto solo usarli come garanzia per 3000 o 4000 ruble, con cui iniziare un altro affare”. Confessava che voleva lasciarne l’usufrutto, mentre i redditi della casa e dei magazzini sarebbero stati di Marina e dei suoi figli. Alla fine il tribunale riconosce i diritti di Marina Gagliardo e rinuncia al sequestro dei beni. Il 14 marzo 1858 i cinque rappresentanti del Tribunale commerciale di Ismail decidono che Lazzaro Gagliardo paghi a suo zio il debito: 16.502 ruble di argento⁴¹.

Il viceconsolato britannico di Ismail invia tre lettere ufficiali al tribunale commerciale della città per sbrigare l’applicazione della sentenza. L’ultima, del 31 maggio 1858, ha un tono ultimativo. Se la sollecitazione di Luca Gagliardo di recuperare i suoi soldi non fosse stata soddisfatta, il suddito sardo avrebbe “denunciato il tribunale alle istanze superiori”. Il tribunale sarebbe stato responsabile dei danni sofferti dal mercante. La risposta del tribunale commerciale è ferma. Lazzaro Gagliardi ha il diritto all’appello e, fino al processo, non si può prendere una decisione definitiva. Respinge anche l’atteggiamento arrogante del viceconsole, che cercava di eludere la legge a favore del suddito sardo: “Il tribunale chiede al viceconsolato di rinunciare a tale imposizione; se considera di avere ragione può rivolgersi al governo locale”⁴². Non sappiamo come sia andata a finire la disputa tra i due Gagliardo. Non sappiamo se il debito sia stato pagato o no, se le relazioni siano continuate o no. I documenti menzionano ancora una volta Luca Gagliardo, nel 1863 quando egli moriva a Ismail. Il 16 marzo 1864 la prefettura della città informava il ministro dell’interno: “Il suddito italiano Luca Gagliardi, domiciliato in questa città, è deceduto, secondo il rapporto no. 6195 della polizia. Da una parte per i suoi beni si è arrivato a un accordo con il tribunale locale, dall’altra parte è stato richiesto il nostro aiuto. Le consegno gentilmente anche l’atto medicale di costatazione del decesso, legalizzato secondo l’ordine no. 24. 460 del 1863”⁴³.

La famiglia Gagliardo fa parte dei mercanti italiani oriundi nella stragrande maggioranza delle città della costa ligure, che si stabilirono nelle città portuali del Mar Nero in seguito al trattato commerciale sardo-ottomano del 1823 e nelle città portuali danubiane, specialmente dopo il Trattato di Adrianopoli. I suoi membri avevano affari a Odessa, Ismail, Galați. Alcuni di loro divennero cittadini romeni e furono addirittura eletti nel consiglio ad-hoc della Moldavia. La disputa finanziaria tra Luca e Lazzaro Gagliardo è un’occasione inaspettata di sapere come riusciva a sopravvivere un’azienda commerciale straniera stabilita nelle città portuali danubiane; riusciamo a cogliere persino le cause dei fallimenti nella zona. Il destino degli immigranti italiani era segnato spesse volte dalla fragilità degli affari, dall’insicurezza finanziaria che provocava drammi familiari attestati nei documenti di archivio pervenutici. Ma non va dimenticato che il fatto che gli stranieri si stabilirono temporaneamente o permanentemente nelle città portuali danubiani fu

⁴¹ Il Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, risoluzione, 14 marzo 1858, *ibidem*, f. 122 f-v.

⁴² Il Tribunale commerciale di Ismail, risoluzione, 12 giugno 1858, *ibidem*, f. 136.

⁴³ ANSC, Il Ministero degli Interni-I sudditi italiani, ds. 24/1864, f. 3.

uno dei fermenti che portò alla modernizzazione di queste comunità. “Gli italiani sono amati nel nostro paese, dove introdurranno le competenze commerciali e industriali, mentre noi porremo a loro disposizione i mezzi per farlo... In seguito a questa collaborazione l'Italia si arricchirà, mentre la Romania otterrà forza commerciale e industriale”.

Allegato no. 1

Odessa, addì <il> 6/18 febbraio 1836

Regia Cancelleria di Sardegna a Odessa,

Parere sulla sentenza nella causa del signor Gagliardi,

Due gravami piombano sopra il capitano Novach del brigantino russo *L'Ercole*. Il primo è di contrabbando⁴⁴ premeditato ed eseguito; ed il secondo di violazione delle regole sanitarie. Il signor Gagliardi viene implicato nel primo ed il capitano Novach in ambedue. Ciò che aggrava il delitto di contrabbando bensì è, che alla visita fatta dai⁴⁵ doganieri a bordo del detto brigantino il capitano ha insistito a confermare la sua prima dichiarazione, che fuori della provvista del bastimento espressa nella dichiarazione non aveva nient'altro; Quando che dalla visita si sono scoperte merci nascoste in vari luoghi del Bastimento, in cassette ed anche nella cuccetta⁴⁶ dello stesso capitano Novach, locche tutto l'ha convinto reo di premeditato ed eseguito contrabbando.

La premeditazione del delitto di contrabbando si ritrova ancora nella lettera del signor Gagliardi trovata nelle carte del capitano Novach, con la quale incarica quest'ultimo di comprare di quell'istessi oggetti trovatisi in contrabbando; da queste prove il contrabbando è irrevocabilmente stabilito e provato.

Ad appoggio di queste prove viene la spiegazione che il signor Gagliardi ha dato sul contenuto di questa sua lettera. Egli confessa d'aver incaricato il capitano Novach di comprare per lui, Signor Gagliardi, alcuni oggetti, ordinando ad esso Novach⁴⁷ che li dichiarasse in quarantina nel numero delle provviste⁴⁸.

Questa lettera e questa deposizione saranno sempre sufficienti motivi per i tribunali e corti superiori di confermare la confiscazione degli⁴⁹ oggetti appartenenti al signor Gagliardi e a soggiacerlo all'ammenda stabilita dalle leggi.

In conseguenza dei quali motivi considero vano è superfluo l'appello che ne ha fatto.

Tale è il mio parere,

(firmato) F. Sauron

Giovanni Gagliardi, viceconsole sardo in Ismail viene condannato per premeditato contrabbando in forra d'una lettera scritta al capitano Matteo Novach.

⁴⁴ *contrabando*

⁴⁵ *dalli*

⁴⁶ *coccietta*

⁴⁷ *sottolineato nel testo*

⁴⁸ *Sottolineato nel testo*

⁴⁹ *delli*

comandante il brigantino russo *L'Ercole*, con la quale ordina l'acquisto di varie provvigioni, inculcando nella medesima lettera al capitano di farne la dichiarazione.

1. Se si considera Gagliardi come semplice particolare, egli può ordinare all'Estero quelle provvigioni, sia per uso, sia per negozio senza addossarsi veruna responsabilità sulle mancanze del portatore, in seguito della riconosciuta innocenza del suo ordine. La pena deve soffrirla chi commette il delitto, o il complice, se può essere comprovato. Il Gagliardi, non solo non ha commesso alcun delitto, ma non esiste alcuna complicità a suo carico; in conseguenza di che la legge non potendo condannare Gagliardi.

Autore di premeditato contrabbando, egli ha il diritto di reclamare dalla Dogana gli oggetti di sua proprietà a tenore dell'articolo 408, tomo VI collezioni delle leggi, i quali autorizza i proprietari delle merci a ritirarle dalla Dogana con la sola penale di pagare 10% di più sopra il diritto Doganale.

2. Se si vuole considerare Gagliardi come amministratore del bastimento *L'Ercole*, egli ha il diritto di far provvedere il suo bastimento di quegli oggetti necessari per uno o due viaggi senza che la sovrabbondante⁵⁰ quantità delle provvigioni possi dar motivo a credere alla Dogana d'un premeditato contrabbando, perché l'articolo 416, tomo VI, spiega che ai⁵¹ capitani si permette di portare una quantità illimitata di provvigioni commestibili per loro uso e per uso dell'equipaggio senza pagare alcun diritto tariffale e perché non possano vender niente senza manifestare alla Dogana, i⁵² guardiani che essa destina nei bastimenti sono in obbligo di sorvegliarli. In seguito l'articolo 424 cap. IV, della stessa legge se della quantità delle provvigioni rimanesse una porzione non consumata dall'equipaggio, il capitano fosse desideroso d'introdurle in città, in tal caso dopo averle manifestate, e soddisfatto il dovuto diritto Doganale si rilasciano al proprietario.

Fondato su queste leggi il Gagliardi non solo non premeditava il contrabbando di questi piccoli oggetti, ma era a sua disposizione di farli consumar a bordo e ritirarli in città per suo uso.

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

Allegato no. 2

Ismail, il 7 settembre 1853

Giuseppe Gagliardi a Lazzaro Gagliardi,

Confermandovi in tutto il suo contenuto l'ultima mia del 31 agosto p.p, che per errore notai sotto la data del 1^o corrente, colla quale vi annunziavo l'infausta novella dell'incendio del nostro fliher, e vi diceva di procurar di vedervi col signor Mitkow e di persuaderlo con buone maniere a metterci detto fliher nello stato in cui era essendo che nel suo contratto lo stesso si obbliga di restituire il tutto in suo intero come l'ha ricevuto e colla quale vi ragguagliavo di quanto succede intorno alle lane per colpa di Crassa, mi pervenne la grata vostra 31 agosto p.p in risposta alla quale altro non potrei ripetervi che

⁵⁰ *sovraabondante*

⁵¹ *alli*

⁵² *li*

quanto vi scrissi in detta precedente mia, anzi qui mi occorre aggiungervi, che, quantunque lo stesso scriva a sua moglie che era in trattativa di fare qualche vendita in cereali in Galatz, pure vedo l'affare che sarà molto difficile a conchiudersi, e anzi vedo una maggiore necessità di farmi avere un momento prima le vostre determinazioni e i vostri ordini riguardo al grano che ha comprato detto Crassa colla vostra moneta che doveva essere impiegata in acquisti lane, giacché più dilazionando ogni misura che prenderete si renderà più difficile ed in appresso inutile, e andrete a rischio di perdere il capitale, perché i signori Arastassopulo Ghiorgi, Karagiusiadi e Aristide Kilaidino scrivono ogni posta contro di lui delle lettere di fuoco a tutti i negozianti di Galatz e di Ibraila, invitandoli a mettersi sulle loro guardie di imbarazzarsi con lui rappresentandolo a loro come uno capace di fare qualunque figura a tenore della circostanza, e come uno per far veder che fa degli affari per prendere in mano moneta non guardava di vendere ad un prezzo molto basso quella roba che non aveva che poi era obbligato a comprarla a un prezzo che lasciava perdita. Dunque vedete la necessità di un decisivo e pronto vostro ordine giacché vedete che con tali lettere quasi non vi resta più luogo a sperare che mi possa contare l'occorrente moneta per ritirare l'acquistata lana e l'affare di giorno in giorno si rende sempre più brutto.

A vostra norma vi sia di avviso che li:

argento ruble-3000-che gli avete spedito in luglio con la posta come pure li
argento ruble 500-che vi ha tratto in giugno ordine <...>⁵³ e oltre a questi li
argento ruble 250-che gli avete contati alla sua permanenza in Odessa e li
argento ruble 1000-che mi avete spedito in marzo e che li ho contati a lui di più il valore di chilo 52.10 grano tenero consegnatogli per conto da Langada in
argento ruble 472.50 e
argento ruble 1780 circa che gli ho contati per vostro conto dal mese di settembre 1852 fino a settembre 1853 (dedotti argento ruble 400 circa che ho ricevuto per mio spese. In tutto argento ruble 7000 circa che ha a sue mani a riserva dei <...>⁵⁴ 302.20 lana speditavi di tutto l'altro si n'è servito come già dettovi arbitrariamente per comprare grani e non lane come gli avete ordinato.

In questo stato di cose io sono indeciso e non so quale partito prendere da me solo e perciò di nuovo vi prego a darmi quanto più presto vostri ordini come mi devo regolare che io sarò ad eseguirli in conformità in caso che vedessi che non ci è più speranza da ricevere da Crassa moneta per mettermi in caso da spedirvi la lana.

Vedo anche che sarà difficile a potervi spedire e quasi impossibile la lana che vi avvisavo con l'ultima mia in... 140 di Baschoi, primo perché malgrado le mie richieste non mi danno moneta per poterla caricare e poi perché è sequestrata da uno che deve avere da Crassa, e nemmeno non posso spedirvi quella di Bordulla di Selioglu che ha soltanto argento ruble 50 di caparra che non mi vuole lasciare se non gli pago tutta la moneta.

Vi sia di avviso che oggi vi ho tratto un appunto a piacere di argento ruble 352.27 ordine Berzolese che vi prego di accettare e di estinguere a mio debito, io avrei desiderato di poter ancora dilazionare a rimborsare di detto avanzo detto sig. console, ma di più non posso perché con suo dispaccio ultimamente ricevuto dicendomi, che abbastanza mi ha aspettato e che essendo pronto per rimettere al Reale Ministero la

⁵³ Indecifrabile

⁵⁴ Indecifrabile

contabilità se non rimborserò quanto prima si troverà costretto a fare rapporto al ministero suddetto, il che non vorrei che succedesse tanto più che non ce n'ho colpa ma bensì Crassa; per cui vedo che se non accettato avrò dei grandi dispiacevi.

Che è quanto per ora e in aspettativa del domandatovi ordine riguardo al grano comprato con la vostra moneta servendovi che la presente vi giungerà col solito canale di Wilenich del quale vi servirete anche voi in appresso per spedirmi detto vostro ordine di cuore vi saluto.

Vostro affettissimo fratello,
Giuseppe Gagliardi

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

Allegato no. 3

Ismail, il 12 settembre 1853

Di ritorno dai villaggi mi trovo possessore di 3 grate vostre 23 luglio, 13 e 20 agosto p.p che fin ora non potei riscontrare atteso la mia assenza.

L'oggetto della presente si è di prevenirvi che ieri alle 2 ore di dopo pranzo ebbi l'atroce spettacolo di vedere consumato dalle fiamme il nostro fligher, e ciò successe per colpa dei servi del signor Mitkow come tutto Ismail lo sa e ne conviene, giacché quasi ogni giorno mettevano il samovar nella remisa dei cavalli e là fumavano sigari e pipa e appunto di là chi ha preso di fuoco che si appiccò al fieno e non dalla cucina giacché allora il focolaio era freddo e non vi era fuoco di sorta.

Veramente dopo tante dispiaceri che provo col mio socio Crassa per il motivo che quando avete spedito i 3000 carbovanci per le lane non trovandomi io in Ismail ebbe l'ordimento il birbante contro ogni regola commerciale di servirsi di questi come pure degli argento ruble 500 trattivi e delle oltre somme che io gli aveva contato per vostro conto per comprare grani e che fino adesso non mi poté contare per mettermi in stato di poter ritirare la partita dai 1300 a 1400 <...>⁵⁵ lana che fino del 30 luglio avevo comprato in: Liova altro non ci mancava per involgermi di più la testa che questo accidente.

Maledetta sia quell'ora e quell'istante che mi sono associato con lui; io credevo di avere da fare con un uomo d'onore e virtuoso ma vedo con mio dispiacere che mi sono deluso, giacché le sue operazioni dimostrano che è un birbante e un bugiardo di prima classe egli per servirsi del mio mezzo e a mia istigazione anche del vostro per aprirgli una strada a fargli avere credito presso i nostri amici all'estero mosso dalla smania di voler fare affari è venuto nel principio con un libro da conti in casa mia dove mi faceva vedere un bilancio dal quale compariva che aveva di netto capitale più di 13 mila carbovanci che diceva di avanzare intanto crediti da Fakleri, da Alevra dal villaggio Congaz a da Baurci ed altri villaggi i quali credetti andava rivolgendo in formentoni e che più di 1500 chilo contava già di averne in questa maniera acquistato e che sperava nel mese di novembre di averne 2500 chilo che sono quelli stessi dei quali io tanto vi ho pregato per la vendita e dei quali anche lui ve ne scrisse in proposito; e giusto in quell'epoca mi propose di fare una società insieme che io ben volentieri accettai non potendo presupporre che queste

⁵⁵ Indecifrabile

erano tutte finzioni, che poi in appresso venni a scoprire ma per mia sventura troppo tardi giacché non solo non aveva un tale capitale, ma aveva anzi debiti di più 7000 ruble argento che ha pagato con la moneta degli altri come se fosse sua propria e che non sarebbe mai obbligato a darne conto a nessuno, oltre a questo moneta alla mia partenza da Ismail mi diceva che nei villaggi aveva data tanta moneta per chilo 3000 granoni da spedirsi per Iliadi, e per altri chilo 1000 che erano di conto di Pietro Schender di Galatz, e che aveva dato in 22 villaggi argento ruble 4600 circa per caparro lane, che poi verificai essere bugie come con lui stesso me ne lamentai in una lettera scrittagli dei 27 maggio piena di rimproveri giacché in tutto il formentone è raggiunto appena a 2000 chilo e di moneta per le lane era erano in Cubei soltanto argento ruble 7, in Kaizakli argento ruble 20.60, in Congaz argento ruble 57, in Baschoi argento ruble 160 e in Tourai argento ruble 29 che fanno in tutti argento ruble 273.60.

Adesso, sono già 15 giorni incirca che egli è partito per Galatz, in vista di fare qualche vendita in cereali, e mi promise di subito spedirmi moneta per ritirare l'acquistata lana, ma secondo le attuali circostanze poco ne spero giacché fino al giorno d'oggi non gli è ancora riuscito di concludere alcun affare, e credo che sarà molto difficile per cui temo che ci sfuggirà dalle mani quella partita lana di Liova, perché il termine del ricevimento se non si poteva prima era fino al 18 agosto che poi ho potuto ottenere fino al 1^o settembre, e che nemmeno a quest'epoca non l'ho potuto ritirare e che per conseguenza forse si perderanno gli argento ruble 760 di caparra che io mi dispongo e non accettare se mai succederà di perderli, perché è per colpa sua che non ho potuto ritirarla avendo avuto a tempo debito in sue mani le occorrenti fondi; e mi parve che sarà un affare da cui difficilmente vi potrete cavare senza rischiare il tutto se non prenderete per tempo vostre misure giacché ogni qual volta domandavo a lui moneta per queste lane si lui che la sua moglie mi rispondevano che adesso non ne hanno perché hanno comprato grani, e che quando saranno in possibilità mi davano e che alla fine Lazzarino è uno dei nostri e che può aspettare; e che queste erano le belle risposte che mi davano come se la vostra cassa in qualunque tempo dovesse essere a loro disposizione.

Io vi espongo tutto questo perché possiate per tempo prendere le vostre disposizioni acciocché poi non mi incolpiate che io sono stato la colpa di avevi rovinato senza per tempo avvisarvene, e sappiate che io stesso non so e non voglio decidermi a vendere il grano che ha comprato il Crassa colla vostra moneta senza un vostro ordine, perché potrei incontrare dei gravi dispiaceri con lui, pero voi suspendete fino a due o tre poste questo vostro ordine giacché potrebbe darsi che nel frattempo Crassa facesse in Galatz qualche vendita e che mi mettesse in stato da potervi finalmente rimettere queste maledette lane. Voi intanto, siccome le mie lettere il più delle volte doppia posta e prendono loro e le aprono acciocché non possono trapelare le vostre determinazioni e non possono capire niente riguardo al bello ritratto che vi faccio della sua persona quando mi darete risposta non mi farete alcun motto di quanto vi dico e scrivetemi in modo risentito perché non vi spedisco questo lana facendone vedere la necessità e anzi sarebbe bene che di quando in quando scriveste a lui direttamente invitandolo a spedirvi una volta queste lane essendo ormai diventata una vergognosa pendenza.

In quanto mi dite che per essere privo dei miei ragguagli intorno agli acquisti lana è già molto tempo che non avete scritto al zio perché non sapevate cosa dirgliene per non avere si io che voi dispiaceri con lui nel dubbio che ci possa sfuggire la partita di Liova mi pare che gli poteste scrivere che la partita acquistata per suo conto ascendeva incirca da scudi 1800 a 1900 che per più di scudi 1400 ho dovuto rifiutare in diversi

villaggi per il motivo che la lana era così piena di quelle immondizie che chiamano colera che vi era un danno quasi della metà prima che fosse lavata e che per non pregiudicare i suoi interessi non ho voluto ricevere e che se fin ora non vi ho potuto dare li occorrenti ragguagli si era che fino adesso mi trovavo assente da Ismail. A vostra norma restava ancora in Baschioi scudi 140 lana e in Seglioglu scudi 60 soltanto accaparrata che vi spedirò al più presto che mi sarà possibile [...]

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

Allegato no. 4

Consolato Generale
di Sa Maestà Il Re di Sardegna
in Odessa,
no. 97

Odessa, il 12 dicembre 1853

Stefano Berzolese a sig. Maggiore Generale Cavaliere G. Dabormida, ministro segretario
del Stato per gli Affari Esteri, Torino

[...]

Fallimento Gagliardi,

Il signor, G. Gagliardi viceconsole a Ismail, mi diede avviso con lettera di 21 novembre, che il suo socio Giovanni Crassa si reco alcuni mesi or sono a Galatz, ove fece una vendita di grani, per i quali ha preso a sua insaputa un anticipazione di rubli argento 16000, e detta commissione non avendo potuto essere eseguita il tribunale di commercio d'Ismail lo dichiarò fallito per un passivo di rubli argento 20 000 circa rendendo il signor Gagliardi responsabile per la metà qual socio [...]

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

Allegato no. 5

Viceconsolato di Sa Maestà
il Re di Sardegna
in Ismail
No. 557

Ismail, il 6 marzo 1854

Giuseppe Gagliardi a Stefano Berzolese

Illustrissimo Signore,

Ho ricevuto con la posta in originale e in copia, che mi fu consegnato da questi signori Porro Pertica che il precedente di Lei foglio in data 11/23 febbraio p.p che mi fu cagione di grande dispiacere e rammarico in vedere le misure di rigore adottate contro di me, privandomi della mia carica, perché io mi conosco e sento di essere innocente dell'accaduto affare di Krassa.

Veramente mi aspettavo tutta altra ricompensa che, dopo avere di tanti anni dal 1827 in qua la nostra famiglia esercitato con decoro in Ismail l'impiego di viceconsole di Sua Maestà adesso dietro semplice riferita del console generale di Russia il lodato nostro

Ministero senza prendere alcuno schiarimento dell'affare, e sentire le mie giuste ragioni mi abbia reputato degno di essere sospeso delle mie funzioni.

Se è decoro del governo il rimuovere dal posto che occupa uno, che è conosciuto e convinto di avere agito falsamente e con inganno in simili materie altresì maggiore decoro è del governo e onore della patria il mantenere presentemente nella sua carica, e il sostenere con tutti i più energici, e possibile appoggi uno, che è innocente come sono io, che mi trovo perseguitato dai raggiri e cavilli del birbante mio socio, che cerca tutti i mezzi ingiusti e pretesti possibili per rovinarmi, e sarebbe un'ingiustizia e vergogna della nostra nazione rimovendomi in tal guisa dal mio posto, il dare una ingiusta soddisfazione al mio avversario che già da molto si vanta e gloria che colle sue suppliche tanto brigherà da farmi levare il viceconsolato; e giusto si è in forza di queste intriganti sue suppliche, che il Tribunale di commercio di Ismail, che è composto tutto di Greci, che non sanno vedere di buon occhio degli⁵⁶ italiani, e qualunque altro forestiero, volendo aderire alle ingiuste domande di un loro compatriotte, ne ha scritto in conformità al console generale di Russia in Genova che si facesse a chiedere all'autorità competente a nome del suo governo la mia dimissione; che credo di non meritarmi perché fino adesso ho goduto sempre di una buona opinione dal lato dell'onestà e non ho fatto mai presso di chicchessia alcuna cattiva figura, e ne tampoco non sono mai dimostrato indegno dell'onore della carica che copro.

Non è che sia stata da questo Tribunale di commercio dichiarata fallita la Ragione di commercio Gagliardi Crassa cioè, perché detto tribunale bene comprendeva che poteva mettervi a una tale decisione in una corresponsabilità,⁵⁷ essendo che non vi erano perdite alcune di sorta da poter far decidere detta Casa a presentare in detto tribunale il Suo stato attivo e passivo, sottoscritto da ambedue i soci, ma bensì i solo Crassa che non ha avuto rossore di fare una bancarotta dolosa, e che adesso vedendosi nel fango cerca invano di mettere in opera ogni mezzo illegittimo per triarvi mi anche a me; per il motivo che forse sono stato io la cagione per cui è stato scoperto agli occhi degli altri, fallito per aver io venduto il grano tenero da lui comprato con la moneta di mio fratello, Signor Lazzaro Gagliardi, che li aveva spedito a Odessa, in vista di impiegarla pel conto del medesimo in acquisti lane vendita che però non ho voluto eseguire di mia propria volontà, perché prevedevo che sarei andato incontro a dei gravi dispiaceri col mio socio, senza un ordine del detto mio fratello che ho cercato di provocare come la Sua Vostra Illustrissima vedrà dalle qui acchiuse copie delle mie lettere a detto mio del 1 e 7 settembre e che da lui ho ricevuto come ella potrà comprendere dalla copia della sua lettera in data 10 detto settembre, e dalla copia della sua conferma in data 17 detto e che io mi sono trovato in obbligo di eseguire ai 19 detto come ella potrà rilevare dalla copia della mia lettera dei 21, perché vedevo che detto mio fratello il quale si impegnava tanto a mia insinuazione sì con raccomandazioni all'estero, che coi suoi fondi all'avanzamento della nostra ditta, per la cattiva maniera di agire del mio socio, andava senza dubbio a rischio di essere ingiustamente sacrificato, e di perdere interamente il capitale che allora Crassa aveva a sue mani ascendente a più di Argento ruble 7000.

Spero che la Sua Vostra Illustrissima, vorrà prendere in considerazione le mie ragioni, e che per ciò si degnerà di interporre ivi Lei benigni uffizi, presso del ministero a mio favore, acciò venga a rinvocarsi la mia sospensione e rimessione dalle funzioni di

⁵⁶ di

⁵⁷ corresponsabilità

vice-console, che in questa circostanza conosco di non meritarmi, e anzi oso pregare la di Lei bontà a voler spedire una copia di detta mia istanza al prelodato suddetto ministero acciocché possa più evidentemente conoscere la mia innocenza in questo affare.

Tanto ho onore di umilmente esporle e profitto di questo incontro per rinnovare alla Sua Vostra Illustrissima i sensi di mia distinta stima e considerazione.

Di Lei obbligatissimo e devotissimo servitore,

Giuseppe Gagliardi

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

Allegato no. 6

Ismail, il 13
marzo 1854

Viceconsolato di S.M. il Re di Sardegna.
in Ismail
no. 558

Giuseppe Gagliardi al Ministro degli Affari Esteri di Sua Maestà il Re di Sardegna

Mi è forza credere che l'eccezionale Ministero degli affari esteri di Sua Maestà sia stato sorpreso ad accordare la mia sospensione e remozione dalle funzioni vice-consolari dalle reiterate istanze del console generale di Russia in Genova, perché altrimenti mi pare impossibile che avesse potuto decidersi ad acconsentire a una simile domanda senza prima prendere le necessarie e dettagliate informazioni dell'affare.

Siccome io in questa maniera ingiustamente mi trovo esposto alle soprachierie che mi potrebbero fare questi tribunali russi, che in vista di aver la facoltà di agire a loro piacimento contro di me hanno domandato la mia sospensione, così mi trovo necessitato di fare un analogo rapporto del successo al prelodato suddetto ministero affinché possa conoscere bene l'affare e possa da ciò comprendere che io non sono meritevole in questa circostanza di essere trattato della sorta, essendo che io non ho a rimproverarmi che abbia mai fatto qualcosa di indecente all'onore della carica che io copro.

Io in ottobre 1852 avevo fatto società con un certo Giovanni Crassa figlio di negoziante di 2^{da} classe con intelligenza, che io dovessi soltanto porre le mie fatiche, e tutte le cure possibili e le più grandi sollecitudini ad impegnarmi con la corrispondenza a procurare presso i miei amici all'estero un nome alla nostra nuova società, essendo che egli da per se solo era inabile a ciò procurarsi perché non era conosciuto da alcuno in nessuna piazza, e che in contraccambio egli dovesse porre il suo capitale, che mi faceva vedere in un bilancio ascendere fino a 13 000 rubli di argento, che poi in seguito si verificò, ma per mia sventura troppo tardi che erano tutte finzioni, giacché non solo non era possessore di un tale capitale, ma anzi aveva debiti più di argento rubli 7000 che non ebbe scrupolo di pagare, come tutto Ismail lo sa, dalle somme che egli riceveva da diversi in anticipazione delle vendite cereali che allora si facevano in Galatz e Ibraila sussistendo la nostra società.

Fino a che mi trovavo io in Ismail tutti gli affari andavano bene, perché io geloso di mio onore, non amando mai di fare delle cattive figure, non gli permettevo di fare niente di sua propria volontà, che fosse contrario alle regole commerciali e diversi contratti di vendita in cereali fatti con negozianti di Galatz puntualmente sono stati

eseguiti a dovere, perché erano consolidati dalla dovuta intelligenza e volere di ambedue. Quando poi nei mesi di maggio e giugno del 1853 dietro l'accordatomi permesso del console generale di Odessa mi dovetti assentare per affari da Ismail, detto mio socio si prevalse dell'occasione, e senza farmi di niente consapevole, che era di suo dovere, se ne andò in Galatz, e la fece diverse vendite in grani teneri e duri per li quali ha preso in anticipazione argenti rubli 16 000 circa, che si tenne a mia insaputa senza impiegarli e si mise in tasca; adesso questi in ottobre del medesimo anno ha fatto il suo fallimento. Io in questo affare sono del tutto innocente, giacché a mie mani non era mai niente di poter far congetturare che io era con lui di intesa del suo modo infame di agire, essendo che egli teneva e libri e corrispondenza della quale in ultimo volle occuparsi egli solo per nascondere meglio i suoi iniqui disegni, né tampoco io ho mai ricevuto dai compratori alcuna somma che possano dire le genti che io mi abbia trattenuto, o messo in borsa, essendo che la moneta presa in anticipazione e in saldo delle vendite da detti rispettivi compratori, si per mezzo di posta, che di occasioni sempre se la riscosse tutta il solo Crassa, l'operazione del quale si potrebbe qualificare del titolo di truffa e della quale cerca il birbante con intrighi di farmi partecipare alla responsabilità, della quale responsabilità però a giusto diritto mi sembra, che io non posso essere giudicato partecipevole perché fra di noi non vi fu alcun contratto di società né per pubblica né per privata scrittura, per cui figuri che un socio in tutto e per tutto si obbliga in solidum per l'altro, e che qualunque operazione che viene eseguita dall'uno dei due debba essere accettata e considerata come ben fatta dall'altro, né tampoco vi fu invio di circolari che vi è maggiormente consolidasse, e confermasse la nostra società, né giammai ho firmato alcun contratto di vendita che non fosse stato a suo tempo puntualmente eseguito, giacché l'ineseguiti furono quelli delle ultime vendite che fece il solo Crassa di suo proprio arbitrio in Galatz, delle quali per coprire il suo spirito di birbanteria egli non me ne informò mai né in scritto, né in parola.

Spero che questo mio rapporto, che qui mi fo un dovere per mia giustificazione di umilmente esporre sarà preso in buona considerazione dall'eccelso Ministero degli affari esteri di S.M, e che in conseguenza il Prelodato suddetto ministero si degnerà di giudicar conveniente di rivocare l'ordine dato di rimuovermi dalle funzioni vice consolari giacché se egli refuta conveniente al decoro del governo di allontanare dal posto che occupa uno, che è conosciuto e convinto di avere agito falsamente, e con inganno in simili materie, deve altresì refutar più conveniente al decoro del governo e all'onore della patria il mantenere presentemente nella sua carica, e il sostenere con tutti il più energici, e possibili appoggi uno, che è innocente, come mi conosco e sento di esserlo io, che mi trovo perseguitato dai raggiri e cavilli del birbante mio socio, che vedendosi nel cattive acque cerca tutti i mezzi e ingiusti pretesti per triarvici anche a me.

Il Reggio viceconsole di Sua Maestà,

Giuseppe Gagliardi

(AST, fondo Consolati nazionali, Odessa, mazzo IV, non numerato)

The Italian Merchants and Consuls at the Mouth of the Danube: the Gagliardos (abstract)

Numerous studies have been dedicated to the Italian Emigration in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea. In the first decades of the 19th century, commercial importance of these areas has imposed to Sardinian Foreign Ministry to set up, in addition to consular agency in Constantinople, a school of oriental languages, where some of the consuls established in Galați: Stefano Berzolese and Francesco Mathieu learned. This article makes an attempt to bring new information on the Italians settled in the Danube port cities: Galați, Ismail, and Braila. Relying upon consular reports found in National Archives of Turin, we tried to reconstruct fragments of commercial and consular activity of Gagliardo family. Its members were grain merchants in Ismail, Odessa, and Galați, were consuls for the Kingdom of Sardinia and for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and one of them, after naturalization, was elected in Moldavian *ad-hoc* Assembly.

Les premières présences roumaines à Montréal (fin du XIX^{ème}-début du XX^e siècle)

Daniel Florin Predoiu

Keywords: *Romanian & Jewish Emigration / Immigration; Bukovina; Montreal; Canada*

Reconstituer l'histoire des débuts de la communauté roumaine montréalaise représente un véritable défi pour le chercheur, confronté aujourd'hui à la fois au manque presque total d'informations sur le sujet – peu abordé jusqu'à présent – et à une certaine indifférence de la part des membres de la communauté par rapport à toute tentative sérieuse de recherche dans une telle direction. Pourtant, le thème ne devrait pas être sans intérêt, ni pour l'historiographie roumaine, ni pour les études ethniques canadiennes, traitant de l'établissement de la première vague d'immigrants est-européens au Québec et au Canada, à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle.

Quelques données statistiques

Il existe peu de données quantitatives sur les premiers Roumains montréalais. Bien que leur immigration commence timidement dans les deux dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle, **le premier recensement canadien qui en fait mention est celui de 1901**¹, qui dénombre 790 *personnes nées en Roumanie* et vivant alors au Québec², sur un total de 1.066 personnes nées en Roumanie et vivant dans l'ensemble du Canada (74% du total)³. Ceci nous permet d'affirmer que plus de deux tiers des immigrants en provenance du Royaume de Roumanie et arrivés au Canada autour de 1900 habitaient au Québec lors du recensement de 1901. Parmi ceux-ci, un nombre de 594 individus étaient de "nationalité" roumaine⁴, c'est-à-dire – selon l'usage qu'on donnait au Canada au concept de "nationalité" à l'époque⁵ –

¹ Malheureusement, le recensement de 1891 n'a pas pris en compte l'origine ethnique des répondants.

² Cf. le tableau *Lieu de naissance de la population par provinces*, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada, 1901, 1: Population*, Ottawa 1902, p. 417.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ Cf. le tableau *Nationalités*, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. 411.

⁵ Selon le commissaire spécial du recensement de 1901, Archibald Blue, "le mot *nationalité* signifie le pays auquel une personne doit allégeance" (cf. *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. XXIV).

devaient encore alléger au Royaume de Roumanie, le reste d'entre eux étant déjà naturalisés Canadiens⁶.

Les chiffres mentionnés plus haut, apparemment exactes⁷, demandent néanmoins beaucoup de précaution de la part de l'historien pour au moins deux raisons: elles ne font pas référence à l'origine ethnique des répondants et elles n'incluent pas nécessairement tous les immigrants roumains arrivés au Canada à l'époque. Ces deux aspects, très importants pour la démographie de la communauté roumaine montréalaise d'avant 1918, demandent d'être discutés ici plus en détail.

Pour ce qui est de l'origine ethnique, soulignons tout d'abord la définition donnée par les auteurs du recensement canadien de 1901 à cette notion, c'est-à-dire "mot qui signifie la race ou la tribu à laquelle une personne appartient ou dont elle descend"⁸. Dans cette perspective, le volume II du recensement de 1901, publié par le gouvernement d'Ottawa en 1902 et qui est la source officielle pour le décompte de la population canadienne du début du XX^e siècle, ne mentionne pas les Roumains en tant que population d'origine ethnique spécifique, ceux-ci y étant enregistrés sous la rubrique "origines diverses"⁹. Ce qui est pourtant intéressant c'est que – à la même époque – l'*Annuaire statistique du Québec* et l'*Annuaire statistique du Canada*, publient successivement, pendant plusieurs années, des extraits plus détaillés du même recensement canadien de 1901 concernant tout particulièrement la Belle Province et là, les Roumains apparaissent enfin – curieusement, eux et les Bulgares sont comptés ensemble¹⁰ – sous la rubrique "origine ethnique". On en dénombre ainsi 151 *personnes d'origine ethnique Roumaine* et Bulgare vivant au Québec¹¹ en 1901, sur un total de 354 personnes d'origine ethnique Roumaine et Bulgare vivant dans l'ensemble du Canada (43% du total)¹².

La deuxième raison pour laquelle le nombre des Roumains recensés en 1901 – tout comme en 1911, d'ailleurs – ne reflète pas nécessairement leur nombre réel tient au fait qu'une bonne partie des Roumains arrivés au Canada avant 1918 se

⁶ Car, selon le même commissaire, "toute personne dont la demeure est au Canada, ayant des droits de citoyenneté, soit par naissance ou naturalisation, appartient à la nationalité canadienne, quel que soit son origine et son lieu de naissance" (*Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. XXIV).

⁷ Parce que se référant surtout aux Roumains nés au Royaume de Roumanie et non pas aux Roumains de l'Autriche-Hongrie, qui allaient choisir par milliers à traverser l'Océan au début du XX^e siècle.

⁸ Archibald Blue, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. XXIV.

⁹ Cf. le tableau *Population par origines*, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. 284-285.

¹⁰ Il est difficile d'expliquer pourquoi les Roumains sont inscrits dans les tableaux publiés dans les deux *Annuaire statistiques* à côté des Bulgares, avec lesquels ils n'ont rien en commun, à part leur voisinage géographique. L'explication la plus proche de la réalité tient probablement à la mise en page des résultats du recensement canadien de 1901, leur petit nombre ne justifiant pas, aux yeux des éditeurs, deux rubriques différentes pour les deux ethnies.

¹¹ Voir le tableau *La population du Québec suivant l'origine aux divers recensements*, dans *Annuaire statistique de Québec, 1914*, Québec 1914, p. 67.

¹² Cf. tableau *Origines de la population du Canada en 1901 et 1911, son augmentation dans ces dix années et les proportions pour cent de la population*, dans *Annuaire du Canada 1912*, Ottawa 1914, p. 23.

déclarent encore à l'époque¹³ – et sont donc identifiés en tant que tels par les autorités canadiennes d'immigration – comme des sujets autrichiens ou "bucoviniens". C'est la raison pour laquelle certains d'entre eux doivent être "recherchés" dans les deux recensements, de 1901 et 1911, soit sous la rubrique "Ethniques nés en Autriche-Hongrie"¹⁴, indiquant leur pays de naissance, soit sous celle, indiquant leur région d'origine, d'"Ethniques Bucoviniens"¹⁵. Cela nous fait croire que le nombre total des Roumains vivant au Québec, et donc à Montréal, au début du siècle, était plus grand en réalité¹⁶ que celui mentionné par les statistiques officielles canadiennes dont nous disposons aujourd'hui¹⁷.

Ce nombre connaît une relative croissance jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale et cela grâce à deux facteurs: à la **natalité** de la population communautaire (phénomène sur lequel nous n'avons pas des données précises, donc impossible à mesurer) et à l'**immigration** (le principal facteur de croissance démographique pour la jeune communauté roumaine montréalaise jusque dans l'entre-deux-guerres).

Bien que nous ne disposions pas de chiffres annuels exacts pour les Roumains immigrés dans la région de Montréal de 1901 à 1914, nous connaissons – grâce à l'*Annuaire statistique du Canada* sur 1913, publié par le gouvernement fédéral en 1914¹⁸ – le nombre de personnes de "nationalité"¹⁹ Roumaine et

¹³ Étant donné leurs régions d'origine – la Bucovine et la Transylvanie – des provinces majoritairement roumaines, soumises jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale à l'Autriche-Hongrie.

¹⁴ Au Québec, le nombre de ceux-ci a été, par exemple, de 701 en 1901 sur un total de 28.407 personnes nées en Autriche-Hongrie, dans l'ensemble du Canada (cf. *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. 417). Bien que les recenseurs de 1901 se donnent la peine de mentionner que la population provenant de l'Autriche-Hongrie est très hétérogène, comprenant "les Bohémiens, Galiciens, Polonais et Slaves" (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 284-285), ils "oublient" les Bucoviniens, habitants de l'une des 18 provinces de l'Empire Austro-Hongrois.

¹⁵ Avant la Première Guerre mondiale, un seul recensement – celui de 1911 – a enregistré le nombre des "Bucoviniens" (personnes nées en Bucovine). Celui-ci était à l'époque de 9.960 personnes dans l'ensemble du Canada, soit 0,14% de la population canadienne. En 1901 les Bucoviniens étaient encore compris sous le terme générique de "Autrichiens" (cf. le tableau *Origines de la population en 1901 et 1911...*, dans *Annuaire du Canada 1912*, p. 23).

¹⁶ Voir dans ce sens l'affirmation de James S. Woodsworth, qui, en 1909, estimait la population de Montréal de la manière suivante: "An estimate of this foreign population of Montreal gives us the following: Jews, 40,000 to 45,000; Italians, 8,000 to 10,000; Chinese, 1,000; Syrians, 800 to 1,000, with a considerable number of Greeks and Roumanians and a sprinkling of almost all other nationalities" (cf. James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within our gates or coming Canadians*, Toronto 1909, p. 258).

¹⁷ Ce qui est sûr c'est que les recensements canadiens d'avant les années 1940-1950 doivent être traités avec beaucoup de précaution par l'historien, vu l'époque de leur réalisation. C'est pourquoi Charles H. Young écrivait déjà en 1931, en parlant du nombre des Ukrainiens établis dans les Prairies au début du XX^e siècle: "There are no reliable statistics as to the number of Ukrainians in Western Canada. The confusion in nomenclature, the faulty official classification and the incompetence of the census enumerators combine to leave us very much in the dark" (cf. C. H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians. A study in assimilation*, Toronto 1931, p. 11).

¹⁸ Cf. le tableau *Arrivés aux ports intérieurs et océaniques du Canada pendant les années fiscales 1901-1914*, publié dans *Annuaire du Canada 1913*, Ottawa 1914, p. 108-109.

“Bucovinienne”²⁰ arrivées aux ports intérieurs et océaniques du Canada durant la même période. Ce nombre évolue en quelque sorte de manière fluctuante, tel que montré dans le tableau I:

Année d'arrivée / Nationalité	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
Roumaine	152	551	438	619	270	396	431
Bucovinienne	---	---	1.759	1.578	1.123	1.355	229

Année d'arrivée / Nationalité	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Roumaine	949	278	293	511	793	1.116	1.504
Bucovinienne	2.145	1.546	725	700	328	687	1.549

Tableau I: Nombre des Roumains arrivés aux ports intérieurs et océaniques du Canada entre 1901 et 1914

Vu que les trois ports principaux par lesquels les Roumains – tous comme les autres Est-européens, d'ailleurs – pénétraient au Canada au début du XX^e siècle étaient les trois ports océaniques situés sur la côte Atlantique (la ville de Québec, celle de Halifax en Nouvelle-Écosse et celle de Saint John, en Terre-Neuve), Montréal représentait incontestablement pour tous ces gens sinon une destination finale, au moins leur principal lieu de passage vers l'Ouest canadien. Il est certain

¹⁹ Nous rappelons que le concept de “nationalité” fait référence à l'époque au pays envers lequel la personne devait allégeance (ou ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la “citoyenneté”) et non à l'origine ethnique de la personne recensée.

²⁰ Pour ce qui est de la “nationalité Bucovinienne”, telle qu'entendue par les recenseurs canadiens du début du XX^e siècle, il faut mentionner qu'elle fait référence aux personnes nées en Bucovine (l'une des provinces de l'Empire Austro-Hongrois, de population majoritairement roumaine, mai comprenant aussi diverses minorités ethniques, dont les plus importantes étaient les Juifs, les Allemands et surtout les Ruthènes/Ukrainiens), c'est-à-dire à toutes les ethnies habitant la Bucovine de l'époque, les Roumains y compris. D'où une certaine circonspection que l'historien se doit d'afficher envers de tels chiffres.

donc qu'une partie d'entre eux y ont élu domicile, sans qu'on puisse aujourd'hui en préciser le nombre exact.

De meilleurs renseignements sur la problématique qui nous intéresse ici nous sont fournis par le **recensement canadien de 1911**. Mieux structuré et comprenant plus de rubriques que celui réalisé dix ans auparavant, celui-ci nous fait part tout d'abord d'une importante croissance numérique quant aux *personnes nées en Roumanie*²¹ et établies au Québec avant cette date. Le nombre de celles-ci s'élève à l'époque à 3.697 personnes, sur un total de 7.991 personnes nées en Roumanie et vivant dans l'ensemble du Canada (46% du total)²². Pourtant, la plus intéressante conclusion qui se dégage de ces chiffres c'est que – comparativement à 1901 – l'immigration roumaine en sol canadien s'est diversifiée, de sorte que le Québec ne représente plus la province de destination par excellence des personnes nées en Roumanie et immigrées au Canada (seulement 46% de ces dernières habitant au Québec en 1911, par rapport à 74% en 1901), celles-ci choisissant de plus en plus d'autres provinces pour s'y établir (les Prairies, surtout).

Sur les 3.697 personnes nées en Roumanie et vivant au Québec au recensement de 1911 on comptait 1.927 hommes (dont 978 hommes déjà naturalisés canadiens et 949 étrangers) et 1.770 femmes (dont 1.009 femmes déjà naturalisées et 761 étrangères)²³. Pour ce qui est du nombre des personnes nées en Roumanie et habitant précisément la ville de Montréal en 1911, celui-ci était de 3.405 individus, dont 1.727 hommes et 1.678 femmes. Parmi les 1.727 hommes, 1.193 étaient des hommes âgés de plus de 21 ans, dont 641 déjà naturalisés canadiens et 552 étrangers²⁴.

Comme nous l'avons déjà souligné, le concept de personne "née en Roumanie" fait référence exclusivement, lors des recensements canadiens de 1901 et 1911, aux personnes nées sur le territoire du Royaume de Roumanie, peu importe leur origine ethnique²⁵, et n'inclut donc pas – pour des raisons objectives – les Roumains nés en Transylvanie et en Bucovine, des provinces appartenant à l'époque à l'Autriche-Hongrie. Si les enquêteurs du recensement de 1901 avaient choisi d'inscrire ces deux dernières catégories de Roumains sous la rubrique générale "personnes nées en Autriche-Hongrie", ce sera un peu différent dans le cas du

²¹ Cette fois-ci, les recenseurs utilisent les concepts de "lieu de naissance et citoyenneté" (qui remplace celui de "nationalité", utilisé en 1901), respectivement d'"origine" (cf. *Cinquième recensement du Canada 1911, II: Religions, origines, lieux de naissance, citoyenneté, instruction et infirmités, par provinces, districts et sous-districts*, Ottawa 1913, p. 1).

²² Cf. le tableau *Répartition de la population d'origine étrangère classifiée d'après le pays de naissance et par province, 1911*, publié dans le *Rapport spécial de la population née à l'étranger. Relevé des registres du cinquième recensement du Canada, juin 1911*, Ottawa 1915, p. 14-15.

²³ Cf. le tableau *Population d'origine étrangère dans la province de Québec, en 1911, classifiée d'après le pays d'origine*, dans *Annuaire statistique du Québec, 1917*, Québec 1917, p. 68.

²⁴ Ces derniers chiffres, faisant référence aux personnes nées en Roumanie et habitant la ville de Montréal, incluent aussi les Bulgares (cf. les tableaux *Lieu de naissance de la population des cités et villes de 7.000 et plus*, publié dans *Cinquième recensement du Canada*, p. 426 et *Nombre des hommes de 21 ans, d'origine étrangère, établis en 1911 dans les villes de 15.000 habitants ou plus et classifiés d'après leur citoyenneté et leur pays de naissance*, publié dans *Rapport spécial*, p. 42.

²⁵ Des Roumains d'origine juive surtout.

recensement de 1911. Ainsi, vu le grand nombre des personnes originaires de Bucovine et immigrées au Canada durant la première décennie du XX^e siècle, les recenseurs de 1911 ont choisi de créer une rubrique spéciale pour les *personnes nées en Bucovine*, toutes origines confondues²⁶. Ce qui fait que nous ne pouvons pas connaître le nombre exact des personnes nées en Transylvanie et immigrées au Canada à l'époque – celles-ci étant inscrites dans le recensement de 1911 sous la même rubrique qu'en 1901, de "personnes nées en Autriche-Hongrie"²⁷ – mais que nous pouvons savoir le nombre précis des personnes nées en Bucovine (toutes origines ethniques confondues) et ayant opté pour l'aventure canadienne avant 1911.

Ce nombre s'élevait en 1911 à 10.280 personnes, dont 6.164 hommes et 4.116 femmes²⁸, habitant pour la plupart les Prairies, la province de Québec accueillant seulement 92 de ces personnes, dont 67 hommes et 25 femmes²⁹. La ville de Montréal accueillait, quant à elle, selon le même recensement de 1911, seulement 87 personnes nées en Bucovine – dont 63 hommes et 24 femmes – sur un total de 470.480 personnes³⁰, ce qui représente moins de 1% de la population totale de la métropole montréalaise de l'époque.

Tout comme dans le cas du recensement de 1901, le recensement canadien de 1911 fait la différence, très importante, entre le pays de naissance de l'individu recensé et l'origine ethnique de celui-ci, définie comme "retracée par le père"³¹. Dans cette perspective, on compte 5.875 *personnes d'origine roumaine* au Canada en 1911³² – dont 4.334 hommes et 1.541 femmes³³ – pour 7.991 personnes nées en Roumanie et vivant au Canada à la même époque. Similairement, les 618 personnes d'origine roumaine vivant au Québec en 1911³⁴ – dont 542 hommes et 76 femmes³⁵ – ne représentent que 1/6 de 3.697 personnes nées en Roumanie et vivant dans la Belle Province lorsque le recensement a été réalisé. Pour ce qui est de la ville de Montréal plus spécifiquement, cet écart est encore plus grand, de sorte qu'en 1911 on y comptait seulement 253 personnes d'origine roumaine et bulgare³⁶ pour 3.405 personnes nées aux Royaumes de Roumanie et de Bulgarie et vivant dans la même métropole à l'époque.

²⁶ C'est-à-dire principalement pour les Roumains et les Ruthènes, mais aussi pour les Polonais, les Allemands, les Juifs, etc.

²⁷ Au Québec, le nombre de celles-ci a été (toutes origines confondues), de 3.860 en 1911 sur un total de 121.430 personnes nées en Autriche-Hongrie, dans l'ensemble du Canada (cf. le tableau *Répartition de la population d'origine étrangère classifiée d'après le pays de naissance et par province, 1911*, dans *Rapport spécial*, p. 14).

²⁸ Cf. le tableau *Lieu de naissance de la population par provinces*, dans *Cinquième recensement du Canada*, p. 440.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 442.

³⁰ Cf. le tableau *Lieu de naissance de la population des cités et villes de 7.000 et plus*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 426.

³¹ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. V.

³² Roumaine et bulgare (cf. le tableau *Origine de la population par districts*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 340).

³³ Cf. le tableau *Population par origines, hommes et femmes, par provinces*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 369.

³⁴ Roumaine et bulgare (cf. le tableau *Origine de la population par districts*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 340).

³⁵ Cf. le tableau *Population par origines, hommes et femmes, par provinces*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 369.

³⁶ Cf. le tableau *Origines pour les principales cités, 1911*, dans *Ibidem*, p. 372.

Il nous reste à discuter le cas des “Bucoviniens”, un de plus intéressants, vu que les recenseurs de 1911 font référence à ceux-ci non seulement en tant qu’individus “nés en Bucovine”, ce qui est parfaitement correct, mais aussi – étrangement³⁷ – en tant que *personnes d’origine Bucovinienne* (!). Comme il n’a jamais été question – pour aucun des pays qui a administré ce territoire tout au long de l’histoire, tout comme pour aucun anthropologue sérieux – d’une “ethnie bucovinienne”, il est difficile de comprendre en quoi, selon les autorités canadiennes de 1911, les 9.960 personnes d’“origine bucovinienne”³⁸ et habitant le Canada à l’époque du recensement, étaient-elles différentes de 10.280 personnes nées en Bucovine et vivant au Canada à la même époque. Ou pourquoi on comptait 120 personnes d’“origine bucovinienne” au Québec³⁹ et seulement 92 personnes nées en Bucovine dans la même province? Ou pourquoi encore y avait-il à Montréal en 1911, 87 personnes nées en Bucovine mais seulement 37 personnes d’“origine bucovinienne”⁴⁰? Qu’est-ce que d’“origine bucovinienne” signifie dans ce contexte? S’agit-il, en fait, des Roumains bucoviniens – tel que nous sommes enclins à le croire – et qui, étant donné leur ancienneté et leur majorité numérique en Bucovine, se déclarent d’origine “bucovinienne” ou s’agit-il d’une erreur flagrante des recenseurs canadiens, incapables de comprendre le contexte sociopolitique austro-hongrois/ bucovinien de l’époque? Difficile de répondre à une telle question, en nous basant seulement sur les données officielles canadiennes dont nous disposons aujourd’hui, données que nous avons essayées de résumer – pour une meilleure compréhension de la problématique discutée ici – dans les deux tableaux II et III:

Sources statistiques utilisées	Les recensements canadiens de 1901 / 1911			
	Personnes habitant...	au Canada	dans la province de Québec	à Montréal
Personnes...				

³⁷ Bien que l’ordre des organisateurs du recensement semble avoir été très clair à cet égard (« Pour les personnes nées dans le Royaume-Uni de l’Autriche-Hongrie, le recenseur doit prendre soin de donner les noms des provinces de naissance, savoir Autriche, Bohême, Hongrie, Galicie, etc. », cf. *Cinquième recensement...ed. cit.*, p. V), les recenseurs ne semblent pas avoir compris – probablement, par ignorance – que la Bucovine, en tant que l’une des 18 provinces de l’Autriche-Hongrie, était habitée par plusieurs populations, d’origines ethniques différentes et non pas par une seule ethnie, « bucovinienne ».

³⁸ Dont 5.514 hommes et 4.446 femmes (cf. le tableau « Population par origines, hommes et femmes, par provinces, dans *Cinquième recensement...ed. cit.*, p. 369).

³⁹ Dont 103 hommes et 17 femmes (cf. le tableau « Population par origines, hommes et femmes, par provinces », dans *Cinquième recensement...ed. cit.*, p. 369).

⁴⁰ Cf. le tableau « Origine de la population pour les principales cités, 1911 », dans *Cinquième recensement...ed. cit.*, p. 372.

nées au Royaume de Roumanie <i>(la Bulgarie confondue, dans le cas de Montréal)</i>	1.066 / 7.991	790 / 3.679	--- / 3.405
d'origine roumaine <i>(mais comprenant aussi celles d'origine bulgare)</i>	354 / 5.875	151 / 618	--- / 253
nées en Bucovine	--- / 10.280	--- / 92	--- / 87
originaires de Bucovine	--- / 9.960	--- / 120	--- / 37

Tableau II: Les Roumains au Canada, au Québec et à Montréal en 1901 et 1911

Source statistique utilisée	Le recensement canadien de 1911						
	Personnes habitant...	au Canada		dans la province de Québec		à Montréal	
Personnes...							
nées au Royaume de Roumanie <i>(la Bulgarie confondue, dans le cas de Montréal)</i>		7.991 dont		3.697 dont		3.405 dont	
		4.522 hommes	3.469 femmes	1.927 hommes	1.770 femmes	1.727 hommes	1.678 femmes
d'origine roumaine <i>(mais comprenant aussi celles d'origine bulgare)</i>		5.875 dont		618 dont		253 dont	
		4.334 hommes	1.541 femmes	542 hommes	76 femmes	S / O	S / O
nées en Bucovine		10.280 dont		92 dont		87 dont	
		6.164 hommes	4.116 femmes	67 hommes	25 femmes	63 hommes	24 femmes
originaires de Bucovine		9.960 dont		120 dont		37 dont	
		5.514 hommes	4.446 femmes	103 hommes	17 femmes	S / O	S / O

Tableau III: Les Roumains au Canada, au Québec et à Montréal en 1911

Comment interpréter finalement tous ces chiffres? Peut-être en soulignant d'abord et avant tout leur incapacité de fournir – à eux seuls – un tableau statistique précis de la communauté roumaine montréalaise du début du XX^e siècle. Deux

éléments supplémentaires nous aident cependant à mieux estimer le nombre des personnes d'origine roumaine, membres de cette communauté, pour la période d'avant la Première Guerre mondiale.

Le premier de ces éléments est représenté par les résultats du recensement canadien de 1921, celui qui enregistre pour la première fois – suite à la disparition de l'Autriche-Hongrie et à l'union de la Bucovine et de la Transylvanie à la Roumanie, à l'automne/hiver 1918⁴¹ – la plupart des Roumains établis dans la province de Québec, selon leur vraie origine ethnique. Cette fois-ci, leur nombre s'élève à 1.371 personnes⁴², dont 824 hommes et 547 femmes⁴³. La majorité d'entre eux – c'est-à-dire 1.026 personnes – habitent Montréal⁴⁴, le reste vivant soit dans les autres villes de la province (1 personne à Québec, 5 à Verdun et 5 à Hull, par exemple⁴⁵), soit dans les régions rurales du Québec.

Source statistique utilisée	Le recensement canadien de 1921					
	Personnes habitant...		dans la province de Québec		à Montréal	
Personnes...	<i>au Canada</i>					
<i>d'origine Roumaine</i>	13.470 dont		1.371 dont		1.026 dont	
	7.866 hommes	5.604 femmes	824 hommes	547 femmes	S / O	S / O

Tableau IV

Le deuxième élément auquel nous pourrions faire appel pour mieux estimer le total des Roumains montréalais d'avant la Grande Guerre, est représenté par le nombre des personnes nées en Roumanie et en Bucovine et arrivées dans les ports

⁴¹ La Bucovine a déclaré son union à la Roumanie le 15/28 novembre 1918, tandis que la Transylvanie a proclamé son union au Royaume de Roumanie le 18 novembre/1^{er} décembre 1918.

⁴² Vers le même chiffre – de plus d'un milliers de personnes d'origine roumaine habitant au Québec après la Première Guerre mondiale – penche Serban Drutz, qui dans son livre consacré aux Roumains de l'Amérique publié en 1922 à Chicago écrit: "Dans la province de l'Ontario il y a plus de 1.500 Roumains et Ruthènes, venus pour la plupart du nord de la Bucovine... Dans la province du Québec le nombre des Roumains approche celui de l'Ontario." (cf. Serban Drutz, *Românii din America*, Chicago 1922, p. 25).

⁴³ Sur un total de 13.470 personnes d'origine roumaine vivant dans l'ensemble du Canada, ce qui signifie que les personnes d'origine roumaine vivant en 1921 à Montréal, au Québec, représentaient environ 10% par rapport à toutes les personnes d'origine roumaine vivant au Canada (cf. le tableau *Origines de la population au Canada et dans la province de Québec, en 1921*, dans *Annuaire statistique de Québec*, 1923, Québec 1923, p. 30).

⁴⁴ Cf. le tableau *Origine raciale de la population de neuf cités de 60.000 âmes et plus, au recensement de 1921*, dans *Annuaire du Canada 1922-1923*, Ottawa 1924, p. 170.

⁴⁵ Cf. le tableau *Population recensée suivant l'origine dans les cités de la province de Québec dont la population dépassait 20.000 habitants en 1921*, dans *Annuaire statistique du Québec*, 1924, Québec 1924, p. 51.

océaniques et intérieurs du Canada durant les années 1915-1920 et dont la situation se présente telle que montrée dans le tableau V⁴⁶:

Année d'arrivée / Nationalité	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
<i>Roumaine</i>	361	4	4	---	---	21
<i>Bucovinienne</i>	72	---	---	---	---	---

Tableau V

Les deux éléments mis en évidence plus haut – c'est-à-dire le nombre des personnes d'origine roumaine habitant Montréal en 1921 et le nombre annuel, peu significatif, des personnes nées en Roumanie et entrées au Canada à l'époque de la Première Guerre mondiale (1915-1920) – corroborés aux autres données déjà mentionnées, nous permettent de dégager plusieurs conclusions par rapport à la situation démographique de la communauté roumaine montréalaise d'avant 1914. Essayons donc de résumer:

1. Étant donné les sources accessibles présentement, il nous est impossible de savoir le nombre précis des personnes d'origine roumaine établies à Montréal entre 1900 et 1914⁴⁷.

2. Les sources dont on dispose actuellement – plus précisément les recensements de 1901 et 1911 – nous donnent seulement des chiffres approximatifs pour les personnes d'origine ethnique roumaine habitant au Québec (Montréal y compris) à l'époque, le nombre total de ces personnes y étant cumulé et enregistré ensemble avec le nombre des personnes d'origine bulgare: 151 Roumains et Bulgares en 1901, respectivement 618 en 1911.

3. Bien qu'imprécises, les deux chiffres indiquent un accroissement évident de la population d'origine ethnique roumaine vivant dans la province de Québec avant 1914.

4. Si à tout cela on ajoute le nombre des personnes d'origine roumaine nées en territoire étranger – plus particulièrement en Autriche-Hongrie, mais aussi en Bessarabie, alors sous la domination russe – et qui déclarent à leur arrivée en sol canadien plutôt leur citoyenneté que leur origine ethnique, on réalise aisément que la communauté roumaine montréalaise comptait à l'époque un nombre relativement plus grand de personnes d'origine roumaine que les statistiques officielles canadiennes ne nous laissent savoir.

5. Il est vrai que nous ne connaissons pas le nombre précis des personnes d'origine ethnique roumaine vivant à Montréal avant la Première Guerre mondiale, mais il est tout aussi vrai que nous connaissons leur nombre pour la période immédiate succédant la Grande Guerre: ils en sont 1.076 en 1921.

6. Comme nous savons – statistiques et faits historiques à l'appui – que l'immigration canadienne en provenance des territoires habités par les Roumains (la

⁴⁶ Cf. le tableau *Arrivés aux ports intérieurs et océaniques du Canada pendant les exercices 1914-1920*, dans *Annuaire du Canada 1920*, Ottawa 1922, p. 124.

⁴⁷ Cette affirmation est valable aussi pour les personnes nées en Roumanie (peu importe leur origine ethnique) et arrivées au Québec durant la même période.

Roumanie et l'Autriche-Hongrie) ait atteint son apogée juste avant la Grande Guerre, pour cesser presque totalement durant les années 1915-1920⁴⁸, il nous est possible d'affirmer que le nombre des personnes d'origine roumaine habitant à Montréal en 1914 ne pouvait pas être de beaucoup inférieur à celui enregistré par le recensement canadien de 1921. C'est pourquoi *nous estimons que la communauté roumaine montréalaise devait compter autour de 850-900 personnes à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale.*

Régions d'origine versus origines ethniques

Nous avons insisté, à plusieurs reprises, sur les définitions données par les réalisateurs des recensements canadiens de 1901 et 1911 aux deux notions de "nationalité"⁴⁹ et "origine ethnique", applicables à tous ceux installés au Canada à l'époque. Cela, pour souligner l'idée – très importante dans le contexte qui nous intéresse – qu'une personne née sur le territoire du Royaume de Roumanie de l'époque⁵⁰ était de "nationalité" roumaine, mais pas nécessairement d'origine ethnique roumaine; similairement, qu'une personne née dans les parties orientales de l'Autriche-Hongrie (la Bucovine et la Transylvanie) pouvait être juridiquement de "nationalité" autrichienne, tout en étant d'origine ethnique roumaine.

Ces deux aspects sont essentiels pour la compréhension du phénomène migratoire roumain à Montréal d'avant 1914. Ils rendent compte tout d'abord du fait que le concept de "Roumain" pouvait renvoyer à l'époque à deux réalités différentes: au pays de naissance (la Roumanie, dont les citoyens étaient juridiquement des Roumains, sans être pour autant tous d'origine ethnique roumaine) ou à l'origine ethnique de l'individu, peu importe le pays de naissance de celui-ci. Par conséquent, ils expriment l'idée qu'il pouvait y avoir plusieurs pays/régions géographiques est-européennes d'où les Roumains montréalais de l'époque pouvaient être originaires.

Deux sont principalement les pays d'origine des premiers Roumains montréalais: la Roumanie et l'Autriche-Hongrie, de sorte qu'on pourrait parler de deux études de cas liés aux départs des Roumains de ces régions et aux contextes qui ont engendrés ces départs. C'est pourquoi nous allons les analyser tour à tour, avec ce qu'ils ont eu de particulier, en fonction du pays d'où ils se sont produits.

1. La Roumanie

⁴⁸ À cause de l'entrée de deux pays dans la guerre (en 1914, dans le cas de l'Autriche-Hongrie, respectivement en 1916, la Roumanie) et puis à cause du déroulement de la guerre sur le front de l'Est.

⁴⁹ Le concept de "nationalité" est compris ici dans le sens que lui donnaient les autorités canadiennes du début du XX^e siècle, celui de "citoyenneté", synonyme pour les mêmes autorités, à celui de "pays de naissance" et non pas dans le sens que lui donnait et lui donnent toujours les autorités roumaines, c'est-à-dire celui d'"ethnie"/"origine ethnique".

⁵⁰ Qui comprenait la Valachie, la Moldavie (les deux réunies le 24 janvier 1859 sous le nom de Roumanie) et la Dobroudja (rattachée à la Roumanie en 1878, suite au Congrès de Berlin).

Apparue sur la carte de l'Europe en janvier 1859, suite à l'union de la Moldavie à la Valachie, la Roumanie⁵¹ moderne (le Royaume de Roumanie à partir de 1881) jouit jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale d'une période de développement social, économique et politique sans précédent dans son histoire, qui aboutira à la réalisation de la "Grande Roumanie", à la fin de 1918. Ce développement extraordinaire n'a pu cependant annuler l'immense retard socioéconomique et culturel du pays par rapport à l'Europe de l'Ouest⁵². Contradictoires qu'en apparence, ces deux facteurs expliquent – chacun à sa façon – pourquoi l'Ancien Royaume⁵³ n'a pas connu, à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, le massif phénomène d'émigration paysanne vers l'Amérique du Nord⁵⁴, si répandu pourtant parmi les paysans roumains vivant de l'autre côté des Carpates, sous la domination autrichienne⁵⁵.

Cela ne veut pas dire que la Roumanie de l'époque n'a connu aucun phénomène migratoire. Pays d'immigration pour beaucoup de populations balkaniques depuis le Moyen-Âge jusqu'en 1877⁵⁶, les Principautés Roumaines – et ensuite la Roumanie – sont devenues vers la fin du XIX^e siècle un pays d'émigration pour toute une catégorie sociale: les Roumains d'origine juive.

Les Roumains d'origine juive

Bien que pour certains historiens leur origine en sol roumain remonterait "au temps les plus reculés de l'histoire"⁵⁷, la présence des Juifs dans les deux Principautés roumaines n'est attestée concrètement par les documents qu'à partir des XIV^e-XV^e siècles. C'est le moment où la Valachie accueille les premières vagues de Juifs sépharades, chassés de Hongrie par le roi Louis le Grand, tandis que la Moldavie reçoit les premiers Juifs ashkénazes, qui arrivent de Galicie et de Pologne⁵⁸.

⁵¹ "Les Principautés Unies de la Moldavie et de la Valachie", jusqu'en janvier 1862.

⁵² Ce retard n'était que la conséquence de la longue domination ottomane, exercée – parfois conjointement avec les Russes – sur les deux Principautés à partir du XV^e siècle et qui ne prendra véritablement fin qu'en 1878, au moment où la Roumanie verra reconnaître internationalement son indépendance totale par rapport à l'Empire Ottoman.

⁵³ L'appellatif sous lequel la Roumanie était désignée communément par les Roumains d'avant la Première Guerre mondiale, pour la différencier des autres provinces habitées par des Roumains et qui ne faisaient pas partie du Royaume (la Bessarabie, occupée par la Russie et la Bucovine et la Transylvanie, occupées, elles, par l'Autriche-Hongrie).

⁵⁴ Les quelques Roumains du Vieux-Royaume qui se sont lancés dans l'aventure nord-américaine ne l'ont pas fait en grand nombre, de sorte que leur départ a été passé inaperçu par la société roumaine de l'époque et donc n'a pas été enregistré par le mental collectif.

⁵⁵ Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria romanilor, de la origini până în zilele noastre*, Bucarest 1995, p. 206.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ Carol Iancu, *Les Juifs en Roumanie (1866-1919). De l'exclusion à l'émancipation*, Aix-en-Provence 1978, p. 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

Des commerçants pour la plupart⁵⁹ et encouragés par les privilèges qui leur ont été accordés par les princes moldo-valaques de l'époque, les nouveaux arrivants fondent assez rapidement toute une série de petites villes – appelées *târguri* – où vont s'installer et qui vont leur servir de centres d'échanges pour leurs marchandises⁶⁰. Avec le temps, le commerce de deux Principautés se déroulera principalement à travers leurs agences⁶¹, ce qui permettra aux Juifs de se tailler une place sociale importante en Valachie et en Moldavie, celle d'intermédiaires entre la paysannerie majoritaire, mais appauvrie et la classe des propriétaires terriens – les *boyards* – minoritaire, mais très puissante⁶². Toute cette évolution sociale aura comme conséquence l'apparition assez rapide, dans la société médiévale roumaine, d'un fort courant antijudaïste⁶³, qui prendra dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle – dans le contexte de l'éveil du nationalisme roumain – les formes évidentes de l'antisémitisme.

Le XVIII^e siècle est synonyme pour les deux Principautés Roumaines d'une forte augmentation du nombre des Juifs, surtout en Moldavie, suite aux appels successifs des princes Grigore Ghika et Constantin Mavrocordat pour le repeuplement des villes et des villages de la région, affectées par les conséquences des guerres russo-turques⁶⁴. Il semble pourtant que la plus grande vague d'immigration juive qui a touché la Moldavie a été celle de 1834-1849⁶⁵, un phénomène encouragé par les autorités et qui fera en sorte qu'en 1859 – au moment de l'union de la Moldavie à la Valachie – les Juifs moldaves représentent 9% de la population totale. Le nombre des Juifs est à ce moment-là de 135.000 personnes pour les deux Principautés. Suite à une forte croissance démographique⁶⁶, ce nombre s'élèvera en 1899 à 269.016 personnes, représentant 4,5% de la population totale du Royaume de Roumanie de l'époque (10,1% si on prend en compte seulement la Moldavie)⁶⁷.

Les Juifs en Roumanie avant la Première Guerre mondiale (1859-1916)
Évolution démographique⁶⁸

<i>Année du décompte</i>	1859	1876	1894	1899	1912	1916
Juifs roumains	135.000	218.304	243.225	269.016	239.967	230.000

⁵⁹ Dr. E. Schwarzfeld, *The Jews of Roumania. From the earliest times to the present day*, dans *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 5662, September 14, 1901, to October 1, 1902 (ed. Cyrus Adler), Philadelphia 1901, p. 29.

⁶⁰ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶¹ Dr. E. Schwarzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶² C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

⁶⁵ V. Georgescu, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁶⁶ Voir dans ce sens le tableau VI, *Les Juifs en Roumanie avant la Première Guerre mondiale*.

⁶⁷ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ Les sources utilisées pour la réalisation de ce tableau sont représentées par les ouvrages déjà cités de Vlad Georgescu (pour l'année 1916), Carol Iancu (pour les années 1859, 1899 et 1912) et par l'étude de 1901, citée elle aussi, du Dr. E. Schwarzfeld (pour les années 1876 et 1894).

Pourcentage par rapport au total de la population roumaine	3%	S / O	S / O	4,5%	3,3%	2,9%
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Tableau VI

C'est parmi ces personnes que se recruteront les premiers Roumains d'origine juive qui opéreront pour l'aventure nord-américaine, à la fin du XIX^e et au tout début du XX^e siècle, en ouvrant de cette façon le "boulevard" de l'Atlantique aux autres Roumains qui les suivront dans les décennies suivantes. La principale cause de leur départ est représentée incontestablement par le fort antisémitisme – officiel et non officiel – auquel ils devaient faire face à l'époque, un phénomène qui commence à s'affirmer en Roumanie de l'époque "de la manière la plus systématique, par un ingénieux ensemble de lois tendant à éliminer les Juifs et dont le résultat a été de déclencher une importante émigration"⁶⁹. À cette cause principale s'est ajoutée l'importante crise économique de la fin du XIX^e siècle qui a affecté aussi la Roumanie.

En 1901 déjà – à une époque donc où ce phénomène sociologique d'ampleur était encore en train de se dérouler – l'historien juif E. Schwarzfeld relatait de cette manière très intéressante le commencement de l'émigration des Juifs roumains vers Amérique du Nord, au début des années 1870:

"The impossible situation into which the Roumanian Jews have been put suggested to them the idea of emigration. It is a general scramble for safety, and the economic crisis of 1899 merely accentuated it.

The idea of emigration was for the first time thrown out in 1872. To the atrocities and barbarous persecutions of 1867-1870 – brutal expulsions from villages, annoyances of all kinds, and "noyades" – there were added in 1871, the riots of Kahul, Vilkov and Ismail, the end of which was the acquittal of the guilty and the condemnation of the Jews. Benjamin F. Peixotto, consul-general of the United States at Bukharest, in agreement with his friends in America, then requested the Roumanian government to countenance emigration to the United States. The government cynically assented, and had Prince Charles sign a decree accordind free passports to poor Jews who should leave Roumania. Few persons made use of them: about thirty families found their way across the sea. This was the beginning of Roumanian Jewish settlements in the United States."⁷⁰

Bien que peu significative au début, l'émigration des Juifs roumains vers l'Amérique du Nord s'intensifie rapidement vers la fin du XIX^e siècle à un tel point que les historiens parlent d'un "véritable exode" autour de 1900⁷¹. Le phénomène est confirmé d'ailleurs par les chiffres. En 1901 il y avait déjà environ 40.000 Juifs

⁶⁹ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁷⁰ Dr. E. Schwarzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85.

⁷¹ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

roumains aux États-Unis, dont 24.000 à New York⁷². Leur nombre augmentera à 67.301 en 1910⁷³ et à 125,214 en 1928⁷⁴.

Le Canada accueillera à son tour – mais dans une moindre mesure que les États-Unis – une partie de ces immigrants Roumains d'origine juive. Les sources confirment l'arrivée de près de 3.000 d'entre eux à Montréal en 1899⁷⁵. Trois ans plus tard, en janvier 1903, le consul général britannique à Galați⁷⁶, Trotter, informait ses supérieurs qu'à partir de 1900 – c'est-à-dire au cours de deux années seulement – 2.500 autres Juifs roumains avaient quitté la Roumanie pour le Canada⁷⁷. Une partie de ceux-ci vont s'établir à leur tour à Montréal – la plus grande métropole canadienne de l'époque – ce qui explique d'ailleurs le nombre important d'individus de "nationalité"⁷⁸ roumaine⁷⁹ qui y vivaient lors du recensement canadien de 1901 – 3.405 personnes⁸⁰. Ce chiffre impressionnant⁸¹ fait donc référence aux Roumains montréalais d'origine juive et non pas aux individus d'origine ethnique roumaine vivant à Montréal à l'époque, comme beaucoup de membres de la communauté roumaine montréalaise d'aujourd'hui aiment toujours croire. Il est vrai pourtant – admettent les historiens – qu'à l'époque on pouvait facilement "confondre" les Juifs, vu leur origine européenne et le fait qu'il parlaient une des langues parlée en Europe de l'Est, "avec la masse des Russes, des Polonais, des Roumains, des Italiens, des Ukrainiens ou des Galiciens qui s'engouffraient dans les bureaux d'immigration américains ou canadiens"⁸². Mais les mêmes historiens ne tardent de souligner que ce qui différenciat les Juifs immigrés en Amérique du Nord des autres immigrants est-européens, dont les Roumains, était – dans le cas des Juifs – leur passé différent, "lourd de rejets et de sévices de l'antisémitisme"⁸³.

⁷² D. M. Hermalin, *The Roumanian Jews in America*, dans *The American Jewish Yearbook*, 5662, September 14, 1901, to October 1, 1902 (ed. Cyrus Adler), Philadelphia 1901, p. 103. Ce nombre correspond d'ailleurs à ceux publiés par Carol Iancu dans son ouvrage déjà cité sur les Juifs en Roumanie, où on trouve mentionné (à la p. 260) le chiffre de 41.754 Juifs roumains, arrivés pour la plupart entre 1899-1904.

⁷³ Cf. le tableau *Immigrant aliens admitted by country of last residence, Roumania, and by races, 1881-1928*, dans Christine Avghi Galitzi, *A study of assimilation among the Roumanians in the United States*, New York 1929, p. 21.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ Jacques Langlais & David Rome, *Juifs et Québécois français. 200 ans d'histoire commune*, Montréal 1986, p. 267.

⁷⁶ Importante ville portuaire du sud de la Moldavie.

⁷⁷ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁷⁸ Nous ne reviendrons plus sur la définition donnée par les autorités canadiennes à ce concept au début du XX^e siècle.

⁷⁹ Et bulgare.

⁸⁰ Sur un total de 3.679 Juifs roumains dans l'ensemble du Québec. Voir plus haut, le tableau III.

⁸¹ Que beaucoup d'articles sur la communauté roumaine montréalaise citent avec une certaine fierté!

⁸² J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 53.

Il existe peu d'informations sur les Juifs roumains établis à Montréal au début du XX^e siècle⁸⁴. Leur histoire reste d'ailleurs à écrire. Originaires pour la plupart de Moldavie – la principale région du Royaume de Roumanie où était concentrée la communauté juive à la fin du XIX^e siècle – les nouveaux venus étaient majoritairement des Juifs ashkénazes⁸⁵, les Juifs sépharades⁸⁶ s'étant déjà presque tous assimilés à l'époque, en Roumanie⁸⁷. Étant donné leur région d'origine commune – la Moldavie – leur trajet migratoire était en quelque sorte identique pour beaucoup d'entre eux. Munis d'un passeport valide, émis par le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères roumain – passeport qu'ils ne pouvaient obtenir que très difficilement⁸⁸, grâce avant tout à une lettre de "bonne conduite" de la part du maire du village / de la ville où ils habitaient⁸⁹ – ils se dirigeaient "à pied et la plupart du temps en groupe, vers la frontière austro-hongroise"⁹⁰, où ils montaient dans les trains qui les amenaient dans les grands ports du nord de l'Europe⁹¹. De là, les

⁸⁴ En dépit de leur apport numérique significatif par rapport à l'ensemble démographique de la communauté juive montréalaise, au moins pour ce qui est de ses débuts.

⁸⁵ *Juifs et réalités juives au Québec* (eds. Pierre Anctil & Gary Caldwell), Québec 1984, p. 28.

⁸⁶ Les Juifs sépharades (de "Sepharad", le nom hébreu de l'Espagne) étaient à l'origine les descendants des exilés juifs d'Espagne et du Portugal. Par extension, le terme fait référence aux Juifs habitant les régions méditerranéennes, du Moyen-Orient et des pays arabes dont les communautés ont subi l'influence de la culture judéo-espagnole. Par contre, le terme de Juifs ashkénazes (du nom hébreu "Ashkenaz", donné par les Juifs aux territoires germaniques au Moyen-Âge), fait surtout référence aux Juifs européens, représentant plus de 95% de la population juive vivant à l'extérieur d'Israël (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 28).

⁸⁷ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Selon un rapport envoyé le 28 juin 1900 par L. Descos, premier secrétaire de la Légation de France à Bucarest, à son ministre, il semble que déjà à l'époque le gouvernement roumain "multipliait" les difficultés pour la délivrance de tels passeports, cherchant à enrayer le phénomène migratoire juif qui prenait de l'ampleur (rapport cité dans C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 256).

⁸⁹ Les photocopies d'un tel passeport et d'une telle lettre de "bonne conduite" nous ont été fournies par M. Adrian Ardeleanu, journaliste bien connu au sein de la communauté roumaine montréalaise d'aujourd'hui. Nous lui en sommes reconnaissants. Les deux documents sont émis en 1903 au nom de Gheorghe Ion V. Frentescu, né le 22 mai 1885 dans le village d'Epureni, du district de Falcui. Le passeport, émis par le Préfet du département de Falcui le 22 juin 1903 "au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi Charles I^{er} de Roumanie", était "valide pour aller-retour durant 11 mois" et a été utilisé (selon le visa austro-hongrois) pour un passage en Autriche-Hongrie le 25 juillet 1903. Il comprend aussi les signalements du détenteur. La lettre de bonne conduite, émise et signée par le maire du village d'Epureni le 6 juillet 1903, confirmait que "le jeune Gheorghe I. Frentescu, dont les signalements sont mentionnés sur le verso, est originaire de ce village et jouit d'une bonne conduite et d'une moralité exemplaires dans la société. C'est pourquoi nous lui avons délivré le présent Certificat". Il semble qu'après son arrivée à Montréal, Gheorghe I. Frentescu – dont on ne sait pas s'il était juif ou non – ait prit le nom de Georges Francesco (information fournie par M. Ardeleanu). Ses descendants vivent toujours à Montréal sous ce dernier nom, Francesco. C'est grâce à eux que M. Ardeleanu a pu obtenir, lors de ses recherches pour documenter un article, les photocopies de deux documents décrits plus haut par nous.

⁹⁰ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁹¹ Le port de Hambourg, en Allemagne, était l'endroit de passage par excellence pour une bonne partie des immigrants roumains de l'époque lors de leur voyage vers l'Amérique. Là, on les considérait comme des clients importants par les agences de transport maritime. La preuve nous en est fournie par les affiches publicitaires, faisant la promotion des voyages outre-Atlantique, très

bateaux les transportaient outre-Atlantique vers les grands ports canadiens: Halifax, Saint John's, Québec et Montréal. Parfois, certains d'entre eux passaient par New York pour continuer jusqu'à Montréal ou Toronto⁹². D'autres aboutissaient au Canada par hasard⁹³. D'ailleurs, au tout début, les États-Unis et le Canada ne formaient dans leur esprit, qu'"un tout indifférencié"⁹⁴. Cette vision réductrice de l'Amérique du Nord représentait essentiellement un "héritage" culturel, emporté par les Juifs roumains de leur pays natal, où – encore au début des années 1920 – les États-Unis et le Canada étaient "perçus comme un seul et même État"⁹⁵.

Une fois débarqués de leurs bateaux transocéaniques, la première préoccupation de nouveaux arrivants était de "dénicher une *jobbe*"⁹⁶ pour pouvoir vivre et se donner un digne statut social en terre canadienne. Bien que leur voyage avait été subventionné dans beaucoup de cas par les organisations juives internationales – dont "l'Alliance israélite universelle" était l'une de plus importantes – ces dernières n'étaient plus responsables du sort des Juifs roumains après leur arrivée à Montréal. Ceux-ci avaient alors le choix de demander l'aide de leurs proches déjà installés dans la grande métropole pour leur trouver un emploi ou, sinon, de demander conseil à leurs *landslayt*⁹⁷, c'est-à-dire à leur compatriotes juifs originaires tout comme eux, de la même ville / du même village de Roumanie et établis avant eux à Montréal.

Plusieurs options s'ouvraient dans ce contexte aux immigrants roumains d'origine juive, concentrés dès le début autour de la rue Saint-Laurent ("La Main")⁹⁸. La plus importante d'entre elles était celle de devenir – ou, dans certains cas, de continuer à travailler comme – tailleur. On sait par exemple que parmi les 9.288 artisans juifs émigrés de Roumanie aux États-Unis entre 1899 et 1904, le nombre le plus élevé – 3.071 personnes, c'est-à-dire presque un tiers – était représenté par les tailleurs⁹⁹. La même proportion de gens impliqués dans ce genre de métier a dû se retrouver plus ou moins parmi les Juifs roumains immigrés au Canada. Bien que peu

répandues en Roumanie du début du XX^e siècle. Le contenu d'un tel affiche: "En 6 jours en Amérique. Transport de personnes appartenant à toutes les couches sociales du monde. Demandez des conseils et des renseignements. Il suffit d'envoyer une carte postale. Nous vous répondrons en roumain. *Falk et Comp.*, la section roumaine. Hambourg, la rue Raboisen. no. 80" (l'affiche est reproduit dans Aurel Sasu. *Comunitatile romanesti din Statele Unite si Canada / Les communautés roumaines des États-Unis et du Canada*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 1).

⁹² J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

⁹⁵ S. Drutz, *op. cit.*, 1922, p. 9.

⁹⁶ Israël Medresh, *Le Montréal juif d'autrefois*. Sillery (Québec) 1997, p. 43.

⁹⁷ Les Juifs d'Europe de l'Est ne se considéraient pas tous des compatriotes. C'est pourquoi, après la famille élargie, l'unité identitaire de base de leur culture était la ville ou la localité d'origine. Les *landslayt* était donc les personnes les plus susceptibles de faire preuve de solidarité avec le nouvel arrivant, car ils étaient nés dans le même patelin que lui (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 43 et 260, pour l'explication).

⁹⁸ J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 54. D'origine anglaise, le terme "La Main" est devenu courant dans le langage des immigrants juifs montréalais pour désigner le boulevard Saint-Laurent.

⁹⁹ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

apprécié en Europe de l'Est à l'époque, le métier de tailleur jouissait au Canada du début du XX^e siècle d'un réel prestige, l'industrie du vêtement connaissant alors un véritable essor. C'est pourquoi beaucoup de Juifs immigrés à Montréal autour de 1900 vont s'y intéresser fortement¹⁰⁰.

Caractérisé essentiellement par le travail à la maison, le système de *sweatshops* montréalais – où la couture était “exécutée à domicile, par des femmes payées à la pièce, à des taux scandaleusement bas”¹⁰¹ et réduites, à cause du travail épuisant, au rôle des “simples machines”¹⁰² – deviendra rapidement une industrie¹⁰³ occupée majoritairement par des Juifs est-européens, parmi lesquels les Juifs roumains représentaient une large proportion. Ce qui explique en quelque sorte pourquoi – au moment où le mouvement syndical dans le domaine de la confection prendra de l'ampleur au Québec, dans l'entre-deux-guerres – l'un des plus grands leaders syndicaux dans ce domaine fut un Juif roumain, Joseph Schubert. Né en Roumanie en 1889 et immigré au Canada en 1903, à l'âge de 14 ans, Schubert fera aussi de la politique socialiste au Québec, devenant conseiller municipal du quartier Saint-Louis, de 1924 à 1940¹⁰⁴.

Le domaine de la confection n'est pourtant pas le seul dans lequel les Juifs roumains sont actifs au début du XX^e siècle. Un autre métier qu'ils ont du certainement exercer – au moins une partie d'entre eux – a été celui de *klaper* (cogneur aux portes), “à la solde d'un *customer peddler* (ou colporteur de marchandises)”¹⁰⁵. Il semble que ce genre de métier leur offrait la possibilité d'occuper ensuite, à leur tour, le même poste, de *customer peddler*, ce qui leur permettait par la suite de réaliser leur grand rêve, celui de devenir propriétaires de magasins / restaurants ou de commerce de gros.

Bien que nous ne savons pas si c'est ce même trajet professionnel qu'ils ont emprunté, nous connaissons au moins trois noms de Juifs roumains devenus

¹⁰⁰ I. Medresh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁰² L'annexe O du *Rapport de la Commission royale sur les relations entre le travail et le capital*, Ottawa 1889 (citée dans J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

¹⁰³ En 1911 les deux tiers des vêtements confectionnés au Canada provenaient de Montréal, principalement des manufactures juives du boulevard Saint-Laurent (cf. l'article *De la rue Sherbrooke à l'avenue Mont-Royal*, publié le 21 septembre 2008 et consulté par nous sur le site canadien [Cyberpresse.ca](http://www.cyberpresse.ca) [en ligne], <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:2G0SRCkx4B0J:www.cyberpresse.ca/dossiers/podcast-boulevard-saint-laurent/200809/21/01-22065-de-la-rue-sherbrooke-a-lavenue-mont-royal.php+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=21&hl=en&cl=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a>. (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹⁰⁴ I. Medresh, *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres*, Sillery (Québec) 2001, p. 123. Dans cette dernière qualité, de conseiller municipal, Joseph Schubert a fait construire un bain public pour les habitants et les travailleurs du quartier qui n'avaient pas d'eau courante ou qui n'avaient pas accès à des installations sportives. Rénové en 2000, le bain Schubert, situé à 3950 Saint Laurent, est aujourd'hui une piscine publique (cf. l'article *De la rue Sherbrooke à l'avenue Mont-Royal*, publié le 21 septembre 2008, déjà cité et consulté par nous en ligne le 12 août 2010).

¹⁰⁵ I. Medresh, *Le Montréal juif d'autrefois*, p. 44.

propriétaires de magasins / restaurants à Montréal durant la première moitié du XX^e siècle.

Il s'agit tout d'abord des Pascal, qui ont ouvert – vers 1901 – une vitrerie sur la rue de La Gauchetière¹⁰⁶. Mieux connu que le premier nom mentionné, celui de Reuben Schwartz est une véritable légende à Montréal. Originaire de Roumanie, Schwartz fait partie de cette galerie de Juifs est-européens – parmi lesquels Ben Kravitz, Myer Dunn, Deli Snowdon et Lesters – qui ont su changer à jamais le paysage culinaire montréalais¹⁰⁷. Fier héritier d'une longue tradition culinaire juive, Schwartz ouvre en 1928¹⁰⁸ son propre restaurant – appelé simplement *Schwartz* – sur la rue Saint Laurent. Composé simplement d'une "unique salle au plancher recouvert de tuiles blanches et contenant plusieurs rangées de longues tables étroites"¹⁰⁹, le *Schwartz* s'est fait un honneur de servir la même spécialité pendant plus de 80 ans: le *smoked meat*. Celui-ci est à Montréal ce que le *pastrami* est à New York ou le *corned-beef* à Toronto, c'est-à-dire une "véritable viande emblématique pour la ville"¹¹⁰. Comptant sur une ancienne méthode juive de préparer la poitrine de bœuf – celle-ci est salée, en la plongeant dans une saumure à base de sel, de sucre, d'herbes et d'épices¹¹¹ – le restaurant de Reuben Schwartz est devenu avec le temps un vrai monument montréalais¹¹², statut qu'il a su garder même après la mort de son fondateur, en 1971¹¹³. Légué par Reuben Schwartz à son associé – mort à son tour en 1981 – le *Schwartz* est aujourd'hui la propriété d'un important homme d'affaires qui préfère que son identité ne soit pas médiatisée¹¹⁴.

Moins connu que *Schwartz*, peut-être, mais situé sur la même rue Saint-Laurent, le restaurant montréalais *Moishes* doit son existence à un autre Roumain

¹⁰⁶ Jean Taranu, *Présence roumaine au Canada*, Montréal 1986, p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. l'article *Saveurs du Canada*, publié sur le site canadien *Saveurs du monde.net* [en ligne] <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:XdNfoZMdlQUJ:www.saveursdumonde.net/pays/cuisine-montreal/+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=35&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a> (Page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹⁰⁸ 1927, selon d'autres sources.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. le site officiel du restaurant, disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] http://www.schwartzsdeli.com/history_fr.html (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹¹⁰ Cf. l'article *Saveurs du Canada*, déjà cité.

¹¹¹ Cf. l'article *Smoked meat maison*, publié le 1^{er} décembre 2006 et consulté par nous sur le site canadien *Les gourmandises d'Isa*, disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:brvZbVcnFwJ:lesgourmandisesdisa.blogspot.com/2006/12/smoked-maison.html+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=4&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a> (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹¹² "Le meilleur endroit de la planète pour savourer une viande fumée authentique", selon le magazine *Time* (la citation est reproduite par le site canadien *Les gourmandises d'Isa*, déjà cité).

¹¹³ L'année du décès de Schwartz, mentionné dans l'article *Schwartz*, publié sur le site québécois *Cuisine du Québec* disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:sr_5XIHnl2gJ:www.cuisineduquebec.com/artisan/schwartz+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=79&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

d'origine juive: Moishe Lighter¹¹⁵. L'évolution sociale de ce dernier parle en quelque sorte des efforts faits par les premiers Juifs roumains montréalais pour accomplir en terre canadienne leurs rêves de jeunesse. Travaillant au début comme serveur dans ce qu'il allait devenir son propre restaurant, Moishe Lighter réussit à gravir les échelons, pour arriver finalement en 1938 à diriger l'établissement, qu'il appellera suggestivement *The Romanian Paradise*¹¹⁶. La spécialité qui consacrera pour toujours¹¹⁷ le nouveau restaurant: le *steak*. C'est pourquoi, quelques années plus tard, en pleine guerre, Moishe va redénommer son établissement *Moishes Steakhouse* ou tout simplement *Moishes*. Ce sera le nom qu'il gardera jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Outre le domaine de la restauration, où ils excellent dès le début, les Juifs roumains se manifestent aussi sur le plan social. Nous avons déjà mentionné dans ce sens les efforts de Joseph Schubert (1889-1952) en tant que conseiller municipal du quartier Saint-Louis¹¹⁸ pour construire en 1931-1932 – au coin du boulevard Saint-Laurent et de la rue Bagg – un bain public si nécessaire alors, étant donné les conditions hygiéniques de l'époque. Ses démarches ne se sont pourtant pas limitées à cette initiative, ses pressions envers la municipalité visant aussi l'obtention de certains droits sociaux pour ses concitoyens montréalais, dont l'établissement d'une journée de travail de 8 heures, d'un salaire minimum de 50 cents / heure, d'un fonds de pension, sans oublier par là ses efforts pour l'obtention des droits électoraux aux femmes¹¹⁹.

Schubert n'est pas seul dans ses démarches sociales. Bien avant lui, mais mené par les mêmes convictions avancées – favorables au concept d'hygiène corporelle, peu développé au début du XX^e siècle – un autre Roumain d'origine juive, Aaron Adler, projette en 1914 un bain public à Montréal¹²⁰, essayant d'y recréer "l'ambiance des bains de style turc"¹²¹, spécifiques à l'Europe balkanique du début du XX^e siècle. Érigé sur trois étages, à une époque "où il n'y avait pas de salle de bain dans les appartements"¹²², le *Bain Colonial* fonctionne encore aujourd'hui – bien qu'il approche le centenaire – au coin de l'Avenue Coloniale et de la rue Napoléon, étant géré présentement par les descendants du fondateur.

¹¹⁵ Cf. le site officiel du restaurant, page principale, disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:b0axq83MdkJ:www.moishes.ca/fra/museum.pnp+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=91&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a> (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁷ En 2008, le magazine *Forbes Traveler* a caractérisé le restaurant Moishes comme étant "l'un des meilleurs steak house au monde" (citation reproduite par le site officiel du restaurant sur la page consacrée à son histoire, disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] <http://www.moishes.ca/fra/story.php>. Page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹¹⁸ À l'époque, ce quartier incluait aussi la rue Saint-Laurent.

¹¹⁹ Pierre Ancil, *Saint-Laurent. La Main de Montréal*, Sillery (Québec) 1993, p. 56.

¹²⁰ C. l'article *Plus que des rencontres!*, publié le 18 décembre 2003 dans *Fugues* à l'adresse [en ligne]: http://www.fugues.com/main.cfm?l=fr&p=100_Article&article_id=3609&rubrique_ID=97 (page consultée le 12 août 2010).

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

¹²² *Ibidem*.

Tout comme Adler, qui peut être considéré un véritable précurseur de Schubert quant à ses préoccupations pour l'hygiène corporelle de ses concitoyens, H. M. Caiserman – un autre Roumain d'origine juive – devance Schubert de quelques années pour ce qui est de son implication dans le mouvement syndical montréalais. Né en Roumanie en 1884¹²³, Hannaniah Meier Caiserman étudie la comptabilité à l'Académie Commerciale de Bucarest, avant d'émigrer à Montréal en 1910¹²⁴. Imprégné par des "sympathies gauchisantes"¹²⁵ – conséquence du climat officiel de discrimination dans lequel les Juifs vivaient en sa Roumanie natale – Caiserman se consacre dès son arrivée à Montréal à deux objectifs précis. Le premier de ceux-ci était de soutenir le vaste prolétariat juif de la grande métropole canadienne, qui était en train de se syndicaliser à l'époque. C'est pourquoi il essaye en 1916 – après avoir dirigé déjà pendant deux ans, de 1912 à 1914, le syndicat des tailleurs juifs de Montréal¹²⁶ – de se lancer en politique, en tant que candidat du parti juif *Poale-Zion* ("Les travailleurs de Sion") dans le quartier Saint-Louis, militant pour des droits sociaux tels que la semaine de travail de 8 heures, l'abolition du travail pour les enfants et l'égalité de traitement pour les membres des groupes nationaux minoritaires¹²⁷. Défait, il aura plus de succès avec son deuxième projet, c'est-à-dire la création d'une organisation sociopolitique capable de représenter à tous les niveaux l'ensemble des Juifs vivant au Canada. Le Congrès juif canadien fut donc créé en 1919 suite principalement aux efforts de Caiserman¹²⁸, qui en fut choisi par ailleurs secrétaire général, poste qu'il gardera¹²⁹ jusqu'à sa mort, en 1950.

Le deuxième objectif poursuivi par Caiserman à l'époque est celui de mieux organiser la population juive montréalaise – très diversifiée au début du XX^e siècle – tant sur le plan culturel qu'éducationnel. Dans ce sens il commencera par être actif au sein des deux institutions d'enseignement juives fondées à Montréal à l'époque de son arrivée au Canada. Il s'agit de l'École Peretz – ouverte en 1911 et où les cours étaient donnés en yiddish, la langue des Juifs est-européens – et de l'École populaire juive – ouverte, elle, en 1913 et où l'enseignement était fourni plutôt en hébreu¹³⁰. Quelques années plus tard, en 1917, après que la Bibliothèque publique juive ait ouvert ses portes, Caiserman en fut élu président¹³¹. Cette dernière fonction développera chez lui un amour et un intérêt profond pour la langue yiddish, pour tous ceux qui écrivaient dans cette langue et pour les milieux artistiques où cette langue était communément utilisée, ce qui fera finalement de lui "un des meilleurs critiques

¹²³ I. Medresh, *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres*, op. cit., p. 46.

¹²⁴ Pierre Anctil, *Tur Malka. Flâneries sur les cimes de l'histoire juive montréalaise*, Québec (Sillery) 1997, p. 96.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

¹²⁸ Celui-ci avait établi – bien avant la création du Congrès – des contacts avec toutes les organisations juives canadiennes (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 83).

¹²⁹ Sauf pour quelques brèves interruptions, au début de son mandat (cf. I. Medresh, op. cit., p. 46).

¹³⁰ P. Anctil, op. cit., p. 81.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*.

littéraires dans le domaine des belles-lettres yiddish et un observateur attentif de toute la scène artistique yiddishophone¹³² montréalaise.

Actifs – on l’a déjà vu – sur les plans social, politique¹³³ et économique, les premiers Juifs roumains installés à Montréal au début du XX^e siècle ne se sont pas faits moins remarqués sur les plans spirituel et culturel. La synagogue *Beys David* (“La maison de David”) – dite “Roumaine” à l’époque, et située depuis 1890 à l’angle des rues Cheneville et de La Gauchetière, près du parc Dufferin¹³⁴ – a bien rempli le premier de ces deux rôles. L’histoire de cette synagogue rappelle en quelque sorte les avatars de la communauté juive montréalaise. Fonctionnant au début sur la rue Saint-Jacques en tant que synagogue hispano-portugaise, elle commencera à être fréquentée dès les années 1870 par la plupart des Juifs ashkénazes récemment arrivés de l’Europe de l’Est. Parmi ceux-ci, les Juifs originaires de Roumanie étaient de plus en plus nombreux, ce qui détermina ces derniers à acheter l’édifice de culte qu’ils fréquentaient majoritairement, celui-ci étant connu dès lors comme la “synagogue roumaine”¹³⁵.

Pour ce qui est des activités culturelles des premiers Juifs roumains montréalais, mentionnons tout d’abord ici le nom de Hirsch Hershman. Né en 1876 en Roumanie, Hershman émigre à Montréal en 1902, où il devient un des principaux initiateurs de la presse et de la littérature de langue yiddish au Canada¹³⁶. Plus encore: il ouvrira en 1905 la première librairie juive à Montréal et sera parmi les fondateurs de l’École Peretz (1913) et de la Bibliothèque publique juive de Montréal (1914)¹³⁷, deux institutions-clef dans la vie de la communauté juive montréalaise¹³⁸. Actif durant toute sa vie dans les milieux littéraires yiddish de la métropole, il fera carrière dans le journalisme et l’édition littéraire.

Tout comme Hershman, Louis Benjamin sera un autre nom présent fréquemment dans la presse yiddish montréalaise du début du XX^e siècle. Né en 1887 en Roumanie, Benjamin arrive toute jeune à Montréal, où il étudie à l’Université McGill. Collaborateur au *Keneder Odler* (“L’Aigle canadien”)¹³⁹ dès 1911, il publie des poèmes¹⁴⁰, des récits et des articles de fond dans toute la presse yiddish du Canada¹⁴¹.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 88.

¹³³ Une autre réussite importante sur le plan politique, mais correspondant à une époque plus tardive, est celle du Roumain d’origine juive Maurice Hart. Immigré de Roumanie en 1907, celui-ci deviendra membre du Parti Libéral et – dans cette qualité – député provincial de la circonscription de Montréal-Saint-Louis d’octobre 1939 à mars 1947 pour devenir ensuite député fédéral de la circonscription de Cartier, de mars 1947, jusqu’à son décès, en 1950 (cf. I. Medresh, *op. cit.*, p. 167.)

¹³⁴ *Idem*, *Le Montréal juif d’autrefois*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 62 et 64.

¹³⁶ *Idem*, *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres*, p. 41.

¹³⁷ *Idem*, *Le Montréal juif d’autrefois*, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹³⁸ Les deux institutions seront dirigées quelques années plus tard par H. M. Caiserman, que nous avons déjà mentionné.

¹³⁹ Quotidien de facture littéraire fondé à Montréal par les immigrants juifs est-européens dès 1907.

¹⁴⁰ Bien qu’il appartienne à une époque plus tardive que Louis Benjamin, Irving Layton est un autre poète roumain d’origine juive qui a marqué – peut-être encore plus que Benjamin – la culture

Finalement, quelques mots sur le théâtre yiddish, ce véritable phénomène culturel qui a marqué la société montréalaise du début du XX^e siècle et dont les débuts se retrouvent à Iasi, en Roumanie. C'est en effet dans cette ancienne capitale médiévale de la Moldavie que fut constitué en 1876 le premier théâtre professionnel juif au monde¹⁴², au moment où Avram Goldfaden¹⁴³ – considéré le père du théâtre juif moderne – commença à mettre “des répliques en yiddish dans la bouche des personnages typiquement est-européens”¹⁴⁴.

Ces prémisses, corroborées au fait qu'une bonne partie des Juifs montréalais¹⁴⁵ étaient originaires de Roumanie¹⁴⁶, ont contribué – il va sans dire – au succès fulgurant du théâtre yiddish à Montréal, dont la première représentation aura lieu en 1897 au “Monument national”¹⁴⁷. C'est dans cet édifice de la communauté, inauguré en 1893 en plein cœur du quartier juif et qui deviendra par la suite le symbole par excellence du théâtre yiddish, que seront jouées pendant des années la plupart des pièces yiddish, soit par des troupes locales, soit par des troupes juives est-européennes ou nord-américaines invitées dans ce but. Parmi les invités, on comptait souvent des anciens élèves de Goldfaden, nés ou formés en Roumanie – tels Joseph

canadienne du XX^e siècle. Né le 12 mars 1912 – sous le nom de Israël Pincu Lazarovitch – à Targu Neamt, une petite ville du nord-est de la Roumanie (région de la Moldavie), Layton émigre en 1913 avec ses parents à Montréal. Après des études dans la métropole, il décide de se consacrer à la poésie, se liant d'amitié avec d'autres poètes canadiens de son âge, dont John Sutherland. Leur objectif: créer une poésie canadienne originale, différente du style anglais et reflétant les réalités sociales de l'époque. Professeur du célèbre poète/compositeur Leonard Cohen. Réputé comme un formidable orateur. Officier de l'Ordre du Canada. Premier non-Italien ayant reçu un *Petrarch Award*, prix italien reconnaissant le talent d'un poète (cf. l'article *Irving Layton*, publié sur le site *Wikipedia*, version française, disponible à l'adresse [en ligne] http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:bEakw6ddkMYJ:fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irving_Layton+juif+roumain+montreal&cd=30&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=ca&client=firefox-a (page consultée le 14 août 2010).

¹⁴¹ I. Medresh, *Le Montréal juif d'autrefois*, p. 149.

¹⁴² C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁴³ Avram ou Abraham Goldfaden (1840-1908). Poète, dramaturge et compositeur de langue yiddish. Goldfaden est né sur le territoire de l'Ukraine d'aujourd'hui. En 1876 il déménage en Roumanie, d'abord à Jassy, ensuite à Bucarest, où il commence sa carrière, encouragé et aidé par Ion Ghica, le directeur du Théâtre National Roumain de l'époque. Dès 1880, sa troupe se produit partout en Russie, puis à Paris et Londres. Entre 1892 et 1896 il vit de nouveau à Bucarest, en Roumanie. En 1904 il émigre aux États-Unis, à New York. À sa mort, en 1908, le *New York Times* l'a appelé *the Yiddish Shakespeare* (cf. l'article *Abraham Goldfaden*, publié sur le site *Wikipedia*, version anglaise, à l'adresse [en ligne] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Goldfaden. Page consultée le 15 août 2010).

¹⁴⁴ I. Medresh, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ Selon Simon Belkin, l'auteur d'un ouvrage sur l'histoire des travailleurs sionistes au Canada de 1905 à 1920, paru à Montréal en 1956, “les Juifs montréalais étaient originaires avant tout de la Lituanie et de Roumanie” (cité dans P. Anctil, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

¹⁴⁶ C'est-à-dire de la région où le théâtre yiddish avait vu le jour et – par conséquent – très intéressés par les pièces présentées, dont les sujets touchait inévitablement leur région d'origine et leur condition sociale.

¹⁴⁷ I. Medresh, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Latteiner¹⁴⁸, Sigmund Mogulesko¹⁴⁹ ou Rudolph Schildkraut¹⁵⁰ – mais qui avaient connu ensuite le succès aux États-Unis.

Sources statistiques utilisées	Les recensements canadiens de 1901 et 1911, mais aussi d'autres sources (voir plus bas, les notes 151-158)	
Personnes habitant...	au Canada	dans la province de Québec
Personnes...		
<i>d'origine juive</i>	16.131 (1901) ¹⁵¹ 75.681 (1911) ¹⁵² , dont 47.861 nées à l'étranger et 27.820 au Canada ¹⁵³	7.607 (1901) ¹⁵⁴ 30.648 (1911), nées au Canada et à l'étranger, ensemble ¹⁵⁵
<i>d'origine juive, nées en Roumanie</i>	2.500 (1902), arrivées entre 1900 et 1902 ¹⁵⁶ 5.334 (1911) dont 2.697 hommes et 2.637 femmes ¹⁵⁷	3.000 (passés par Montréal en 1899) ¹⁵⁸ S. O. (1911)

Tableau VII: Les Juifs au Canada et au Québec en 1901 et 1911

2. L'Autriche-Hongrie

Le voisin occidental de la Roumanie¹⁵⁹ jusqu'à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale¹⁶⁰, l'Autriche-Hongrie est apparue sur la carte de l'Europe en février 1867,

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Latteiner (1853-1935), dramaturge de langue yiddish né en Roumanie. Initié au théâtre par Goldfadem, il fit carrière en Europe de l'Est, jusqu'à son départ pour les États-Unis, en 1884. Le théâtre yiddish lui doit plus de 80 pièces (cf. I. Medresh, *op. cit.*, p. 141).

¹⁴⁹ Sigmund Mogulesko (1858-1914). Acteur yiddish d'origine roumaine, immigré aux États-Unis en 1886 (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 144).

¹⁵⁰ Rudolf Schildkraut (1862-1930). Né à Istanbul, élevé en Roumanie, il étudia les arts de la scène à Vienne. Établi aux États-Unis, où il apparut surtout dans des productions de langue allemande et anglaise (cf. *Idem*, *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres*, p. 52).

¹⁵¹ Cf. le tableau *Populations par origine*, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. 285.

¹⁵² Cf. le tableau *Origines par district*, dans *Cinquième recensement du Canada*, p. 333.

¹⁵³ Cf. le tableau *Juifs d'origine étrangère établis au Canada, classifiés d'après leur pays d'origine et leur citoyenneté, 1911*, publié dans le *Rapport spécial*, p. 32.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. le tableau *Populations par origine*, dans *Quatrième recensement du Canada*, p. 353.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. le tableau *Origines par district*, dans *Cinquième recensement du Canada*, p. 337.

¹⁵⁶ C. Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. le tableau *Juifs d'origine étrangère établis au Canada, classifiés d'après leur pays d'origine et leur citoyenneté, 1911*, publié dans le *Rapport spécial*, p. 32.

¹⁵⁸ J. Langlais & D. Rome, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

suite au “compromis austro-hongrois”, par lequel François-Joseph I^{er}, l’empereur de l’Autriche fut couronné aussi roi de Hongrie. Deuxième État européen en superficie à l’époque¹⁶¹, le nouveau pays compte parmi ses 18 provinces deux provinces habitées par une population majoritairement roumaine: la Transylvanie et la Bucovine.

Bien qu’elles se retrouvent à partir de 1867 à l’intérieur du même État, les deux provinces – qui comptent en 1910 plus de 3.200.000 Roumains, représentant 6,4% de la population totale de l’Empire austro-hongrois¹⁶² – n’ont pas connu nécessairement la même évolution historique, ni avant, ni après le “compromis dualiste”.

Partie intégrante du royaume de Hongrie dès sa fondation (XI^e siècle) et jusqu’au XVI^e siècle, la Transylvanie passe en 1526 – suite à la bataille de Mohács – sous la suzeraineté ottomane. Elle gardera ce statut jusqu’en 1699, lorsqu’elle tombera – suite à la cinquième guerre austro-turque (1683-1699), conclue par le traité de Karlowitz – sous la domination autrichienne, devenant un grand-duché de l’Empire d’Autriche. Lorsque “le grand compromis” austro-hongrois se réalisera en 1867, elle sera de nouveau annexée à la Hongrie, statut qu’elle gardera jusqu’à son union au Royaume de Roumanie, en décembre 1918. En 1910 la Transylvanie compte 5.548.363 habitants, dont 53,8% des Roumains, 26,6% des Hongrois et 6,8% des Allemands¹⁶³.

Contrairement à sa voisine transylvaine, la Bucovine fait son “entrée” dans l’“Histoire” d’une manière totalement différente. En fait, elle n’“existe” même pas en tant que réalité historique jusqu’en 1775, au moment où la partie septentrionale de la Principauté de la Moldavie – État fondé au XIV^e siècle à l’est des Carpates et soumis dès le XVI^e siècle à la suzeraineté ottomane¹⁶⁴ – est cédée par la Turquie aux Autrichiens¹⁶⁵, qui vont l’appeler “la Bucovine”¹⁶⁶. La raison invoquée par les

¹⁵⁹ Les deux pays étaient séparés par la ligne des Carpates.

¹⁶⁰ État plurinational, l’Autriche-Hongrie va s’effondrer à la fin de 1918, suite aux luttes pour le droit à l’autodétermination des peuples qui la composait.

¹⁶¹ S’étendant sur plus de 676.000 km².

¹⁶² Selon les résultats officiels du recensement réalisé cette année-là par les autorités autrichiennes (cf. les tableaux *Nationality totals in the Empire in 1910* et *Nationality totals in approximate percentages*, publiés dans Robert A. Kann, *The multinational Empire. Nationalism and national reform in the Habsburg monarchy. 1848-1918*, II: *Empire reform*, New York 1964, p. 305).

¹⁶³ Cf. l’article de I. Adam, *La structure de la population de Transylvanie du point de vue des recensements hongrois de 1900 et 1910*, publié dans *Populație și societate. Studii de demografie istorică* (ed. Ștefan Pascu), 3, Cluj 1980, p. 99-103.

¹⁶⁴ À côté de la Valachie et de la Transylvanie, la Moldavie représente le troisième pays habité par des Roumains au Moyen-Âge. Avec la Valachie, elle formera au XIX^e siècle la “noyau” de la Roumanie moderne. La Transylvanie leur sera rattachée à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale.

¹⁶⁵ L’histoire des événements qui ont mené à l’annexion de la Bucovine par l’Autriche en 1775, dans Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Bucarest 1991.

¹⁶⁶ Avant 1775, les Roumains appelaient cette région richement boisée du nord de la Moldavie *Tara fagilor* (“Le Pays des hêtres”), sans que cette dénomination géographique ait aucun connotation politique. Le terme slave de “Bucovine” ne représente en fait que la traduction du terme germanique *Buchenland* – donné par les nouvelles autorités autrichiennes à la région – lequel a la même signification que le terme originaire roumain: “Pays des hêtres” (cf. Mircea Grigoriuț, *Din istoria colonizării Bucovinei*, Bucarest 1996, p. 22).

occupants pour justifier cette annexion: la région leur était indispensable en tant que "couloir de passage" entre deux autres provinces qu'ils contrôlaient déjà, la Transylvanie et la Galicie¹⁶⁷.

Incorporée peu de temps après son annexion au grand duché de Galicie – époque où elle commencera à subir un long processus de colonisation, qui ne prendra fin qu'en 1918¹⁶⁸ – la Bucovine obtiendra en 1849 une certaine autonomie de la part de l'empereur François-Joseph I^{er}, moment à partir duquel elle deviendra à son tour l'un des grands duchés de l'Empire des Habsbourg. En 1867 pourtant, après le "grand compromis" austro-hongrois, elle sera incorporée à la *Cisleithanie*, c'est-à-dire à la partie "autrichienne" de l'Empire, contrairement à la Transylvanie, qui fera partie, elle, de la *Transleithanie*¹⁶⁹, la partie "hongroise" de l'Empire. La Bucovine gardera ce statut jusqu'en novembre 1918, lorsqu'elle proclama son union à la Roumanie.

Les deux provinces austro-hongroises dont on a résumé l'histoire plus haut – c'est-à-dire la Bucovine et la Transylvanie – représentent le lieu d'origine, et en même temps de départ, pour la majorité absolue des individus d'origine ethnique roumaine émigrés en Amérique du Nord au début du XX^e siècle. Bien que la Transylvanie ait constitué – étant donné sa superficie et sa population, beaucoup plus grandes que celles de la Bucovine – le lieu de départ par excellence des Roumains établis en Amérique du Nord avant la Première Guerre mondiale, nous allons nous concentrer ici sur l'émigration des Roumains bucoviniens. Cela, non seulement parce que le cas des Roumains transylvaniens immigrés aux États-Unis est beaucoup plus connu aujourd'hui, grâce aux plusieurs travaux qui leur ont été consacrés¹⁷⁰, mais surtout parce que très peu d'entre eux ont choisi – contrairement à leurs confrères bucoviniens – d'émigrer à l'époque au Canada et plus particulièrement à Montréal.

Les Roumains de Bucovine

C'est avec eux que commence véritablement l'immigration d'origine roumaine au Québec, au début du XX^e siècle. C'est pourquoi les Roumains originaires de Bucovine peuvent être considérés sans contredit les "fondateurs" de la communauté roumaine montréalaise. Le moment de leur arrivée en sol canadien ne peut pas être toutefois reconstitué sans comprendre le contexte socioéconomique et politique qui caractérisait la Bucovine de la fin du XIX^e siècle.

¹⁶⁷ L'une des plus grandes provinces de l'Empire Austro-hongrois, la Galicie a été longtemps une région-tampon, une zone de passage et un carrefour de cultures, entre l'Empire des Habsbourg et l'Empire Russe. Elle est partagée actuellement entre la Pologne et l'Ukraine.

¹⁶⁸ Pour les aspects essentiels de ce processus voir M. Grigoriuț, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹⁶⁹ Ces deux grandes régions de l'Empire étaient séparées par la rivière Leitha, d'où leurs noms (cf. Jean Béranger, *L'Autriche-Hongrie, 1815-1918*, Paris 1998, p. 91).

¹⁷⁰ Parmi ceux-ci citons seulement trois, au hasard: Christine Avghi Galitzi, *A study of assimilation among the Roumanians in the United States*, New York 1929; Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and strangers. Italians, Rumanians and Slovaks in an American city, 1890-1950*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1975 et Kenneth A. Thigpen, *Folklore and the ethnicity factor in the lives of Romanian-Americans*, New York 1980.

“Noyau” de l’état médiéval moldave¹⁷¹, la Bucovine – ce territoire est-européen¹⁷² dont la superficie ne dépasse 10.440 km² – connaît après son occupation par les Autrichiens, en 1775, une politique forcée de colonisation qui la transformera dans un siècle et demi dans ce qu’un géographe français appelait suggestivement en 1925 “la limite du peuplement roumain”¹⁷³. Encouragée pour multiples raisons par les autorités impériales autrichiennes, cette politique – favorable surtout à deux minorités ethniques, les Ruthènes¹⁷⁴ et les Juifs¹⁷⁵, aura finalement comme conséquence le changement du rapport ethnique à l’intérieur de la région. Le recensement de 1861¹⁷⁶ enregistra ainsi pour la première fois le déclin démographique des Roumains, qui n’étaient plus majoritaires dans l’ensemble de la Bucovine, le Nord de celle-ci – proche de la Galicie, où vivaient alors la plupart des Ruthènes – étant de plus en plus ruthénisé¹⁷⁷. Ce processus s’accroît vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, de sorte qu’“en 1900 l’élément roumain ne représentait plus que 40 pour cent de la population totale de la province”¹⁷⁸.

Évolution démographique de la Bucovine, depuis son annexion par l’Autriche (1775) jusqu’à son union à la Roumanie (1918)¹⁷⁹

Année de chaque recensement autrichien	Population de la Bucovine	Roumains	Ruthènes ou Ukrainiens	Allemands, Arméniens, Juifs, Magyars, Polonais, etc.
1774	71.750	52.750	15.000	4.000
1779	116.926	87.811	21.114	8.000
1786	135.494	91.823	31.671	12.000

¹⁷¹ Ce n’est pas sans raison qu’un professeur français remarquait déjà à la fin du XIX^e siècle: “c’est Radautz (ville de Bucovine) qui garde le tombeau du fondateur de cet État (moldave), Bogdan Dragosch” (cf. Bertrand Auerbach, *Les races et les nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, Paris 1898, p. 189).

¹⁷² Partagé aujourd’hui entre la Roumanie (le sud) et l’Ukraine (le nord).

¹⁷³ C. Girard, *Le peuplement de la Bucovine*, dans *Annales de Géographie*, Paris 1925, 34, no. 189, p. 229.

¹⁷⁴ Habitant surtout la Galicie au XIX^e siècle, les Ruthènes sont un groupe ethnique dont l’identité ethnique est controversée aujourd’hui. Pour certains chercheurs ils représenteraient une ethnie différente des Russes, Ukrainiens et Biélorusses, tandis que pour d’autres, ils ne représentent qu’un sous-groupe de la nation ukrainienne (cf. l’article *Ruthènes*, publié sur *Wikipedia*, version française et consulté par nous à l’adresse [en ligne] <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruth%C3%A8nes> (page consultée le 15 août 2010).

¹⁷⁵ Les premiers cherchant des nouvelles terres à cultiver, les deuxièmes fuyant les persécutions subies en Galicie (cf. C. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 232).

¹⁷⁶ Voir plus bas, le tableau VIII, *Évolution démographique de la Bucovine (1775-1918)*.

¹⁷⁷ Les deux ethnies principales dans la région à partir du milieu du XIX^e siècles, les Roumains et les Ruthènes se sont évidemment beaucoup influencés réciproquement, ce qui détermine Auerbach à écrire en 1899: “Les Ruthènes de Bucovine sont de type mélangé, ils sont souvent roumanisés, comme les Roumains sont slavisés” (cf. B. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 191).

¹⁷⁸ C. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

¹⁷⁹ Source: I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

1848	377.571	209.293	108.907	59.381
1851	378.536	184.718	142.682	51.136
1861	456.920	202.655	170.983	83.282
1869	511.964	207.000	186.000	118.364
1880	568.453	190.005	239.690	138.758
1890	642.495	208.301	268.367	165.827
1900	730.195	229.018	297.798	203.379
1910	794.942	273.254	305.101	216.474

Tableau VIII: Évolution démographique de la Bucovine (1775-1918)

À la fin du XIX^e siècle, la Bucovine est donc “un rendez-vous des peuples”¹⁸⁰. Outre les Roumains et les Ruthènes, qui “se disputent la majorité”¹⁸¹, la province compte un bon nombre des Allemands et des Juifs, sans oublier les minorités moins importantes¹⁸², dont les Arméniens, les Magyars et les Polonais. Bien qu’elle connaisse une certaine prospérité, que les historiens attribuent à l’excellente administration impériale, la Bucovine reste une région arriérée¹⁸³, où le capitalisme européen (allemand et viennois) ne pénètre que vers 1900¹⁸⁴. C’est d’ailleurs après cette date seulement qu’on y assiste à un début de révolution industrielle¹⁸⁵, qui ne touchera pourtant qu’une infime partie de la population, le reste continuant de travailler dans l’agriculture.

Principales confessions en Bucovine, selon le recensement autrichien de 1910 ¹⁸⁶						
Religion	<i>Orthodoxes</i>	<i>Catholiques romains</i>	<i>Greco-catholiques</i>	<i>Juifs</i>	<i>Autres religions</i>	Grand total
Total	547.603	98.565	26.182	102.919	25.629	800.898

Tableau IX: Les principales confessions en Bucovine en 1910

Parmi ceux qui bénéficieront de la prospérité connue par la province à la fin XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, les Juifs – qui comptent alors pour 1/8 de la population¹⁸⁷ – représentent la proportion la plus importante. Habitant surtout les villes – où leur nombre s’élève parfois à 30% de la population¹⁸⁸ – ils s’occupent surtout du commerce¹⁸⁹, mais certains d’entre eux dirigent aussi des banques et des

¹⁸⁰ Bertrand Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹⁸¹ *Idem*.

¹⁸² Mais dont le nombre est de plus en plus important.

¹⁸³ Par rapport à d’autres provinces autrichiennes et surtout par rapport à l’Europe Occidentale.

¹⁸⁴ J. Bérenger, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁸⁵ Ce début prometteur sera rapidement annulé par le commencement de la Première Guerre mondiale. À côté de la Galicie, la Bucovine sera alors l’endroit par excellence où se dérouleront beaucoup de combats entre les Russes et les Autrichiens, avec des conséquences néfastes pour son économie locale.

¹⁸⁶ Source: I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

¹⁸⁷ Voir le tableau X, *Les principales confessions en Bucovine en 1910*.

¹⁸⁸ C’était le cas de la capitale de la Bucovine, Cernautzi (cf. C. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 232).

¹⁸⁹ En 1912 il y avait, par exemple, en Bucovine 8.600 commerçants juifs contre 444 commerçants roumains (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 232).

grandes entreprises industrielles¹⁹⁰. En dépit de ce statut social élevé, ils ne jouissent pas – au moment de l'éveil des nationalismes dans la province – d'un traitement équitable de la part de la majorité de la population, soit-elle roumaine ou ruthène, ce qui les pousse à émigrer – tout comme leurs confrères de Roumanie – vers l'Amérique du Nord. Ils vont déclencher ainsi en Bucovine ce qu'on a appelé suggestivement “la fièvre de l'émigration”¹⁹¹, dont s'imprégneront par la suite les Ruthènes, suivis par les Roumains. Dans cet ordre.

Pourquoi? Tout d'abord parce que les Ruthènes colonisés en Bucovine étaient originaires pour la plupart de la Galicie voisine, tout comme beaucoup des Juifs bucoviniens, et ensuite parce que les deux ethnies – Ruthènes et Juifs – habitaient pour la plupart le Nord de la Bucovine¹⁹², contrairement aux Roumains, qui étaient restés majoritaires au Sud¹⁹³. D'où un certain rapprochement culturel plus marqué entre les Juifs et les Ruthènes.

Peut-on évoquer dans ce contexte – sociologiquement parlant – un certain processus culturel d'“imitation” du comportement migratoire juif, dans le cas des Ruthènes et par la suite dans celui des Roumains de Bucovine? Oui, dans la mesure où un tel phénomène migratoire que celui connu par l'Europe de l'Est à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle – et dont les vecteurs principaux seront les Juifs – ne pouvait laisser indifférent les Roumains bucoviniens. Pourtant, répondre seulement par le positif à la question posée plus haut, serait de répondre de manière partielle. Cela, parce que – outre un certain contexte commun qu'ils partagent avec les deux autres ethnies importantes de la Bucovine – les Roumains y sont confrontés à des réalités sociopolitiques et économiques spécifiques, auxquelles ils doivent trouver des solutions particulières. Et si ces solutions – dont l'émigration – coïncident avec celles trouvées par les autres ethnies avec lesquelles ils cohabitent, tant mieux!

Mais quelles sont ces réalités spécifiques qui poussent les Roumains de Bucovine à émigrer? Et en quoi sont-elles si différentes de réalités vécues par les Roumains du Royaume de Roumanie, étant donné que ces derniers n'ont pas senti à l'époque le même désir de partir vers l'Amérique?¹⁹⁴ Répondre à ces deux questions c'est indiquer en fait les causes de l'émigration des Roumains bucoviniens, à la fin du XIX^{ème} et au début du XX^e siècle.

Ces causes – étroitement entremêlées – sont à la fois de nature politique, sociale et économique. **Politiquement**, les Roumains de Bucovine ne sont plus – depuis un siècle et surtout après leur grave déclin démographique, commencé après l'annexion de leur province par les Autrichiens – les maîtres de leur destin et cela pèse lourdement à l'époque de l'éveil des nationalismes en Europe de l'Est. Obligés de se soumettre au gouvernement de Vienne, ils doivent accepter sans pouvoir rien

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹¹ Radu Toma, *Românii din America*, Bucarest 1974, p. 22.

¹⁹² C'est-à-dire les départements de Cernautzi, Cotzmani, Vascautzi, Vijnitza et Zastavna.

¹⁹³ C'est-à-dire dans les départements de Campulung, Gara Humorului, Rădăuți, Siret, Suceava et Vatra Dornei, le département de Storoginetz, situé au milieu, étant habité conjointement par des Roumains et des Ruthènes.

¹⁹⁴ Bien qu'ils cohabitaient à leur tour – surtout en Moldavie – avec beaucoup de Juifs impliqués dans le processus migratoire qui caractérisait l'Europe de l'Est de l'époque.

faire un fort processus de dénationalisation, au profit des autres minorités ethniques qui habitent alors la Bucovine. Contrairement à leurs compatriotes vivant librement dans l'“Ancien Royaume” ou à ceux vivant en Transylvanie, sous la domination hongroise, ils ne peuvent s'appuyer – pour être défendus – ni sur l'État, ni sur leur nombre, ni sur leurs élites¹⁹⁵, trop faibles pour faire quoi que ce soit de concret pour les aider.

Sur le plan **social**, les Roumains bucoviniens se retrouvent dans la position pénible d'“isolés”. Isolés dans les villes, où ils ne représentent plus qu'une petite minorité¹⁹⁶, isolés spatialement – car concentrés dans la partie méridionale de la Bucovine – ils se retrouvent isolés aussi géographiquement, car poussés par l'incessante croissance démographique des autres minorités vers les régions montagneuses de la province¹⁹⁷. Plus encore: contrairement à certaines opinions, selon lesquelles à la fin du XIX^e siècle la Bucovine aurait vu naître un soi-disant “*home bucoviniensis*”, doté d'une identité et d'une fierté provinciales communes qui auraient servi de liant entre les différentes ethnies locales¹⁹⁸, les historiens ont souligné qu'entre les Roumains et les Ruthènes, les deux principales ethnies habitant la Bucovine de l'époque, il n'y avait rien de commun, à part la religion orthodoxe et même là! “Cette communauté [de religion] – écrivait Auerbach en 1898 déjà – est toute doctrinale: elle ne se retrouve ni dans la liturgie, ni dans la langue; les clergés ne fraternisent, pas plus que les fidèles et la religion, dans ce qu'elle a de plus visible et temporel, ne sert pas de lien [entre les deux ethnies]”¹⁹⁹.

De cet isolement social et culturel découle aussi un certain isolement **économique**. Évoluant dans un contexte économique dominé par les Allemands et les Juifs, les Roumains se voient obligés de travailler – tout comme les Ruthènes – dans le seul secteur économique qui leur reste disponible et qui leur est connu: l'agriculture²⁰⁰. Là encore, le relief montagneux et le climat défavorable leur fait la tâche difficile, les mettant de nouveau en infériorité par rapport aux Ruthènes, qui occupent, eux, des sols plus propices à l'agriculture. Vu les circonstances, les Roumains pratiquent alors une agriculture rudimentaire, intensive et non pas extensive, réduite à leurs principaux besoins. C'est le seul métier qu'ils connaissent à l'époque et celui (“*farm labourer*”) que la plupart d'entre eux vont déclarer comme profession envisagée à leur entrée au Canada.

Nous connaissons donc le contexte dans lequel le phénomène migratoire des Roumains bucoviniens vers le Canada commence à se manifester, à la fin du XIX^e et

¹⁹⁵ Parmi celles-ci, mentionnons les grandes familles Flondor et Hurmuzaki, l'historien Dimitrie Onciul (1856-1923) et le poète national roumain, Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889).

¹⁹⁶ C. Girard, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹⁹⁷ “Tandis que les Roumains restaient groupés dans les régions montagneuses et de collines, riches en pâturages et en forêts, les Ruthènes s'installaient dans la partie septentrionale de la Bucovine, là où s'étend, jusqu'à l'horizon, la steppe fertile, mais monotone”, écrivait C. Girard en 1925 pour y ajouter “dans les régions accidentées, les Roumains dominent nettement” (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 230).

¹⁹⁸ Opinion d'Emmanuel Turczynski, citée et combattue par Mircea Grigoroviță, *op. cit.*, p. 41-43.

¹⁹⁹ B. Auerbach, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁰⁰ L'agriculture occupait 4/5 de la population de la Bucovine à la veille de la Première Guerre mondiale (cf. J. Bérenger, *op. cit.* p. 103).

au début du XX^e siècle. Quelques détails enrichissent ce tableau de fond. Ainsi, la construction – par le gouvernement autrichien – de tout un réseau de chemins de fer, reliant la capitale de la Bucovine, Cernauti à Vienne, dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle²⁰¹, facilitera le déplacement des premiers émigrants roumains. L'apparition des premiers "bureaux d'émigration", ouverts dans la capitale de la province vers 1900²⁰² – dont celui de *Canadian Pacific*²⁰³ – ne fera que contribuer elle aussi au bon déroulement du processus migratoire. Tout comme les grandes compagnies de transport maritime occidentales, dont certaines avaient à l'époque des filiales ouvertes sur le territoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Parmi celles-ci, citons celles utilisées directement par les Roumains bucoviniens pour arriver au Canada: *Falk & Co.*, située à Hambourg et qui offrait des voyages vers le Canada et l'Argentine; *Holland-America*, de Rotterdam, offrant des voyages à New York et au Canada et qui avait un bureau ouvert à Budapest; *P. Canon*, d'Anvers, qui vendait ses billets par correspondance, offrant des voyages pour New York, Buenos Aires et Halifax et finalement la *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, du Havre et ayant elle aussi un bureau à Budapest, pour des voyages au Canada et à New York²⁰⁴.

Outre ces compagnies dont les bateaux allaient directement au Canada, facilitant ainsi le voyage des émigrants roumains, ces derniers utilisaient aussi les services de trois autres compagnies maritimes qui reliaient l'Europe aux États-Unis (par les ports de New York, de Boston, de Philadelphie et de Portland, situés tous sur la cote Est de l'Amérique). De là, les émigrants bucoviniens étaient transférés sur d'autres bateaux, qui les transportaient finalement au Canada. Ces trois compagnies étaient la *F. Missler*, de Bremen, en Allemagne, *Hamburg-America Line*, siégeant au port allemand de la Mer Baltique et la compagnie austro-hongroise-américaine *Adria*, siégeant à Budapest²⁰⁵.

Ceci dit, il nous reste à préciser le moment exact du début du phénomène qui nous intéresse ici. Malheureusement, ce moment est impossible à établir avec exactitude, étant donné les informations dont on dispose aujourd'hui. Outre le fait qu'elles sont très lacunaires, ces informations – de provenance roumaine, surtout – ne citent aucune source crédible²⁰⁶. C'est pourquoi nous avons dû faire appel – lors de nos démarches de reconstitution des débuts de la communauté roumaine montréalaise – à des sources de premier main, représentées par les registres originaux des passagers se trouvant sur les bateaux arrivés d'Europe de l'Ouest au Canada et aux

²⁰¹ Pour la construction du réseau de fer en Bucovine et sa connexion avec celui de l'Empire, voir I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 305-306, mais aussi J. Bérenger, *op. cit.*, p. 93-94.

²⁰² I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

²⁰³ R. Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem.*

²⁰⁶ Le meilleur exemple dans ce sens est représenté par le livre de J. Taranu, *Présence roumaine au Canada*, déjà cité, le seul ouvrage qui traite – malheureusement, très superficiellement – des débuts de la communauté roumaine de Montréal et qui n'a rien de scientifique.

États-Unis, à la fin du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle, registres gardés assez scrupuleusement à l'époque par les autorités nord-américaines d'immigration²⁰⁷.

Selon ces registres, les premiers Roumains bucoviens débarquent à Montréal²⁰⁸ au cours de la dernière décennie du XIX^e siècle, en tant que "citoyens autrichiens", de passage – pour la plupart – vers l'Ouest canadien²⁰⁹, qui est leur ultime destination. Étant donné qu'à l'époque les registres canadiens de débarquement ne consignaient encore que le pays d'origine de l'immigrant débarqué au Canada, sans indiquer l'origine ethnique de celui-ci, il est très difficile aujourd'hui d'identifier ces personnes d'origine ethnique roumaine parmi les autres groupes ethniques – des slaves pour la plupart, dont les Ruthènes de Galicie étaient les plus nombreux – surtout que leurs noms étaient orthographiés phonétiquement²¹⁰, selon la manière dont l'officier canadien d'immigration qui les enregistrait, les transcrivait.

Nous ne savons pas ainsi si cette Maria Novac²¹¹, de 30 ans, qui débarque à Montréal le 22 mai 1893 – à côté d'autres personnes originaires d'Europe de l'Est ayant voyagé sur *Baumwall*²¹², mais dont l'origine ethnique n'est pas mentionnée – est vraiment d'origine roumaine ou pas²¹³. Mais nous pensons que le nom d'Ignat Dimitrean²¹⁴ – débarqué à Montréal deux ans plus tard, le 13 juin 1895 – ne laisse pas beaucoup de doutes quant à son origine ethnique. Âgé de 35 ans, celui-ci se déclare citoyen autrichien, voyageant sur *Canadia* accompagné par sa femme, Sofia, de 29 ans et sa fille, Ana, de 9 ans et ayant comme destination finale Winnipeg, dans la province de Manitoba²¹⁵.

²⁰⁷ Ces registres ont été numérisés intégralement, tant par les Canadiens que par les Américains et sont disponibles virtuellement depuis quelques années aux adresses [en ligne] www.ancestry.com et www.ancestry.ca. Moyennant certains frais, n'importe quel chercheur peut les consulter. Pourtant, leur consultation n'est facile qu'en apparence, la plupart des noms des immigrants roumains étant difficilement retrouvables, car ils ont été mal orthographiés (ou orthographiés phonétiquement) par les autorités d'immigration de l'époque. De plus, une partie (heureusement, pas la majorité!) de ceux qui nous intéressent ont été recensés comme des citoyens autrichiens (ou – dans quelques cas – comme des Ruthènes / Galiciens / Russes et même Hongrois, étant donné la proximité de la Bucovine avec ces régions), sans qu'on indique toujours leur origine ethnique.

²⁰⁸ Ou dans les autres ports canadiens de la côte Est de l'Amérique (Québec, Halifax, Saint John), ayant toutefois comme destination finale Montréal.

²⁰⁹ L'établissement des premiers Roumains de Bucovine dans l'Ouest canadien avait déjà commencé une décennie plus tôt, vers 1880, l'Ouest canadien représentant d'ailleurs la première région du Canada où les immigrants Roumains se sont établis.

²¹⁰ Et en utilisant des lettres différentes de celles employées par la langue roumaine pour reproduire les sons que les noms / prénoms en question contenaient.

²¹¹ Écrit Novak.

²¹² Son nom apparaît parmi les passagers de *Baumwall*. Voir le site www.ancestry.ca, à l'adresse <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1893.05.Baumwall.5&sid=&gskw&dnyref=1> (page consultée le 24 août 2010).

²¹³ Nous savons, par contre, qu'elle s'était embarquée soit à Hambourg, en Allemagne (le cas le plus probable), soit à Anvers, en Belgique et que sa destination finale était Montréal.

²¹⁴ Écrit Ignatz Demitrean.

²¹⁵ Les noms des trois Dimitrean apparaissent parmi les passagers de *Canadia*, à l'adresse [en ligne]: <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1895.06.Canadia.4&sid=&gskw&dnyref=1> (page consultée le 25 août 2010).

Ces premières présences roumaines en sol montréalais sont suivies rapidement par d'autres les années suivantes, bien que – tout comme pour les premiers noms cités – il nous serait impossible d'affirmer avec certitude qu'il s'agit dans tous ces cas des individus d'origine ethnique roumaine. Mentionnons ainsi les noms d'Ivan Danciu²¹⁶, 55 ans et d'Alexandru Ciomei²¹⁷, 31 ans, voyageant tous les deux sur *Christiania* et arrivés à Montréal le 30 avril 1896²¹⁸. Si pour le premier nom il peut y avoir des doutes concernant son origine ethnique, Alexandru Ciomei ne peut être que d'origine Roumaine²¹⁹ – ruthenisé, probablement²²⁰ – car ce patronyme se retrouve à plusieurs reprises dans les registres des paroisses roumaine et bucovinienne de Montréal, au début du XX^e siècle.

Sur le même bateau qu'Ivan Danciu et Alexandru Ciomei, *Christiania*, se trouve aussi Ana Lacusta²²¹, de 20 ans. Originaire d'Autriche²²², celle-ci voyage seule et a comme destination finale Winnipeg, au Manitoba. Tout comme Prokop Ciomei²²³, de 29 ans²²⁴, qui arrive à Montréal quelques mois plus tard, le 15 octobre 1896 sur le même bateau *Christiania*, en provenance de Hambourg²²⁵. Sur *Christiania* voyagera aussi au cours de la même année 1896, Maria Nichiforiuc²²⁶, 26 ans, débarquée à Montréal le 18 août 1896 et ayant comme destination finale Edmonton, en Alberta, où se trouvait déjà son mari²²⁷.

À partir de 1897 le nombre des personnes d'origine ethnique roumaine arrivées à Montréal – de passage ou pour s'y établir – va se multiplier, bien que souvent les noms de celles-ci soient encore erronément associés à d'autres ethnies

²¹⁶ Écrit Danczuk.

²¹⁷ Écrit Czorny.

²¹⁸ Leurs noms apparaissent parmi les passagers de *Christiania*, parti de Hambourg (avec escale à Anvers) et arrivé à Montréal au printemps 1896. Voir pour cela l'adresse [en ligne]: <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1896.04.Christiania.5&sid=&gskw&dnref=1> (page consultée le 25 août 2010).

²¹⁹ Outre le fait que le nom Ciomei est assez répandu en Roumanie, il vaut la peine de mentionner ici le nom du grand éditeur roumain Scarlat Ciomei, propriétaire de la célèbre maison d'édition bucarestoise de l'entre-deux-guerres, *Naționala Ciomei*.

²²⁰ Ce qui explique pourquoi il est mentionné comme "Galicien".

²²¹ Écrit Anna Lakusta. Pour la mention du nom d'Ana Lacusta, voir l'adresse citée plus haut (note 218).

²²² C'est-à-dire de l'Empire austro-hongrois, mentionné toujours (en anglais) par les autorités canadiennes de l'époque comme "Austria".

²²³ Écrit Prokop Czorny.

²²⁴ Probablement, une parenté d'Alexandru Ciomei, mentionné plus haut.

²²⁵ Pour cela, voir les listes des passagers arrivés le 15.10.1896 sur *Christiania*, à l'adresse [en ligne]:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1896.10.Christiania.2&sid=&gskw&dnref=1> (page consultée le 26 août 2010).

²²⁶ Écrit Nikiforuck.

²²⁷ Pour l'arrivée de Maria Nichiforiuc et la mention de la présence de son mari à Edmonton, voir l'adresse:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1896.08.Christiania.3&sid=&gskw&dnref=1> (page consultée le 26 août 2010).

est-européennes. Mentionnons quelques cas. Il y a tout d'abord Teodor Lacusta²²⁸, de 40 ans, lequel débarque à Montréal avec sa femme Ana et son fils Nicolae le 19 août 1897, après avoir voyagé sur *Armenia* de Hambourg, via Anvers, jusqu'au Canada²²⁹. Sa destination finale: Lake Dauphin, au Manitoba. Vers la même destination se dirigeront Anton Hnatiuc²³⁰, 49 ans, et sa famille, arrivés à Montréal au même moment et avec le même bateau²³¹.

Tout comme les Hnatiuc, les Voronca seront des noms connus pour toute la communauté roumaine montréalaise de l'entre-deux-guerres. Mais, tout comme dans le cas des Hnatiuc, les premiers Voronca mentionnés par les documents, sont ceux établis dans l'Ouest canadien et pour lesquels la ville de Montréal n'a représenté qu'un lieu de passage. C'est le cas, par exemple, de Nicolae Voronca²³², lequel – parti avec sa femme et ses cinq enfants de Hambourg – arrive à Montréal le 2 mai 1897, ayant comme destination finale Winnipeg²³³. Il fera ce voyage outre-Atlantique sur le même bateau – *Arcadia* – que les frères Rosca²³⁴, Nicolae, 35 ans et Vasile, 37 ans, qui se dirigeaient eux aussi vers la même destination manitobaine²³⁵.

Le même constat que celui qui implique les Hnatiuc et les Voronca s'applique à deux autres familles roumaines arrivées à l'époque au Canada. Les premiers Popovici²³⁶ et Tofan arrivent à Montréal²³⁷ – sur *Hispania* – le 22 juin 1897, en

²²⁸ Écrit Todor Lakusta.

²²⁹ Pour les noms des membres de la famille Lacusta, voir la liste des passagers du *Armenia*, à l'adresse:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1897.08.Armenia.3&sid=&gskw&dnyref=1> (page consultée le 26 août 2010).

²³⁰ Écrit Hnatiuc. Bien que le patronyme *Hnatiuc* – tout comme d'autres noms de famille qui apparaissent ici – est évidemment d'origine slave (ruthène / ukrainienne, le plus probable), il est porté à l'époque déjà, tout comme aujourd'hui d'ailleurs, par beaucoup des Roumains, suite à leur cohabitation avec ces populations d'origine slave. Une caractéristique particulière de la Bucovine, tant par rapport à la Galicie, avec lequel elle s'avoisinait à l'époque, que par rapport au reste de la Roumanie, dont elle a fait (et fait partiellement encore) partie, est d'ailleurs la présence de ces patronymes se terminant en *iuc*, conséquence du processus de ruthénisation forcée que la province a subi de 1775 à 1918.

²³¹ Voir la note 230.

²³² Écrit Wronka dans ce cas. Voronka dans la plupart des cas où il est écrit par les autorités canadiennes.

²³³ Pour l'arrivée de la famille Nicolae Voronca à Montréal, au printemps 1897, voir l'adresse [en ligne]:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1897.05.Arcadia.15&sid=&gskw&dnyref=1> (page consultée le 27 août 2010).

²³⁴ Écrit Roszka.

²³⁵ Pour la page du registre de *Arcadia* où apparaissent les deux frères Rosca, voir l'adresse [en ligne]:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Quebec%2c+Quebec.1897.05.Arcadia.12&sid=&gskw=> (page consultée le 27 août 2010).

²³⁶ Pour la présence de Nicolae Popovici (écrit Nikolay Popowitzy) à bord de *Hispania*, voir l'adresse:

http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&iid=IMCANQC1865_C451800132&dnyref=1 (page consultée le 27 août 2010).

provenance de Hambourg, mais on sait qu'ils n'entendent pas d'y rester, car leur destination finale déclarée est la ville de Winnipeg. Pourtant, une décennie plus tard on rencontrera souvent ces deux patronymes dans les registres paroissiaux des églises roumaine et bucovinienne de Montréal. Probablement que soit ces premiers membres de deux familles ne sont plus partis, soit d'autres membres de leurs familles sont partis de Bucovine sur les mêmes traces que les prédécesseurs, quelques années plus tard, s'arrêtant finalement à Montréal.

Une année plus tard, le 24 avril 1898, on voit débarquer dans le port de Halifax – qui sera d'ailleurs durant les deux premières décennies du XX^e siècle le principal port d'entrée pour les Roumains bucoviniens au Canada – un certain Ion Moloci²³⁸, fermier, de 21 ans, originaire d'Autriche, qui s'était embarqué à Hambourg sur *Bulgaria*, mais dont on ne sait pas quelle était sa destination finale²³⁹. Probablement Montréal, car exactement 15 ans plus tard, en 1914, une de ses parentés, Ilarie Moloci, fera partie du célèbre groupe de 12 Roumains qui se sont adressés aux autorités légales de la province de Québec pour obtenir le droit de se constituer en corporation, en vue d'ériger une église roumaine à Montréal.

Arrêtons-nous, pour clore cette étude, aux années 1899-1900, qui closent à leur tour le XIX^e siècle, un siècle qui avait marqué le début de l'immigration roumaine en Amérique du Nord. Ces deux années se caractérisent par une affluence de plus en plus massive des Roumains bucoviniens vers le Canada, annonçant en quelque sorte la grande vague migratoire roumaine bucovinienne des années 1906-1914, dont la destination principale sera la ville de Montréal. C'est alors que la communauté roumaine montréalaise se constituera véritablement.

Mentionnons donc dans ce contexte de fin de siècle l'arrivée des familles Andoni et Diacur²⁴⁰, voyageant sur *Palatia*, débarquées à Halifax le 26 avril 1899 et ayant comme destination finale Winnipeg, au Manitoba et les familles Cozac et Moldovan²⁴¹, débarquées ces dernières à New York en mai 1899, mais se dirigeant vers la même destination finale. Pour 1900 nous avons retenu l'arrivée des familles Avram, Balan, Basarab, Cucu, Corbu, Pitu et Sarafincean²⁴², originaires d'Autriche,

²³⁷ Les Tofan se trouvent à bord du même bateau que N. Popovici, mais leurs noms apparaissent à la page:

<http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Halifax%2c+Nova+Scotia.1897.06.Hispania.2&sid=&gskw&dnref=1> (page consultée le 27 août 2010).

²³⁸ Écrit Moloch.

²³⁹ Pour la page du registre (la 13^{ème}) où est mentionné Ion Moloci, voir l'adresse [en ligne]: <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Halifax%2c+Nova+Scotia.1898.04.Bulgaria.13&sid=&gskw=> (page consultée le 28 août 2010).

²⁴⁰ Écrit Diakur. Pour les familles Andoni et Diacur, voir le registre de *Palatia*, à l'adresse: http://search.ancestry.ca/?iexec/?htx=View&r=5543&dbid=1263&iid=IMC'ANQC'1865_C4519-00541&fn=Maria&ln=Andoni&st=r&ssrc=&pid=3501713 (page consultée le 29 août 2010).

²⁴¹ Écrits Kosak et Moldovan. Pour les familles Cozac et Moldovan débarquées le 21.05.1899 à New York, voir les pages 4 et 14 du registre de *Palatia*, à l'adresse suivante [en ligne]: <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Halifax%2c+Nova+Scotia.1899.05.Phoenicia.1&sid=&gskw=> (page consultée le 29 août 2010).

²⁴² Écrits Bassarabe, Kukul, Korbul, Pitz et Sarafinczan. Pour l'arrivée de toutes ces familles d'origine roumaine, consulter les pages 5, 7, 12 et 17 du registre de *Arcadia*, à l'adresse suivante

voyageant toutes sur le même bateau, *Arcadia*, en provenance de Hambourg et débarquées à Halifax, le 2 juin 1900. Nous ne connaissons pas la destination finale de tous ces gens, mais nous supposons qu'une partie d'entre eux se sont établis à Montréal, car leurs patronymes se retrouvent fréquemment à partir de 1914-1915 dans les registres paroissiaux des églises roumaine et bucovinienne de cette métropole canadienne.

The First Romanian Presences in Montréal (End of the 19th Century-Beginning of the 20th Century)

(abstract)

This study makes an attempt to trace the beginnings of the Romanian community in Montreal. The origins of this community are to be found to the end of the 19th century, when the first Romanian presences are registered in the Canadian biggest metropolis at those times.

Relying upon the quantitative data – delivered by the Canadian censi of the time, but also by other sources – this study reconstitutes the number evolution of this community by the eve of the First World War. It also makes the first distinction between the immigrants in Montreal that came from the Romanian Kingdom – of Judaic origins in their greatest number – and those of Romanian ethnicity – most of them originated in Bukowina, province under the administration of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire at these times.

The study presents the social-political and economic context that provoked the phenomenon of the migration, in the case of both the Jews emigrated from Romania and the Romanians that left Bukowina, but also the migratory trajectory of both of the social groups until their arrival in Canada. It also insists upon the process of integration of the first wave of Jewish immigrants in Montreal and their important contribution to the social-cultural life of the metropolis on the bank of St. Lawrence river. In the case of the Romanians from Bukowina, the influence of thecohabitation with the Ruthenians and Jews is emphasized, when referring to the beginnings of the emigration process towards Canada, and the study makes an attempt to identify as accurate as possible the moment when the first immigrants of Romanian origins reached Montreal.

[en ligne]: <http://search.ancestry.ca/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=1263&path=Halifax%2c+Nova+Scotia.1900.06.Arcadia.1&sid=&gskw=Maria+Serafinzan> (page consultée le 29 août 2010).

Les pays du Sud-est européen dans la Grande Guerre (1915).

Trois reportages d'Albert Londres et les mémoires de Gheorghe Jurgea-Negrilești

Emanuel C. Antoche & Matei Cazacu

Keywords: *Albert Londres; Romania and Bulgaria during the WWI; Macedonian Front; Gallipoli Campaign; Lord Thomson of Cardington; I. I. C. Brătianu*

Lors de nos promenades habituelles chez les antiquaires bouquinistes du Quartier Latin nous avons découvert, un jour, par hasard, un recueil d'articles du célèbre journaliste français Albert Londres (1884-1932), intitulé "Si je t'oublie Constantinople..." Ce recueil réunit les reportages écrits pour le "Petit Journal"¹ sur les fronts de Serbie, des Dardanelles et du Salonique, entre mars 1915 et septembre 1917.

Nous avons choisi de reproduire trois textes: n° 14: "La vie et les étapes de la Roumanie. Dans l'attente" (16 juillet 1915); n° 15: "Pourquoi la Bulgarie regarde" (23 juillet 1915); n° 25: "Salonique, nid d'espions" (27 décembre 1915)². Pareil aux autres reportages présents dans le volume ils n'ont pas échappé à la censure omniprésente, les lignes pointillées n'étant que les passages supprimés par les cerbères en uniforme contre lesquels Londres s'était insurgé à maintes reprises. Il l'avait fait notamment dans une série d'articles rédigés sur les fronts de Lorraine, de Champagne, belge et italien, d'octobre 1917 jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, et rassemblés dans un recueil posthume "Contre le bourrage de crâne"³. Les militaires lui en voulait à tel point que son nom figurait sur une liste noire de l'Etat-major, assorti de la mention: "Mauvaise tête!". Le Haut commandement avait même déposé une plainte contre lui pour "insolence" et "insubordination" auprès de la direction du "Petit Journal" qui avait soutenu néanmoins son reporter. Si les autorités françaises l'avait déjà mis au pilori, le roi George V le nomme officier honoraire de l'"Ordre de l'empire britannique". Les Anglais n'ont pas oublié, eux, les services rendus par le

¹ Le présent article vient d'être récemment publié dans "Revista de Istorie Militară", 2015, 1-2 avec d'innombrables erreurs de rédaction. Les auteurs remercient à *Revista Arhivelor* d'avoir eu la gentillesse de le republier afin qu'il puisse être aussi consulté par les chercheurs et les lecteurs francophones.

² Quotidien parisien dont le directeur était Stephen Pichon, ami fidèle de Georges Clemenceau, Ministre des Affaires étrangères dans plusieurs cabinets de la Troisième République: (oct. 1906-juillet 1909; juillet 1909-fév. 1911; mars-déc. 1913; nov. 1917-janv. 1920), un des négociateurs du traité de Versailles (28 juin 1919).

³ A. Londres, *Si je t'oublie Constantinople...* (éd. Fr. Lacassin), collection *Grands Reporters* (dix-dix huit) 10/18, Paris 1985, p. 79-84, 85-90, 163-166.

⁴ Publié aux éditions Arléa, Paris 2008.

journaliste à la cause alliée. Albert Londres était d'ailleurs absent à la cérémonie du 20 mars 1920, personne ne sachant où le joindre⁴.

Il se trouvait sur les traces de Victor Kopp, le représentant **officiel** des Soviets en Allemagne, un "ambassadeur sans ambassade" qui vivait caché dans le quartier berlinois de Wilhelmsdorf. Son but final? Obtenir à tout prix un visa pour se rendre dans la patrie de l'*avenir radieux* et connaître la vérité sur le bolchevisme ! Il a fallu par la suite rejoindre Copenhague, guetter cinq jours d'affilé devant l'*Hôtel du Prince-Frédéric*, pour importuner le camarade Litvinov grâce auquel il réussit d'avoir ses passeports⁵. Il demeure en Russie jusqu'au début du mois de juin, en séjournant à Petrograd et Moscou. La misère de la population le bouleverse à tel point qu'il écrit, dans les colonnes d'*Excelsior*, au sujet de la soupe populaire:

"Entrez là-dedans dans ces soupes. C'est les yeux agrandis que nous avons regardé distribuer cette manne communiste. De 3 à 4 heures, le troupeau humain s'y traîne. Chacun porte son écuelle ont une vieille boîte de conserves ou un ex-plat à la barbe, voire de vraies gamelles. Ils tendent cela au comptoir grassex. La portion de bouillon immonde, éblouissant, tombe comme elle peut dans leurs baquets. Avidement, ils l'avalent. C'est le dernier degré de la dégradation, ce sont des étables pour hommes. C'est la troisième Internationale. A la quatrième on marchera à quatre pattes, à la cinquième on aboiera"⁶.

Londres est le quatrième journaliste occidental qui pénètre au Q. G. bolchevique de l'Institut Smolny à Petrograd après le Français Ludovic Naudeau⁷, les Britanniques Arthur Ransome (*London Daily News*), Morgan Phillips Price (*Manchester Guardian*) et l'Américain John Silas Reed (*The Masses*)⁸. Contrairement à leurs collègues anglo-saxons, les Français se montrent très critiques à l'égard du régime en place. Londres réussit à interviewer Krassikoff, le commissaire à la Justice et Tchitchérine, le commissaire aux Affaires Etrangères. Avant son départ de Moscou, celui-ci lui demande: "Eh bien Monsieur Londres, vous avez vu maintenant. Sommes-nous des bêtes féroces? – Non, mais vous êtes des bêtes!"⁹.

Ses dix-sept articles publiés dans les pages de l'"Excelsior" n'ont pas été bien accueillis à Moscou d'autant que la déception du journaliste est immense:

⁴ P. Assouline, *Albert Londres. Vie et mort d'un grand reporter. 1884-1932*, Paris 1989, p. 151. Le même auteur avait préfacé le volume réunissant les *Œuvres complètes* d'Albert Londres, publiés aux Ed. Arléa, Paris 2007.

⁵ P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 155-159.

⁶ "Excelsior", mai 1920, *apud. Ibidem*, p. 160.

⁷ Présent en Russie soviétique lors de révolution bolchevique. Les questions qu'il pose, lors d'une interview, à Lénine, lui valent un *séjour* inoubliable dans les prisons du régime: *En prison sous la terreur russe*, Paris 1920 (couronné par l'Académie française); *Les dessous du chaos russe*, Paris 1920 (couronné par l'Académie française).

⁸ Auteur du célèbre ouvrage *Teen Days that Shook the World (Dix jours qui ébranlèrent le monde)* (éd. Française), Paris 1974.

⁹ Ed. Helsey, préface aux *Histoires des grands chemins*, Paris 1932, p. 11.

mensonge, arbitraire, militarisme outrancier, famine, oppression, massacres¹⁰. La Tcheka, qui depuis deux ans a le droit de condamner et d'exécuter sans en référer aux tribunaux révolutionnaires, est déjà sur ses traces en enquêtant même à Paris dans les hautes sphères du pouvoir républicain¹¹. Sa mort, le 16 mai 1932, au large du Djibouti, dans l'incendie du "Georges Philippar", le bateau qui le ramenait de Chine vers la France, ne semble pas étrangère aux agissements des services secrets soviétiques. Ayant passé plus de quatre mois à Shanghai et à Moukden, en Mandchourie, pour couvrir les événements liés à l'agression militaire japonaise, Londres pense avoir entrepris l'enquête de sa vie: il est question de trafic d'armes, de la drogue, d'immixtion bolchevique dans les affaires chinoises, tel qu'il en résulte de la reconstitution minutieuse de Pierre Assouline. L'industriel Alfred Lang-Wilar et son épouse, présents aussi à bord du "Georges Philippar", les seuls détenteurs des "informations explosives" que Londres emportait avec lui dans la tombe disparaissaient, quelques jours plus tard, dans le crash de l'avion qui les rapatriait, depuis Brindisi, en France¹².

Il n'y avait pas que la Russie des bolcheviques ou cette "Chine en folie", terre promise des seigneurs de la guerre, des bandits et des rançonneurs sans scrupules: "[...] Si Lénine a vu Shanghai il est excusable"¹³. La France, elle non plus n'est pas épargnée, notamment la classe politique, les dignitaires, les bureaucrates de tout bord, contre lesquels Londres pratique un journalisme irritant, engagé, radical: "Notre métier n'est pas de faire plaisir, non plus de faire du tort, il est de porter la plume dans la plaie"¹⁴. "Au bagne", publié chez Albin Michel en 1924, représente un réquisitoire impitoyable du système pénitencier en Guyane (Cayenne, Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, les îles du Salut)¹⁵. La même année, dans une série de dix-neuf articles, publiés dans "Le Petit Parisien", il s'en prend aux établissements disciplinaires de l'armée, en Afrique du Nord, les bagnes de la terrible *Biribi* disséminées partout en Tunisie, au Maroc, en Algérie. Ils n'ont rien à envier aux prisons bolcheviques même Cayenne étant "[...] du sirop à grenadine à côté"¹⁶. Le scandale éclate, le Ministère de la Guerre riposte, mais les arguments d'Albert Londres sont infaillibles et sa

¹⁰ Republiés dans le recueil posthume *Dans la Russie des soviets*, Paris 2008.

¹¹ P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 176-177.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 454-465, ainsi que l'enquête entreprise par B. Cahier, *Albert Londres. Terminus Gardafui*, Paris 2012.

¹³ "Excelsior" du 3 juin 1922, *apud* P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 207, article repris dans *La Chine en folie*, Paris 1925. Une partie des ces reportages ont été réédités dans *Mourir pour Shanghai, Grands Reporters* (dix-dix huit) 10/18, Paris 1984. Une autre édition de *La Chine en folie* chez Arléa, Paris 2011.

¹⁴ A. Londres dans l'Avant-propos à *Terre d'ébène (la traite des noirs)*, Paris 1929, *apud* P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 389. Seconde édition, collection *Grands Reporters* (dix-dix huit) 10/18, Paris 1984. Une nouvelle édition chez Arléa, Paris 2008.

¹⁵ Dernière édition chez Arléa, Paris 2008. Lorsqu'en 1937 un décret-loi mit fin à ces établissements de la honte, une de principales causes évoquées était l'ouvrage d'Albert Londres, ainsi que la portée qu'il a eu au sein de l'opinion publique. Ses enquêtes ainsi que sa renommée incontestable obligent les autorités à réagir et parfois même à réformer, voir le chapitre de P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 244-273.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 310.

méthode fait même école parmi ses confrères journalistes¹⁷. Il y a aussi “Terre d'ébène”, déjà citée, récit d'un voyage du Sénégal au Congo où il dénonce les excès de la colonisation, et surtout la *bonne conscience* du parti colonial. La construction des voies ferrées ou les exploitations forestières provoquent un nombre effroyable des morts parmi les travailleurs africains, “[...] les nègres des nègres”¹⁸. Au cours de ce périple, à Niafouké, Londres se lie d'amitié avec Paul Morand, qui écrira lui aussi, un jour, des pages inoubliables sur Bucarest. Cette tournée africaine en compagnie de sa femme Hélène lui servait de socle à son prochain livre, “Paris-Tombouctou”, publié chez Flammarion¹⁹.

A l'époque où Albert Londres émerge sur la scène du grand reportage, les patrons français de la presse n'en continuent pas moins de louer le professionnalisme et la rigueur avec lesquels les journalistes américains ont l'habitude de récolter l'information. Mais ils se refusent, quant à eux, à l'utiliser à l'état brut, dans toute sa sécheresse sans un traitement approprié. Fernand Xau, l'éditorialiste du “Journal” l'avait d'ailleurs exprimé en ces termes: “Nous sommes trop raffinés pour nous contenter d'un reportage trop sec...”²⁰. Selon lui, le grand reporter doit mêler les portraits d'hommes de toutes conditions à la description d'événements de toutes sortes et, surtout, briller tant par ses qualités d'écriture et d'analyse que par sa rapidité et son ingéniosité à transmettre les articles²¹.

Voici le style cultivé avec aisance par Albert Londres, la preuve d'un talent littéraire incontestable:

“Sa phrase est courte, simple, directe. Sujet, verbe, complément: son idéal d'écriture. La concision est de règle. Il ramasse beaucoup en peu de mots, comme s'il les passait au tamis pour ne garder que les plus chargés de couleurs et d'émotion, de renseignement et de sentiments. Son trait est acéré. Londres a un grand souci du rythme général, de la composition d'ensemble, de l'attaque, de la chute, des effets secondaires, et surtout de l'ellipse. Rien n'est chez lui écrit au hasard. Tout est pesé...”²²

L'hommage postérieur de ses confrères journalistes est unanime à l'image de Francis Lacassin qui clôture, ainsi, la préface de “Si je t'oublie Constantinople...”:

“On s'est plu à imaginer ce que serait devenu le colonel Philippe Pétain si la guerre de 1914 n'avait pas éclaté. Sans doute n'aurait-il été ni le chef du gouvernement de Vichy ni même maréchal de France.

¹⁷ A. Londres, *Dante n'avait rien vu (Biribi)*, Paris 1924, 2^e édition collection *Grands Reporters* (dix-dix huit) 10/18, Paris 1975. Nouvelle édition chez Arléa, Paris 2010.

¹⁸ “Le Petit Parisien” du 17 octobre 1928, *apud* P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, 383.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 381-383. Sur ce voyage en Afrique, voir aussi D. Folléas, *Albert Londres en terre d'ébène*, Paris 2009.

²⁰ M. Palmer, *Des petits journaux aux grandes agences*, Paris 1983, *apud* P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 282. Voir aussi les propos de Charles Laurent rédacteur en chef du “Matin” dans les années vingt: “Albert Londres écrivait comme il marchait: tout droit devant lui”, *apud Ibidem*, p. 281, et de Elie-Joseph Bois, le patron d'Albert Londres au “Petit Parisien”: “Il avait moins le souci de l'exactitude que celui de la vérité”, *Ibidem*.

La question semble superflue quant à Albert Londres: même sans la guerre de 1914, il était destiné à devenir Albert Londres²³.

Chaque année, à partir de 1933, le prix "Albert Londres" couronne en France, le meilleur reporter de la presse écrite et, depuis 1985, le meilleur reportage audiovisuel. Pareil au prix "Pulitzer", décerné aux Etats-Unis, il constitue une référence de prestige dans les métiers du journalisme, au pays de l'Hexagone²⁴.

* * *

En septembre 1914, Albert Londres est envoyé, en tant que correspondant du "Matin", sur le front de la Marne. Les armées franco-britanniques viennent juste de stopper la percée allemande devant Château-Thierry. Cette première année du conflit fera l'objet d'une vingtaine d'articles relatant aussi la course à la mer et la bataille de Flandres. Londres est particulièrement impressionné par le courage de l'armée belge livrant un combat désespéré face aux troupes germaniques qui déferlent sur le plat pays...²⁵ La description du martyre infligé à la cathédrale de Reims, symbole de la royauté et de l'identité française, s'écroulant sous les obus de l'artillerie allemande (19-20 septembre) représente son premier *scoop* d'envergure qui le consacre parmi ses camarades de métier²⁶.

En février 1915, Londres a subitement envie des contrées lointaines, quitter au plus vite cette France meurtrie par la guerre. Les signes avant-coureurs d'une attaque des Alliés contre la Turquie le confirment dans son intuition: c'est aux Dardanelles qu'il faut être, là, où va se jouer vraisemblablement le destin du conflit. Démissionnaire du "Matin", il frappe, le même jour, à la porte du "Petit parisien" de Pichon qui l'embauche sur-le-champ pour couvrir l'expédition des forces franco-britanniques en Orient²⁷. Le 22 mars 1915, Londres arrive enfin à Ténédos, le Q. G. des journalistes français et britanniques, quatre jours après l'échec subi par la flotte alliée dans la tentative de franchir en force les Dardanelles (18 mars)²⁸. Jusqu'au débarquement de forces terrestres à Gallipoli (25 avril) il a le temps de se rendre à Athènes pour rencontrer le premier Venizélos, occasion d'y pénétrer dans le labyrinthe inextricable de la politique grecque, et même de voyager en Serbie pour rendre visite au vieux roi Pierre I^{er} et aux généraux de l'armée qui avait si vaillamment combattu depuis le début de la guerre²⁹. De retour à Moudros, Londres

²³ Fr. Lacassin, *Préface pour effacer la chute de Byzance*, dans A. Londres, *Si je t'oublie Constantinople...* cit., p. 13-14.

²⁴ Ce prix a été institué une année après la disparition du journaliste par sa fille Florise Londres. Voir notamment, *Grands reportages. les 40 prix Albert Londres (1946-1986)*, Paris 1986. Sur Albert Londres on pourra consulter également avec profit: Fl. Londres, *Mon père*, Paris 1934, réédité chez Rocher/Serpent à Plumes, 2000; P. Mousset, *Albert Londres. l'aventure du grand reportage*, Paris 1972.

²⁵ Articles rassemblés dans le recueil intitulé *La grande guerre*, Paris 2010.

²⁶ Publié dans "Le Matin" du 21 septembre 1914.

²⁷ Fr. Lacassin, *op. cit.*, p. 8-9; P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 74-75.

²⁸ *Ibidem.* p. 80. Une excellente reconstitution des opérations de la flotte alliée avec des cartes et des schémas chez A. Banks, *A Military Atlas of the First World War*, 4^e éd., 2001, p. 115-117.

²⁹ P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 82-84.

accompagne les compagnies de la Légion et les Sénégalais lors de l'attaque de diversion, sur la côte anatolienne, contre la position de Koum-Kaleh (25-26 avril). Ayant fortifié chaque maison de la bourgade, les Turcs se défendent avec acharnement. On s'étripe à la baïonnette³⁰.

La série d'articles qui traite de la bataille de Gallipoli constitue les temps forts du recueil posthume "Si je t'oublie Constantinople..." Malgré cela, Londres n'ignore pas les autres pays de la région, les alliés d'aujourd'hui, ceux de demain et surtout ceux qui vont basculer dans le camp adverse. Au cours du mois de juillet il entreprend un voyage qui le conduit d'abord à Niš (Nich) "[...] poser quelques questions embarrassantes au Président du Conseil, M. Pachitch [n. n. Nicolas Pašić]. Les Allemands viennent-ils de lancer une offensive de charme sur les Roumains qu'aussitôt il file à Bucarest vérifier si le fond de l'air est frais. Le jeu des Bulgares paraît bien énigmatique et il pousse sa promenade balkanique jusqu'à Sofia"³¹.

Arrivé dans cette dernière capitale balkanique, Londres ne tarde pas de se rendre à l'évidence que ce jeu n'est pas tellement énigmatique qu'il paraît. Ses propos sont parfois acerbes, le ton ironique, car il sent quel camp vont choisir finalement les Bulgares. Leur entrée en guerre, trois mois plus tard, en octobre, porte un coup dur à l'Entente en précipitant la chute de la Serbie³².

Quel contraste avec Bucarest, ville joyeuse, ville de plaisir, acquise corps et âme à la cause de la France. La Roumanie entrait dans sa deuxième année de neutralité décidée par le Conseil de Couronne du 3 août 1914. Comme c'est toujours le cas lors d'une guerre d'importance, le pays est activement courtisé par les agents des belligérants depuis les ministres et le corps diplomatique et jusqu'aux obscurs combattants de l'ombre – espions, agents d'influence, hommes d'affaires, journalistes, militaires, experts de toutes sorte³³, etc. Parmi tous ces agents, les

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 85. Sur les combats de Gallipoli, il existe une très vaste bibliographie. Voir notamment le récit de l'écrivain britannique Compton Mackenzie (1883-1972) qui prit part aux opérations militaires dans l'entourage du général Hamilton, *Gallipoli Memories*, Cassel 1929. Nous renvoyons aussi aux schémas tactiques et stratégiques de A. Banks, *op. cit.*, p. 118-129, l'analyse de B. Liddell Hart, *History of the First World War*, 1972, p. 157-182, ainsi que les études suivantes: A. Goutard, *La campagne des Dardanelles (1915)*, "Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire", n° 35, Paris 1976, p. 121-161; P. Hart, *Gallipoli*, [Oxford] 2011; P. Chasseaud & P. Doyle, *Grasping Gallipoli. Terrain, Maps and Failure at the Dardanelles. 1915*, Spellmount 2015.

³¹ P. Assouline, *op. cit.*, p. 86-87.

³² P. Renouvin, *La crise européenne et la Grande Guerre (1904-1918)*, Paris 1934, p. 280-286; E. Nastovici, *Tratatievele dintre Bulgaria și Puterile Centrale din septembrie 1915 și implicațiile lor în relațiile cu România*, "Analele Universității din București", série Histoire, t. 22, 2, p. 81-94; R. C. Hall, *Bulgaria's Road to the First World War*, [New York] 1996; J.-N. Grandhomme, *Le Général Berthelot et l'action de la France en Roumanie et en Russie méridionale (1916-1918). Genèse. Aspects diplomatiques, militaires et culturels avec leurs incidences. Prolongements et perspectives*, Château de Vincennes 1999, chap. *La genèse de l'intervention bulgare*, p. 44-48, ainsi que l'analyse assez récente de R. F. Hamilton & H. H. Herwig, *Decisions for War, 1914-1917*, [Cambridge] 2005, p. 170-174.

³³ Sur la neutralité roumaine voir en général les travaux de C. Kirișescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României (1916-1919)* (III^e éd., C. Kirișescu, M. N. Popa, L. Popa), I, Bucarest 1989, p. 111-229; C. Nuțu, *România în anii neutralității*, Bucarest 1972; E. Campus, *Din politica externă*

Allemands sont les plus nombreux à Bucarest, leur argent, leur influence, et surtout l'acharnement avec lequel ils poursuivent leurs objectifs inquiètent sérieusement Albert Londres. Il ne dispose pas d'autres armes que le persiflage et le sarcasme afin de mieux démasquer, à ses compatriotes, les efforts entrepris par le bloc germanique pour sauvegarder la neutralité roumaine. Alors que l'Italie venait d'entrer en guerre contre l'Autriche-Hongrie (mai 1915), la Roumanie continue de s'enrichir en vendant ses céréales et son pétrole de préférence aux uns et aux autres et surtout aux Puissances Centrales qui avaient été, depuis plus d'un demi-siècle, ses principaux partenaires commerciaux³⁴.

A l'été 1915, Bucarest est pourtant très tranquille, il y régne "[...] un calme absolu, ce fut la période la plus paisible de toute la période de notre neutralité", comme le notait Ion G. Duca, le ministre des Cultes et de l'Instruction publique du gouvernement libéral de Ioan I. C. (Ionel) Brătianu³⁵. Ce calme, tout relatif, est mis pourtant à rude épreuve en juillet-août par l'"incident Poklewski", du nom du ministre russe Stanislas Poklewski-Koziell, qui tente de forcer la main de Brătianu pour une entrée rapide en guerre aux côtés de l'Entente. Cependant, rien ne transpire en dehors du cercle restreint des plus proches collaborateurs du Président roumain du Conseil et la crise est ainsi évitée³⁶. Jusque là, la Russie était la seule Puissance à avoir conclu un traité secret (le 18 septembre/1^{er} octobre 1914) garantissant à la Roumanie, en échange d'une neutralité bienveillante, la Transylvanie et tous les territoires à majorité roumaine d'Autriche-Hongrie³⁷. Ces garanties russes, bien que sans valeur dans la tête de Sazonov, avaient été accordées uniquement en vue de l'aide que la Russie entendait apporter à la Serbie par la voie du Danube.

Les mémoires de Gheorghe (Georgică) Jurgea-Negrilești (né en 1904), fils d'un boyard roumain et d'une mère russe, petit-fils du Conseiller d'Etat. Consul général de Russie à Galați, Délégué auprès de la Commission européenne du Danube, Pierre (Piotr) Alexeievich Kartamischev, parues en 2007 à Bucarest, apportent des détails pittoresques et véridiques sur ces circonstances³⁸. Même si les événements sont vus par un garçonnet de 10-12 ans, une mémoire formidable et un grand talent de conteur leur confèrent toutes les qualités d'un document sincère et authentique. Resté très tôt orphelin de père, Jurgea-Negrilești vivait ensemble avec sa

a României 1913-1917. Bucarest 1980, p. 45-74 ; I. Bulei, *Arcul așteptării-1914-1915-1916*. Bucarest 1981.

³⁴ C. Kirîțescu, *op. cit.*, p. 138-140, 146-148, 160-163; M. Bibiri-Sturia, *Creșterea influenței germane în România*, Bucarest 1915; Idem, *Germania în România. Eri Azi Măine*. Bucarest 1916; J.-N. Grandhomme, *op. cit.*, chap. *Des promesses aux pressions*, p. 59-63 avec une riche bibliographie; Gh. N. Cazan & Ș. Rădulescu-Zoner, *România și Tripla Alianță*, Bucarest 1979; E. Nastovici, *România și Puterile Centrale în anii 1914-1916*. Bucarest 1979.

³⁵ I. G. Duca, *Amintiri politice*, I, Munich 1981, p. 179-180.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, chap. 13, *Incidentul Poklewski*, p. 174-177; I. Bulei, *Un épisode de l'histoire diplomatique de la Première Guerre mondiale: l'incident Poklewski*, in *La Présence française en Roumanie pendant la Guerre 1914-1918*, Cluj 1997, p. 11-17.

³⁷ I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 74-76; C. Kirîțescu, *op. cit.*, p. 166-169; E. Campus, *op. cit.*, p. 49-54; A. Iordache, *Incheierea acordului româno-rus din 18 septembrie/1 octombrie 1914. Insemnătatea și consecințele sale*, "Revista de istorie", 1976, 1, p. 49-62.

³⁸ Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, *Troica amintirilor. Sub patru regi* (2e éd.), Bucarest 2007.

mère Natacha dans la maison du grand-père, à savoir le consulat russe de Galați. Voici donc l'arrivée, à l'automne de 1914, de l'amiral Mikhaïl (Micha) Vessiolkin et de sa joyeuse bande à Reni, d'où ils se rendirent sur l'autre rive du Danube chez le consul russe de Galați et où l'enfant put entendre de la bouche même du colosse russe (il était le fils naturel du tsar Alexandre III, dont il avait hérité la stature imposante et une force herculéenne) le récit de la mission que lui avait confiée, en août 1914, le tsar Nicolas II :

"[...] le tsar n'avait ni amis ni favoris. Il supportait Raspoutine uniquement parce qu'il arrêta les hémorragies du tsarévitch. Il pardonnait tous les péchés à Vessiolkin parce qu'il avait la voix, la stature et les gestes d'Alexandre III, son père, auquel il vouait un véritable culte. Il semble – racontait le commandeur Sabline qui faisait du canotage avec le tsar – que parfois Nicolas II était ému par l'apparition de Vessiolkin. Il avait l'impression de voir son père ressuscité. L'audience chez le tsar nous a été racontée à plusieurs reprises par Vessiolkin. Je l'ai retenue, bien qu'à l'époque j'étais assez jeune.

«... Micha – m'a dit sa Majesté –, le Très Haut a voulu la guerre, et c'est la guerre. Et si moi, son humble serviteur, ai pris la défense de la Serbie, c'est toujours par la volonté du Très Haut! Mais aujourd'hui, la Serbie passe par des rudes épreuves et elle crie au secours. J'ai beaucoup prié des nuits entières jusqu'à ce que la pensée de Celui d'En Haut m'est venue. Tu partiras pour Reni, sur le Danube. Je te nomme chef de l'Expédition avec des missions spéciales. Depuis Reni tu vas assurer l'approvisionnement de la Serbie avec tout ce dont elle a besoin: armes, munitions, aliments. J'ai confiance en toi, Micha... Tu auras tout ce que tu voudras. A une seule condition: d'aider la Serbie au plus vite». Ensuite le tsar s'est levé, m'a embrassé et m'a béni du signe de la croix. Mon Dieu, par quelles épreuves suis-je passé! Combien d'âmes ont péri sur les bords du Danube!³⁹

Et voici les effets de cette nomination :

"On a fait venir à Reni des remorqueurs géants armés de canons Schneider, un cadeau de la France. Le commandeur Strakhovski, un Russe vieux-croyant, sobre, qui ne buvait que du lait, partait avec les convois en amont du Danube. Quand il arrivait devant Cladova, il devait affronter la flotte autrichienne du Danube. «Mais, nous racontait-il, à la guerre il faut de la chance. Un tir d'obus bien placé a fait sauter en l'air un moniteur autrichien. Le reste s'est enfui et j'ai déchargé la marchandise en toute tranquillité... Pour être objectif, je dois dire que la marine autrichienne est très prudente.»

... L'Expédition spéciale a fonctionné si bien, que le tsar est venu en personne féliciter Vessiolkin. «Si la lune avait atterri à Reni, les gens n'auraient pas été plus étonnés», nous relatait le commandeur.

... Les convois de Cladova étaient étudiés par les Allemands. Plus sérieux que les Autrichiens, ils ont compris que le prestige des Puissances Centrales était en jeu. Quelques divisions allemandes sont intervenues et ont occupé toute la rive

³⁹ Traduction intégrale en français des fragments cités par Matei Cazacu.

serbe du Danube. Par conséquent, l'Expédition spéciale n'avait plus de raison d'être.

... Le prince Pavlik Urusov⁴⁰, Tzurlik Maklakov et beaucoup d'autres allaient devoir se rendre sur le front. Horrible perspective! Mais Vessiolkin veillait au grain. Il est allé à Petersburg, chez Gricha Raspoutine, chez Ana Virubova, dans les ministères, et finalement le tsar s'est laissé convaincre que l'Expédition allait agir pour déterminer la Roumanie à entrer en guerre. Les fameuses soirées de Capşa et les orgies de l'hôtel *Sofia* de Galați rentraient dans le cadre de cette activité. Il faut tenir compte du fait que la Roumanie exerçait sur le Russe une irrésistible fascination. Tout comme le Mexique sur l'Amérique à l'époque de la prohibition. Une *navilca* (bouteille de cognac *Naville*) coûtait 4 lei à Galați et 30 roubles à Odessa. Et le prince Urusov déclarait: "Ici, c'est le paradis! La dive bouteille et le jupon!"⁴¹

Dès son arrivée à Galați, Vessiolkin avait très clairement affirmé à Jurgea-Negrilești que la ville et sa région allaient être incorporées dans l'Empire des tsars après la guerre: "Après la guerre, Galați sera russe et toi, je t'enverrai à l'école des cadets"⁴². Voici ce que l'amiral expliquait au consul russe:

"Piotr Alexeici, disait-il au grand-père, le tsar m'a donné main libre. De faire comme je l'entends. Uniquement de convaincre les *romanesti* d'entrer dans la merde où nous nous sommes fourrés! Car ensuite, continuait Vessiolkin toujours plus sincère, ils verront ce qu'ils verront: Galați et tout le Bas-Danube sera à nous. On leur laissera Constanța et la voie de chemin de fer de Cernavodă. La Commission Danubienne recevra un coup de pied au derrière et vous, Piotr Alexeici, vous serez nommé résident impérial à ... Constantinople. J'en prendrai bien soin. Mais jusqu'alors, voici ce que j'ai apporté. Pour les *romanesti*. Ils aiment beaucoup les cadeaux. Mais qui ne les aime?"⁴³

... Et c'est ainsi que Vessiolkin offrit des cadeaux – des portefeuilles contenant 10.000 lei, donc autant de francs-or, à Take Ionescu (deux), au prêtre Vasile Lucaci et à Octavian Goga comme "aide pour les réfugiés transylvains", etc.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Officier de dragons à cheval, il était, nous dit le memorialiste, "propriétaire de 300.000 hectares en Ukraine. (Grâce à lui j'ai vu le premier Rolls-Royce). Urusov était venu avec tout l'apparat digne d'un Urusov. Grâce au pouvoir magique de l'argent, il avait restauré une magnifique maison. Il avait un cuisinier tatar, un valet français et la fameuse Esmée, devenue plus tard l'épouse du ministre Grigore Gafencu", *op. cit.*, p. 65-66.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 76-78 et 155-157; cf. aussi Al. Marghiloman, *Note politique*, I, Bucarest 1927, p. 548.

⁴² Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 78-79. Voir aussi les considérations de l'oncle Georges, époux de la sœur de la grand-mère, fille du baron Nolde, fraîchement revenu du front, qui déplorait le gâchis que l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la guerre allait entraîner, *Ibidem*, p. 152-153.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 81-83. Pour ces deux derniers, c'était lors des élections législatives de l'hiver 1915 quand Vasile Lucaci avait posé sa candidature à Galați, cf. I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 204-206. Pour le sauvetage du général Kaledine évadé de la captivité autrichienne et réfugié à Bucarest, par ce même patriote transylvain, voir Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

Reportages d'Albert Londres

La vie et les étapes de la Roumanie

Dans l'attente

Bucarest... juillet.

Bucarest embaume. Quand on passe sous ses arbres c'est un parfum qui vous pénètre et près de ses femmes c'en est un autre qui vous croise. La rue est joyeuse et chatoyante. Les officiers ont de hauts cols bleu ciel, rose pâle, vert fondant.

Les dames ont sur leur charmante poitrine moins un corsage qu'une gaze.

Les voitures avec leur cocher en robe de velours font un perpétuel carrousel. C'est la vie.

Dans une jolie rue, devant une jolie maison, une automobile vient de s'arrêter. La rue et la maison sont celles de M. Bratiano, président du Conseil, l'automobile celle de M. Pokewsky-Kozziel, ministre de Russie⁴⁵. C'est la deuxième fois qu'il vient aujourd'hui. Bientôt, deux chevaux amènent un homme grand et résolu: c'est M. Blondel, ministre de France⁴⁶, c'est la deuxième fois aussi qu'il vient. Dix minutes passent. Une nouvelle auto paraît. Elle ralentit à l'approche de la maison, puis à quelques coups de doigt du maître sur le carreau, repart sans s'être arrêtée. M. von dem Busscher ministre d'Allemagne⁴⁷, avait reconnu la voiture de son collègue et ennemi, le ministre de Russie.

M. Pokewsky et M. Blondel ne tardent pas à sortir. Le devant de porte de M. Bratiano est libre. M. von dem Busscher revient. Il est suivi de M. von Tchernin, le ministre d'Autriche⁴⁸. C'est l'arrivée des démolisseurs.

La Roumanie, devant cette guerre des nations, ayant compris que l'heure était venue de réunir à son royaume les provinces de Bukovine et de Transylvanie, provinces roumaines possédées par l'Autriche, envisagea son entrée en guerre.

Avec qui collaborerait-elle? Avec l'Alliance ou avec l'Entente? Feu son roi Carol I^{er} pour deux motifs, un de naissance, il était Hohenzollern, un de contrat, il avait un traité secret avec François-Joseph, était pour l'Alliance.

Un prince n'a jamais pu compter sans son peuple; encore moins aujourd'hui que le peuple est admis à compter avec le prince.

Le peuple roumain de culture française, d'un élan spontané et comme si la chose ne pouvait être discutée, se rangea du côté de l'Entente.

Discrètement la couronne fit une enquête chez les officiers... Quatre-vingt-seize pour cent partageaient l'opinion du peuple.

Pour réaliser l'idéal national un seul parti restait donc à prendre: lier sa fortune à celle de la France, de l'Angleterre et de la Russie.

⁴⁵ Stanislas Poklewski-Koziell, voir texte *supra*.

⁴⁶ Camille Blondel (1854-1935), ambassadeur à Bucarest du 7 mai 1907 au 13 mai 1916 cf. I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 158-159, 242.

⁴⁷ Hilmar Freiherr von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen (1867-1939) cf. *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁴⁸ Ottokar von Czernin (1872-1932), cf. *Ibidem*, p. 64-65. Nous ne pouvons pas confirmer le fait que Londres avait guetté lui-même la maison de C. I. Brătianu ou il s'agit d'une figure de style utilisée pour entrer dans le vif du sujet. De toute manière la Convention d'alliance avec les puissances de l'Entente a été signée le 17 août 1917 à 11 heures du matin au domicile de Vintilă Brătianu (aujourd'hui Strada Aurel Vlaicu) pour éviter la présence d'éventuels espions ou journalistes qui auraient flairé ce moment tant attendu par les chancelleries des puissances européennes. Voir les détails pittoresques dans les mémoires de I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 257-260.

Les Allemands, malgré le langage qu'ils leur tenaient: "Nous vous donnons la Bukovine, allez prendre la Bessarabie à la Russie et vous serez une grande nation", s'étant rendu compte qu'ils ne pourraient armer la Roumanie en leur faveur, tâchèrent de lui prouver qu'un second parti, meilleur que le premier, restait aussi à prendre: la neutralité. Le manège d'Italie recommence en Roumanie.

Carol I^{er} meurt. Son neveu le remplace. L'atmosphère du trône ne change pas.

Pendant le peuple tient des meetings, demande la guerre, les chefs de parti soutiennent le peuple, la presse libre propage le courant.

Le gouvernement sent qu'il doit se décider à agir. Mais il entend à la fois ne pas déplaire au roi et plaire au peuple. M. Bratiano va discuter les termes de sa collaboration, avec l'air le moins empressé de vouloir collaborer. Dès cet instant il prend une figure de sphinx, encore un sphinx est moins sibyllin: il n'a pas le doigt sur la bouche.

Le 25 avril il fait connaître que pour prix de sa collaboration avec l'Entente, la Roumanie demande pour frontières:

La rive droite du Pruth, le plateau de Cernowitz⁴⁹, la moitié de Maromourest⁵⁰, la Theiss⁵¹, le Danube.

La Russie répond qu'elle accorde:

La rive droite de la Sucheava⁵², la rive gauche du Cérémusal⁵³, frontière artificielle jusqu'à Derrétin, et, après Têmesvar⁵⁴, s'infléchissant à l'est.

Près d'un mois se passe. La Roumanie ne répond pas. Pendant ce temps, chaque jour le ministre allemand allait dire à M. Bratiano:

– Vous offrez cinq cent mille baïonnettes à l'Entente. L'Entente vous refuse ce que vous demandez. Nous, Allemands, nous vous offrons ce que vous demandez et contre simplement votre neutralité.

Le 20 mai la Roumanie fait savoir qu'elle maintient ses prétentions. Le 25 mai, la Russie cède la rive droite du Swet⁵⁵ mais refuse Cernowitz et le Banat.

– Vous voyez! répète M. von dem Busscher à M. Bratiano.

Près d'un nouveau mois se passe encore. La Russie à ce moment, subit ses reculs en Galicie. Beau jeu pour les Allemands:

– Ils reculent et vous refusent!

La Roumanie fait savoir qu'elle maintient ses prétentions.

.....
Le soir même, les journaux de Bucarest annoncent la nouvelle à grand fracas. Pour eux, c'est définitif. On est d'accord. Le gouvernement va secouer son mystère.

.....
Pendant, M. Bratiano retirant son doigt de ses lèvres laisse entendre qu'il veut bien continuer la conversation.

Elle continue.

L'Allemagne ne travaille pas seulement la Roumanie dans le cabinet de M. Bratiano. Un ministre, pour la colossale Allemagne, ce n'est pas suffisant. Il a beau se

⁴⁹ La ville de Cernowitz, voir texte *infra*, Cemăuți.

⁵⁰ La région de Maramureș.

⁵¹ La rivière de Tisza.

⁵² La ville de Suceava.

⁵³ La rivière de Ceremuș (en polonais Czeremosz) affluent de la rivière de Prout.

⁵⁴ La ville de Timișoara.

⁵⁵ La rivière de Siret.

démener, il ne peut être partout, or il faut que l'Allemagne soit partout, même dans les water-closets. C'est un grand Allemand qui est préposé à ce soin dans un des grands restaurants de la ville⁵⁶.

S'ils n'avaient employé à Bucarest que leurs moyens ordinaires: seaux d'or jetés sur des consciences, achats de journaux⁵⁷, colportages de mauvaises nouvelles, intoxication de l'air par leurs "ya", ce chapitre de leur propagande déjà si connue n'aurait pas mérité une ligne de signalement. Mais tous les chefs-d'œuvre, de quelque nationalité qu'ils soient, ont droit à la postérité. Nous allons donc rendre hommage à celui qu'ils sont venus débâler dans Bucarest.

Les Allemands ne sont pas sans psychologie. Elle est généralement assez grosse, elle manque de détours, mais est de la psychologie tout de même. Ils se sont dit: "Bucarest est une ville qui aime le plaisir; ainsi qu'on prend les gens par leur faible, nous allons prendre Bucarest par le sien. On va lui donner du plaisir".

Ils ont fait venir de jolies dames de Hongrie, parce que les femmes de Hongrie sont plus jolies que celles de Berlin. Ils sont commandé de belles calèches, ont fait dévaliser tous les rosiers de Valachie et de Moldavie et, prêts enfin, annoncèrent à perdre voix que Bucarest allait connaître les plus belles batailles de fleurs de son histoire. On en donna une première. Il n'y avait jamais eu autant de fleurs. On n'avait jamais rien vu de si échevelé. Généralement ces fêtes se terminaient à la nuit et ne dépassaient pas la Chaussée, leur bois de Boulogne. Est-ce qu'au milieu d'une telle ivresse on s'aperçoit que le jour finit? Est-ce que l'on reconnaît les barrières? La fête continua. A onze heures du soir, on ne se battait plus dans la Chaussée mais dans la Calea Victoriei, leur boulevard.

Trois jours après on en donnait une autre. Ce fut le même succès, la même joie, le même délire. Et on en redonna une troisième, quatre jours après et on en donna douze en cinq semaines.

– Comment? disait M. von dem Busscher à M. Bratiano, vous ne pouvez rien me promettre parce que vous prétendez que votre peuple veut la guerre? La guerre à coups de fleurs, vous voulez dire?

Il fallut que le poète Goga prit sa plume de lyrique irrité pour que cessât la débauche. C'était la première fois qu'un poète écrivait contre les fleurs⁵⁸. C'est encore à l'Allemagne qu'on doit cela.

Allemands dans les rues, dans les restaurants, dans les chemins de fer, dans les ascenseurs, gros, grands, courts, maigres, avec lunettes, sans lunettes, avec chaînes de montre, sans chaînes de montre, jeunes, mûrs, vieux, mariés, célibataires, il y en a autant que des puces à Moudros⁵⁹. Et cependant ce n'est pas eux qui, à Bucarest, ont encore le dernier mot de la rue.

⁵⁶ Vraisemblablement, le restaurant *Capşa*.

⁵⁷ I. G. Duca, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Une liste des journaux chez J.-N. Grandhomme, *op. cit.*, p. 61. De même la vente du journal *Minerva* racontée par C. Kirîţescu, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁵⁸ Sur l'activité journalistique de Goga durant la période de la neutralité cf. *Ibidem*, p. 143. Sur les batailles de fleurs organisées par l'ambassade allemande voir notamment V. Al. Dragalina, *Escadrila de Nistru*, Bucarest 2011.

⁵⁹ N'oublions pas que Londres revenait du front de Gallipoli. Selon les sources cités par J.-N. Grandhomme, *op. cit.*, en mars 1915, il y avait à peu près 20.000 citoyens allemands présents dans la capitale roumaine.

Alors que toute la journée ils vont, viennent, serrent des mains, tirent des coups de chapeaux, donnent des pourboires royaux, sautent de voitures dans des trams, des cafés dans des pâtisseries et font: “*ya, ya, ya*”, avec plus de sérieux que les canards font *coin, coin, coin*, le soir, à neuf heures et demie, la foule de Bucarest, leur montant sur les pieds, va dans un vaste cinéma en plein air. Ce n’est pas seulement pour y siffler les Boches. On ne dit plus “Je vais au cinéma”, mais: “Je vais siffler les Boches”. C’est parce qu’à dix heures une petite actrice française, tout habillée de rose, pleine de talent, avec un éventail fermé dans les mains, vient chanter devant l’écran.

Quand elle apparaît, le public accouru, reconnaissant déjà du plaisir qu’elle va lui donner, l’applaudit.

Elle lui raconte que le ministre des Affaires étrangères lui a fait des confidences⁶⁰. Que réellement c’est un monsieur qui ne comprend rien à la situation. Les Roumains peuvent s’en rapporter à elle.

Et les Roumains croulent de rires.

Elle revient. Elle leur dit: “C’est comme votre président du Conseil, en voilà encore un type!”.

Est-il pour les Allemands

On n’sait pas.

Aime-t-il les Musulmans

On n’sait pas.

Veut-il la Transylvanie

Veut-il la Bessarabie

On n’sait pas.

Et elle s’en va avec un air de dire: “Est-il, Dieu possible, d’avoir un numéro pareil pour président du Conseil”!

Le public la rappelle. Il veut encore l’entendre. Il y a plus de quinze cents personnes. Elle leur crie:

Si tu veux la Transylvanie,

Faut te l’ver, il n’est plus trop tôt,

Roumain, c’est moi qui te l’dis,

Ell’viendra pas sur un plateau.

Une nuée d’Allemands toute la journée se décarcassent à catéchiser Bucarest, par l’or ou la parole. Il suffit, le soir venu, pour balayer leurs microbes, d’un léger éventail français – encore est-il fermé.

Pourquoi la Bulgarie regarde

Sofia... Juillet 1915

Pour comprendre les dispositions de la Bulgarie, il faut d’abord connaître son caractère et les raisons qui ont fait tel ce caractère. Ne pas rattacher l’attitude présente des Bulgares à l’état profond de leur esprit serait autant les trahir dans le jugement que l’on peut porter sur eux que se mal disposer à les juger.

Travailleurs, opiniâtres, tenaces, ayant pendant des siècles, dans leur ville et leurs hameaux, subi le minaret, voilà trente-huit ans seulement que, grâce au sang russe

⁶⁰ Emanoil Mihăiescu Porumbaru (1845-1921), Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (4 janvier 1914-8 décembre 1916), membre du Parti National-Libéral, grand-père maternel de l’historien Vlad Georgescu.

versé pour leur cause, cessant d'être perdus dans l'empire ottoman, ils commencèrent à vivre une vie nationale⁶¹.

Trente ans plus tard, en 1908, leur prince ayant pris la couronne, ils se sentirent encore plus réunis⁶². Ils comprirent qu'ils formaient un bloc déjà puissant et qu'ils pouvaient se permettre de laisser percer leurs aspirations. Leur capitale qui n'était il y a dix ans qu'un grand village, vit des rues, des maisons, des jardins, se tracer, se monter, se planter. Ils respiraient. Leur poitrine s'élargissait si bien que parfois, les uns contre les autres, pour se donner de l'air, ils regardaient à gauche la mer Noire, en bas la mer Égée. Une poussée et ils pourraient les atteindre. Ils persistent dans leur labeur. Étant prêts, ils attaquent. La poussée se produit. Ce ne fut d'abord que victoires pour eux et leurs alliés. Leur rêve même n'avait jamais été jusqu'aux limites qu'ils atteignaient. Ils allaient réaliser plus que leur espoir. D'un coup, pour des raisons qui ne dépendirent ni de l'héroïsme de leur armée, ni de leur délabrement, par un revers du sort, par la nécessité de combattre leurs alliés tout croula.

Ils se débattirent, luttèrent, en appelèrent aux grands puissances. Les grandes puissances ne prirent pas leur défense. Ils appelèrent encore. Il ne pouvait pas se faire qu'après avoir tout entrevu il ne leur restât plus rien ! Ils appelèrent. Aucune réponse ne vint pour eux. Comme des assiégés s'enferment dans leurs murs pour mieux résister, ils rentrèrent dans leur défaite, ils jurèrent que pour eux rien au monde n'existerait plus tant qu'ils n'en seraient pas sortis⁶³.

La guerre éclata. L'Europe fut en feu. La Bulgarie regarda au-dessus de son mur. C'était elle, uniquement elle, qu'elle essayait d'entrevoir dans ce tremblement. Écœurée, aigrie, ne croyant plus à rien, plus aux promesses, plus aux amitiés, elle calculait ses chances. L'Europe: elle s'en fichait! la victoire de l'Allemagne: elle s'en fichait! la victoire de la France: elle s'en fichait! que la Russie, sa mère, fut blessée, elle irait jusqu'à s'en fichier! Ce qu'il lui fallait, c'était la Macédoine.

Celui qui sera le plus fort ou qui pourra la lui donner, celui-là sera son allié. Si c'est la Chine, si c'est la Patagonie, elle sera avec la Chine et la Patagonie. Quand on a subi ce qu'elle a subi, que depuis deux ans on ne vit que dans un but, que l'occasion se présente peut-être de le toucher, on ne fait pas de sentiment. La transformation de l'Europe, la place morale à prendre, le triomphe des races, tout cela n'a pas d'importance: "La Ma-cé-doi-ne".

La Bulgarie, cuirassée, prête, fourbie, attendit donc. En novembre, une occasion se présenta pour elle d'occuper la Macédoine. Les Serbes repoussés par les Autrichiens étaient à bout. Sans munitions. Pour fouler la terre convoitée, les Bulgares n'auraient pas eu besoin d'enfoncer les portes, tout était libre et ouvert, ils n'avaient qu'à s'y installer. Mais ce qu'ils veulent, ce n'est pas seulement occuper la Macédoine, c'est être certains de la conserver. Or, savaient-ils qui serait victorieux de l'Entente ou de l'Alliance?

⁶¹ Suite au traité international de Berlin (13 juillet 1878) qui mit fin à la guerre russo-turque de 1877-1878, La Bulgarie devient une principauté autonome sous suzeraineté ottomane.

⁶² Lors de l'assemblée du 5 octobre 1908 à Veliko Tarnovo, Ferdinand I^{er} de Saxe-Cobourg et Gotha, élu prince de Bulgarie en 1887, proclame l'indépendance du pays et prend le titre de *tsar des Bulgares*. La Bulgarie devient un royaume indépendant.

⁶³ Défaite de la Bulgarie durant la Deuxième Guerre balkanique (16 juin-18 juillet 1913) qui déboucha sur le traité de Bucarest (10 août 1913). Voir le dossier publié récemment sur ce sujet *Participarea României la al Doilea Război Balcanic*, "Revista de Istorie Militară", 2013, 3-4 (137-138), p. 1-93, avec sources et bibliographie.

Marcher contre les Serbes, c'était devenir l'ennemi de l'Entente. Leur sagesse l'emporta sur leur désir. Frémissants, ils restèrent neutres. La France, depuis les événements balkaniques de 1913 a perdu son auréole en Bulgarie. La Bulgarie jugeant sa cause seule juste se demanda pourquoi la France, la grande justicière du monde, n'avait pas pris sa défense. Il s'ensuivit un sentiment populaire de désaffection et l'appel au pouvoir d'hommes à tendances germanophiles. L'Entente, par conséquent, en ce mois de novembre, considéra la neutralité de la Bulgarie comme un succès⁶⁴.

Dans les Balkans, le théâtre occidental de la guerre ne passionne pas. Leurs regards étaient tournés uniquement vers ce qui se passait autour d'eux et en Russie. La Bulgarie regardait la Grèce et la Roumanie. La Grèce regardait la Bulgarie. La Roumanie, l'œil sur la Russie, par les autres se laissait regarder.

Les premiers bateaux alliés apparurent alors devant les Dardanelles. Les Balkans, quoique nullement endormis, eurent un sursaut. On venait de leur marcher sur les pieds.

La Grèce, par les yeux de son grand citoyen, entrevoyant lumineusement ses destinées, tout enflammée, se levait déjà pour nous accompagner chez les Turcs. La Bulgarie, aux écoutes, se sentit remuée. Elle entendait que Venizelos, pour participer à la fête de Constantinople, s'apprêtait à lui céder un morceau de la belle Macédoine. Cette fête était donc si belle qu'elle méritât d'avance un sacrifice? Impatiente du gain qu'elle pourrait en retirer, elle eut, à cet instant, l'idée d'y prendre part. D'y prendre part même avant la Grèce pour être la première. Mais bientôt tout s'éteignit, car la Grèce avait un roi⁶⁵.

Calmée – la peur de la Bulgarie avait été de se faire devancer -- elle retrouva sa sérénité. Elle pouvait encore attendre.

Les opérations dans les Dardanelles ayant rencontré des difficultés ne se menaient pas aussi rapidement qu'on l'aurait pu croire. Chaque jour la Bulgarie sentait combien cela lui donnait d'importance. De ce côté de la guerre, par sa situation sur la carte, c'était elle maintenant qui pouvait donner à l'Entente l'appui le plus efficace, le coup le plus direct à l'Alliance.

Les circonstances la plaçaient sur un piédestal au carrefour des deux parties de l'Europe. En effet, les deux parties de l'Europe se rencontrèrent chez elle. Chacune, l'une à droite, l'autre à gauche, venait lui apporter des présents sur un plateau d'argent. Il y a deux ans, pensa-t-elle, les grandes puissances me méprisaient, on parlait même de me supprimer, aujourd'hui ce sont elles qui viennent s'asseoir près de moi pour m'offrir et me demander des choses.

Rengorgée elle écouta.

L'Allemagne lui disait:

“Je vous accorde tout ce que vous désirez; en échange je ne vous demande même pas de prendre les armes contre les Alliés. Je sais que le soldat bulgare ne pourrait pas tirer sur le soldat russe, laissez-moi le passage. Fin juillet l'armée Mackensen sera libre. Nous tomberons sur la Serbie. Deux semaines, et elle n'existera plus. A ce moment, permettez-nous de rejoindre les Turcs à travers votre territoire”.

⁶⁴ N. Nikov. *Les relations franco-bulgares (1913-1915)*, “Etudes balkaniques”, 10 (1974), p. 281-291.

⁶⁵ Le “roi des Hellènes” Constantin I^{er} (1913-1917; 1920-1921), beau-frère de l'empereur Guillaume II. Voir à son sujet la biographie de E. Driault, *Le roi Constantin*, Versailles 1930 avec le compte-rendu de Nicolae Iorga dans la “Revue Historique du sud-est Européen” 7 (1930), 7-9, p. 149-151.

– Bien! répondit la Bulgarie.

L'Entente lui disait:

“Dans les deux cas vous devez être avec nous. Même si, par impossible (et ce ne sera pas), l'Allemagne l'emportait, son intérêt, surtout la compréhension qu'elle en a, l'empêcherait, malgré ses assurances, de faciliter le développement d'une autre race. Vainqueurs avec nous qui le serons...”

– Bien! répondit la Bulgarie.

La Bulgarie est un pays de paysans. Comme eux, âpre au gain – et le gain aujourd'hui consistait en des provinces –. Frappée de sa nouvelle fortune, elle se dit: “Puisque, du coup, sans discussion, on m'offre tant, c'est que je puis obtenir davantage. Les troupes alliées mettront encore des mois à venir à bout des Dardanelles. La Roumanie est au mutisme, la Grèce en relevailles, j'ai le temps”.

– J'ai le temps, répète M. Radoslavoff, le président du Conseil⁶⁶.

M. Radoslavoff est un homme courtois et madré. Ayant beaucoup fréquenté les Turcs, il en a gardé cette politesse d'esprit qui va jusqu'à vous cacher la vérité plutôt que de vous dire une chose désagréable. Ne vous provoquant jamais, il est difficile de lutter avec lui. “Puis, proclame-t-il, moi, je suis un paysan!” laissant entendre par là qu'il en a la ruse et la finesse.

– Très bien, lui renvoyait un jour un diplomate, puisque vous êtes un paysan, prenons un exemple de paysan: vous venez au marché avec un poulet. C'est le début du marché. Vous en vouliez vingt sous, on vous en donne vingt sous, mais vous réfléchissez. Vous vous dites: j'ai le temps, j'en trouverai sûrement un plus haut prix. Et la fin du marché arrive. On a acheté du veau à la place du poulet, votre poulet vous reste dans les mains.

– Quand le poulet est bien gras, répondit M. Radoslavoff, il trouve toujours acquéreur.

Pour l'instant, les Bulgares en sont là.....

Cependant, l'unité politique de leur race ayant été déchirée à la minute où elle allait s'accomplir, c'est en vue seule de la reconstituer qu'ils sont en armes. Rien ne pèsera devant ce but. De l'Alliance, de l'Entente, ils ne sont exactement sûrs d'aucune. On leur fait des promesses: méfiants, ce ne sont plus des promesses, ce sont des gages qu'ils veulent. Pour croire, ils demandent à toucher. Ce genre de diplomatie, direz-vous, est un peu primitif. C'est le leur. A tout prendre, pensent-ils, dans l'incertitude où nous sommes, rester intacts nous paraît encore le meilleur. Quand tout le monde sera épuisé, nous serons forts.

Ce sont des matérialistes.

Salonique, nid d'espions

Salonique, décembre.

Salonique est un accès de fièvre, et si les villes avaient un cœur, de tous les cœurs des villes c'est celui de Salonique qui battrait le plus fort. A chaque pas que l'on fait sur son quai et dans ses rues, on sent que l'on heurte de l'émotion, de la crainte, de l'angoisse, de l'espoir, de la peur, de l'espionnage et de l'affolement.

⁶⁶ Vasil Hristov Radoslavov (1854-1929), président du Conseil des ministres à deux reprises: 28 août 1886-10 juillet 1887; 17 juillet 1913-21 juin 1918. Il engagea la Bulgarie dans la guerre du côté des Puissances Centrales.

Vous marchez tranquillement, quelqu'un vous abat sa main sur votre bras et vous dit: "Les officiers de marine qui étaient en ville viennent d'être rappelés en toute hâte sur leurs bateaux". On répond: "Bon, très bien"! Mais le quelqu'un n'est pas satisfait et vous a glissé dans l'oreille: "J'en conclus que c'est cette nuit que la flotte va bombarder". Vous tachez de vous perdre dans la foule et de courir à vos affaires. Mais si vous avez eu le malheur de jeter seulement votre pardessus sur vos épaules on vous attrape par la manche et l'on vous dit: "Vous savez qu'un sous-marin grec vient de rentrer dans le golfe, trois torpilleurs français l'ont arrêté et ont l'œil sur lui, s'il bouge d'un mètre ils le coulent". "Bon, très bien"! dit-on; mais la personne qui tient encore votre manche insiste: "Ce sera l'incident qui déclenchera tout". Vous vous glissez de nouveau dans la foule, cette fois on vous court après et un ami vous dit: "Viens!" On demande: "Où donc?" Il répond: "Tu verras", et il vous conduit dans la salle à manger d'un hôtel. En vous montrant le général anglais la cuiller à la main, il nous dit: "Regarde". On regarde et on demande: "Qu'a-t-il donc de spécial?" On vous répond: "Tu ne vois pas la tête qu'il a?"

Et on vous explique: "Il s'asseyait pour commencer son dîner, il était tranquille comme d'habitude quand un marin anglais est arrivé porteur d'un pli. Il l'ouvrit et tout en le lisant changea de figure; depuis, contre son ordinaire, il mange nerveusement et se dépêche".

Puisque le bonheur vous a conduit dans une salle à manger vous en profitez pour vous asseoir devant une table. Vous pensez ainsi avoir une demi-heure de sérénité, vous avez trouvé un camarade de Paris, vous vous dites: on va causer des boulevards. Vous n'en êtes pas au potage qu'une de vos connaissances ouvre la porte et s'écrie tout bas: "Mes enfants, je vous cherchais". On lui répond: "Vas-y!" Il y va: "Des patrouilles de sous-officiers sans arme parcourent la ville et font rentrer immédiatement au camp tous les soldats permissionnaires qu'ils rencontrent. Il se prépare de grands événements pour cette nuit, on va veiller l'arme au pied". La connaissance reprend aussitôt: "Ce n'est pas tout", et elle continue: "Le gros de la flotte vient de recevoir l'ordre de quitter Malte sur l'heure et d'accourir ici". Heureusement que vous êtes à table, que vous avez une fourchette et un couteau dans les mains et que vous pouvez un moment noyer dans le bruit de la porcelaine l'avalanche de ces nouvelles. Ce n'est, hélas! que pour un moment.

Vous entrez dans un restaurant que voyez-vous? Le consul de Bulgarie et un officier français mangeant en tête-à-tête sur une petite table. Pourquoi? Parce que l'officier français n'a trouvé qu'une seule place de libre, à la table il y avait déjà un monsieur qu'il ne connaissait pas, il a demandé au monsieur: "Cette place est-elle libre?". Le monsieur a répondu "oui", et les voilà qui se font des politesses à se passer les plats.

Vous allez à notre camp d'aviation. Quelle est la personne qui, le nez en l'air, contemple avec tant d'amour les oiseaux né en France? C'est M. le consul général d'Allemagne. Notre aviateur ne peut tout de même pas démolir son appareil pour lui descendre dessus.

Vous faites quelques pas sur le port. Voilà des troupes qui arrivent. Quel est ce monsieur qui essuie son binocle pour mieux regarder, quel est cet admirateur passionné des armées françaises et anglaises qui ne rate pas un seul débarquement? C'est M. le consul général d'Autriche.

Puis il y a aussi M. le consul général de Turquie. M. le consul général de Turquie **fait** les *tramways*.

Maintenant observez autour de vous. Un groupe d'officiers français ou anglais marche en causant, et derrière vous voyez un suiveur en civil qui, par le plus pur hasard, a le même pas que les officiers. Accompagnez les officiers, ils vont s'asseoir autour d'une table; le suiveur s'assoit à la table à côté. Sans le faire exprès il se penche parfois si près d'eux que c'est tout juste si par mégarde il ne boit pas dans leur verre. Si les espions étaient de ces amorces que les enfants sèment sur les trottoirs, à chaque pas on en ferait éclater un.

Et savez-vous ce que c'est que cette ville où l'on rencontre à chaque tournant les représentants officiels de l'Allemagne, de l'Autriche, de la Bulgarie, de la Turquie, où l'on est assis dans le train à côté de l'agent du Kaiser, où, quand vous avez une cigarette non allumée à la bouche, un Autrichien inconnu vient vous offrir du feu, ou quand vous marchez sur le pied d'un passant vous entendez un juron en bulgare? Cette ville c'est la base des armées franco-anglaises d'Orient!

Nous autres, nous ne savons sans doute pas exactement combien nous avons d'hommes, nous comptons en chiffre ronds, soit cent mille, cent vingt-cinq mille, cent cinquante mille. Mais eux, si c'est cent mille dix, ils le savent. Ils savent le nombre des arrivants; ils comptent nos malades et ils calculent chaque jour. Si vous voulez avoir la statistique de notre armée, demandez-la-leur.

Et les journaux! Non! jamais on n'a vu ça! A toute heure vous entendez brailler: "le Nouveau Siècle", "le Courrier de Salonique". Ce sont des journaux allemands rédigés en français. Ils ont des nouvelles sensationnelles: "Pourquoi l'Allemagne sera victorieuse", "L'échec des Alliés", "L'Italie n'est pas si bête", "Les Français en déroute". Et l'on crie ça sous le nez de l'armée française et on offre ces numéros à des officiers français, et des officiers français, qui ne savent pas encore, donnent devant tout le monde un sou pour les posséder.

Nous avons envoyé des cuirassés, des canons, des soldats, des avions, mais nous avons oublié les balais. Envoyez d'urgence les balais.

Il n'y a qu'une chose au milieu de cette ville tourbillonnante, paradoxale, sournoise et peut-être bientôt sanglante, il n'y a qu'une chose qui nous remette l'esprit en place, c'est lorsque le soir, vers sept heures, sur le quai, vous voyez passer une automobile éclairée, et que dans cette automobile vous reconnaissez un homme dont le regard devant les événements les plus sombres est toujours droit, limpide et puissant. Cet homme c'est un général, ce général c'est Sarrail⁶⁷.

* * *

Lorsqu'au début d'octobre 1915, le général Sarrail quitte la France pour prendre le commandement du camp retranché de Salonique, Georges Clemenceau le met en garde: "N'y allez pas! ... C'est un guet-apens qu'on vous tend! C'est une folie que cette Croisade! Elle n'a qu'un partisan: Castelnau. C'est lui qui vous joue ce tour-là!"⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Maurice-Paul-Emmanuel Sarrail (1856-1929), figure parmi les meilleurs généraux français de la Grande Guerre. Londres lui vouait un véritable culte, conscient de l'énorme travail que le général avait entrepris pour améliorer le sort des soldats alliés, livrés à eux-mêmes au camp retranché de Salonique. Voir notamment ses mémoires, *Mon commandement en Orient (1916-1918)*, Paris 1920 (rééd. et commentées par R. Porte), 2012.

⁶⁸ P. Allard, *L'Oreille fendue*, Paris 1933, *apud*, J.-N. Grandhomme, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

Le dernier reportage d'Albert Londres est révélateur sur l'atmosphère qui régnait dans cette ville à l'arrivée du général en chef. L'espionnisme qui se propageait comme une "maladie contagieuse", parmi les bataillons français ou britanniques, certains à peine rescapés des tranchées de Gallipoli, est une réalité qu'il faut prendre bien en considération. Elle trahit aussi l'incapacité du commandement allié à prendre l'initiative sur ce théâtre d'opérations, sauver l'armée serbe de la débâcle provoquée par l'intervention bulgare ou même lancer une offensive pour alléger le front roumain, nouvellement créé en août 1916. Ce sont les troupes bulgares qui, le 17 août, passent à l'attaque, en s'emparant, après trois jours de combat, de Serès et de Demi-Hissar. Donnons aussi raison à Brătianu qui déclarait, durant ces jours cruciaux pour la destinée de la Roumanie, au commandant Thompson futur lord Carrington, l'attaché militaire britannique à Bucarest: "J'aurais dû m'engager à ne déclarer la guerre à l'Autriche que lorsque les troupes du général Sarrail auraient franchi la frontière grecque. Comme homme d'Etat, je reconnais avoir commis une grande faute : à mes militaires de la réparer"⁶⁹.

Une mention spéciale au sujet des dernières négociations avec l'Entente en juillet (suivies de la signature du traité d'alliance du 4 août 1916 dans la maison de Vintilă Brătianu), circonstances décrites en détail par Ion G. Duca⁷⁰, nous plonge dans le monde des diplomates anglais qui fêtaient cet événement quelques jours plus tard, donc en juillet, avec le consul russe de Galați. Gheorghe Jurgea-Negrilești est notre seul et unique témoin de ces conversations:

"Il y a eu ensuite le fameux déjeuner avec Pitz et le major Thompson. Ce dernier l'attaché de la Grande-Bretagne et l'amant de Marthe Bibesco⁷¹. On y a discuté des choses qui me semblaient épouvantables.

– «La Roumanie ne résistera pas plus de trois mois», nous expliquait le futur lord Cardington, c'est-à-dire Thompson. «C'est archi-suffisant pour transformer <la chambre à provisions> de l'Allemagne et sa dernière source de pétrole en un monceau de ruines.»

– «Quelle horreur!» s'est exclamé ma mère.

– «Natacha, voyons!» a essayé de la calmer grand-père.

– «Je suis tout à fait d'accord avec madame! Lorsque je suis sorti de chez Brătianu, je me sentais comme un malfaiteur qui avait commis un cambriolage. Mais c'est la politique. Notre guerre économique en Roumanie n'a pas donné les résultats escomptés. Lichiardopol de Braila, après nous avoir vendu son stock de farine, s'est empressé de le revendre aux Allemands⁷². Et en ce moment les transporteurs sont entre les mains de l'ennemi. Mais il y a autre chose, beaucoup

⁶⁹ Cité d'après *Ibidem*, p. 116-117. Voir aussi le chap. *L'établissement du camp retranché de Salonique*, p. 82-84 avec source et bibliographie.

⁷⁰ Voir n. 48, *supra*. Sur la décision roumaine voir aussi les propos de Hamilton-Herwig. *Ibidem*, p. 174-178.

⁷¹ Qui écrivit plus tard sa biographie, *Le destin de Lord Thomson of Cardington, suivi de Smaranda par le brigadier général Lord Thomson of Cardington* (préfacée par James Ramsay Mac Donald), Paris 1932.

⁷² Sur l'achat préventif des récoltes de céréales par les Anglais et par les Allemands en 1915-16, voir toujours le savoureux témoignage de Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, *op. cit.*, p. 88 et suiv.

plus grave. Pratiquement, toute la guerre sous-marine des Allemands fonctionne grâce au pétrole roumain, tout comme les escadrilles allemandes de Doger Bank. Et un autre problème se pose, continua Thompson avec son air froid et flegmatique. Nous n'aimerions pas que notre alliée tombe comme un cadeau entre les mains de l'ennemi.»

– «Tu n'échapperas point à ce que tu redoutes», dit le Roumain. C'est ainsi que les silos de Pitz, avec des biens achetés par la Couronne d'Angleterre, sont devenues la capture de Mackensen.

– «Le blé ne brûle pas», a constaté Pitz. «En revanche, les sondes de la vallée de la Prahova ont été complètement détruites et en fin de compte les Allemands n'auront plus de pétrole roumain.»

– «Quels bons alliés a trouvé Brătianu!» s'est exclamée ma grand-mère qui avait du talent pour les gaffes. «D'une part l'Angleterre, avec l'incendie total, et d'autre part la Russie, qui...»

– «Mais voyons, Liuba ...» a essayé de l'arrêter grand-père.

– «Et alors?» a continué grand-mère, qui ne se laissait pas facilement démonter. «J'ai voulu dire qu'il vaut mieux avoir des ennemis que de tels amis!»

Thompson a commencé à rire.

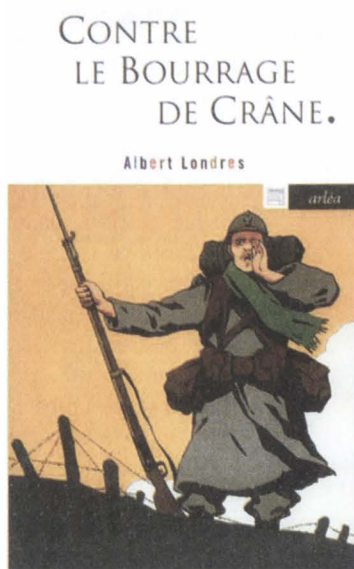
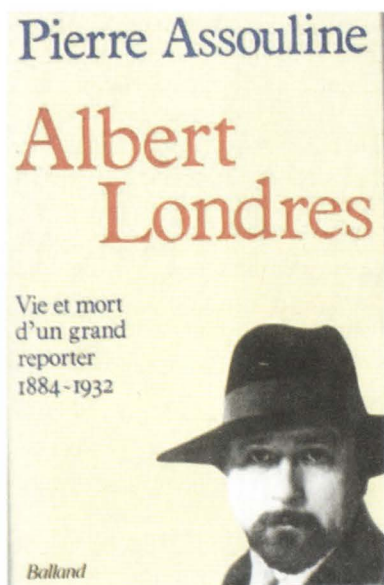
– «En tout cas, la Roumanie a en madame un allié fidèle, et pour vous tranquilliser je dois vous dire qu'aujourd'hui, comme autrefois par ailleurs, nos plans ou ceux de la Russie ne se réaliseront pas. Mais pas parce qu'ils seraient absurdes ou irréalisables, mais parce que l'histoire nous enseigne que le sort des plans politiques est de rater, tout «géniaux» qu'ils soient» – et Thompson prononça «géniaux» avec un mépris visible. «Et dans Bucarest inconstant et optimiste, je vois toutes les prémisses d'une gigantesque catastrophe militaire. J'avoue ne pas comprendre les militaires roumains. Lorsqu'on discute avec eux, on voit qu'ils ne sont pas bêtes. Mais leurs plans militaires sont si aberrants, que l'on a l'impression qu'ils ne connaissent pas la carte de leur propre pays. Comment le général Iliescu, le Chef de l'Etat-major, ou n'importe quel autre, peut croire que la Roumanie puisse résister sur un front cinq fois plus long que celui de la France? Ah, si les Bulgares étaient neutres ... Mais la Roumanie a eu besoin du Quadrilatère ...»

... Vis-à-vis de ma grand-mère, Thompson s'est senti comme le pêcheur qui voit d'enfuir le poisson qui venait tout juste de mordre à son hameçon. La bourde lui était passée sous le nez, sans pouvoir la déguster. Très finement, sur un ton de parfaite politesse, il a esquissé une dernière tentative:

– «Sans connaître les intentions du Cabinet de Sankt Petersburg, je comprends parfaitement que la Russie ne peut prendre en considération les intérêts de certaines <inventions géographiques> temporaires» (il faisait allusion à la Bulgarie et à la Roumanie).

Personne n'a répondu, et par cette dernière appréciation le major m'est devenu antipathique. Au même moment le majordome Inovici nous a invité au salon pour prendre le café.⁷³

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 158-161.



DANS LA RUSSIE DES SOVIETS.

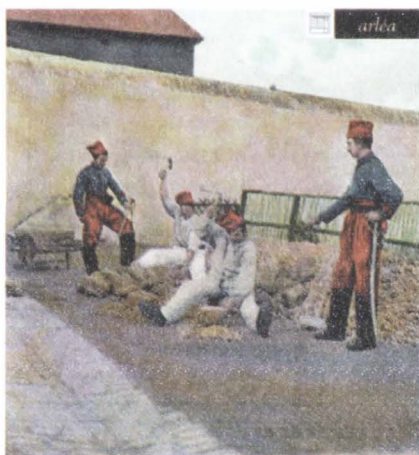
Albert Londres

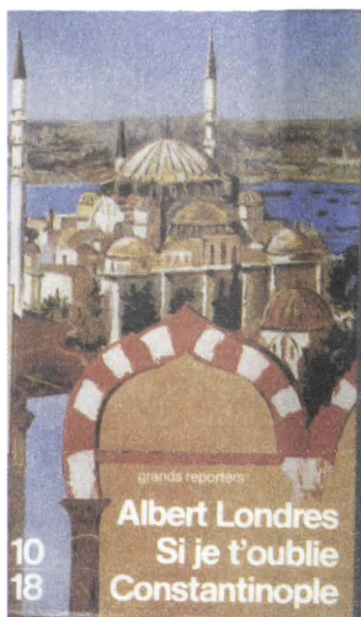


DANTE N'AVAIT RIEN VU.

BIRIBI

Albert Londres





**The South-East European Countries in the First World War (1915).
Three Feature Reports of Albert Londres and the Memoirs of
Gheorghe Jurgea-Negrilești**
(abstract)

A famous French reporter, Albert Londres (1884-1932), has visited Bucarest, Sofia and Thessaloniki in July-December 1915. His articles published in *Petit Journal* were occasioned by his mission on the Turkish front. In Romania, he has observed how the two coalitions are making strenuous attempts to convince the government to enter the war. He noted the sympathy for the Entente and especially for France of the most part of the political class and public opinion, and the payments made by Germany to corrupt politicians or newspapers. In Bulgaria, the situation was not yet clear. London was just to remark that the conquest of the entire Macedonia was the main issue that would determine how the government in Sofia will act. The third article describes how the city of Thessaloniki, the headquarters of general Sarrail, was full of German and Austrian spies, whose presence was enabled by the neutrality of Greece in that moment.

The other subject of the study concerns some fragments of the memoirs of Gh. Jurgea-Negrilești, about the Russian fleet sent to Serbia through Reni and Galați in September 1914. Prince P. Urusov declared on that occasion that Russia had the intention to occupy the Danube from Galați to Cernavodă.

General Rădescu's Sanctuary at the British Legation in Bucharest: the British Efforts to Secure his Life

Marian-Alin Dudoi

Keywords: *Communism; Foreign Office; Romania (Roumania. Rumania); Soviet Union*

The British and the United States representatives played a minor role in the East European Allied policy as their Soviet ally that had occupied this part of Europe and believed the Westerners should behave in the same way with the Soviet representatives in Italy.

Under Soviet pressure and having the country occupied by the Red Army, King Michael had to accept the formation of a new Government formally presided by Petru Groza on March 6, 1945.

The former Prime-Minister General Nicolae Rădescu, fearing of being arrested by the new Government, appealed to the British¹. General Rădescu was granted sanctuary at the British Legation on March 6, 1945, the asylum being known under code name "Woodcock"². As they were members of the Allied Control Commission for Romania (ACC) and headed by the Soviets, the British had to address Soviets and also the new Romanian Government regarding this matter.

On March 7, 8,35 a.m., the Romanian Police, acting according to Groza's orders, tried to keep Rădescu isolated in his house but when they arrived, they did not find him³.

The main British officials dealing with the sanctuary were Stevenson, Le Rougetel and Marjoribanks. Air Vice Marshal Donald F. Stevenson was the head of the British Section in the ACC [informally known as the British Military Mission]; the War Office and the Foreign Office also called him during the activity in Romania by the title of "Commissioner"; his military rank was equivalent to a two star general. The British Military Mission and the Office of the British Political Representative, the latter headed by John Le Rougetel, having Marjoribanks as deputy, started their activity in Romania in the autumn of 1944. In September 1947, when the Romanian Peace Treaty came into force, the Office of the British Political Representative was formally transformed into the British Legation, although the Office was informally known as the British Legation – the name of Office was used

¹ The present study continues the author's previous study which dealt with the first days of sanctuary, see Marian-Alin Dudoi, *Acordarea azilului pentru Generalul Rădescu la Legația Britanică*. "Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie" 17 (2010), 1, p. 233-240.

² Great Britain. Public Record Office, Foreign Office [hereafter PRO FO], 371/48541, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 521 of 12.05.1945 to Foreign Office (R. 8292; the content belonged to Stevenson).

³ *Un sfert de veac de urmărire: Documente din dosarele secrete ale Generalului Nicolae Rădescu* (ed. by Monica Grigore & Oana Ionel & Dragoș Marcu), Bucharest 2004, doc. 162-164, 292-295.

because the effects of the British Declaration of War in December 1941 would only end when a Peace Treaty with Romania came into force.

Although British solicited the protection of the Red Army during the sanctuary, Soviets refused by arguing that this was a matter of the Groza Government concern. The Romanian Government offered its assistance, but British refused as they had no intention to recognize it: despite British refusal, Romanian agents were being sent and sometimes they had conflicts with the British. Romanian agents had to escort British cars in order to arrest Rădescu if necessary by producing an accident in traffic – there were always ten Romanian Police cars and each had a team of two agents⁴. As the British continued to protest, at the end of April the Romanian protection ceased and Soviets accepted to grant a minimal protection⁵.

During the sanctuary, there was an action of the Romanian Police to kidnap Rădescu from the Mission yard, but it was prevented by the British soldiers⁶.

In the first days of sanctuary, Rădescu tried to persuade Le Rougetel to meet Vișoianu, but he was refused as a consequence of the fact that the British did not accept “for him to carry on any political activities of any kind, nor to receive or send messages.”⁷ Rădescu still insisted to see Vișoianu in order to secure his personal belongings found in his private house, occupied by Soviets at that time. Concerning this last matter, Le Rougetel promised that a message should be sent by Marjoribanks to Vișoianu and if the latter could do nothing, Rădescu had to be notified⁸. Rădescu considered his downfall as the effect of the announcement on February 19 to hold municipal elections in March, which have been lost by the highly unpopular Communists. A more plausible reason for installing the Soviets’ puppet Government in the rear of Red Army was Stalin’s desire to set up Soviet rule before Germany and Japan capitulations by preventing the discharging of all democratic energies the aftermath of the war. Subsequently, Vyshinski had informed King Michael at the end of February that a NDF Government had been a matter of prestige for Stalin and, in case King Michael had refused, Romania would have risked to lose its independence⁹.

The Romanian press, with few unimportant exceptions, avoided the subject of Rădescu’s sanctuary. Still, Vasile Stoica, Secretary General of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, offered the following formal reaction on behalf of Tătărescu: “The Romanian Government have noted the communication of the British Political Representative informing that General Rădescu had asked for sanctuary at the British Mission. The Government cannot conceal their surprise at this entirely unjustified action. General Rădescu had been neither molested nor interfered with in

⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 171, 302-303.

⁵ See details in M. A. Dudoi, *Atitudinea britanică referitoare la supravegherea Misunii de la București (martie-aprilie 1945)*, in *România în relațiile internaționale: Diplomatie, minorități, istorie. In onorăm Ion Calafăteanu*, Târgoviște 2010, p. 207-213.

⁶ <http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/RomanianStudiesUK.pdf> (Dennis Deletant, *Romanian Studies in the UK*, lecture at the British Library on October 12, 2005).

⁷ PRO FO, 371/48538. Copy of Stevenson’s RAC dispatch no. 621/165 of 10.03.1945 to War Office.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ *Idem*, 371/48539, Le Rougetel’s dispatch no. 297 of 16.03.1945 to Foreign Office.

any way. Had this been so Roumanian authorities would have afforded full protection to him as they would to any Roumanian citizen within the frame of the existing laws. No threat is directed against the former President of the Council. The Romanian Government deplore that General Rădescu should by this very act have engendered a state of nervousness and unrest harmful to public order."¹⁰

The British forbade the United States correspondents, who participated at the celebrations held in Cluj concerning Transylvania returning to Romania, to have an interview with General¹¹.

British representatives had to take severe measure to protect the former Prime-Minister as the Groza Government was planning to support mass demonstrations outside the British Mission for intimidation purposes¹².

When discussing the matter with Stevenson, Colonel General Ivan Zaharovitch Susaikov, ACC Deputy Chairman, considered the sanctuary as falling under the scope of the British-Romanian relations. Stevenson still reminded to Susaikov that even Lenin was given harbour in Great Britain¹³.

In a hope to diminish Romanian surveillance of the British Mission, the Foreign Office suspended a draft dispatch to Molotov in which Great Britain was requiring military protection for the Bucharest Mission and the withdrawal of accusations of fascism against Rădescu, previously published in Moscow press¹⁴.

Shortly afterwards, the British Prime-Minister sought to recommend the Foreign Office to accept the Romanian Government promise, in writing only, that Rădescu would not be molested¹⁵. Churchill's judgment took into consideration the pressure upon the members of British Mission in Bucharest. Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary, agreed with the proposal¹⁶.

The Foreign Office decided to support the General's right in obtaining Soviet assurances to secure his freedom¹⁷. When Clark Kerr inquired on the Soviets' attitude, Molotov and Vyshinski refused to give any advice. The British finally decided to approach the Romanian Government for writing assurance in case that Rădescu would be free¹⁸. When meeting Tătărescu on April 13, Le Rougetel was secretly told about the Soviet control in Romanian affairs¹⁹.

¹⁰ Idem, 371/48550, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 266 of 13.06.1945 to Foreign Office.

¹¹ Idem, 371/48551, Copy of Stevenson's RAC dispatch no. 693.165 of 16.03.1945 to War Office. Ibidem, War Office dispatch no. 77.320 of 17.03.1945 to Stevenson.

¹² Idem, 371/48550, Copy of Stevenson's RAC dispatch no. 628.165 of 10.03.1945 to War Office.

¹³ Idem, 371/48551, Copy of Stevenson's RAC dispatch no. 709.125 of 18.03.1945 to War Office.

¹⁴ Ibidem, D.L. Stewart's draft of 20.03.1945.

¹⁵ Idem, 371/48539, Churchill's Personal Minute no. M. 205.5 of 18.03.1945 to Eden.

¹⁶ Ibidem, Eden's Personal Minute no. 45.128 of 23.03.1945 to Churchill.

¹⁷ Idem, 371/48552, Foreign Office dispatch no. 1610 of 2.04.1945 to Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador in Moscow.

¹⁸ Idem, 371/48539, Clark Kerr's dispatch no. 1091 of 3.04.1945 to Foreign Office. Ibidem, Foreign Office dispatch no. 435 of 5.04.1945 to Le Rougetel. Ibidem, Copy of Dominion Office dispatch no. 569 of 7.04.1945 to the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

¹⁹ Idem, 371/48540, Le Rougetel's dispatches nos. 420 and 426 of 13 and 14.04.1945 to Foreign Office.

On April 17, Tătărescu offered an official letter to Le Rougetel that the General would not be molested, but the Romanian Foreign Minister offered no guarantee if Rădescu was subject to a trial²⁰. Tătărescu would offer only formal assurances and the fact that the Romanian Government would protect Rădescu of any attempts on his life²¹. At the ACC meeting on the same day, Brigadier Edward Greer, acting on behalf of Stevenson, who was in Great Britain, proposed official assurances should be offered also by the Soviet High Command in Romania, the same assurances offered in the previous month in the case of Maniu, as required by Brigadier General Schuyler, Head of the United States Military Mission in Romania²². Lieutenant General Vladislav Petrovitch Vinogradov, ACC Chief of Staff, inquired whether the British were insisting for the official letter and Greer replied positively arguing that the Soviets previously declared they were responsible for maintaining the order and specified the need for written assurances before Rădescu left the sanctuary²³. Vinogradov agreed that a letter should be provided²⁴.

On April 20, Winston Churchill decided to accept the removal of sanctuary based upon Tătărescu's assurances only, but Le Rougetel and Greer disagreed and decided to postpone the event until they received Vinogradov's letter²⁵.

Two days later, Le Rougetel informed that General Rădescu accepted to leave the Legation in connection with Tătărescu's written assurance, but he hoped to be granted a safe conduct for leaving Romania²⁶. Le Rougetel persuaded him to apply an extra permit only after he would leave Legation, promised support for the extra permit and Rădescu agreed; also Burton Berry, United States Representative in Romania, promised he should write a letter to Soviets to support British proposal for a safe conduct²⁷. The same day undoubtedly to intimidate the British, as a Romanian demonstration outside Mission for supporting the rights of Jews in Palestine shouted also "surrender the guilty", Le Rougetel changed his mind and proposed Foreign Office that safe conduct should be granted to Rădescu before leaving Legation²⁸. In London, D. L. Stewart of Foreign Office agreed with Le Rougetel's last view,

²⁰ Idem, 371/48553, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 436 of 17.04.1945 to Foreign Office. Ibidem, Action Notes on a Meeting between Acting Commissioner and Lt. Gen. Vinogradov on 17.04.1945. Idem, 371/48541, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 442 of 17.04.1945 to Foreign Office (the content represented Tătărescu's letter addressed to Le Rougetel). Romanian National Archives, Folder CC of PCR, Foreign Affairs, ds. 1/1945, Copy of Tătărescu's undated note addressed to Le Rougetel.

²¹ PRO FO, 371/48541, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 442 of 17.04.1945 to Foreign Office. Romanian National Archives, Folder CC of PCR, Foreign Affairs, ds. 1/1945, Copy of Tătărescu's undated note addressed to Le Rougetel.

²² PRO FO, 371/48553, Action Notes on a Meeting between Acting Commissioner and Lt. Gen. Vinogradov on 17.04.1945.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem, Sargent's Minute to Churchill (P.M. 05/45/35) of 26.04.1945.

²⁶ Ibidem, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 459 of 22.04.1945 to Foreign Office.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem.

considered the British did as much as they can in the matter of Rădescu's sanctuary and opposed the idea of Rădescu's immigration in a British territory²⁹.

When Greer approached Vinogradov for the expected letter, the Soviet General clearly refused to provide it because he considered it unnecessary, motivated that the letter would in no way influence the people to molest Rădescu and took into consideration the Romanian Government's determination to stop any incident³⁰. When inquiring for the extra permit, Vinogradov considered it as a British-Romanian matter³¹. On March 6, even Susaikov, in a written dispatch, had announced Stevenson that the security in Romania was under the rule of ACC; this provided the necessary argument for the British request³². As the Soviet had imposed the puppet Government, they have switched over with to Romanian Government and played publicly the card of respecting Romanian sovereignty and its representative, the Groza Government.

Greer and Le Rougetel were not satisfied by the Soviet unwritten assurances and feared Rădescu would be charged under the new purge legislation³³. In London, Sir Orme Sargent, Assistant Under-Secretary of Foreign Office, disagreed with these views and proposed to Churchill, considering the British had done as much as they could, that sanctuary removal should take place immediately³⁴. Sargent supported Rădescu's application for an exit permit made after he would leave British Mission but opposed any British maintenance or the General's immigration into a British territory³⁵.

Finally, the British accepted only the Romanian Government assurances; their argument was given since "we clearly cannot keep him indefinitely, he will leave the Legation without delay"³⁶. British decided Rădescu will not receive any financial or any kind of support from them and they could not protest to a further trial of the General in the Romanian Courts as he was granted sanctuary only to prevent his assassination³⁷.

The end of sanctuary came on May 7, 1945, when Le Rougetel informed the Romanian Government and Stevenson made a similar communication to ACC on this matter³⁸.

²⁹ Ibidem, D.L. Stewart's note of 23.04.1945 on the report "Roumania: General Rădescu".

³⁰ Ibidem, Copy of Greer's RAC dispatch no. 1118/429 of 24.04.1945 to War Office.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² *România și armistițiul cu Națiunile Unite* (ed. by Marin Radu Mocanu), Bucharest 1995, Susaikov's dispatch of 6.03.1945 to Stevenson, p. 256-257.

³³ PRO FO, 371/48553, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 469 of 24.04.1945 to Foreign Office. Ibidem, Sargent's Minute to Churchill (P.M. 05/45/35) of 26.04.1945.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem, Copy of the Outward Telegram no. 762 of 6.05.1945 sent by Dominion Office to the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Idem, 371/48554, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 505 of 7.05.1945 to Foreign Office. Ibidem, Foreign Office dispatch no. 60 of 12.05.1945 to British Embassy in Angora (Turkey). Ibidem, Copy of Dominion Office dispatch no. 815 of 12.05.1945 to the Governments of Canada, Australia,

Before leaving sanctuary, Rădescu thanked British Government for "the protection he had received at the critical moment when his Government fell. He fell this act by His Majesty's Government had saved his life on that occasion."³⁹ The NKVD cars placed in the vicinity of British Mission were withdrawn.

In the night of May 31-June 1, 20 civilians, thought to have represented Police, visited the house where the General was living in order to investigate the papers of a businessman who were sharing the house with Rădescu. The policeman on duty informed Tătărescu and a Police inspector soon arrived and they began to search the house, but no attempt was made to enter Rădescu's room. Șerbănescu, Rădescu's nephew-in-law, feared the action was made to intimidate his uncle because the businessman had no political activities and he was not in Bucharest⁴⁰.

In London, there were people who thought about the former Prime Minister's safety upon leaving the Legation, as the British honour should have not been affected. Mr. Martin, MP, inquired the Foreign Office in the House of Commons about the situation of Rădescu. On 13th June, the reply was given by Richard Law, Minister of Education, on behalf of Eden and consisted in the fact that General had left British Mission on May 7 as Romanian Government offered assurances in taking steps to protect him⁴¹.

Alerted by Rădescu's friends, British and United States officials manifested concern about the General's fate. On September 19, the American colonel Tucker tried to visit Rădescu, but the policeman on duty refused to let him enter. Fortunately, Rădescu heard and came outside telling he had been isolated, his physician could not consult him and his nephew and his wife were obliged to leave the house in order to be totally isolated. The same day, Stevenson, supported by his American counterpart Brigadier General Schuyler, complained to Soviet General Vinogradov in the matter of the house arrest. Vinogradov promised only to continue protection⁴².

To be recognized by British and United States Governments, Groza Government obliged to increase the degree of freedom. In this context on February 4, 1946, the house isolation was lifted⁴³. Fearing the arrest, Rădescu left Romania secretly by plane on June 15, 1946 and became one of the most important leaders of Romanian émigrés (until his death on May 16, 1953, in New York)⁴⁴.

New Zealand and South Africa and repeated as Dominion Office dispatch no. 615 of 12.05.1945 to United Kingdom Delegation at United Nations in San Francisco.

³⁹ Ibidem, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 512 of 11.05.1945 to Foreign Office (the text repeated Stevenson's RAC dispatch no. 1241 to War Office).

⁴⁰ Ibidem, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 591 of 1.06.1945 to Foreign Office. Ibidem, Le Rougetel's dispatch no. 608 of 6.06.1945 to Foreign Office.

⁴¹ Ibidem, Foreign Office dispatch no. 695 of 18.06.1945 to Le Rougetel.

⁴² Cortlandt Van Rensselaer Schuyler, *Misiune dificilă. Jurnal (28 ianuarie 1945-20 septembrie 1946)* (ed. by Alexandru Oșca & Mircea Chirițoiu). Bucharest 1997, p. 210-211. Romanian National Archives, USA Microfilm Collection, reel 667, Schuyler's dispatch no 715 of 21.09.1945 to U.S. Secretary of State.

⁴³ *Un sfert de veac de urmărire*, doc. 190, 327.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 213, 355.

General Rădescu's Sanctuary at the British Legation in Bucharest: the British Efforts to Secure his Life

(abstract)

The imposition of the Groza Government on March 6, 1945 in Romania occupied by Red Army determined the former Prime Minister General Nicolae Rădescu, accused by Romanian Communists and Soviets of "Fascism", to seek asylum at the British Legation in Bucharest. While granting sanctuary, the British also approached Romanian and Soviet Governments to secure General's life when leaving asylum.

Romanian Government offered only general assurances but Soviets refused to take part in this matter. Despite no Romanian formal assurances were issued in order not to be trialled, British determined Rădescu to leave Legation on May 7 to contribute to the Allies' unity before the Victory Day celebration.

As British honour was engaged, Romanian Government did not start prosecuting him and kept him under house arrest in order to prevent him from engaging in any political activity. On February 4, 1946, the isolation ceased but Rădescu, fearing of being arrested, left secretly Romania by plane on June 15, 1946.

Moldavia and Wallachia in Marino Sanudo's Diaries (III: 1509-1525)¹

Șerban V. Marin

Keywords: *Marino Sanudo; Venetian History; Diaries; Wallachia; Moldavia; 16th Century*

108. Summary of the debates in the Venetian college on February 27, 1509

[763] *A di 27 [febbrajo]. Veneno in colegio 2 oratori di [lacuna in the text] di Carabodan, vayvoda, qualli exposeno [four rows lacuna in the text].*

[VII, 763]

109. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido in August 1509

[99] [...].

Di Hongaria. tre lettere di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario nostro. da Buda, l'ultime di 9 di questo [agosto]. [...]. Item, e nova che il Valacho con turchi ha dato certa rota a' Polonia; la qual nova farà soprastar il re. [...].

[...].

[IX, 99]

110. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido in November 1509

[300] [...].

Di Hongaria. Di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario [novembre]. Scrive da Buda chome il re è pur in Boemia e non tornato. El cardinal è a Strigonia, e di Polana si ha quel re esser stato a le man col Moldavo e tartari e rimasto vincitiro. [...].

[...].

[IX, 300]

111. Summary of the letters received from Hungary in November 1509

[338] [...]. [novembre]

Nota. Le lettere di Hungaria ultime lete ogni in Pregadi de [lacuna in the text] ottobre, dice che 'l re è ancora a Buda (Praga?) nè vegnerà sì presto. [...]. Item, scrive di quelli valachi e vayvoda, le discordie loro. [...].

¹ See "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 87 (2010), 2, p. 158-178 and 88 (2011), 2, p. 163-187.

[IX, 338]

112. Copy of the letter of the Prince of Wallachia in February 1510

[563] [...] [februario].

De terremoto magno in urbe Bisantii.

Circumspecti vicini et amici nobis honorandi. Noveritis quod, his diebus, quidam nuncius de Constantinopoli a filio nostro Amilo vayvoda venit ad nos, qui talia nobis scripsit.

[564] Quod terremotus et fulmina magna in Constantinopoli fuerunt, quales ab initio mundi usque in praesentem non fuerunt. Itaque, magna pars muri ex parte maris cecidit; domus innumerabiles multitudinesque hominum occidit; ecclesiae magnae quas Mahumettus imperator et modernus filius ejus construxerant miro modo, et aliae quamplures ecclesiae turcorum ceciderunt. Superstant autem quaedam domus et ecclesiae infinitae christianorum, ad quas intrare non audent. Imperator autem turcorum, praeparat se cum hominibus suis venire Drinopolim, quousque ipsa ruina reformabitur prout ipse in figura monstrare vult, nam enim, quousque supervivent, turci nunquam readificare possunt, quia fossatum plenum est ruina et quacumque vias habeant ubicumque locorum, eis super fossatum liberae sunt. Ad quintum decimum autem diem mensis novembris, imperator erit Drinopoli. Dicunt etiam quod Sophitae de novo praeparant venire ad turcos, quos veraciter nescimus; sed prout speramus, si sic esset, ex tunc imperator non se elongaret de Constantinopoli. Nunc autem e converso misimus ad Portam, et cum quibus novitatibus ad nos revertentur, cum vestris circumspeditionibus communicabimus. Petimus vestras dominationes, ut has litteras nostras magnifico domino Petro vayvodae transilvaniensi domino et patri nostro, quamprimum mittere velit, ut sua magnificentia has sciat novitates. Et valete felices diu.

Datae in arce nostra Buchvich [=Bucuresti?], feria sexta post Dionysii.

MIHMIE, Dei gratia
vayvoda transalpinensis

In civitate Constantinopolitana, hoc anno 1509, in die Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis, et aliis civitatibus adjacentibus, terremotus factus est magnus qualis ab initio mundi non fuit, adeo quam magna pars muri ex parte maris cecidit, et domus innumerabiles et hominum multitudines oppressit. Quadriginta novem et thesaurorum quinque turres caesaris munitissimae ceciderunt, et illud mirabile aedificium pro fomento legionum (*legionum?*) corruit. Sepulcrum prioris caesaris, non parvis sumptibus extractum, et multae ecclesiae graecorum et turcorum, salvis omnibus ecclesiis christianis, corruerunt. Canalia illa subterranea, laboriosa et maxima cura elaborata, ex Danubio per tot montes et valles difficiles [565] ad Constantinopolim aquas ducentia, pene omnia sunt obruta, quae, ut ajunt, toto caesaris thesauro reparari non possent.

Magna pars turris plumbae apud Galatas corruit. Templum tamen Beatae Sophiae in Constantinopoli, nil penitus ruinae passum, prohibetur. Sola turris, post captam civitatem, a turcis extracta pro ornatu et solemnitate templi, tota praecipitata est, et omnino periit.

Calx et cementum quo omnes imagines Christi et Sanctissimae Matris ajus omniumque sanctorum in perniciem nostrae religionis fuscatae fuerunt et coopertae,

multo tamen tempore latentes, nunc, violentia quadam istius terremotus, quasi quadam arte et industria, calx ipsa ab imaginibus cecidit, quae jam, ut prius, suo splendore sunt dotatae.

In civitate Bolomonensi decem et octo diebus terremotus duravit; cadentes muri et fortissimae turres. Qui quidem terremotus, per totam Chienam usque ad Danubium est protensus, et terrorem magnum injecit.

In civitate Caliopoli, castrum fortissimum penitus ruptum est, nulla domo integra permanente. Brachium maris inter Galata et Constantinopolim, violentia ipsius terremotus, montem utrinque dividens, ultra muram aquam injecit.

Domus tributaria ad muros Constantinopolis e fundamento in mare cecidit, neque aliquod vestigium habet.

Tempore ipsius terremotus, ruentibus aedificiis, tresdecim millia hominum miserabiliter perierunt.

De familia Mustafa bassà primi consilarii caesaris, tercenti et sexaginta homines, simul cum omnibus eorum equis, interierunt.

Bay bassà, secundus consiliarius caesaris, de familia sua innumerabiles amisit, et ex jumentis similiter.

Aly bassà, tertius consiliarius caesaris, imbribus et tonitruis, domus, familia, equi, jumenta et omnia sua bona, penitus sunt corrupta.

Caesar turcorum, habet in curia sua quemdam graecum senem calogierum, qui omnia illa accidentia et pericula longe ante praedixerat, nam, quemdam nubem antea in aere volantem super urbem Constantinopolitanam ostendit, quae demum versus Moldaviam est protensa aeris motu. Ex quo, senex ille, Moldaviae aliquid futuri mali est vaticinatus, et in primis, sectam turcorum interritum passuram vivo scilicet moderno caesare incepturam: quod et saepius cesari intrepidus dixit; cujus praemonitu, imminente terremotu, caesar in ortum suum descendit, alias, sine dubio, praecipitio suae arcis obrutus fuisset.

[IX, 563-565]

113. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Andrea Foscolo on February 2, 1510 and received on February 14, 1510

[60] [...].

Di Constantinopoli, di sier Andrea Foscolo baylo, di 2 fevrer, et di Andernopoli di sier Nicolò Zustignan furono lettere di 14 fevrier. Nulla più di conto dil solito. Et per queste cosse di Valachia el Signor Turcho è implicito, *adeo* pocho è da sperar. [...].

[...].

[X, 60]

114. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido on March 2 and 8, 1510

[85] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto, secretario, date a Buda a di 2 et 8 marzo [aprile]. [...]. *Item, è nova turchi esser intrati in Valachia transalpina e fato gran rombo, e*

quel vayvoda Crapula esser passà di qua in Transilvania, sichè si tien quelle cose sarano a mal partito.

[...].

[X, 85]

115. Summary of the letter of Nicolò Giustiniani and the Venetian secretary in Constantinople, Lodovico Valdrin on February 21, 1510

Di Constantinopoli zoè Andernopoli di sier [86] Nicolò Zustignan quondam sier Marco et Lodovico Valdrin secretario dil baylo. di 21 fevrer. Come à ricevuto nostre lettere; fono dal prothojero di Alli Bassà per li subsidij, qual disser il Signor è implicito in queste cosse di Valachia, le qual è ultimar presto, poi fària. [...].

[...].

[X, 85-86]

116. Summary of the letter delivered by Girolamo Zorzi from Bosnia on March 4, 1510

[97] [...].

Di Hieronimo Zorzi, quondam sier Andrea, da San Marcuola, qual fo mandato per avanti, date in Verbosana, a di 4 marzo. Come Ferisbei aspetava la risposta di la corte di Andernopoli, et li ha ditto aver nova che do bani di Hongaria per il Valacho erano intrati verso Samandria, con cavali 1400, e quel sanzacho li è stà a l'incontro, et ne ha preso uno di essi bani, con 400 cavali, et ha lo conduto a la Porta, et l'altro con il resto roto è fugato, la qual nova tien sarà bona, perchè presto quelle cosse sarano expedite. [...].

[...].

[X, 97]

117. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guido on April 21, 15 and 27, 1510

[130] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto, secretario, date a Buda, a di 21, 25 et 27 [aprile]. [...]. Item, scrive di novo di turchi intrati in Transilvania e dice il modo, e che quel Dracola vayvoda era venuto di Transalpina in Transilvania et era venuto in Sibino dove era domino Demetrio Jaxichi, qual scontrò inimici su la piazza, e dito Jaxichi tajò a pezi dito Dracola, unde [131] quelli di Sibino prese dito Jaxichi con 32 fanti e lo volevano far morir, e questo aviso è in lettere di 25. [...].

[...].

[X, 130-131]

118. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Andrea Foscolo on March 7, 1510

[138][...].

Da Constantinopoli, di sier Andrea Foscolo baylo, di 7 marzo. Come è hora turchi esser intrati in Valachia e posto il fradello di quel Radul in stato in Transalpino, et che quello Vayvoda era fuzido in Transylvania. [...].

[X, 138]

119. Summary of the letter delivered by Nicolò Giustiniano from Adrianople on March 8, 1510

[139][...].

Di Andernopoli, di sier Nicolò Zustignan, quondam sier Marco e Lodovico Valdrini, secretario dil baylo, date a di 8 marzo. Come le zente dil signor è passate in Valachia e scrive quello à fato, sichè quella impresa si pol dir ultimata. È stato con Alli bassà scrive colouij abuti insieme, zercha haver li subsidij, oferendoli *etc.* Disse la Signoria doveria darli e averli dato, perchè l'haria de favori et che saria la prima porta col Signor, e fin hora non è stà tempo per le cosse di Valachia *etc.*

[...].

[X, 139]

120. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Corfù, Antonio Morosini, and by the Venetian *provveditore*, Marco Zeno on March 24, 1510

[142][...].

Di Corphiù, di sier Antonio Morexini baylo e sier Marco Zen, provedador, di 24 marzo. [...]. *Item,* eri ritornò il messo che essi rectori spazoe al Signor di Lepanto per el fato de li schiavi negri, e di breve dia vegnir qui Zuan di Pago per questo effecto, e si dicea il Signor turco dovea vegnir a Salonichij per rispetto di terramoti ultimamente stati in Andernopoli, dove si dicea dito Signor havea mandato 4 flamburi in Valachia. [...].

[...].

[X, 142]

121. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Omis, Alvise Capello on April 9, 1510

[207][...].

Di sier Alvise Capello, proveditor di Almisa e Poliza, date a di 8 april in Almisa. [...].

Dil dito, di 9. Come ozi è venuto uno amico cristiano subdito dil Turco da lui chiamato *ut in litteris* et li à ditto il sanzacho andava fazendo bru= [208] =sar caxe *ut*

supra di malfatori; esser li venuto, mentre feva tal officio uno corier con lettere dil Signor, qual lete subito, montò a cavallo e andò verso Chocio dove è la sua habitation sopra Ragusi e lassossi ussir di bocha che vanno verso Valachia per esser sta roto et frachassato tuto il campo dil turcho era li da uno capitano Michoe, qual havia con si le zente dil Carabodam e dil Ugrovlach, et preso 7 sanzachi 6 di qual è stà impaladi et uno rostido, ch'era bassà, e cussi rosto per mazor suo vituperio posto sopra il suo cavallo morto e impiantado a la ripa del Danubio dove turchi lo potesseno veder; e li disse il re di Hongaria mandava persone assa' in ajuto di essi Valachi; si duol dil partir dil dito sanzacho era amico nostro e suo, *etc.*

[...].

[X, 207-208]

122. Summary of the letter of Nicolò Giustiniani and the Venetian secretary in Constantinople, Lodovico Valdrin on June 2, 1510

[552] [...].

Di sier Nicolò Zustignan e il dito secretario [=Valdrim, secretario del baylo, di Andernopoli, di 2 [giugno]. [...]. Item, fono da Achmat solicitando pur li presidij, li disse il Signor è disposto, ma aspeta l'orator di Hongaria, etc. Et a di 27 fono a la Porta, disseno erano stati dal Signor e in pochi zorni si aspeta la risposta di Hongaria, perchè hano l'orator di Valachia e il nontio dil Signor esser zonti al re, et speravano di breve le cosse si adataria a la pace, e il Signor voleva dar poi li subsidij, dicendo tocha più al Signor quasi che a la Signoria queste cosse; tamen non vedeno nulla e non sa che dirsi.

[...].

[X, 552]

123. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on June 10, 1510

[701] [...].

Di Hongaria, di l'orator nostro, date a Tatha, a di 10 zugno. [...]. Item, è stato col vayvoda transalpino venuto li per questa dieta, e ditoli [702] il pericolo di turchi quando la Signoria nostra fosse oppressa, qual etiam disser sarà amico etc.

[...].

[X, 701-702]

124. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary in July 10, 1510

[823] [...].

Di Hongaria, di l'orator nostro fono lecte le lettere trate di zifra, date ... [lacuna in the text] [luglio]. [...].

Del dito, di 28, ivi [zugno]. Dil zonzer di uno orator dil vayvoda transilvano fato per il turcho, venuto per dar ubedientia a questo re. [...].
[...].

[X, 823]

125. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on July 9, 1510

[849] [...].

Dil dito orator, date ivi, a di 9. [...] *Item*, scrive l'orator transalpino per il vayvoda novo ave eri dal re audientia, e li presentò uno bellissimo cavallo, 10 peze di brochato d'oro, uno paviom di pano d'oro e di seda, e l'orator dil turcho si aspecta de li et è qui vicino, *etc.*
[...].

[X, 849]

126. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Pietro Pasqualigo on July 10, 1510 to his brothers

[851] [...].

Copia di uno capitolo di lettere dil dito orator nostro di 10 lujo, scritte a soi fratelli sier Alvise e sier Francesco Pasqualigo, el qual io l'avi da loro e quivi ho voluto scriverlo.

Fui con la regia majestà a la messa del nonzio dil papa che fu cantata domenicha passata in campagne solo una fraschata, [...]. Era un bel conspetto, pieno di infiniti signori, prelati e baroni tutti vestiti d'oro e con cadene, et eramo tutti nui ambascadori, ch'è do dil papa, tre di Alemagna, uno di Franza, do di Polonia, uno di Moldavia uno de Transalpina et lui orator nostro, l'è zonto anche l'orator dil turcho, ma non ha auto ancora audientia.

Date in Tatha.

[...].

[X, 851]

127. Summary of a chapter of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Pietro Pasqualigo on November 17, 1510

[673] [...].

Capitolo di una letera, di sier Piero Pasqualigo, dotor et cavalier, data in Broda Moraviae, a di 17 novembro 1510. Ricevuta eri.

Come vene li uno orator turcho *pro renovandis induciis*; e *tandem, post multa*, le furono renovate ancor per uno anno a venir, e in quelle con gran fatica inclusa la Signoria nostra, con utele et honor. Tartari in grandissimo numero hanno corso in Lituania et Moldavia, facendo incredibel damni. [674] et asportando anime infinite; e horra di novo si preparano, per corer im Polonia e forssi in Transilvania. Per il qual

rispetto, li signori hungarici a Santo Andrea proximo farano una dieta particular in Vesprimia. Scrive, il re è ussito dil regno *metu pestis, tamen* è publica voce et fama de li, che se ne anderano in Slesia, e questo per diversi respeti, dove questo ro intende de abocharsi con Sigismondo, suo fradello, re de Polonia. Si duol, la Signoria non li risponde *etc.*

[...].

[XI, 673-674]

128. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Andrea Foscolo to his brother on September 26, 1511 and received in November 1511

[220] [...].

Sumario di una lettera di sier Andrea Foscolo baylo a Costantinopoli, drizzata a sier Piero suo fratello, data a di 26 septembrio 1511, et ricevuta a di ... [lacuna in the text] *novembrio.*

[...].

[221] [...]. Hor dito Selim [= viitorul sultan] è pur in quelli lochi di Varna alquanto verso la Valachia e fa zente; se dice aver persone 20 milia; [...].

[XIII, 220-221]

129. Summary of the letter delivered by Nicolò Giustiniano from Constantinople in February 1512

[480] [...].

Di Constantinopoli, di sier Nicolò Zustignan qu. sier Marco, date a di ... [lacuna in the text] [February 1512]. [...]. *Item, che si tien tartari non potranno aiutarlo, perchè li valachi di la Valachia di soto e di sora si moveno contra essi tartari, etc.*

[...].

[XIII, 480]

130. Summary of the letters delivered by Nicolò Giustiniano from Constantinople on 17 and 23, 1512

[162] [...].

Di Constantinopoli, di sier Nicolò Zustignan, di 17 et 23. [...]. *Item, che Selim sultan vol cazar di stado uno sanzacho si à fato soto il Valacho;* [...].

[...].

[XIV, 162]

131. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Antonio Suriano on July 8, 1512

[525] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Antonio Surian dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda, le ultime a di 8 Luio. Come hanno certo il Signor turcho veniva in persona con 40 milia persone in Samandria per invader quel regno; et come il vayvoda transalpino havia fato intender al Re e a quelli baroni che, essendo feudatario dil Signor turcho non poteva far di meno di esser con lui contra il Re; sichè quelli baroni non sapevano che farsi e manco il Re contra la potentia del Turco. [...].

[XVI, 525]

132. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on September 2, 1513

[79] [...].

Di Hongaria, di l'orator nostro, da Buda, di 2 Septembrio. [...]. *Item*, come el voyvoda Transalpino voria con zente invader turcho verso Samandria, e il Re e quelli governano non à voluto per non irritarlo, aziò segui lo acordo e trieve.

[...].

[XVII, 79]

133. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Antonio Suriano on August 10, 1514

[479] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Antonio Surian, dottor, orator nostro, da Buda, di 10 le ultime [agosto 1514]. Di quelle occorentie de li, et di *cruce signati*; e come si aspetava do oratori di l'Imperador. *Item, vidi letere di 29 Lujo*, qual scrive, eri a tre preti fo li a Buda dato suplicio, erano di questi, *videlicet* uno fo impalato vivo, l'altro fo tesuto in una rota e poi rotoli le gambe e brazi e pecto, l'altro fo fato, vivo, in quatre parte; i quali da la preson fino al loco dove fo menati a far la justicia, sempre andono in la loro lengua ungara cantando; et in li zorni pasati in più fiata molti è stà impalati per dicta causa. Et quel Cocol Giorgio, che si havea fato re di questi omciati [cred cã trebuia "cruciati", dar greseala de paleografie a editorilor!], da la gente dil vayvoda transalpino è stà preso; el qual vayvoda l'à fato manzar da quelli che erano i primi soi intrinichi, e lui era pur vivo, e poi fatoli tajar la testa, e con una corona di fero di sopra in cao l'ha mandato a una terra ditta Segadino, e questo per esser stata quella terra sua favorita o per paura, o per amor; che questo e li altri capi di tal sublevation hanno fato grandissimo terror in questo regno.

[...].

[XVIII, 479]

134. Copy of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono, on June 15, 1517

[473] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Alvise Bon el dotor orator nostro, fo letere date a Buda, a di 15 Zugno. [...]. Item, è morto il vayvoda di Mondavia; è stà [474] fato in locho suo un suo fio natural, cussì contentando quelli di la di Mondavia. [...].

[XXIV, 473-474]

135. Copy of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono, on October 27, 1517

[141] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Alvise Bon el dotor orator nostro, fo letere date a Buda, a di 27 Octubrio [...]. Scrive, come è venuto li a Buda il Vayvoda transalpino, qual era stà incolpato havia danare in le man di raxon dil re di Hongaria, et par si habbi justificato con gran colora, erano danari di cruciata e non spetanti al Re. *Item*, volendo un'altra volta andar in castelo dal Re, et le porte non essendoli aperte cussì tosto, par a li soi le facesse butar zoso, et poi si partì, nè vi volse andar, et quelli regnicoli et il Re li mandò drio a exortarlo che 'l tornasse etc. [...].

[XXV, 141]

136. Copy of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono, on December 4, 1517

[214] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Alvise Bon el dotor orator nostro, date a Buda, a di 4 Dezembrio; et nel Consejo di X ne sono di 20 dito, in materia turchescha. [...]. Item, che l'era morto il Voyvoda transalpino, et per non haver heriedi, quella facultà vien al Re; qual è assai. [...].

[XXV, 214]

137. Summary of the events on March 3, 1518

[284] [...].

[3 marzo]. Fu posto, per li Consieri e Savii, atento sia venuto in questa terra, zà più zorni, uno nontio di lo illustrissimo Vayvoda transalpino con letere credential a la Signoria molto amorevole, et ha presentato una coppa d'ariento dorada; et hessendo el dito nonzio hora espedito di qui di quanto l'havea a far, et in questa matina, cussì havendo richiesto, è stà per il Serenissimo Principe nostro fato cavalier; acciò referissi al suo Signor ben di la Signoria nostra, li sia donado una vesta di panno d'oro, in la qual non si spendi più di ducati 100. Ave 144, 8.

[...].

[XXV, 284]

138. Summary of the letter of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on September 2, 1518

[48] *Sumario di letere di l'Orator nostro in Hongaria, date a Buda a di 2 Septembrio.*

Come essendo lui Orator a visitation dil reverendo episcopo Vaciense, sua signoria li disse: «Nui abiamo alcune nove, ma non bone: sapiate el Turco venirà verso nui. La Maestà dil Re ha `uto eri uno nuntio dal signor Vayvoda transalpino, il quale è venuto in dieci zorni, e sotto letere credetniale li ha explicato come il Signor turco era partito da Constantinopoli e veniva verso il paese suo con bon numero di zente, et tuttavia ingrossava lo esercito suo, [...], et che temevano che questo signor transalpino non se alienasse da quel regno, che sarebbe de primo grande perdita, perchè li havea promesso ad ogni expeditione 80 milia a piedi et a cavallo». [...].

[XXVI, 48]

139. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Leonardo Bembo on August 27, 1518

[108] [...].

Da Constantinopoli, di sier Lunardo Bembo baylo nostro, date in Pera a di 27 Avosto, per via di Ragusi, [...].

[109] [...].

Dil dito, di 27, [...]. Scrive, forse il Signor non anderà in Andernopoli, ma va a Philipopoli verso la Valachia per meter in quel Stado il tartaro fradello di quel signor, qual è in campo con lui.

[...].

[XXVI, 108-109]

140. Summary of the letter delivered from Adrianople by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Leonardo Bembo on October 12, 1518

[263] [...].

Da Andernopoli, di sier Lunardo Bembo baylo, date a di 12 Octubrio, [...].

[265] [...]. Et a di 18, li oratori dil Valacho, di Syo e Ragusi andono a [266] basar la man al Signor. Dicono averlo visto con bona ciera. Quelli di Ragusi li à portà presenti per ducati 2000. Si tien l'orator di Syo averà quello el vol. Scrive esserli zonto una soma di pere, di zotroni e altri fruti. Li presenterà; costa aspri 5000; bisogna spender in questi tempi, in questi do anni, [...].

[XXVI, 263-266]

141. Summary of the letters received from Adrianople on October 18, 1518

[273] [...].

Sumario di letere di Andernopoli, di 18 Octubrio 1518

[...].

Item, [...] Molti giudicavano non aver forze de star a l'impeto, e se teniva che finalmente seguiria pace insieme, ch'è la opinion dil Signor. Per opinion di tutti era di haver la Valachia; *tamen* per questa invernata non si vedeva ordine; [...].

[274] [...].

Item, erano zonti a la Porta ambasador dil Valaco, el qual a di 18 dito andò a basar la man al Signor, et cussi uno ambasador di Syo et uno da Ragusi *cum* bellissimi presenti, per congratularse di la vittoria e altre facende particular.

[...].

[XXVI, 274-274]

142. Summary of the letter delivered from Adrianople by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Leonardo Bembo on November 14, 1518

[300] [...].

Fu leto le *lettere di Constantinopoli, venute l'altro eri, dil Baylo nostro sier Lunardo Bembo, date in Andernopoli a di 28 Octubrio*. [...].

Dil dito, di 14 Novembrio, pur trata di [301] zifra. Come le dite lettere, di 28, spazò per via di Ragusi, avisa il ritorno di l'olaco fo in Hongaria, con la ricevuta. Il Re non vol far la pace non li restituendo quelli lochi. Benchè le cosse de li è molto secrete; ma per bona via ha inteso el Signor aver spazà otto in dieci olachi al magnifico Peri bassà e il bilarbei di la Grecia [...]. El Signor ha dà fama voler andar a la caza e non menò molta zente con lui; chi dice anderà a la Comuzina e chi a volta di Scopia; non si tien per esser longo camin. À ordinato 25 in 30 milia achazi, homeni a cavallo venturieri. Si dice torà l'impresa di Valachia e di Hongaria con questa fama di andar a la caza, e non vol alcun il siegua, [...].

[XXVI, 300-301]

143. Summary of the report of the Venetian ambassador to the Holy See on January 6, 1519

[368] [...].

Di Roma, di l'Orator nostro, venuta in questi zorni passati, data a di ultimo [gennaio]. [...].

[369] [...].

Dil dito, di 6. Come ha ricevuto nostre lettere di 13, con avisi turcheschi; et di 18 zerca quelli de cha' Muazo, parlò al Papa, comunicandoli tal avisi. Dice, ha aviso il Turco vol far impresa contra Valachia, dicendo è ben li principi christiani abino tal avisi. [...].

[XXVI, 368-369]

144. Summary of the letter delivered from Dubrovnik by Giacomo di Giuliano in 1519

[415] [...].

Da Ragusi, fo letere di Jacomo di Zulian, di [lacuna in the text] [febbrajo], a Nicolò Aurelio secretario dil Conseio di X. et in sier Andrea Gritti procurator, et fo lete con li Cai di X, [...]. Et per la venuta di uno zoelier chiamato Liurieri, vien di Valachia, parte da Ragusi, ut supra, qual è stato in Valachia dal valaco di [lacuna in the text] a portar una corona li ha fato bella, et par che 'l ditto valacho sia [one row lacuna in the text].

[...].

[XXVI, 415]

145. Summary of the letters of the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono on January 13 and 18, 1519

[418] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Alvixe Bon el dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda a di 13 Zener. Come, essendo indisposto, mandò il suo secretario dal reverendo episcopo Vasiense; qual come lo vide, disse: «Sette venuto a tempo. Il Re ha ordinà si comunichi alcuni avisi a l'Orator, auti da li do Vayvoda, contrarii l'uno di l'altro. L'uno avisa Peri bassà torna con lo exercito a Constantinopoli, et come si prepara exercito dil Signor turco per invader questo regno. e questo aviso ę dil Transalpino; [...]. L'altro aviso è che'l Turco voleva far la paxe col Re, per il che il Re ha scritto a li baroni e altri si redugino a la Dieta per questa Epifania, doveano esser, per veder le provision si ha a far, et ha mandato a veder per soi nontii a li confini si ha con turchi per intender la verità, quali saranno qui fin tre zorni, et da loro si saperà la verità.».

Dal dito, di 18. [...], perchè quel Re voleva far col Turco uno concordio zeneral con li christiani. [...].

[419] [...].

Dil dito, di 18, pur a Buda. Come erano ritornati li noncii stati a li confini. Riportano il Signor turco feva la massa dil suo exercito in Nicopoli, qual è di persone 60 milia, et zà una parte di esso exercito se era inviato verso Bodob [=Vidin] et Serin [=Severin], lochi di questo Serenissimo Re posti ne li confini di Transilvana di là dil Danubio; et che quella Maestà havia immediate expedito al vayvoda di Transilvana et conte di Themisvar, con ordine adunino le zente et vadino a quelli confini, dove par li sia zente ongara che ben potrà resister. E, come questi dicono, non temeno, perchè diti turchi è villani adunati. [...].

[XXVI, 418-419]

146. Information received from Buda on January 13 and 18, 1519

[428] [...].

Advisi avuti di Hongaria, da Buda, de di 13 Zener 1518.

[...].

In lettere pur da Buda, de 18 Zener.

Come quel Serenissimo Re havea havuto nova che'l Signor turco havea la massa de l'exercito suo in Nicopoli, qual è de 60 milia persone, et zà una parte de esso exercito se era inviata verso Bodon et Serin loci de quel Serenissimo Re, posti ne li confini di Transilvania de là del Danubio; et che quella Maestà havea *immediate* expedito al vayvoda de Transilvana et conte di Themisvar *cum* ordine dovesse meter insieme più zente potesseno per la securtà di quelli confini; [...].

[...].

[XXVI, 428]

147. Information received from Buda on February 10, 1519

[507] [...].

Avisi havuti di Hongaria in lettere di 10 Fevver 1518, date a Buda

Come quel Serenissimo re de Hongaria non haveva avuto altra nova de quelle zente turchesche che se haveano messe per andar a quelli do loci di sua Maestà nominati Bodem et Serin; [...].

[...].

Che era zonto *etiam* li a Buda uno ambador dil signor vayvoda moldavo, quale haveva referito che 'l Signor turco ha destinato de andar contra el signor suo et invader l'una et l'altra Valachia, et voler expugnar do castelli, che sono le chiave de la mazor et menor Valachia, chiamati Nester et Chile; et che a questa expedition el Signor turco è sollicitato da lo imperador de' Tartari, al qual ha promesso de tuor dita impresa questa estate ventura, et li persuade in questo mezzo che 'l debbi andar a' danni del re de Polonia.

[...].

[XXVI, 507]

148. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono on February 21, 1519

[80] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Alvise Bon dottor ambador nostro, data a Buda a di 21 Fevver. [...]. Scrive, el reverendo Vasiense ha dito al suo secretario come l'exercito dil Turco per sia desfato, e questo per do rispeti, l'uno intendando le gran preparation ordenato, l'altro aziò venisse quel Re a la pace con esso Signor; pur si tien dito Turco voi invader la Valachia. Scrive, eri zonse de li a Buda uno homo, vien di Andernopoli, con uno schiavo dil Signor turco. El Signor vol far le trieve per anni tre. Questo Re non li ha fato ancora risposta; ha ben termenà quelli governa quel regno expedir li oratori al Papa per haver el suo parer di questo, e fin quatro zorni partirano e verano per la via di Venetia. [...].

[XXVII, 80]

149. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador to the Holy See, Minio on June 5, 1519

Vol. 27, coll. 379-381, 1519

[379] [...].

Di Roma, dil Minio orator nostro, di 5 [giugno]. [...].

[380] [...].

Dil dito, di 11. [...]. [381] [...]. Scrive, l'orator dil Valacho hi richiesto al Papa scrivi a la Signoria mandì un medico in quelli paesi, et cussì *etiam* lui Orator li ha dato lettere sue a la Signoria, et el Papa e stà pregato scrivi zercha i Gualdi, retenuti, che siano rimessi a lo ecclesiastico. [...].

[XXVII, 379-381]

150. Summary of the events occurred on 23, 1519

[404] [...].

A di 23 Zuoba. [...].

[405] [...].

Vene uno ambador dil ducha di Moldavia, qual vien di Roma, alozato a San Moisè, drio di la chiesa, et fo mandato a levarlo per li Cai di XL e Savii ai ordeni. Era vestito de pano d'oro. Portò a donar a la Signoria uno mazo di zebelini numero 40 non belli; et sentato apresso el Principe, presentò la lettera di credenza, qual si tradurà, et uno breve dil Papa, e una lettera di l'orator nostro in corte. Vol uno medico per vegnir nel suo paese per el suo Signor, pagandolo etc.

[...].

[XXVII, 404-405]

151. Summary of the events occurred on July 12, 1519

[467] [...].

A di 12 [luglio]. [...].

Vene l'ambador dil Valacho a tuor licentia, se voleva partir; et fo balotato donarli braza damaschin lionato per farli una vesta, et fo risposto a la lettera del suo signor.

[...].

[XXVII, 467]

152. Summary of the report presented by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Alvise Bono on July 18, 1519

[495] [...].

Sumario di la relatione fata in Pregadi di sier Alvise Bon el dottor, ritornato ambasadur dil serenissimo re di Hongaria, a di 18 Lujo 1519.

[...].

[498] [...].

Questo regno è governado da 8 electi in la dieta, in la qual vi entrano tre sorte, prelati, baroni et nobeli. [...].

[...] [499]]. Li 4 baroni: [...]. Il secondo è il Vaivoda Transilvano, qual vien fato per il Re, è parente dil re di Polonia. Questo è homo d'anni 32, di gran cuor, li bastò l'animo intrar in castelo dil Re, con uno cortelo in man, pechè li fo alzà el ponte volendo intrar in castelo. Questo non si contenta di pocho. E aziò si sapia, è do Vaivodi di là, uno Transalpino et l'altro il Moldavio: questo Transalpino, essendo morto il padre, el popolo el exè el fiol natural, e fo dal Re confirmato. Si chiama baron di Hongaria, *tamen* è subdito *etiam* dil Signor turcho, et ha questi capitoli che a quel exercito primo vien in campagna, o turchesco e hungaro, lui si aderisse.

[500] Manda ogni mese soi oratori a Buda per varie cose li achadeno, et cussi fa il Moldavio. [...].

[...].

El regno di Hongaria pol far cavalli 15 milia a custodia dil Regno, [...]. El Regno di Bohemia fa cavalli 6 milia valentissimi, homeni belli e ben in hordine; ma li pedoni, il Re ne pol haver quanti danari vorà spender, et homeni ben disposti. La Moldavia over Transilvania, di soto e di sora cavalli 25 milia etc.

[XXVII, 495-500]

153. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio, on August 12 and September 2, 1519

[650] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Lorenzo Orio el dottor, orator nostro, manu propria scripte, date a Buda a di 12 Avosto. [...]

[651] [...].

Dil dito, a di 2 Septembre. Come è stà certifichato da bon loco, le trieve fate col signor turco è semplice cosa, *solum* remeter la aperta guera, et li subditi poter negotiar, non che il Turco li restituisca alcuna cosa, et che per corarie si fazino, non passando 500 cavalli *hinc inde*, per questo non se intendi esser rota la trieva, et che è stà qualche contrasto a metervi li Vaivoda transalpino et quello di Mondavia, perchè il signor turco non voleva fosseno inclusi, et che dita trieva, questi governa il regno l'hanno fata per non spender. [...].

[XXVII, 650-651]

154. Summary of the letters delivered from Constantinople on November 12, 1519

[162] [...].

Somario di letere di avisi auti da Constantinopoli per lettere di 12 Novembrio 1519. [...]. Item, come haveano fato strangolar uno de li reali de Valachia a chi aspetava

quel regno, che era cazato dal barba, et havia soldo dal Signor turco; e la causa aparente di questo vien dito esser per haver facto certi assassinamenti. [...].

[XXVIII, 162]

155. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on May 1, 1520

[538] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Lorenzo Orio el dotor, date a Buda a di primo Mazo. [...].

Item, che erano venute nove a la corte, come il ducha de Moschovia era morto et havea lassato dui figlioli, quali per cupidità di signorizar haveano prese l'arme in mano uno contro l'altro; et questo aviso se havea per letere del Ban di Moldavia, qua è a li confini tra la Polonia et la Moschovia, sopra il fiume de Chnester, alias Boristenes. Item, che 'l Serenissimo re di Polonia, aziò che moscoviti non li desseno impacio nel suo regno, havea fato liga con uno Imperador de tartari, qual signoriza la Taurica Chersoneso, dove è la città de Cafa, di haver ajuto da lui et gente a li so' bisogni. [...].

[...].

[XXVIII, 538]

156. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Francesco Massaro to Giovanni Battista Ramusio on May 1, 1520

[539] [...].

Sumario di una letera di Hongaria scritta in Buda a di primo Mazo 1520 per Francesco Masser secretario di sier Lorenzo Orio el dotor, orator nostro, drizata a Zuan Batista Ramusio secretario ducal.

Frater carissime.

Da primo Septembrio fin hora, sono stato posso dire così da gravissima et più de una infermitate oppresso. Andassimo in nostra malora a mezo Lujo in Transylvania, et tanto più in là che due bone zornade ne conducevano in Tartaria, *quam ab antiquis Sarmatia aseritur vocabatur, quamquam et Sarmatiam Poloniam nunc appellant.* Eravamo ancora *apud fines Mysiae inferioris, quam nunc Valachia basa nominatur.* [...]

[542] *Budae, die primo Mai 1520.*

[XXVIII, 539-542]

157. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on July 16, 1520 and received on August 16, 1520

[121] [...].

Summario di una letera di sier Lorenzo Orio el dotor, orator nostro, in Hongaria, date a Buda a di 16 Lujo 1520, ricevute a di 16 Avosto.

[...]. Ogi è zonto uno nontio del Vaivoda moldavo a questo Re. Referisse esser grandissima guerra fra dui gran signori tartari, zoè Mahometh imperator el qual è potentissimo signor, mosso contra Nogni signor ancor grande di tartari, et sono in campo cadauno de loro con cavalli tresento milia. Nova assai a proposito di questo regno et contermini suoi, che quelli che sono soliti inferirli danno convertiscano le arme fra loro proprii. Referisse *etiam* il prefato nuntio, che'l Signor turco zà zorni 36 era in Con=[122]=stantinopoli, e si teniva haveria da far con el signor Sophi, ne potria atender a l'impresa contra cristiani per questo anno.

Tutte queste nove el Re ge ha comunicate, e lui le scrive. [...].

[XXIX, 121-122]

158. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on August 30, 1520 and September 29, 1520

[207] [...].

A dì 28 [Settembre]. La matina fo *letere di Hongaria, di Sier Lorenzo Orio el dotor, orator nostro, date a Possonia, a dì 30 Avosto et 29 Setembre*. [...]. [208] [...]; et come il Re l'havia auto nova il Signor turco feva exercito per venir su la Valachia e tuor una città chiamata [lacuna in the text]. [...].

[XXIX, 207-208]

159. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on September 17, 1520 and received on September 27, 1520

[209] [...].

Sumario di letere di Sier Lorenzo Orio el dotor, orator nostro in Hongaria, date in Possonia, a dì 17 Septembrio 1520, recevute a dì 27 dito.

[...].

[210] [...]. El quarto giorno, reduti, li fò comunicato esser venuti do nunci di l'uno e l'altro vayvoda Transalpino et Moldavo, quali confinano col Signor turco. Riportano che è risolta l'armata, ma havea ingrossato grandemente lo exercito suo terrestre e mosso verso uino loco dicto Molacio verso le parte di le Valachie. e dimandavano il Re volesse far le debite provision; e che'l Re havia ordinato a lo illustrissimo vaivoda Transilvano, et finitimo a le Valachie. facesse la massa di le gente e stagi in ordine per li occorrenti bisogni. Lui Orator disse nulla sapeva di questo. Et con voce alta poi li fò dito la Signoria non teme dil Turco; non comunica più e doveria in ogni fortuna partecipar con il Re e amici. Questi ultramontani è molto umbrosi e suspetosi, e hungari sopra tutte altre nation; è difficile il negociar con loro. Li rispose sempre, la Signoria havia comunicato quello l'havia; con altre assa' parole *ut in litteris*: sichè dimostrano restar aquetati. [...].

[XXIX, 209-210]

160. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on March 17 and 22, 1521

[143] [...].

Sumarii di letere di l'Orator nostro in Hongaria, date a Buda a di 17 Marzo

1521

[...].

Letera di 22 dito

Come li era stà dito, per il Gran canzelier, esser venuti do noncii dil vayvoda transilvano a notificar al Re bon numero di turchi fato la massa verso Nicopoli et andarsi ingrossando, et sono 25 milia, per venir a' danni di questo Re. Per il che Soa Maestà à expedito letere al vayvoda transalpino, adati le cose con secli, e con quante zente el potrà hauer vadi a li confini, et scritto al vayvoda transalpino fazi ogni forzo di zente e vadi tutta a' ditti confini; et che non è per mancarli di ogni subsidio. Et tal adunation di turchi *non solum* se intende si fa a Nicopoli, ma *etiam* in altri lochi.

[XXX, 143]

161. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on March 17 and 22, 1521

[148] [...].

Di Hongaria, fo leto letere di sier Lorenzo Orio dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda a di 17 Marzo. [...].

[149] [...].

Dil dito, di 22. Come il Gran canzelier li mandò a dir esser venuti 2 nontii dil Vayvoda transalpino, come turchi erano molto grossi etc., per il che il Re à scritto al Vayvoda transilvano si acordi con quelle secli et vadi in ajuto dil transalpino con quelle gente l'ha contra turchi; le qual nove debbi avisarle a la Signoria nostra, *ut in litteris*. Per il che, il Re à scritto al cardinal Strigoniense e al conte Palatino stagino in ordine con le zente dieno aver, per poter esser contra turchi. Scrive, turchi bon numero è a li confini in varie parte. [...].

[XXX, 148-149]

162. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on June 3 and 11, 1521

[376] [...].

Di Hongaria, venute a nona, di sier Lorenzo Orio dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda a di 3 di l'istante [giugno]. [...].

[377] [...].

Dil dito, di 11. [...]. Una nove di turchi pessime. Come il Turco havia fato paxe con il Sophis et veniva verso Andernopoli con exercito per tuor impresa contra questo regno e invader le do Valachie, zoè Moldavia e Transilvania; et havia mosso l'Imperator di tartari a far guerra contra la Moldavia; le qual nove ora havia auto. E che Soa Maestà

havia scritto per tutto, quelli è ubligati mandar zente a quelli confini de le Valachie le mandino subito et si vol ajutar, però scrivesse a la Signoria tal nova importantissima. [...].

[XXX, 376-377]

163. Summary of the information received from Constantinople on May 26, 1521

[396] *Exemplum.*

Sumario di avisi hauti da Constantinopoli.

Per lettere de 26 Mazo 1521.

Che quel illustrissimo Signor dovea andar in campagna et haveva posto in ordine el tutto. Alcuni dicevano che'l passeria sopra la Anatolia, altri che l'andera verso l'Ongaria, over Bogdan, che è Stefano vayvoda; et che l'haveva posto in ordine tute le sue forze terestre.

[...].

[XXX, 396]

164. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary on June 11, 1521

[397] [...].

Avisi hauti di Hongaria, per letere di l'Orator nostro, date a Buda a di 11 Zugno.

Come quel Serenissimo Re havea mandà per il ditto Orator nostro, et li haveva comunicato come il Signor turco haveva conclusa pace con el Sophi, et che l'haveva fata grandissima preparatione de exerciti, et esser passato verso Andrenopoli; et per quanto Sua Maestà intendeva, lui Turco era per tuor la impresa contra il regno di Hungaria, et prima invader l'una et l'altra Valachia superior et inferior, che è la Moldavia et Transalpina, per esser poi ad un tratto in el dito regno.

Come el Signor turco haveva mosso lo Imperator de' tartari, *cum* il quale haveva bona intelligentia, a venir verso la Moldavia con grandissimo numero di gente; et che le dite nove erano venute alhora a Sua Maestà da l'uno et l'altro Valacho et de Transilvania.

[...].

[XXX, 397]

165. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on July 1, 1521 and received on July 9, 1521

[37] [...]. Et a nona [luglio] vene *lettere di Hongaria, di sier Lorenzo Orio dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda a di primo Luio.* Del grandissimo pericolo nel qual si trova quel regno di Hungaria, perchè el Signor turco li vien adosso molto potente con persone 80 milia, e per voglii invader da tre bande, una per la Cruatia, l'altra per la Transilvania e l'altra lui instesso Signor vol venir a dretura a Buda. Et uno valacho de [lacuna in

the text] è acordato con ditto Signor turcho e li dà favor di cavalli 40 milia; et che il re di Polana barba di questo Re. dal qual si sperava ajuto, è occupato in guerra con tartari, che li è venuto adosso mossi da ditto Signor turcho, per il che il Re et quelli signori ha chiamato esso orator dicendoli tal nove di grandissima importantia, dimandando ajuto da la Christianità, el vol scriver al Papa et per tutto: altre particolarità scrive sicome in dite lettere si contien.

[...].

[XXXI, 37]

166. Copy of the letter delivered by the King of Hungary to the Doge of Venice on June 29, 1521

[37] [...]

*Exemplum litterarum serenissimi Regis Hungariae et Bohemiae ad illustrissimum
Dominium Venetiarum*

Ludovicus Dei gratia rex Hungariae et Bohemiae illustrissimo Principi domino Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum, amico et confederato nostro carissimo salutem et feliciū successuum incrementa. Princeps amice noster carissime, quae nuper de turcorum conatibus ad nos fuerunt allata oratori Vestrae Illustrissime Dominationis hic agenti coram declaravimus, hortati etiam ut illa eidem patefaciat suadentque de subsidio nobis ferendo. Ea vero omnia esse certissima multo quam fama ferebat majora, omnibus et nuntiorum et litterarum testimoniis probavimus, quin etiam ex Caesaris domesticis deductus hodie ad nos est turcus, qui constantissime affirmavit et illum maximo et incredibili tam navali quam terrestri apparatu regnum hoc nostrum inva= [38] =surum, quaeriturumque personam nostram et recte huc Budam venturum. Mittit per Vallachiam inferiorem alium quoque exercitum octuaginta milium Mehemet Bego duce in provintiam nostram quam Transilvaniam vocant, cui praefectus eidem Valachiae licet nobis subditus, vi tamen et metu coactus circiter quadraginta milia hominum in auxilium dedisse dicitur. [...].

Datae Budae, in festo Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, videlicet 29 Junii, anno milesimo quingentesimo vigesimo primo, regnorum Hungariae et Bohemiae nostrorum anno sexto.

LUDOVICUS REX *manu propria*

A tergo: Illustrissimo principi et domino Leonardo Lauredano duci Venetiarum amico et confoederato nostro carissimo.

[XXXI, 37-38]

167. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on June 28, 1521

[71] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Sier Lorenzo Orio dotor orator nostro, date a Buda, a di 28 Zugno. Come, per le altre aviso e, di 11 [luglio], le preparation di turchi a la invasion di quel regno. Da poi, si ha auto aviso da li Valachi di la Transilvania et Moldavia, turchi esser intrati zà in quelli confini di Temesvar et Nauderalba, zoè Belgrado; per il che,

essendo venuti noncii de ditti Valachi di tal occorrentie, quelli comenzono a consultar, vedendo farsi da seno, et hanno espedito il vaivoda Transalpino a dita impresa, qual si ha oferto dar homeni 8000 dil suo paese. Et da li si manda le zente, qual è stà intimate a prepararsi a li prelati e baroni secondo l'ubligation loro, e fatoli comandamento vadino in campo. Da l'altro campo è partito il conte Palatino, over partirà doman, qual anderà a parte di la Moldavia, e sarà capitano di questo altro exercito, et per quanto si ha auto, ditti turchi par venivano verso una terra ditta [lacuna in the text] et aveano as= [72] =sae barche con loro. Scrive, in ditta terra è poca provision, per il che si dubita grandemente di perder questo regno. Il Re è stato in consulto a le provision, et scritto letere al Papa, a l'Imperador suo cugnato e a la Signoria nostra, implorando ajuto e soccorso in tanto suo bisogno. [...].

[Sanudo, XXXI, colls. 71-72]

168. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *provveditore* in Zakynthos, Alvise Pizzamano on June 20, 1521

[91] [...].

Dil Zante, di sier Alvise Pizamano provedador, di 20 Zugno [...].

[...] A di 18 parti el Signor, va a l'impresa di Hongaria, et era li fuste 60 armate soto Caramamuct e Curtogoli, doveano levarsi per andar a la Valachia, et il Signor con l'esercito era partito di Andernopoli per Sofia, et venendo ha scontrà assai olachi vanni a far comandamento, a achazi 49 milia asappi, che tutti vadino in campo del Signor.

[...].

[XXXI, 91]

169. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in Hungary, Lorenzo Orio on 17 and 18, 1521

[347] [...].

Di Hongaria, di sier Lorenzo Orio dottor, orator nostro, date a Buda a di 17.

[...] [348] [...]. Dicendo, sperava che suo cugnato Imperador si acorderia col re Cristianissimo, et si farà pace universal per poter atender prima a questo perfido Turco, dil qual non è da crederli in niuna cossa; ma dubita questi ajuti sariano tardi. Pur Belgrado era obsesso da turchi, et si difendeva, *tamen* era da dubitar. Scrive, quella Maestà si parte de li, et va a Tona con questi regnicoli, dove vanno le zente di varie nation è in campo dil Re nominate in le letere, et voleno far giornata con turchi; ma aspeta zonzi el Voivoda transilvan et quel di Moldavia, et acciò non venissero, il Turco à scritto a l'Imperador di Tartari li rompesse guerra in Transilvania. *Tamen* per esser in Moldavia li passi stretti, non si lassano passar. Scrive, questi vanno volentieri tutti in campo col Re. Ha uno exercito di 120 milia persone; ma non à danari. [...].

Dil dito, a di 18. Come à auto letere dil Gran canzelier, che 'l Re sollicita li sia dà soccorso da la Signoria nostra, [...]. Zercha chel Methgni imperador de tartari che sarà con questo Re et non vol romper, sia tenuto secreto. [...].

[XXXI, 347-349]

170. Copy of the letter delivered from Buda by Antonio della Seda on August 20, 1521

[351] [...].

Copia di una lettera di Antonio de Zuane da la Seda, data a Buda a di 20 Avosto 1521, drizata a suo fradello.

[...] Mi meraviglio perchè pur l'ambasador à scritto mi particolarmente de quanto è successo fino hora, *tamen* non restarò anche io de darvene qualche notizia. Et prima, per quanto a quelle zanze son stà dite de li, si de la rebelazion del Vaivoda de Transilvania *nec non* del Transalpino, nè de aver messo soccorso in Belgrado, tutte sono zanze; et questo per dirvi a la prima, non è da dubitar niente che le cose di questo regno che per la gratia di Dio e de le bone provision et ajuti saranno sufficienti a risponder al Turcho e più presto di ofenderlo lui e lui ocupi questo regno. [...]. [...]; *tandem* la conclusion è questa, zoè de la provision è questa, che costoro avevano de bona zente da 140 milia, in tra li qualli ge saranno da 60 milia schipeteri, e già la mazor parte sono insieme. Zonze che hanno lassato la Transilvania ben munita. La qual zente vanno zoso per el Danubio, [...]. [352] [...]. Aspetano il Vaivoda de Transilvania che anche lui venirà con alcune zente e 'l resto lassarà a la guardia de li, perchè in transalpina è uno bassa con zercha 40 milia persone, la mazor parte sono, e si dice che più di 200 milia voleno passar da quella banda e per la Valachia, *tamen*, mediante el re de Polonia e dito Valacho zoè il Moldavio, non li darano il paso e perchè bisogna pasi sul suo; de modo che de costoro non xè molto sospeto. Costoro hanno grande speranza in ditto Vayvoda di Transilvania, perchè con effetto non hanno capitano che sia miglior di lui. El Palatin non è troppo ben voluto. Si aspeta ancora alcuni boemi che non son venuti, e come sia venuti questi et il Vayvoda di Transilvania, sarà poi a ordine el tutto et sperase in l'Altissimo harano vitoria, perchè per quello se è inteso, ditto Signor turcho non à tanta potentia come se diceva. [...].

Sottoscritta:

ANTONIO DI ZUANE DA LA SEDA

[XXXI, 351-352]

171. Summary of the events occurred on September 8, 1521

[381] [...].

A di 8 [Settembre]. [...].

[...].

Vene Francesco di Zuane, dicendo aver letere [382] di Trieste, come per habbi aviso di Hongaria, che venendo in campo dil Re il Transalpino con zente, si incontrò in 4000 turchi, fu a le man, a li tajoe a pezi.

[...].

[XXXI, 381-382]

172. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Gasparo Contarini on September 5 and 9, 1521

[434] [...].

Di sier Gasparo Contarini orator a la Cesarea Maestà, date a Bruxeles, a dì 5

[settembre]. [...] [435]

Dil dito, date a dì 9. [...].

[...]. *Item*, scrive, uno ducha di Moldavia è expulso dal fratello, e non ha potuto aver condition di l'Imperador. Veria volentieri a stipendii di la Signoria nostra. [...].

[XXXI, 434-435]

173. Summary of the letter delivered from Nicosia by the Venetian sindaco in the Levant, Vittorio Capello on July 31, 1521 and received on October 1, 1521

[14] [...].

Sumario di una letera di sier Vettor Capello Synicho in leuante, data a Nichosia a dì ultimo Lulo 1521, drizata a mi Marin Sanudo, ricevuta primo Octubrio.

[...]. *Habiamo*, per via de Rhodi, turchi esser stà roti ne li confini de la Valachia, et el patriarcha de Costantinopoli greco sollicitar quella impresa fuzito da Constantinopoli; [...].

[XXXII, 14]

174. Summary of the letters received from Hungary on December 2, 8, 12, 14 and 18, 1521, including a letter of the King of Hungary on October 30, 1521

[193] [...].

Di Hongaria, vene lettere di 2, 8, 12 et 14 et quelle di 18 [dicembre]. In conclusion, come quel regno è in grandissimo pericolo di esser perso questa invernada [...]; *imo* el Vayvoda transilvano era li con 3000 cavali, e turchi passono di [194] qua e lo rupe con occision di 1000 cavali. *Item*, il Valacha (?) transilvano essendo morto e lassato uno fiol nominato Theodosio, qual per il Re era stà investido dil dito dominio, *unde* uno fo fiol di uno Valacho, qual il padre di questo lo cazoe con aiuto di turchi, è intrato in la Transilvania et preso esso Theodosio e morto e fatosi di quella signor. [...].

[...].

In litteris, die 30 Octubris, datae in Juane.

Come a la regia Maestà erano venute nove dal Vayvoda de Transilvania, che si atrova a l'oposito de valachi, [...].

[195] [...].

Come a quelli zorni era morto lo illustrissimo Vayvoda di Transalpina, et li valachi haveano electo il fiol suo chiamato Theodosio, di anni 16, el qual el serenissimo re di Hungaria havea confirmado, et sperava potersi meglio servir di lui di quello poteva dil qu. suo padre.

In litteris, datae Budae die 10 Novembris.

[...]. [196] [...].

In litteris ejusdem, datae ut supra.

Come, havendo expedito le aligate per la via de la marina, da poi in quel zorno era venuta nova a quella Maestà che lo illustrissimo Theodosio vayvoda de Transalpina,

el qual ultimamente era stà eletto in loco del padre et confirmato per la regia Maestà, era stà tagliato a pezi da Mechmeth bassà turco, il qual *cum* persone 8000 et *cum* parte de valachi proprii de Transalpina a l'improvviso era intrato in ditta Valachia et fatto lo effeto sopra dito per meter in signoria uno nominato Marchia vayvoda, qual fu fiol dil qu. Michna vayvoda già scatiato dal padre del ditto Theodosio; et questo perchè expulso ditto vayvoda suo fiol, che al presente è riposto in signoria, se ne fuzi in Turchia et si aparentò *cum* il prefato Methmeth, qual li ha fato ditto effeto, et poi ha seguitato uno fratello del padre del ditto Theodosio, nominato Pedra, che fugiva *cum* lo haver suo in Transilvania, confin a ditta Valachia. È stato ancor lui morto in uno loco apresso Sibiria terra principal de Transilvania.

Che ditte gente turchesche haveano scorso per quelli loci et brusiate 10 ville de Sedi a(?) li confini di Transilvania subditi di questa Maestà, et che erano ritornate in Valachia, de modo che quella parte, che è importantissima a ditto regno di Hungaria, hora del tutto era subietta a uno servitor del Turco, che era cosa di grandissimo pericolo a ditta Maestà, et tanto più che'l prefatto novo Vayvoda era homo molto valoroso et instructo de li lochi et passi de la Transilvania; per il che ditta Maestà ne stava *cum* [197] gran pensier de la Transilvania, per esser la principal parte di quel regno, per trazerne il più de le utilità et intrade sue.

[...].

[XXXII, 193-197]

175. Summary of the letter delivered by a Venetian citadin in Dubrovnik, Michele Pizzignolo on April 24, 1522

[115] [...].

Dil mexe di Aprile 1522

[...].

[116] [...].

Di Ragusi, per uno brigantin venuto in 7 zorni, fo leto letere a la Signoria, di 24, scrite per Michiel Pizignolo citadin de li. Come il vaivoda di la Valachia, qual fu dito aver ribellato al Re, non è vero, ma ben è andà dal Signor turcho a jurarli fedeltà, et il Signor li ha mandato de li 4 judesi et 15 altri. [...].

[XXXIII, 115-116]

176. Copy of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Lorenzo Orio on May 10, 1522 and received on May 23, 1522

[262] [...].

Copia di una letera di sier Lorenzo Orio dotor et cavalier, orator nostro, data in Praga a di 10 Mazo. Ricevuta a di 23 dito.

[...]. Di le cose dil Signor turcho risona in ogni parte pondersi ad ordine, et esser accordato *cum* tartari, con li quali vol romper da una parte verso la Moldavia, verso la quale el serenissimo re di Polana ha mandato le gente sue, et parimente Hungaria una bona banda [...].

[XXXIII, 262]

177. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto between March 7, 1524 and March 13, 1524

[256] *Di Hungaria, fo lettere di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, date a Buda a di 7 fin 13 Marzo. [...].* Scrive che il vayvoda cisalpino, qual dava tributo a turchi, essendo richiesto a portarli il tributo lo havia mandato, et per quel sanzacho havia amazà 18 di primi l'havesse; per il che il Re havia scritto al vayvoda di Transilvania vadi li a tuor quel dominio, perchè li popoli è contenti più presto star soto cristiani cha con turchi. [...].
[...].

[XXXVI, 256]

178. Summary of the letter delivered from Dubrovnik by Giacomo di Giuliano to the the Venetian great chancellor on April 28, 1524

[338] [...].

Di Ragusi, fo letere di Jacomo di Zulian, drizate al Canzelier grando, di 28 April, qual manda letere di l'Orator nostro a Costantinopoli, parte in zifra. [...].

Si preparava exercito contra la Valachia, et Mustaphà bassà andava a quella impresa con 3000 ianizari, et alcuni altri spachi oglia pur contra Valachi con 7 altri sanzachi bei. Et questo è tutto il sumario di la letera.

[XXXVI, 338]

179. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, Pietro Zeno on April 6, 1524

Da Costantinopoli, di sier Piero Zen orator, di 6 April. [...]. [339] [...]. Item, scrive che de li Valachi [lacuna in the text of a row and a half].

[XXXVI, 338-339]

180. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on March 7, 1524

[353] [...].

De Hongaria, fo letere di Vincenzo Guidoto [354] secretario nostro, date a Buda, le ultime a di 7 Mazo. [...].

[...]. Scrive, come era nova che turchi erano venuti a campo a uno castello chiamato Severin, che resta solo in [lacuna in the text] dove essendoli dentro poca provision di pressidio e mezo ruinato per li teremoti stati, tien lo haverano, [...]. Il qual loco preso da turchi è lontano mia 20 hongari da Temisvar, ch'è mia [lacuna in the text] italiani; [...]. *Item,* ch'el Vayvoda transilvano qual dovea andar in aiuto dil Vayvoda [lacuna in the text] ancora non era mosso; sichè quelle cose di quel regno è in mali termini.

[...].

[XXXVI, 353-354]

181. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on March 21, 1524

[384] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario nostro, di 21 Mazo, di Buda. Come il loco di Severin intorniato da turchi era stà socorso per quel capitano nominato [lacuna in the text] che fu mandato, et havendo con le zente passà el Danubio e fabricato certa forteza per più securtà, turchi erano levati di campo. [...].

[XXXVI, 384]

182. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian count in Trogir, Domenico Pizzamano on June 13, 1524

[438] [...].

Di Trau, di sier Domenego Pizamano conte, vidi lettere di 13 [giugno]. Come si diceva de li, turchi haver auto in Hongaria quel castello dito Severin, [...].

[...].

[XXXVI, 438]

183. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on June 12 and 18, 1524

[461] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, date a Buda a di 12 et 18 Zugno. Come turchi haveano fato una forteza vicina a Severin ben munita e li stavano, quasi uno asedià Severin; che li signori deputati mandavano zente, ma lentamente. [...].

[...].

[XXXVI, 461]

184. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on June 29, 1524

[487] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, fo leto letere in Collegio, date a Buda, a di 29 Zugno. Come, havendo fato turchi quella forteza vicina a Severin, si pol dir haver hauto quella forteza, et il vaivoda di Transilvania, el qual dovea andar per socorer quel loco, non si sa dove el sia. *Item,* scrive si tien Severin sia preso; qual si cussì fusse,

non mancheria se non un'altra forteza chiamata Temisvar a prender, qual presa, tutto il regno saria preso. Il qual loco è dal teremoto molto conquisado.

[...].

[XXXVI, 487]

185. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on July 27, 29, and 30, 1524

Vol. 36, colls. 521-522, 1524

[521] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, di 27, 29 et 30 di Luio, date a Buda. [...]. Scrive come, essendo andato el vayvoda de [lacuna in the text] per soccorer Severin con 3000 fanti et [lacuna in the text] cavalli et metter soccorso dentro, per sia stato a [522] le man con turchi, et esser stà rotto et morti fanti 400 et cavali [lacuna in the text]. [...].

[XXXVI, 521-522]

186. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on August 28, 1524

[589] [...].

Di Hongaria, fo lettere di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario nostro, date a di 28 Avosto, a Buda le ultime. Scrive in sumario, come 3000 cavalli di turchi erano intrati in l'Hongaria e fato gran botini. Et menando via la preda, el re di Polana con le so' zente li andò contra et recuperò el botin et taiò tutti li turchi a pezi. Da poi intrò cavalli [lacuna in the text] di turchi in Hongaria predita, et il prefato Re insieme con il vayvoda di Mondavia fono a le man con loro, et li rupeno, et taiono a pezi da [lacuna in the text] milia, *ut in litteris.* [...].

[XXXVI, 589]

187. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on September 14, 1524

[613] [...].

Di Hongaria, di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, date a Buda a di 14 [settembre]. Come la dieta de li andava sequendo, et che di la rota scrisse che fo data a turchi, non fu vera, ma ben fu posto soccorso in Severin con occision di zerca 2000 turchi. [...].

[XXXVI, 613]

188. Summary of the letters delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on October 11, 1524

Vol. 37, coll. 95, 1524

[95] [...].

Di Hongaria, fo lettere di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario nostro, date a Buda, a di 11 Octubrio. Come era venuta nova certa li, che i loco di San Severin si havia dato a turchi a pati, nè si sa li patti; et che [lacuna in the text] parti Temisvar et il vayvoda de Transilvania che erano andati per soccorrerlo tomavano indriedo, *unde* quelli di dentro si deteno a turchi. *Unde* per che in la dieta fàta, uno di quatro prescidenti per i nobeli chiamato domino Stefano Berbez era andato dal Re a dirli, che atento le nove di Severin, vedeano quel regno preso. Per il che Soa Maestà havia il regno di Bohemia di potersi salvar et quel di so' barba di Polonia etc. [...].

[XXXVII, 95]

189. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian ambassador in the German Empire, Carlo Contarini on October 15, 1524, referring to the private letter sent by of Giovanni Francesco Contarini to Nicolò Boldù

[95] [...].

Di Vienna, di sier Carlo Contarini orator, di 15 Octubrio, et vidi una lettera particular di sier Zuan Francesco Contarini suo fratello è con lui, scrive a sier Nicolò Boldù qu. sier Hironimo. [...] [96] [...]. Eri è venuta la nova ferma della perdeda de Severino, loco di l'hongaro, qual è da molta mazor importanza che non fu Belgrado, et li nobeli del regno ongareschi ha protestato al Re voglia far provisione che 'l regno non vadi de mal in pezo, in man dil Turco: e il Re ha risposto, mai da lui non ha mancato, nè mancherà se loro el vorà aiutar, e si dice pubblicamente, el Re vol andar in campo contra el Turco. Dio li presti bona sorte!

[...].

[XXXVII, 95-96]

190. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian secretary in Hungary, Vincenzo Guidoto on November 10, 1524
Vol. 37, coll. 276, 1524

[276] [...].

Di Hongaria, in Colegio fo lecto le lettere di Vincenzo Guidoto secretario, di 10 Novembrio. Come la Transilvania era venuta a l'obedientia dil Turcho, perchè quel Vayvoda fatto per il Re, era stà cazado et messo uno altro, qual è acordà col Turcho; si che quello regno stà mal, et discordie tra hongari et polani, et altre particularità; concludendo, quel regno è in malissimi termini. [...].

[XXXVII, 276]

191. Copy of fragment of the letter delivered from Buda by Cristoforo Frangipani to Giovanni Antonio Dandoo on November 15, 1524

[278] [...].

Copia di uno Capitolo di lettere dil conte Christophoro Frangipani, scrite a Sier Zuan Antonio Dandolo, date in Buda a di 15 Novembrio 1524.

[...]. De novo altro non havemo in questo presente, *solum* che turchi, insie=
[279] =me con tartari in numero 40 milia depredono el reame de Polonia avanti dui mexi,
et tornati in *quadam campania deserta* se affermono et là feceno de lor stechadi a modo
loro. Incontro, lo Re serenissimo de Polonia con 30 milia soi se messe in opposito, zoa de
una altra parte del monte, temendo che un altra volta non vegnano a depredar suo regno,
et cussi sono stati ambidui exerciti per tutto Octubrio; adesso se dice che sono venuti
adosso de lo signor de Moldavia. [...].

[...].

[XXXVII, 278-279]

192. Summary of the letters delivered from Constantinople on November 2, 1524

[361] [...].

*Da Costantinopoli, fo lettere questo mexe, di 2 Novembrio, qual non le havendo
scritte il zorno le veneno, qui ne farò nota.* [...]; et per lettere venute heri di Hongaria, si
ha le zente hanno preso uno castello di Hongaria ditto Severin di grande importantia,
sotto dil qual par sii stato lo assedio poi la presa di Belgrado fin adesso che l'hanno
hauto. [...].

[XXXVII, 361]

193. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Pietro Bragadino on December 13, 1524

[485] [...].

*Da Constantinopoli, di sier Piero Bragadin baylo, date in Pera a di 13
Decembre 1524.* [...].

A questi zorni, el ducha di Valachia, che ha cazato uno altro messo Duca per
questo Signor, è venuto a basar la man al Signor in Andernopoli, dicendo aspetarli *de
jure* quel stato e vol esser tributario di questo Signor. È stà ben visto et expedito. [...].

[XXXVII, 485]

194. Summary of the letter delivered from Constantinople on January 29, 1525

[56] [...].

Da Costantinopoli adunca, di 29 Zener. [...]. *Item,* scrive che'l Vayvoda
transalpino, (*di Valachia*), qual è col Turcho, è venuto lì per veder di raxon chi dia esser
in [57] quel Stado. Et l'altro è in Stado ha mandato a dir al Signor vol *solum* 10 milia
cavalli, con i quali anderà fino a Buda et vol obtenir la Ungaria. [...].

[XXXVIII, 56-57]

195. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Pietro Bragadino on January 29, 1524

[62] [...].

Da Costantinopoli, di sier Piero Bragadin bailo, date in Pera a di 29 Zener 1524. [...] El signor à suspeso la partita dil duca di Valachia, et ha mandato a chiamar el Duca cazato, et vol veder chi *de iure* aspecta quel Stado, e di qual li populi più si contentano. Questo Duca li promette, dandoli 10 milia cavalli, lui vol dar Buda e tutta l'Ongaria; sichè di questi do valachi, uno resterà Duca e l'altro non si partirà de qui. [...].

[XXXVIII, 62]

196. Summary of the private letters delivered by Domenico Pizzamano to his brother Gregorio Pizzamano on March 9 and 10, 1525

[82] [...].

Di Roma, vidi lettere particular di sier Domenigo Pizamano qu. sier Marco, di 9, drizate a suo fratello sier Gregorio. [...].

[83] [...].

Dil ditto, di 10 [marzo]. [...] *Item.* che il Valaco era andato dal Signor turcho et turchi corsi fino apresso Buda. [...].

[XXXVIII, 82-83]

197. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Pietro Bragadino on March 6, 1525

[164] [...].

Da Constantinopoli, di sier Piero Bragadin baylo, date in Pera, a di 6 Marzo. [...] *Item,* el ducha di Valachia è partito, et stato ben acarezato et premiato. Il Signor li dà certe saline, e lui dà al Signor ducati 14 milia di tributo, Ogni tre anni vien a basar la man al Signor, el qual li ha promesso di far far la pace col re di Hongaria con gran reputation di questo Imperio. El Duca vechio vol el Signor ch'el stii in Constantinopoli con provision di aspri 50 al zorno, e al suo fiol, che è di anni 16 molto disposto di la persona, li darà aspri 100 al di. et sii obligato sequir la Porta con li altri presenti soliti. Se sollicita l'armada, et metese quella in ordine di tutto quello li bisogna.

[XXXVIII, 164]

198. Summary of the letter of the Venetian secretary in Buda, Vincenzo Guidoto, on April 29, 1525

[197] [...].

Da Hongaria, dil secretario Guidoto, di 29 [aprile], il sumario è questo: [...] *Item,* che di 10 milia fanti doveano far hungari non è stà fatto 4000; et quelli mandati a la guarda di Temisvar. Scrive per questo anno non dubitano di guerra di turchi, per esser

morto quel bassà era a Belgrado, et quelli soi hanno levato le bandiere negre. Scrive zerca il Vayvoda transalpino [lacuna in the text of almost four rows].

[XXXVIII, 197]

199. Summary of the letter delivered by the Venetian merchands in Constantinople on March 28, 1525

[261] [...].

Da Constantinopoli fo lettere, di 28 Marzo, in mercadanti, et quelle in la Signoria dirò poi. [...]. Et il Signor, volendo far una caza bellissima di là di Andernopoli verso le Valachie con assa' zente andoe, et li animali fuzendo certo fiume nudando di là; unde si messe cavali assa' a seguirli e il Signor proprio a pasar a guazo. Molti si anegoe, et il signor per esser su un bon cavalo passò salvo e poi fece impalar li primi andò in aqua, causa di farlo pericular.

[...].

[XXXVIII, 261]

REVIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Carlo Campana, *Cronache di Venezia in volgare della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Catalogo, Padua, Il Poligrafo, 2011, 244 p.*

From the 11th century onwards, Venetian historiography became cognizant of the emergence of a new literary genre known by the name of chronicle¹. The Venetian chronicle² have often exercised attraction, raising questions and offering work

¹ As N. Iorga, *Les commencements de Venise*, "Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique" 18 (1931), p. 101-143 (104) argued "il n'y a pas de chronique de Venise plus ancienne comme rédaction que le XI-e siècle. et, avant, le XI-e siècle, il n'y a absolument rien que ce qui a pu passer dans les compilations ultérieures, sans rien conserver du caractère contemporain." On the other hand, Marco Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa* (introd. by Ugo Stefanutti), [Bologna 1976] [reprinted of Venice 1854] [first ed.: 1752], p. 119 expressed his conviction that the oldest chronicles were lost, thus keeping the door opened to other possibilities to write Venetian chronicles prior to the 11th century.

² I therefore use the term **chronicle** in its strict sense, which automatically discards the diaristic content of writings. Let us return to what I mentioned above: what I am actually seeking is not the evidence, not the historical fact itself, not the fact that the author might be contemporary with certain events and implicitly their eye witness, but the political mythology, the construction of certain myths in relation with an event or another, as well as their evolution. I am pursuing the **representation** and not the **perception**. From this perspective, the dissociation between **chronicles** and **diaries** becomes acute (see Dorit Raines, *Alle origini dell'archivio politico del patriato: la cronaca «di consultazione» veneziana nei secoli XIV-XV*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 150 (1998), p. 5-57 (33 f). For a remarkable recent study on the Venetian diaristic writings, I should signal Christiane Neerfeld's thesis in *«Historia per forma di Diaria». La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento*, Venice 2006, as well as Foscarini's observations, M. Foscarini *op. cit.*, p. 192 on the typology of these *Diaries*. For other incidental considerations on the chronicles/diaries balance, cf. Șerban Marin, in *Addenda et Corrigenda*, "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" 23 (2005), p. 320-326 (320-322 in particular), which is in fact a review of the article, Eugen Denize, *Ștefan cel Mare în I Diarii lui Marino Sanudo*, "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" 22 (2004), p. 137-151. Certainly, the case of E. Denize is not singular, since a broader sense of the term "chronicle" is also used by Hellmut Wohl, *The Aesthetics of Italian Renaissance Art. A Reconsideration of Style*, [Cambridge], 1999, p. 51, who, speaking of the literary style of the Venetian chronicles, makes reference to *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae* of the same Sanudo (which is definitely **not** a chronicle), or by Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650: The Structure of Power*, n. pl., 2002, p. 276, who recalls the annals of Domenico Malipiero as chronicle. Also Freddy Thiriet, *Les chroniques vénitienes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie gréco-vénitienne*, "Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, publiés par l'École Française de Rome", 1954, p. 241-292 (242), introduces the diary of Domenico Malipiero when listing the published chronicles. For the chronicles/diaries balance, cf. Chr. Neerfeld, *«Historia per forma di Diaria» cit.*, p. 16-17.

Meanwhile, it is not my intention to unravel the debate around the difference between **chronicle** and **history**, given that I consider the so-called "transition" from chronicle to history as relative. For example, the argument invoked by Antonio Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII-XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Florence 1969, p. 203, that the work of Paolo Ramusio the Young would represent the transition from chronicle to history seems to be

approaches from the most diverse. Yet, this attraction was backed by a feeling of helplessness due to both the immense number of Venetian chronicles and the vastness of codices and issues addressed. Besides, the existence of a great deal of copies and especially compilations carried out over centuries has always encumbered the access to originals and led to restraints in the scope of investigation.

Although scattered in different European and North-American libraries, the greatest part of the Venetian chronicles is still in Venice, in the manuscript collections of the Marciana Library³, the Civic Correr Museum⁴, and in smaller amounts at the *Frari* State Archives. However, significant fonds are also held by the Apostolic Library in Vatican, the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, the Nazionale Braidense Library in Milan, the Capitolare Library in Verona, the Oliveriana Library in Pesaro, the University Library in Padua, etc. Nevertheless, manuscripts containing Venetian chronicles are not limited to Italy only. Several different codices alike studied by Carile can be found in Austria⁵, Germany⁶, France⁷, the United Kingdom⁸, Slovenia⁹, Hungary¹⁰, and even the United States¹¹.

Undoubtedly, the wide scale investigation undertaken by Antonio Carile could not exhaust the entire range of codices providing matter related to the Venetian chronicles. Without benefiting from the same resources as Carile, we were still able to trace other different codices in the catalogues from the Library of Querini Stampalia

rather metaphorical. For the difficulties related to separating the chronicles from histories in the Venetian historiography, see also Aug. Prost, *Les chroniques vénitiennes*, "Revue des questions historiques" 31 (1882), p. 512-555 (513), who relies on the transition from the 15th to the 16th century as a separation point between chroniclers and historians, without taking into account that chronicles will still be written in the following centuries. For these matters, see James Condamin, *La composition française*, Lyon 1898, p. 107-108; Bernard Guenée, *Histoires. annales. chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age*, "Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations" 28 (1973), p. 997-1016; Idem, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1980, in particular p. 203-207, but also the scepticism manifested by Kate J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy*, Cambridge 2003, p. 7 towards the dissociation between "chronicle" and "history".

³ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxii, takes into consideration the following 52 codices held by the Marciana Library. Also, F. Thiriet, *op. cit.* subjected to investigation 44 codices. In his turn, R.-J. Loenertz, *La Guerra di Curzola e la classifica delle croniche italiane*, in *Byzantina e franco-graeca*, Rome 1978 used 33 Marcian chronicles.

⁴ A. Carile, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xix, xxi-xxii, relies his investigation on 62 codices from the Correr Museum. The investigation by R.-J. Loenertz, *op. cit.* contains 16 codices. For the manuscripts under the Cicogna collection, see also the lists given by the Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna" (coordinator: Angela Caracciolo Aricò; assistants: Chiara Frison, Lorenzo Bernardinello, Elena Bocchia, Nicoletta Baldin, Matteo Donazzon, Norbert Marcolla), cf. <http://www.centrocicogna.it/> (accessed on March, 2011), based on which Venetian chronicles could be detected within 30 codices.

⁵ The so-called "Foscarini fonds" currently held by the *Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna.

⁶ Located at the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* in Dresden.

⁷ *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris and the library in Metz.

⁸ At the British Library in London..

⁹ At *Narodna Univerzitetna Knjižica* in Ljubljana.

¹⁰ At the Széchényi Library in Budapest.

¹¹ To exemplify: 1. fonds von Ranke from the library of Syracuse University, New York; 2. Newberry Library in Chicago; 3. the library of Harvard University.

Foundation in Venice, the Civic Library in Padua, the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale* in Rome, or the catalogues published by the Library of the University of Pavia, the on-line catalogue of the Library Andrighetti Zon Marcello in Venice, the Civic Library in Belluno, the Bertoliana Civic Library in Vicenza, the Library of the Episcopal Seminar of Padua, as well as the (former) Royal Library in Berlin. Furthermore, Radu Constantinescu signals three manuscripts at the Romanian National Library – at that time known as the Central State Library – in Bucharest.

All these new references foment even more the presumption that several other codices are preserved in different libraries or archives. As a matter of fact, all these examples contradict Fr. Lane's conclusion that "he [n. n., Carile] appears to have studied all the main manuscripts known"¹².

On the whole, Antonio Carile estimates that there are approximately 1,000 such codices¹³, with the additional note by Eric Cochrane that "almost no two copies of what purports to be the same chronicle are exactly alike"¹⁴, an observation which we agree with. On the other side, the American scholar opines that "it is not surprising, therefore, that the similarities among these many chronicles are far more striking than their differences"¹⁵. Carile himself speaks about "*mostruosità filologica che è questa trama ininterrotta di trascrizioni, completamenti, aggiornamenti, in una moltiplicazione di testi irriducibili all'unità di una forma archetipa*"¹⁶.

Amassing all these materials together would obviously facilitate the study of the Venetian chronicles, and when stating this we mainly refer to Marciana Library, which "houses the richest collection of Venetian chronicles known to exist"¹⁷. The initiative

¹² Frederic C. Lane, review of A. Carile, *op. cit.* and of *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi* (ed. by Agostino Pertusi), Florence 1970, in "Speculum" 47 (1972), 2, p. 292-298 (293).

¹³ A. Carile, *Note di cronachistica veneziana: Piero Giustinian e Nicolò Trevisan*, "Studi Veneziani" 9 (1967), p. 103-125 (104) ("Nessuno ha calcolato il numero dei codici. [...], ma non sarà arrischiato fissare attorno a 1000 la consistenza dei codici di cronache, anonime o d'autore."); see also Idem, *Aspetti della cronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV*, in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* cit., p. 75-126 (81); F. C. Lane, *rev. cit.*, p. 292; cf. Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago-London 1981, pp. 3-57 (62); Guillaume Saint-Guillain, *Les conquérants de l'Archipel. L'empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades*, in *Quarta crociata. Venezia-Bisanzio-Impero latino* (ed. by Gherardo Ortalli & Giorgio Ravegnani & Peter Schreiner), I, Venice 2006, p. 125-237 (134). Recently, A. Carile has advanced the number of 2,000! The tremendous number of Venetian chronicles gave way to observations by other scholars starting with Antonio Rossi, *Sulla Cronaca Altinate. Commentario, in Chronicon Venetum quod Altinate nuncupatur e bibliotheca Patriarchalis Seminaris nunc primum editum* [...], "Archivio Storico Italiano" 8 (1845), p. 1-228 (3); but, only A. Prost, Fr. Thiriet, R. J. Loenertz, and ultimately A. Carile endeavoured to propose, more or less successfully, general studies on this colossal material. Carile is currently coordinating an on-line project meant to gather all the Venetian chronicles (as well as the chronicles of Ravenna), and called *Progetto cronache veneziane e ravennati (secoli VI-XIX)* [= <http://137.204.185.153:8080/Cronachistica/home/index.jsp> (accessed on March, 2011)]. The project was launched in 2003.

¹⁴ E. Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Carile, *Aspetti della cronachistica* cit., p. 81.

¹⁷ Cf. Vincent Hirdi, *Fifteenth-Century Diplomatic Documents in Western European Archives and Libraries (1450-1494)*, "Studies in the Renaissance" 9 (1962), p. 64-112 (78). Indeed, the great

taken by Giorgio Cini Foundation to microfilm as of 1955 several manuscripts containing Venetian history material is commendable¹⁸, however, the rate of microfilming itself does not seem to be appropriate enough since it is not limited to the chronicles only.

We should rather mention though the initiative taken by the former Director of Marciana Library, Giorgio Emmanuele Ferrari, who in 1972-1973, on behalf of the library, came into possession of a valuable acquisition from Great Britain, following an auction won by the Italian Ministry of Culture. It is actually a significant part of the impressive Phillipps collection of Cheltenham, Gloucester. 44 codices containing Venetian chronicles were acquired then, followed by three more in 1985. One may naturally ask: how did this great number of materials created in Venice by Venetians and dealing strictly with Venetian history arrive in Britain? The explanation is that Sir Thomas Phillipps, a British millionaire, who collected rare books and manuscripts, came into their possession early in the 19th century¹⁹. A similar explanation may be given for the Venetian manuscripts held by Syracuse University in New York, which were all obtained as part of a donation by the historian Leopold von Ranke in 1887²⁰. The fate of the rest of manuscripts currently preserved in Great Britain or the United States may have been the same. As for the numerous chronicles identified in Vienna or Paris, the explanation is even simpler: Venice was successively occupied by the Frenchmen and the Austrians from 1797 to 1866.

Faced with the vastness of this material, the historian or the philologist finds himself suddenly in the situation of not being capable to grasp it all and thus opts for a more convenient solution, such as selecting a few chronicles representative for the scope of his research²¹. A comparative study covering all the chronicles is highly improbable, whereas the scholar who addresses to the Venetian chronicles phenomenon on the whole is lost early on his way, perhaps when classifying the chronicles and codices upon different criteria²². Such is the case of Antonio Carile²³, who happened to be criticised²⁴

number of codices held by the Civico Correr Museum is strong "competition", even from a quantitative perspective, but especially since the donation by Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna.

¹⁸ For a list of these materials, see <http://www.cini.it/pdf/fondi/microfilmoteca.pdf> (accessed on March 2011).

¹⁹ All these manuscripts had been long signalled by C. Castellani, *I manoscritti Veneti contenuti nella collezione Phillipps in Cheltenham (contea di Gloucester)*, "Archivio Veneto" 37 (1889), p. 199-248.

²⁰ See Edward Muir, *The Leopold von Ranke Manuscript Collection of Syracuse University. The Complete Catalogue*, Syracuse, New York 1983. Also for the history of a manuscript arrived in Chicago, see Hans Baron, *A forgotten Chronicle of early Fifteenth-Century Venice. The copy in Newberry Manuscript F 87.1*, in Idem, *From Petrarch to Leonardo Bruni. Studies in Humanistic and Political Literature*, Chicago-London 1968, p. 178-179.

²¹ See Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*; A. Carile, *Le origini di Venezia nelle più antiche cronache veneziane*, in *In Memoria di Sofia Antoniadis*, Venice 1974, p. 27-40, etc.

²² Consider the rhetorical questions of F. C. Lane, *rev. cit.*, p. 293: "How is a modern scholar with a particular subject in mind to decide which among the thousand manuscripts he should study? How can he tell which copied which?". These questions remain unanswered.

²³ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana cit.*

²⁴ Silvana Collodo, *Note sulla cronachistica veneziana. A proposito di un recente volume*, "Archivio Veneto", 5th series, 91 (1970), p. 13-30; Girolamo Arnaldi & Lidia Capo, *I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana*, in *Storia della cultura veneta*, 2: *Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, p. 272-307 (301 f).

for having classified the chronicles based on the single event criterion: *Partitio Romaniae* in 1204²⁵. These observations strictly related to methodology can be supplemented by certain obvious inaccuracies linked with the inconsistent dating of a great number of codices. Moreover, within the presentation of genealogical codices, some later codices are placed before others dated from a previous century.

Considering the great number of chronicles, it may be argued that their investigation is still at an incipient stage, notwithstanding several urges mainly from Fr. Thiriet²⁶, Aug. Prost²⁷, and A. Carile²⁸ to edit some of them. To a great extent, the reasons must lie in the obstacles and difficulties presented earlier.

* * *

Under all these circumstances, the catalogue provided by the member of the sector of Historical Archives at Marciana, Carlo Campana is definitely useful for all those interested in the study of a respect or another of the Venetian chronicles. It fortunately accomplishes a necessity and comes to replace both the former classical catalogues of Marciana Library ("*Ital. VII.*" and "*Soggetti Veneti*") and the one provided by Pietro Zorzanella²⁹.

Published under the initiative of *Centro di studi medievali e rinascimentali "E. A. Cicogna"* in Venice, the edition offers a *Presentazione* (p. 7-8) signed by Angela Caracciolo Aricò, the president of the centre. We join the appreciations of A. Caracciolo, although we somehow express my surprise that, when dealing with the matter of the Venetian chronicles' classification, the scholar refers exclusively to Fr. Thiriet's work in 1954, without mentioning a word about A. Carile's fundamental work in 1969.

C. Campana's *Premessa* (p. 9-12) emphasizes those works among the manuscripts at Marciana that have not been included in the present catalogue. It is natural, since the intention was since the very beginning to put only the chronicles into

²⁵ In matters of rejecting these critiques, beyond the manifest anti-Collodo and pro-Carile stances taken by Nicola Flocchini, review of A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit., "Studi Veneziani" 14 (1972), p. 385-396, and the positive comments of F. C. Lane, *The enlargement of the great council of Venice*, in *Florilegium Historiale. Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson* (ed. by J. G. Rowe & W. H. Stockdale), [Toronto] 1971, p. 236-274 (261 note 2), who appreciates "his [n. n. Carile's] Herculean labour", we should highlight the interrogation mark raised by G. Saint-Guillain, *op. cit.*, p. 135, who asks himself rhetorically "*mais était-il pensable de procéder autrement, sauf à se noyer totalement?*" when referring to the exclusive use by Carile of the *Partitio Romaniae* episode. In essence, the French scholar operates the same way when dealing with the particular episode related to the conquest of the Cyclades by the Venetians, but his references to the Venetian chronicles are incomparably fewer than Carile's.

²⁶ Fr. Thiriet, *op. cit.*, p. 290: "[...] *Il est donc souhaitable de voir publier ces témoins avisés de leur temps [...]*", reiterated in *Idem, La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge. Le développement de l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIF-XV siècles)*, Paris 1959, p. 17.

²⁷ A. Prost, *op. cit.*; *Idem, Les chroniques vénitienes. Second mémoire*, "Revue des questions historiques" 34 (1883), p. 199-224.

²⁸ A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana* cit.

²⁹ See Pietro Zorzanella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti italiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia. Mss. Italiani. Classe VII* (ed. by Giulio Zorzanella), 5 vols., Florence 1956, 1963, 1967, 1974, 1979 (published in the series of *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, LXXXI, LXXXV, LXXXVII, LXXXIX, XC1). Carlo Campana refers to Zorzanella's catalogue (p. 10).

the light. Among these examples, it is about works that dedicated to certain characters or events (p. 10-11), local histories (p. 11), the public memories of the Republic of Venice (p. 11), theoretical and critical works and treaties of the Venetian governmental institutions (p. 12).

However, since the operation to exclude everything that is not chronicle written in vulgar would have been taken to the end, then the diaries should also be not referred to in this catalogue. It is for the reason that we presented previously, when establishing the separation between **chronicle** and **diary**, despite the fact that a diary, when copied/compiled by later chronicler, becomes chronicle on its turn. Without taking this separation into consideration, C. Campana's catalogue includes several works that are not proper chronicles, such as: *Historia vinitiana secreta* of Luigi Borghi (It. Z. 22^a and It. Z. 22^b), an anonymous *Relazione di Venezia* (It. Z. 26), the *Annali Veneti* of Pietro Delfino (ascribed to Domenico Malipiero) (It. VII. 83, It. VII. 84, It. VII. 782, It. VII. 783, It. VII. 2574, It. VII. 2575), the *Diarii* of Girolamo Priuli (It. VII. 85, It. VII. 130, It. VII. 131-133, It. VII. 1276, It. VII. 1821), the anonymous *Notizie storiche* (It. VII. 86), an anonymous *Descrizione storiografica-politica di Venezia* (It. VII. 88), the *Memorie* of Francesco da Molino (It. VII. 110, It. VII. 553), *Storia* of Michele Foscarini (actually, another diary) (It. VII. 170), *Delle Historie Venetiane* of Nicolò Contarini (It. VII. 174-175, It. VII. 176, It. VII. 177-179, It. VII. 686B, It. VII. 764-768, It. VII. 1610-1612, It. VII. 2262-2263, It. VII. 2587-2589), *Della Historia Vinitiana* of Pietro Bembo (It. VII. 191), *Storia* of Giovanni Lippomano (another kind of diary) (It. VII. 213), the famous *Diarii* of Marino Sanudo the Young (It. VII. 228-286, It. VII. 419-477), *Discorso Historico* of Giovanni Andrea Pauletti (It. VII. 311), the *Storie* of Andrea Zilioli (It. VII. 328), the anonymous *Casi memorabilia veneziani* (It. VII. 481), *Della Repubblica di Venezia* of Gaspare Contarini (It. VII. 524), *Del governo antico della Repubblica Veneta* of Giovanni Antonio Muazzo (It. VII. 552, It. VII. 697, It. VII. 964, It. VII. 965, It. VII. 2256), *Dell'Istoria Veneziana* of Andrea Morosini (It. VII. 618-619, It. VII. 731-736, It. VII. 756, It. VII. 2259-2261), an anonymous *Diario* (It. VII. 759), the *Adizioni* of Marino Sanudo (It. VII. 760), *Relazione storica [...] del commercio de Veneziani* of Giovanni Andrea Bon (It. VII. 1531), the *Annale* of Pietro Gradenigo (It. VII. 1603), the *Libro de memorie* of Antonio Benigna (It. VII. 1620), *Saggio della Storia del Comercio* (It. VII. 1635), the anonymous *Frammenti* (It. VII. 1847), various *Elementi* (It. VII. 2009), the *Serie cronologica* of Antonio Barbaro (It. VII. 2163B, It. IX. 375), the anonymous *Stato della Repubblica Veneta* (It. VII. 2238), the so-called *Cronache* (actually, diaries) (It. VII. 2492-2493), another *Diario* (It. VII. 2585). All these 57 works enumerated here are definitely not chronicles, but diaries or political works that refer exclusively to the period contemporary to the author.

The complete number of the works presented in this valuable catalogue is 280. Whether one leave aside the 57 works mentioned above, the result would be that the number of codices at Marciana that include chronicles written in vulgar is of 223.

Among the 280 works, the largest number is clearly represented by those in class It. VII (265. meaning 94.64%), to which one should add nine codices in class It. Z., three in It. XI, two in It. IX, and one in Lat. X.

All of the codices that C. Campana mentions in his catalogue follow the same pattern, referring to the technical details (dating, dimensions, page numbers, etc.), title, incipit and explicit, provenience, succinct observations, and various references to modern works that have used each codex.

Making a comparison between the data in the former Marcian catalogues and the one now provided by C. Campana, some cases results when the century is different, as follows:

Marcian Codex	The classical catalogues	C. Campana's catalogue
It. VII. 48	16 th century	15 th century [1494]
It. VII. 51	16 th century	15 th century ex.
It. VII. 58	17 th century	16 th century
It. VII. 66	17 th century	18 th century
It. VII. 67	17 th century	16 th -17 th centuries
It. VII. 91	17 th century	16 th -17 th centuries
It. VII. 162-163	15 th century	16 th century
It. VII. 324	16 th century	15 th -16 th centuries
It. VII. 327	16 th century	16 th -17 th centuries
It. VII. 377	16 th century	16 th -17 th centuries
It. VII. 541	15 th century	15 th -16 th centuries
It. VII. 550	15 th century	16 th century
It. VII. 551	17 th century	16 th century
It. VII. 555	15 th century	16 th century [post-1544]
It. VII. 796	15 th century	15 th -16 th centuries
It. VII. 798	14 th century [sic!]	15 th century
It. VII. 1586	17 th century	16 th century
It. VII. 1999	18 th century	17 th century
It. VII. 2544	16 th century	15 th century
It. VII. 2550	c. 1600	16 th century
It. VII. 2557-2558	18 th century	17 th century

We do not know on which bases Carlo Campana operated these changings, just note that the matter of dating the manuscripts remains a difficult and debatable task.

Beside the proper catalogue (p. 19-176), the author provides two appendices, referring to the former owners of some of the manuscripts (Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, Alvise II Girolamo Contarini, Giacomo Contarini, Teodoro Correr, Lorenzo Antonio da Ponte, Francesco Donato, Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti, Vincenzo Joppi, Jacopo Morelli, Bernardo and Giacomo Nani, Sir Thomas Phillipps, Giambattista Recanati, Giovanni Rossi, Giovanni Antonio Ruzzini, Amedeus Schweyer, Apostolo Zeno (p. 177-188) and to the chronicles most represented in the Marcian codices (ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Girolamo Savina, the so-called *Veniera*, Gasparo Zancaruolo, or written by Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, Pietro Delfino) (p. 189-191). A wide bibliography (p. 195-230)³⁰ comes to accomplish this impressive work. Actually, it is not about a simple listing of manuscripts and modern works, but an instrument used by Carlo Campana to offer examples for the manner in which each codex has been referred to by the modern scholars.

³⁰ We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the author for making reference to two of our papers.

* * *

In the end, we completely agree with what A. Caracciolo underlined in the *Presentazione*, when saying that the work is "*paziente, rigoroso e attento*". Thus, Carlo Campana's catalogue represents undoubtedly a necessary tool that should be present in the personal library of any Venetologist.

Șerban V. Marin

Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers, How Europe Went to War in 1914*, London, Allen Lane (Penguin), 2012, 697 p.

Almost one hundred years passed since the start of the First World War, and thousands of books and articles have been written on the topic. Yet in his *The Sleepwalkers*, Christopher Clark rightfully claims that "the subject is still fresh" (p. xxv). In order to find an explanation for this continuous interest both for the public and in academia, one has to give credit to the famous words of historian Fritz Stern, who characterized the Great War as "the first calamity of the twentieth century, the calamity from which all other calamities sprang". In his most recent book, Christopher Clark aims to reinterpret the July Crisis of 1914 "as a modern event, the most complex of modern times, perhaps of any time so far" (p. xxvii).

This new account of the origins of the First World War can be said to have four main coordinates. (1) The principal point in Clark's analysis is that "the outbreak of war was a tragedy, not a crime" (p. 561). The author does not aim to establish whose fault the war was. Instead, the idea is to "identify the decisions that brought war about and to understand the reasoning and emotions behind them" (p. xxviii), rather than talk about guilt. (2) The Balkans are placed in the centre of the analysis, because many historians have dismissed the developments in this area as a mere pretext for the Great War, which has left Serbia "one of the blind spots in the historiography of the July Crisis" (p. xxvi). Moreover, (3) Clark's story is one "saturated with agency", where more profound forces exist, but they are always in a dynamic interplay with short term changes. (4) Controversially, Clark claims that present developments in world history allow us to better understand the past; for instance, the European Union project permits us to look to Austria-Hungary "less contemptuously". All in all, Christopher Clark does a remarkably good job in convincing the reader of the legitimacy of this fresh perspective. There are, however, some small "blind spots" and methodological problems in his analysis that will be highlighted later on.

In terms of structure, the book has three parts. Part I ("Roads to Sarajevo") gives an account of the internal and foreign policies of Serbia (Chapter 1: "Serbian Ghosts") and Austria-Hungary (Chapter 2: "The Empire without Qualities") and their relations up to July 1914. Part II ("One Continent Divided") starts with a narrative account of the structural changes in alliances and foreign policy from 1887 to 1907 (Chapter 3: "The Polarization of Europe, 1887-1907"), but immediately switches to contingency, in an absolutely remarkable Chapter 4: "The Many Voices of European Foreign Policy", where the decentralized executives all around Europe are analysed in subchapters like "Who

Governed in Saint Petersburg?”, “Who Governed in Paris?”, “The Troubled Supremacy of Sir Edward Grey”). Part III (“Crisis”), starts with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand (Chapter 7: “Murder in Sarajevo” – note that this key event is placed only in the third part of the book), to describe the escalation of the conflict up to the end (Chapter 12: “Last Days”). Interestingly enough, the last two subchapters are named simply “Belgium” and “Boots”, respectively. The “Conclusion” emphasises one more time the complexity of the event and the importance of contingency, as well as the author’s refusal to play the nonsensical “blame game”. *The Sleepwalkers* is, without a shadow of a doubt, an academic work, with more than 100 pages of notes and a wide range of sources consulted, including, noteworthy, Serbian and Bulgarian archives and secondary texts. The number of personal letters, diaries and memoirs of the statesmen and private citizens seen by Christopher Clark is impressive, and this has allowed him to imagine – with the elegance of a historian knowing how to properly read sources containing self-serving accounts and deliberate lies by the authors – what was or had to be in their minds. In the end, the actors of this story had something in common: they were all “sleepwalkers, watchful, but unseeing, haunted by dreams, yet blind to the reality of the horror they were about to bring into the world” (p. 562). The style of the book is, in key places, metaphorical, but without damaging the clarity of the message, quite on the contrary. The reader is delighted to find more than one passage like these: “The outbreak of war in 1914 is not an Agatha Christie drama at the end of which we will discover the culprit standing over a corpse in the conservatory with a smoking pistol. There is no smoking gun in this story; or, rather, there is one in the hands of every major character” (p. 561), or the Austrians being compared to “hedgehogs scurrying across a highway with their eyes averted from the rushing traffic” (p. 429), for their narrow vision of the events.

Undisputable contributions to the historiography of the Great War are, first and foremost (1) Clark’s account of the political life in Serbia and (2) the breadth of his analysis on the range of internal and external constraints weighing on the shoulders of every stakeholder, as well as (3) the interplay of long-term, structural causes with contingency. Thus, the chapter on “Serbian Ghosts” makes a comprehensive analysis of Serbian political life starting from the grisly murder of king Alexander and Queen Draga in 1903, to July 1914. Brief references are made to Serbian history – for instance the idea in their collective mentality that it is imperative for the “Serbdom” to have a nation-state the size of the Tsardom of Stepan Dušan, which was lost at the battle of Kosovo in 1386. Also, all the peoples that inhabited in 1914 the territory of the old Tsardom were thought to be Serbs, even if some of them (like the Croats) did not know it yet. The Black Hand is presented since its foundation in 1911 and key figures like Dragutin Dimitrijević (known as Apis, “The Bull”), the brains behind the assassination of 1903, founding member of the Black Hand and chief of Serbian General Staff’s intelligence division in 1914, with a key role in the murder at Sarajevo, as well as Nikola Pašić, prime-minister from 1903, a man known for his “habits of caution, secrecy and obliqueness” (p. 19), are presented in some detail. In the end, Christopher Clark claims that “[t]he legacy of Serbian history [...] weighed heavily on Belgrade in the summer of 1914” (p. 62). The reader can picture how a man like prime-minister Pašić had to (re)act in a complicated landscape of a fragile political system, with civilian authorities having little control on “praetorian, conspirational networks born with the regicide of 1903”, an “irredentist milieu” (p. 63), full of fanatic nationalists that interpenetrated state structures (recall Apis’ position). It is very plausible that Pašić and the Serbian state had no means to control the terrorist

networks within and without its borders, and, moreover, Pašić was himself a secretive man, knowing when to duck and wait for the storm to pass, rather than try to control the uncontrollable. He was also a nationalist Serb, desiring the realisation of the nation-state, so why would he even try to stop the irredentist nationalist trans-borders networks? This review can by no means give a fair account of the richness of detail in Clark's analysis, which shows how violent, and at the same time enormously complicated, the situation in Serbia was.

This premise of the complexity of the crisis underlies every chapter. Clark makes no effort at simplifying things. This complexity, the author argues, is not given by structural, long term events, but by rapid changes of the international system. Here is where structural causes meet contingency. **On the one hand**, *The Sleepwalkers* does acknowledge the major changes in the years prior to 1914: Austria-Hungary was evacuated from the Italian Peninsula and from the German Confederation, being forced to look towards the Balkans. Russia was stopped by Japan in the Far East and by the Great Britain (by agreement) in Central Asia, being also compelled to project its power in the Balkans. The creation of a powerful German Reich in the middle of the continent determined the creation of the French-Russian alliance, and the overall unstable situation made Britain gradually abandon its isolation. However, **on the other hand**, there are smaller, temporary changes, like "the Turkish-Russian naval arms race in the Black Sea, or the reorientation of Russian policy away from Sofia to Belgrade", as well as power struggles and shifting balances in the executives, such as the British Foreign Minister Grey's fight with liberal radicals, or the fact that "deeply conservative Pyotr N. Durnovo, a forceful and determined man who was adamantly opposed to Balkan entanglements" (p. 557) refused the Tsar's proposal to take the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. This made the military commanders and Foreign Minister Sazonov acquire the upper hand in Russian politics, and tilt the balance towards war. In this already complicated picture, the reader can also fit details like the chief of Austrian General Staff, Conrad von Hotzendorf's passion for Gina, a married woman, and the fact that "[h]e even came to see war as a means of gaining possession of Gina. Only as a victorious war-hero, Conrad believed, would he be able to sweep aside the social obstacles and the scandal attaching to a marriage with a prominent divorcée" (p. 103). The causality works on so many levels that it is indeed difficult to assign blame to any of the participants. The central question regarding the metaphor of the sleepwalkers is asked in the "Conclusion". It is obvious that somehow, the policymakers knew they were heading towards disaster. "They knew it, but did they really feel it?" (p. 562). They feared Armageddon and their empires falling. But they also kept hoping it would be a local war, or that it will be short or something else positive will happen and the disaster would be avoided. The situation was too complex; they certainly did not "feel it". They sleepwalked into it.

A frequent critique against *The Sleepwalkers* is that it is more conciliatory with Austria-Hungary and Germany than with the others. Indeed, this is the impression the reader is left with at end of the book. The Central Powers are seen mostly in a defensive stance, having to respond (and responding clumsily) to threats and challenges posed by Serbia and the Entente. It was, Clark claims, Poincaré and the Tsar, along with their system of alliances that placed a "trigger" in the Balkans. It was France that assured Russia of its full support. Also, overall, the Entente Powers, Clark claims, were not willing to concede that the Dual Monarchy was vitally threatened by Serbia; for the Austrians, it was a matter of life and death. Their claim was more "legitimate" than

Russia's intentions to help the Slav "little brothers". The famous German war council of December 1912 is also interpreted in the most favourable light for the German Empire. If Clark goes back to 1386 to find the roots of Serbian nationalism, he does not make any effort to speak about Prussian militarism and the line of Prussian leaders (starting with the Great Elector) obsessed with the military. I think it is unfortunate that Clark fails to go deeper into the German and Austro-Hungarian share of mistakes, aggressive postures and miscalculations. It is certain that for a balanced account of the story, more should have been said about these. At the same time, if my reading is correct, Christopher Clark seems to say that the historiography is biased against Germany ("a diluted version of the Fischer thesis still dominates in studies of Germany's road to war", p. 560); more needed to be written about Serbia and Russia (and France for that matter), enough has already been made of Kaiser's mistakes.

If I only partially agree to the critique that the book is unjustifiably mild towards the Central Powers, what Clark makes of the connection between past and present is most of the times wrong. In "Introduction", the author mentions that he does not want to embrace "a vulgar presentism", in order to change the past according to "the needs of the present", but he certainly wants to show how changes in the present can offer us a clearer perspective on the future. The idea here is interesting; the execution is not. As mentioned before, Clark argues that today's European Union makes us look "more sympathetically" to Austria-Hungary. This should mean that the Dual Monarchy has been criticised in the past from a nationalist standpoint: it was simply thought it could not have worked, and that was it. Today, it is worth wondering: maybe, it could have worked. This way, the present can help us to better see the past; but the dangers are huge. Were the EU to fail, will that again modify our vision of Austria-Hungary? Does this kind of approach not allow the present to take the past hostage?

The book is full of questionable references to future – from the standpoint of 1914 – events and one of them is especially unjustified and misleading. Clark likens the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to the NATO Rambouillet Agreement, the former being "a great deal milder", while the NATO provisions were "a demand for the complete prostration of the Serbian state". Other than the debatable interpretation of the Rambouillet Agreement, it is clear that here Clark has overstepped the mark. First, he implies that after seeing how tough NATO was on Serbia in 1999, we should see the Austrian ultimatum of June 1914 more favourably ("The demands of the Austrian note pale by comparison", p. 457). There is no reasonable way in which such a claim can be supported. If tomorrow someone issued another ultimatum on Serbia, should the historians again reinterpret the Austrian act of 1914? Secondly, the comparison is methodologically wrong. This kind of documents reflects power relations. Demands formulated by the most powerful alliance in the world on an almost isolated Serbia in 1999 do not amount to those produced by an "Empire without Qualities" – Clark's own words – on a Serbia strongly backed by Russia and indirectly by France in 1914. In addition, the context is widely different: an assassination of royalties compared to ethnic cleansing.

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In conclusion, Christopher Clark has written a brilliant book about the origins of the First World War, rich in detail and remarkably clear in style, considering the

multitude of unfamiliar names of diplomats and obscure politicians present in the volume. *The Sleepwalkers* brings a fresh and necessary perspective on the situation in Serbia, as well as on the complexity of the July Crisis of 1914, a complexity that proves that the “blame game” played by many historians until now is nonsense. The book is a “must-read” on the Great War, and will likely remain so in the future, regardless of its slightly imbalanced treatment of the Central Powers and the sometimes wrong comparisons with future events.

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institutions – and presented as available solutions that surpassed the test of efficiency – and on the other hand the ideas for searching the necessary support in order to be put into practice.

A very present topic of debate regarding the European archival science was approached also in the context of the ICARUS meeting. It is about APEX (Archives Portal Europe network of excellence) project, which was promoted and supported by the European Commission in order to represent a special frame of co-operation for the development of the digital understructure of the European cultural heritage in the field of archives, libraries, and museums destined to assure an unrestricted access. APEX is scheduled to take place for a period of three years – between March 2012 and February 2015 – and carries actually on an European older project in the field of archives, that is APENet (2009-2012), according to which 19 national institutions and EUROPEANA settled the European archival portal: www.archivesportaleurope.eu. The representative of the National Archives of Sweden – an institution with a special status due to the total independence from the political and state elements – described succinctly the advanced phase of the institution in the present day regarding the process of digital conversion of the documents – 100,000 documents per day – in the context of the international co-operation of APEX. As a matter of fact, Sweden is the APEX partner that leads the section of “Disamination and Training (WP 7)” of the project.

The ICARUS meeting came to an end in a more pleasant manner by the soccer game between the host and the guest teams, already a tradition. The farewell dinner offered the participants a last opportunity in 2012 to communicate, to establish and strengthen the connections with the ‘ICARUS team’, in a less punctilious milieu entertained by the director of the Slovak National Archives, Jozef Hanus, who proved a real musical skill, beside the managerial and archival ones.

Concluding, what we regard as important is the fact that, although the ICARUS meetings have a friendly feature, the professionalism proved by the team’s leaders, the working groups and all the participants leads to remarkable concrete results. It would be ideal for the National Archives of Romania to persist in taking the opportunities of counseling and the financial solutions provided by ICARUS into consideration and in taking advantage of the affiliation to each international structure in the field.

Codruța-Elena Mihailovici

Department of Film Collection in State Archive in Split

National Archives in Split was founded in 1952. It is located in Gripe Fortress (17th century) near the Maritime Museum and close to the city center (5 minutes walk from the Diocletian palace). In the Archive there are different departments: the Department of Classification and Processing of Archival Records; Records Management Inspection Service; the Department for Information and Documentation Services; Archive Folders for Istria and Dalmatia; and the Department of Workshops for the Conservation, Restoration and Book-Binding. In May 2000 the Department of Film Collection was founded. It is the second film archive in the Republic of Croatia, after the National Film Archive in Zagreb – Croatian Cinematheque, founded in 1979.



The main entrance in the State Archive in Split (the door on the right), entrance to the Submarine museum (the door on the left)



Split by night (it was founded as a palace of Diocletian, 295-305)



In front of the Archive: the Chapel of St. Anthony and the partisan warship "Bakar"
(from World War II)

The film material from the area of Split and the whole of Dalmatia stores in this Department of Film Collection at the State Archive in Split. Finally, there is a possibility of storing film treasures that have been deteriorating at various locations in inadequate conditions. Now all the film records can be stored and displayed in the best possible conditions (air conditioner and dehumidifier in the storage and other necessary equipment). Recently the department was renamed to the Department of Film and Unconventional Records (Materials), so that the range of material that is stored – vinyl records, microfilms, video tapes, audio tapes, CDs, DVDs – be expanded. All these materials have in common the fact that for each type of material a machine for reading (watching or listening) is required and that they need to be preserved under certain climatic conditions (we store it at temperatures up to 18°C and humidity up to 40%). In addition, in order to preserve different unconventional records we also collect old projectors, tape recorders, gramophones, and so on.

Consequent to the interesting material that is preserved in this department, it is important to emphasize that lectures are regularly given to students of various ages (elementary/secondary school and university) who are able to see the filmstrip, storyboard, LPs, which today can rarely be seen. They are especially delighted to see the old footage of Split from 1910 and 1911 taken by our first Croatian cameraman and first cinema owner in Split (1907), Josip Bepo Karaman. His first projector, camera and the original films are preserved in the Museum of the City of Split. He was the first Croat ever to make a film; he was making short documentary films at the beginning of the 20th century. It is assumed that he made six-seven short documentaries that unfortunately did not survive, except for only three films from years 1910 and 1911: "Procession of St. Duje" (the patron of Split), "Sports jamboree", and "The funeral of Vicko Mihaljevic" (former mayor of Split). The protective tape is preserved in our department and we are extremely proud of this valuable material that is old for over 100 years.

With the opening of this department, a long-standing problem of neglect towards the film material has been resolved and acquired conditions for systematic archiving of Split and Dalmatian cinematic treasures have been made. Therefore, from now on it will be able to preserve it for future generations. At the same time this material could be used for movies that can be done by studying these documents. The department is constantly

working on collecting new material from a various sides and the number of records is constantly increasing. Unfortunately it is still a need for equipment for the complete processing of the data, especially there is no option for protective copying, so that it is necessary to send all the important films (records) to Croatian Cinematheque in Zagreb.

In the Department of Film Collections, there are two secondhand tables for rewinding and washing films on which physical protection and processing of each film strip is performed. First it is necessary to hand wash the film tape in alcohol and then dry it, and then to rewrite all the relevant information from each tape to. Every filmstrip has two cards: identification and technical card, where it is registered all basic data about the tape: title, year, length and format of the tape, whether it is in color or black and white, it is audio tape, which kind of film is it, the kind of filmstrip, whether it is flammable, the available data about the director, producer, actors, owner of the film, and so on, until the evaluation of image quality. We also have the old assembly table Prevost 16/35mm, which was allegedly owned by Orson Wells.



Assembly table PREVOST 16/35 mm (allegedly it was Orson Wells)



Table for washing (in alcohol), drying and rewinding – for performing the physical treatment of the filmstrip



Storage premise where the temperature is being kept till 18°C and humidity until 40%

We use plastic boxes in which all the filmstrip are stored (before they were kept in a tin box). There are two air-conditioned rooms: one of which is a study room where the physical processing of the tape is made, while the other one is a storage room that has enough space for now, but there are hopes that eventually some more rooms be acquired, since the number of film material will surely grow in the future.

The Split Film Archives preserve the following film materials and films:

- Karaman's oldest film (from years 1910 and 1911); materials of Split and Dalmatia filmed between the two World Wars, recorded from unknown authors;
- materials and film production company from Split, which operated between 1968 and 1998: over the years, it has changed its name: "Dalmatia movie", FRZ "Marko Marulic", "Slavica movie", and the last name is "Marjan movie";
- movies from amateur filmmakers of Cinema Club Split (founded in 1952), who were known as the golden generation of the Split film school and were making experimental short films: I. Martinac, L. Zafranović, A. Verzotti, and so on;
- the archive stores a film documentation of exceptional value for the city and region, which refers to the period between 1973 and 1990: all important cultural, political, sporting and other events were filmed (as for example the construction of facilities for the Mediterranean Games in 1979);
- short and author movies and experimental films are also conserved in the film archive, a large number of purpose, experimental, documentary, and educational short films and there are only eight that are feature films. The ruins of the cinematic treasures of Split and Dalmatia from Karaman films to the present day, and valuable award-winning films

at festivals in the country and abroad are preserved. Film Archive of the State Archive in Split is the memory of well-known and recognized "Split Film School" ("Cinema Club Split") and all that Split and Dalmatia meant in the total corpus of Croatian and ex-Yugoslav cinematography. Originals (excluding leftovers) are stored in Croatian cinemateque in Zagreb and only tonal and working copy format 16 or 35 mm are stored.

In addition private (film) collections are also stored:

- first of all, it is a complete film archive of "Cinema Club Split" (established in 1952), which has given birth to generations of famous authors, their material being recorded in non-professional format N8 and S8 (mm) and only a small portion on the tape of 16 mm (the originals are preserved in the film archive and piece by piece is being dubbed, depending on the priority list and the finances);
- all the films of the late distinguished Split director Ivan Martinac, who was the originator of Cinema Club Split and a leading figure of the golden generation of "Split film school", which is known and recognized abroad;
- a film collection of the late director Alexander F. Stasenko (his wife decided to store all his films in the film archive);
- There are also various private persons (or their ancestors) that collected various ancient local and foreign films (fiction, animation, newsreels, and so on) or even shooting home movies and have them downloaded; they are preserved because of the history and future generations; each film is good to precious and interesting because everybody knows that a picture speaks a thousand words;
- Recently the film archive of the City puppet theatre was taken over; now we keep all their puppet plays that they recorded on VHS tapes (they are transferring them to DVDs and we have submitted to keep the originals on VHS);
- the collection of gramophone records that some private persons donated – because people are finally becoming aware of the importance of saving different types of records.

In the future, we will continue to receive and store the film and other unconventional materials because, unfortunately, it is difficult to have at disposal home climate conditions that are ideal for the storage of this type of material. Therefore, there is always the possibility that one donate such (unconventional) material to us or with the aim to preserve audio/visual recordings for future generations. We also hope that in future we will achieve good cooperation with various cultural institutions, and in particular with the schools to make students able to demonstrate in practice the importance of preserving their archival material including film and other unconventional materials.

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VARIA

“Venezia e Bisanzio, intrecci millenari tra storia e leggenda” (conference of Byzantium Cultural Association)

Settled in the Venetian lagoon, the island of San Servolo was the host of the conference entitled *Venezia e Bisanzio, intrecci millenari tra storia e leggenda*, organized by Byzantium Cultural Association which has been active in Venice since 2003, due to a group of young researchers gathered around the portal of Byzantine Studies (www.imperobizantino.it).

The conference took place on December 4-5, 2010 and gathered scholars involved in the study of the millennial history of Byzantium in its various respects, especially in the manner in which the Eastern Empire and the West came into contact.

During the first day of the conference, the projects that Byzantium Cultural Association participated in were presented by Nicola Bergamo (president of the association) and Matteo Brogginì (editor-in-chief of “Porphyra” review). Among the officialities, we note the presence of Raffaele Speranzon (from the side of the Association of Culture and Sports of the province of Venice) and Yuri Calliandro (editor-in-chief of “Il Gazzettino illustrato”), but the scientific level of the event was mostly represented by the speech held by Giorgio Ravegnani, the well-known Byzantinologist.

The first part of the conference was marked by the presentations of the same Giorgio Ravegnani (director of Historical Studies Department at Ca' Foscari University in Venice), Sandra Origone (University of Genua) and Paolo Cesaretti (University of Bergamo). However, it was rather about an introductory roundtable, in which the speakers emphasized the importance of the relationship between Byzantium and the West, especially from the period when Venice began to express its independence – that is, during the 11th century – to the fall of Byzantium under the Ottoman Turks.

All the other papers were grouped in the second day and they were divided in two workshops. The first of them, entitled *Dall'Italia bizantina all'Impero latino* gathered the papers delivered by Salvatore Liccardo (*Romani e Goti: separati in casa*), Mirko Rizzotto (*Pietro Patrizio e la diplomazia bizantina nell'Italia del VI secolo*), Antonio Pio Di Cosmo (*Bisanzio “madre di civiltà”*), Federica Broilo (*Fons mirabilis, appunto per uno studio sulle fontane byzantine per le abluzioni*), Giovanni Roman (Trebaseleghe: *«tres basilicas» o denominazione di culto?*), Andrea Nocera (*Gli ultimi anni di Manuele Comneno visti da Guglielmo di Tiro*) and Șerban Marin (*Caroldo's Byzantine Emperors before the Fourth Crusade*).

Under the title of *Bisanzio, Venezia e l'Europa in età Paleologa*, the second workshop, it included the presentations of Daniele Dorattiotto (*La Trebisonda dei Grandi Comneni*), Claudio Parisotto (*I détours di Vettor Pisani. Paralipomeni diplomatici*), Christian Caselli (*Alfonso il magnanimo e i suoi rapporti con Venezia e Costantinopoli negli ultimi anni dell'impero bizantino*), Alessandro Angelucci (*Scontro per Negroponte*), Halûk Çetinkaya (*Byzantine Masters at the Service of the Catholic Church at Constantinople*), Paolo Maltagliati (*La caduta di Costantinopoli e i suoi riflessi nella*

documentazione diplomatica Sforzesca) and Maureen McGuire (*Bessarion's Gift to Venice: His Final Plea on Behalf of Byzantium*).

The papers were eventually published online in "Porphyra"¹, the main periodical of Byzantium Cultural Association.

Șerban V. Marin

International Medieval Congress in Leeds

Organized and administered by the Institute for Medieval Studies (IMS) since 1994, the International Medieval Congress (IMC) has established itself as an annual event with an attendance of a huge number of medievalists from all over the world. Nowadays, it became the largest conference of its kind in Europe.

Drawing medievalists from all the continents, presenting yearly hundreds of individual papers and tenths of academic sessions, along with a wide range of round tables, concerts, performances, readings, excursions, bookfairs and associated events, the Leeds International Medieval Congress is Europe's largest annual gathering in the field of humanities.

The two already traditional locations for the congress, Weetwood and Bodington, made that the participants to run shuttle service, before the two campuses being renovated, so that the congress in 2013 would take place in other locations.

For 2012, the congress committee (Axel E. W. Müller, Linette Withers, Marta Cobb, Joanna Phillips, Lauren Moreau, and their team) established 'Rules to Follow (or Not)' as special thematic strand. However, as usual in these important congresses, the fields dealt with by several papers expanded beyond this general topic.

Naturally, the greatest number of the medievalists that participated on July 8-12, 2012 in the congress represented institutions in United Kingdom (more than 400), followed by the ones in USA (around 160), Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain, France (almost 70 each other), Italy (more than 50), Belgium, Canada, Romania, Poland, Norway (between 20 and 30), Denmark, Australia, Eire, Finland, Sweden, Hungary, Switzerland (between ten and 20), Japan, Portugal, Israel, Greece, Croatia, the Russian Federation (between five and ten), and less institutions from Czech Republic, Brazil, Turkey, Iceland, Estonia, Taiwan, New Zealand, South Africa, Cyprus, Georgia, Argentina, Ukraine, China, Lebanon, Serbia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Peru². It results a total number of 1,381 medievalists.

As for the presence of the Romanian institution, it was indeed an important number of medievalists representing them. However, one could conclude that it was to a certain extent about a kind of caste feeling. This conclusion could be drawn from the fact that some of them were grouped together in one and the same sessions organized by the Romanian Academy, as if the medieval studies in Romania has less to do with the science

¹ See http://www.porphyra.it/Porphyra_16_1.pdf and http://www.porphyra.it/Porphyra_16_2.pdf.

² As a matter of fact, these figures refer to the institutional representation of the participants, and not to their nationality. Actually, nowadays it became inappropriate to refer to nationalities, since each scholar could very well make his/her research in other countries than the native one. To refer to nationalities in sciences represents nothing but a tribute to relic times.

as a whole. By proceeding in such a manner, the Romanian historiography continues to localize itself, being not able to surpass the label of a countrified feature, already endemic³. This tendency is not available for those medievalists originated in Romania but representing institutions/organizations abroad: Emily Albu from University of California, Davis (*The Medieval Peutinger Map*), Alexandra Costache-Babcinschi from Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale of University of Poitiers (Arthur of Lytell Brytayne: *A Critical Edition of a Middle English 'Romance' – Final Conclusions*), Teodora Artimon from Central European University in Budapest (*Managing Closeness to Death, or Visualizing Fear in the Romanian Principalities in the 15th and 16th Centuries* and also moderator of the session entitled "Love and Pleasure"), András F. Balogh from Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (*Die Unsicherheit der Türkenbekämpfer: Gewalt, Regeln und Weltentwürfe in den deutsch-sprachigen Türkenflugschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*), but also the case of Violeta Pușcașu representing "Dunărea de Jos" University in Galați (*Where to Place a Monastery?*), of Mariana Goina, acting as independent scholar [*Written Documents versus Oral Practices in the Settlement of Disputes in Moldavia and Wallachia (14th-16th Centuries)*], and of Oana Toda from "Babeș-Bolyai" University in Cluj (*Setting Some Rules: The Evolution of the Medieval Road Network and Its Administrative Structure in Northern Transylvania*).

Nevertheless, the sessions prepared by the Romanian participants generally succeeded in surpassing this tendency by dealing with topics referring not only to the Romanian medieval area, but also to more general fields: it is about two multiple sessions. Organized by the Romanian Academy in co-operation with Institut für Byzanzforschung of Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna and "Babeș-Bolyai" University in Cluj, the first one was entitled "Law, Thought, and Action between East and West" (I: "The Greek-Roman Legacy", II: "Latin and Greek Borders", III: "Western Philosophy at Christendom's Eastern Borders", IV: "Crusading in South-Eastern Europe", V: "The 'Byzantine Commonwealth'", and VI: "The Transylvanian 'Latin Case'", having Alexandru Simon (Center for Transylvanian Studies in Cluj) as organizer and moderated by Alexander Baumgarten ("Babeș-Bolyai" University), Ekaterini Mitsiou (Institut für Byzanzforschung in Vienna), Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Institut für Byzanzforschung), Tudor Sălăgean (Center for Transylvanian Studies), Ovidiu Cristea ("Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest) respectively.

Entitled "Law, Regulations, and Society in Central and Eastern Europe (I: "Communities", II: "Military Perspectives", and III: "Custom and Code"), the second session that we refer to was organized by the Romanian Academy and School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the University College in London) and had Chris Nicholson (SSEES) as organizer and the same Chris Nicholson, Alexandru Simon and Martyn Rady (SSEES) as moderators.

The participants from Romanian institutions were: Andrei Bereschi from "Babeș-Bolyai" University (*The Theory of Governmental Forms in Greek Antiquity (Plato, Aristotle and Polybe) and Its Medieval Impact*), Walther Prager from "Babeș-Bolyai" University (*The Natural Law from Inside: The Model of Biological Laws from Nemesius of Emesa to Early Medieval Thought*), Gelu Fodor from "George Barițiu" Institute of History in Cluj (*Between Cross, Custom, and Cicero: Legal Mechanisms and*

³ Certainly, this self-localization phenomenon is not a peculiarity for the Romanian case only, but also for the ones in the entire Eastern Europe.

Legal Thought in Transylvania), Ionuț Alexandru Tudorie from Centre for Transylvanian Studies, Faculty of Theology in Bucharest, and Institut für Byzanzforschung in Vienna (Aphorismos tou basilea: *State-Church Relations in the Time of Michael VIII Palaiologos*), Daniel Fărcaș from Center for Transylvanian Studies ('*Law and Order*': *Meister Eckhart's Challenge to the Medieval Philosophical Order*), Alexander Baumgarten from 'Babeș-Bolyai' University (*Common Law of Prayer and Medieval Epistemology: St Thomas Aquinas's Case*), Mihai Maga from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*Marsilius of Padua and the Question of Civil Liberty*), Șerban Marin from National Archives of Romania in Bucharest (*Crusading Rules in Venice during the Fourth Crusade*), Ovidiu Cristea from "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History (*Crusading in the East: Diversions and Schismatics*), Iulian Mihai Damian from Center for Transylvanian Studies and Accademia di Romania in Rome (*The Use of Titles and Symbols Related to the Crusade in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary Prior to and after the Council of Florence*), Ioan Marian Țiplic from "Lucian Blaga" University in Sibiu (*Fines, Meta, Confinium: Three Medieval Terms with the Same Significance?*), Tudor Sălăgean from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*Regnum Transilvanum and the Congregatio nobilium as a Legal Community at the End of the 13th Century*), András W. Kovács from "George Barițiu" Institute of History (*The Voivodes of Transylvania in the Middle Ages, Late 1400s-Early 1500s*), Alexandru Simon from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*Between the Cross and the Sultan: The Jews in Moldavia in the 1470s*), Laurențiu Rădvan from "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University in Iași (*German Law and Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities: A Dilemma*), Florin Ardelean from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*Military Laws and Regulations in the Transilvanian Voivodate of the Hungarian Realm, c. 1400-1500*), Liviu Câmpeanu from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*Written Rules and Privileges: Fiscal and Military Obligations of the Transylvanian Saxons*), Adrian Magina from Center for Transylvanian Studies (*From Custom to Written Law: ius valachicum in the Banate*), Bogdan-Petru Maleon from "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University (*The Methods of Physical Coercion Used in Judicial Inquiry in Wallachia and Moldavia*). Beside them, the above mentioned sessions also integrated various representatives from non-Romanian institutions/organizations: Luigi Silvano from "La Sapienza" University in Rome (*Byzantine Intellectuals and the Filioque Controversy at the Time of the Union of Lyons: The Cases of Maximus Planudes, Georgios Metochites and Georgios Moschampar*), Marie-Hélène Blanchet from Collège de France in Paris (*Insights into the Byzantine Canonical Legislation against the Latins in the 14th and 15th Centuries*), Emanuel C. Antoche from EHESS in Paris (*The Balkan Expansion of the Ottoman Turks. Legal and Military Systems in Comparison*); Adrian Gheorghe from Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich (*Legal and Imaginary Frames of Byzantine-Turkish Relations in the mid-14th Century*); Johannes Preiser-Kapeller from Institut für Byzanzforschung in Vienna (*Rules for Harmony? Laws for and Practices of Decision-Making in the Late Byzantine Synod*); Eleanor Janega from SSEES in London ('... *It All Begins with Succession from the Empire*': *Emperor Charles IV and Reform Preaching in Bohemia*); Mark Whelan from Royal Holloway in London (*King Sigismund and Christendom: The Statutes of the Order of the Dragon*); Chris Nicholson from SSEES (*Writing the Law and Bohemia and Hungary in the Later Middle Ages*).

All in all, we would like to mention here the efforts of Alexandru Simon in order to gather such a consistent representation for the Romanian medievalists.

Practically there was no field connected to the middle ages to be not represented at the congress in Leeds. Thus, there were an impressive number of papers that dealt with historiography; ecclesiastic history; monasticism; religious life; hagiography; theology; liturgy; art history; music; archeology; architecture; military history; political thought; politics and diplomacy; social history; daily life; sexuality; gender studies; economics; law and canon law; mentalities; philosophy; rhetoric; education and learning; languages and literature; genealogy and prosopography; local history; geography and settlement studies; science; medicine; computing in medieval studies; crusades; Byzantine studies; Islamic and Arabic studies, and so on.

Among the many fields mentioned above, we would emphasize some of those sessions and papers that dealt with archives, charters, diplomatics, manuscripts, palaeography, or heraldry.

Thus, we note here the following sessions:

- "Cistercians and Archives: Relations with the Wider World", organized by *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses*, one of the periodicals focused upon the Cistercian Studies: we note particularly the paper delivered by Mike Spence from Institute for Medieval Studies in Leeds (*Scribes of Fountains Abbey*)
- "Producing, Keeping, and Reusing Documents: Charters and Cartularies from Northern Iberia, 9th-12th Century" personally organized by Francesca Tinti from Universidad del Pais Vasco: Wendy Davies from University College in London (*Keeping Charters Before Cartularies*); David Peterson from Universidad del Pais Vasco (*The Becerro Gótico of San Millán: The Reconstruction of a Lost Cartulary*)
- "Medieval Manuscripts: A Biographic Approach" organized by Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna: Katharina Kaska from Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung ('Isti sunt libri S. Crucis': *Birth, Life, and Death of 12th Century Manuscripts in a Cistercian Scriptorium and Library*); Christina Jackel from Institut für Germanistik in Vienna (*1457-1941: Retracing the 'Life' of a Medieval German Manuscript*); Alexander Hödlmoser from Institut für Germanistik (*Handschrift, Text, Textüberlieferung: Die Österreichische Chronik der Jahre 1454 bis 1467*)
- "Miscellanies. I: Selection and Diversity in Medieval Manuscripts" organized by HERA Project: Richard M. Powell from University of California, Los Angeles (*Manuscript Miscellanies and Carolingian Reichenau*); Ad van Els from Universiteit Utrecht (*A Flexible Unity: Ademar of Chabannes and the Production and Usage of MS Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Octavo 15*); Rosamond McKitterick from University of Cambridge (*Glossary Chrestomathies in the Early Middle Ages: The Case for the 9th Century Manuscript, Vat. Lat. 6018*)
- "Outside the Ruling: Signes of Use in Medieval Manuscripts, I: Marginal Interventions and the Functionality of Texts" organized by Institute of Medieval Studies from St Andrews: Irene A. O'Daly from Universiteit Leiden ('Thinking Outside the Box': *The Role of Diagrams in Medieval Manuscripts*); Kristin Hoefener, independent scholar from Paris (*An Ursuline Office in a Manuscript from Otobeuren and Its Modus Signs in the Margin as a Better Orientation for the Medieval Reader*); Katherine Kennedy from Princeton University (*The Margin between Text and Performance in the Rite of St Andrews Cathedral*)
- "Outside the Ruling: Signs of Use in Medieval Manuscripts, III: Were Medieval Books Designed to be User Friendly?" organized by Institute of Medieval Studies from St Andrews: Josep Xavier Muntané y Santiveri from Institut d'Estudis Món Juic (*The*

Efforts of a Medieval Poet and the Copyist of His Literary Work to Help Their Readers to Understand Correctly the Text); Jan Burgers from Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis in The Hague (*The Registers of the Clerks of the Count of Holland*); Markus Polzer from Universiteit Antwerpen (*The Manipulation of Reception in Johannes Tauler's Von eyem waren Euangelischen leben: A Paratextual Comparison of the 1543 Cologne Print and the 1555 Arnhem Manuscript*)

- "'Ruling' the Script, III: Measure and Sense" organized by Association paléographique internationale and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris: Maria Gurrado, independent scholar from Paris (*Writing Angles: Palaeographic Considerations on the Inclination of the Script*); Dominique Stutzmann from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes from Paris (*Graphical System and Social Norms: Measuring a Collective Scribal Profile*); Irene Ceccherini from Università degli Studi di Firenze (*Rules for a Database on Italian Notaries*)

- "'Nulli... Si Quis & Co: Sanctiones, Corroborationes, and Penal Forms in Medieval Charters" organized by Universität Innsbruck: Mark Mersiowsky from Institut für Geschichte & Ethnologie in Innsbruck (*Rules within the Document: Carolingian Corroborations*); Sébastien Barret from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Orléans (*The Sanctiones of the Cluniac Charters of the 10th-11th Centuries*); Arnold Otto from Erzbistumsarchiv in Paderborn (*Nulli... Si Quis and Their Copycats: Penal Forms in Later Medieval Charters*)

- "'Scribal Rules: 'A Scael Gelaered Smid Swa He Gelicost Maeg Be Bisne Wyrcau Butan He Bet Cunne'" personally organized by Rebecca Fisher from University of Sheffield; Christine Wallis from University of Sheffield (*Exemplars and Scribal Innovation in the Old English Bede*); Markus Schiegg from Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich (*Do Medieval Glossators Deviate from the 'Rules' of the Vernacular?*); Kate Wiles from Institute for Medieval Studies in Leeds (*The Copying Techniques of the Worcester Cartulary Scribes*)

- "'Ruling' the Script, II: 'Sola Gratia, Sola Fide, Sola Scriptura'?", organized by Association paléographique internationale and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris: Martin Bauch from Technische Universität in Darmstadt (*'Et hec scripsi manu mea propria': Known and Unknown Autographs of Emperor Charles IV as Testimony of Self Image and Intellectual Profile*); Daniel Grégorio from Université de Valenciennes et du Hainaut-Cambrésis (*Alphabets Magiques: Normalisation et Variations*); Pasquale Orsini from Università degli Studi di Cassino (*Writing as an Icon: Theory and Ideology of Writing in Byzantium in the 8th-10th Centuries*)

- "'Ruling' the Script, IV: Justifications" organized by Association paléographique internationale and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris: Ayda Kaplan from Centre international Jacques de Saroug in Brussels (*Dynamics of Composition in Syriac Manuscripts*); Floris Bernard from Universiteit Gent (*Texts and Paratexts in Byzantine Manuscripts: Visual Rules and Scribal Habits*); Emilie Cottereau-Gabillet from Université Paris I (*Patrons, Copyists, and Characteristics of Manuscripts*)

- "'Mabillon's Heirs: New Diplomatics – Young Scholars" organized by Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris: Adèle Berthout from Département d'histoire in Namur (*Cistercians and Their Archives Books in the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages: Diplomatic Aspects*); Isabelle Bretthauer from Université Paris VII (*Writing Notarial Documents in Normandy: Practice and Regulations*); Claire de Bigault de Cazanove from Université Paris I (*The Redaction of the Regensburg Cartulary: Some*

- Remarks); Jinna Smit from Nationaal Archief in the Hague [De re paleographia digitalia: *The Charters and Chancery of the Counts of Holland/Hainault (1299-1345)*]
- "The Writing of Petitions in Later Medieval England" organized by Society for 14th Century Studies: Helen K. S. Killick from Centre for Medieval Studies in York (*The Unseen Intermediaries: Who Wrote Petitions?*); W. Mark Ormrod from Department of Medieval History at York University (*The Common Profit of King and Kingdom: The Political Language of Petitioning, 1300-1450*); Gwilym Dodd from School of History in Nottingham (*'And Another Thing...': Multiple Requests in 14th Century*)
- "Rules of Documentary Literacy" organized by Association paléographique internationale and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris: Andrea Puglia from Università degli Studi di Siena (*The Rules of the Church: Written Forms of Episcopal Power in Western Tuscany*); Els de Paermentier from Universiteit Gent [*'Ex antiqua consuetudine': The Written and Unwritten Rules of Charter Production within the Comital Chancery of Flanders and Hainaut (1191-1244)*]; Véronique Julerot from Université Paris I [*Law and Confirmation of Bishops' Elections: The Rules of the Testimonies from a Medieval Manuscript (15th Century)*]
- "Law, Violence, and Social Bonds, II: Legal Culture and the Written Word" organized by Institute of Medieval Studies from St Andrews: Matthew McHaffle from Institute of Medieval Studies in St Andrews (*Alms in Anjou, 987-1151: Charters and the Development of a Legal Norm*); Faye Taylor from University of Nottingham (*Hagiography, 'Reform', and the Mutation Documentaire*); Linsey F. Hunter from Institute of Medieval Studies in St Andrews (*Securing the Grant: Maintenance and Lordship in 12th-13th Century Scottish Charters*)
- "Textual Boundaries of Human-Animal Interactions" organized by University of Kent: Trish Stewart from Institute of Medieval Studies in St Andrews (*Source Use and Modification in the Medieval Latin Bestiary*); Diane Heath from University of Kent (*Fun. Puns, and Irreverence: Medieval Decorated Initials and Bestiary Animal Motifs – Some Canterbury Examples*)

We would also add the following papers that, although dealing with archives and manuscripts, were inserted in other various sessions: *Technical and Archival Research: Jan van Eyck in Holland and the Zweders in Utrecht* (Anne van Egmond from Universiteit van Amsterdam); *A Matter of Style: Scribal Education, Continuity, and Discontinuity in High Medieval Monastic Scriptoria from the Southern Low Countries* (Tjamke Sniijders from Universiteit Gent); *Hebrew Riesenbibeln and the Kalonymos Family of Scribes* (Annette Weber from Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg); *'Dilectissima coniunx et consors regni': Expressions of Queenship in Italian Diplomas (9th-10th Centuries)* (Roberta Cimino from Institute of Medieval Studies in St Andrews and University of Bologna); *Following Rules to the Letter?: Spelling, Punctuation, and Letter-Writing Conventions in the Paston Letters* (Gillian Weir from University of Glasgow); *When a Manuscript Met the Stencilled Cutout* (Margo Stroumsa-Uzan from Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheva); *Mise-en-page and the Prosimetrum of Ketils saga haengs* (Helen Frances Leslie from Universitetet i Bergen); *Masters of Micrography in 13th Century Ashkenaz* (Rahel Fronda from University of Oxford and University of Leeds); *Rule and Variation in English Vernacular Minuscule* (Peter A. Stokes from King's College in London); *The Image of the Corporate Body and the Individual Fingerprint: Designing Legal Authentication in 13th Century Common Seals* (Markus Späth from Institut für Kunstgeschichte from Giessen); *Images that Re-Read*

Texts: Illustration Strategies in Manuscripts of Miracles of the Virgin (Anna Russakoff from American University of Paris); *Order and Disorder in the Margins: Missal No 354 (the Zagreb Metropolitana) and Its Sociocultural Background* (Marina Metelko from University of Zagreb); *The Glossa Ordinaria on Ecclesiastes: Codicological and Cosmological Findings* (Jennifer Kostoff-Käärd from University of Toronto); *Parchment, Politics, and Pastoral Care: Administration in 13th Century Lincoln* (Philippa Mary Hoskin from School of Humanities in Lincoln); *The Relationships between the Charter Issuing of Anglo-Norman Kings and Their Itineraries* (Atsuko Nakamura from Toyota National College of Technology); *Emperor Henry VI's Efforts to Conquer a Superior and Unruly Society: Two Edicts of Restitution and a New Type of Charter* (Andrea Rzhacek-Bedö from Institut für Mittelalterforschung in Vienna); *Causes and Rules for the Variation of Gothic Scripts in the Writing Office of the Chapter of Oviedo during the 15th Century* (Néstor Vigil Montes from Universidad de Oviedo); *The Portrayal of Charlemagne in Text and Image in BL Royal MS 15 E VI* (Jade Anoushka Bailey from University of Bristol); *Imperial Reflections in Alemannic Formularies* (Bernhard Zeller from Institut für Mittelalterforschung in Vienna); *Local Maps on Medieval Seals* (Paul D. A. Harvey from Durham University); *Maps on Ottonian Charters? Unnoticed 10th Century Drafts* (Thomas Wozniak from Institut für Mittelalterliche Geschichte in Marburg); *Visual and Textual Representations of Proficiency in Heraldic Handbooks during the Tudor Period* (Anna-Maria Blank from Humboldt-Universität in Berlin); *'Not Exactly Unchivalrous... But Still Behaviour to be Ridiculed and Snickered At': On the Heraldic Consequences of Breaking Certain Unwritten Rules* (Steffen Harpsøe from Danish National Archives in Copenhagen).

One could also add here the workshop dealing with calligraphy (*'Rehearse the Method of My Pen'*), directed by Sara Mack, and also the roundtable about *Seals and Sigillography: What Is Their Future in a Digital Age?*, organized and moderated by John Cherry from British Museum in London.

As a matter of fact, during the entire congress the roundtable discussions, workshops, presentation of medieval projects, databases, or periodicals, even computer games focused upon Middle Ages etc. represented elements in consistent number that attracted the public, their topics covering extremely various fields.

Entertainment was also present to the highest degree: medieval feasts, troubadour/ minstrel music and medieval dance performances, and almost permanently medieval book fair and/or craft fair, as well as exhibitions on medieval topics were open for the many participants in the congress. Visits were organized to the so many tourist's objectives in the region: castles (Pickering), abbeys (Rievaulx, Byland), minsters (Ripon, Southwell) and museums (The Royal Armouries Museum, Leeds City Museum) and even beyond of it (for instance, to the city of York).



During the 'combat' display





During the 'joust'

Șerban V. Marin

“New Sources, New Methods or a New Public?” (conference in Cluj)

On September 28-30, 2012, the city of Cluj hosted the conference organized by the Romanian Academy with the support of European structural funds designed as a means of development for advanced education. Actually, the conference represented a part of the project entitled “The Social Sciences and Humanities in the Context of the Globalized Evolution” and having “Civilization”, “Society”, “Cultural Heritage”, and “Globality” as keywords.

The opening of the conference enjoyed the presence and the speeches delivered by Ionel Haiduc (president of the Romanian Academy), Ioan-Aurel Pop (rector of “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj), and Nicolae Edroiu (director of “George Barițiu” Institute of History in Cluj).

The papers delivered on this occasion covered a wide range of topics. During the first day of the conference, the session chaired by Christian Gastgeber and Paolo Odorico took place at *Clubul Casei Universitarilor* and grouped the papers presented by Neculai Bolohan (*Archaeology and Physical Analysis of the Artifacts*), Andrei Timotin (*La politique de la foi à Byzance. Les conversions forcées des Juifs sous Basile I^{er} et Romain Lécapène et leur reflet dans l'hagiographie de l'époque*), Ionuț Tudorie (*Imperial Excommunication in Byzantium*), and Liviu Câmpeanu [*The Report of the Teutonic*

Knights Nicolaus von Redwitz on the Wallachian Campaign of King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1427)].

Leaving aside the papers in the field of archaeology (moderated by Vasile Chirica, George Bodi, Vlad Zirra, and Radu Băjenaru under the general title of “Communicating Heritage”), the second day of the conference included the section entitled “Structuring Power” to the audience. It took place in “Robert Schumann” room and was initially separated in two workshops (“Power and Prestige” and “Images and Power”), which eventually were gathered together, being moderated by both Ovidiu Cristea and Ileana Căzan, the director and deputy director respectively of “N. Iorga” Institute of History in Bucharest. According to the schedule, the papers presented on this occasion were: *Models and Analogies in Aristotle's Biology* (Andrei Bereschi), *The Crusading Fervor in Venice: The Concepts* (Șerban Marin), *Transylvanian Voivodes and Vice-Voivodes in the Second Half of the 15th Century* (András W. Kovács), *The Coat of Arms of the Painter's Guild and the Evidence of Its Use in Transylvania (15th-16th Centuries)* (Ciprian Firea), *Jacques Baret, seigneur de La Galanderie. L'écrivain et son oeuvre* (Emanuel Antoche)¹, *Greek and Other Merchants from the Ottoman Empire in the Trade of Sibiu, 1614-1623* (Mária Pakucs), *Danube Navigation and the Danube-Black Sea Canal (1830-1856)* (Constantin Ardeleanu), *Diplomacy and Conflict in the Black Sea Region. 1939-1941* (Mioara Anton), and *Short Journey from Modernisation to Extinction – Communist Countries in the International Trade of Goods and Energy (1960s-1980s)* (Cosmin Popa).

Although the conference did not come to a conclusion to the main questions put by its name (“New Sources?”, “New Methods?”, “New Public?”), it represented an opportunity for exchange of ideas, although the topics were so different.

Șerban V. Marin

¹ This lecture was eventually published in “Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review” 87 (2010), 2, p. 57-77.

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- *L'expédition polonaise de 1450 en Moldavie et la bataille de la petite rivière de Crasna (Izvorul Crasnei, 6 septembre 1450)*, "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «A. D. Xenopol»" 48 (2011), p. 63-80

- *Jacques Baret, seigneur de La Galanderie (1579-1650). L'écrivain et son œuvre*, "Revista Arhivelor. Archives Review" 87 (2010), 2, p. 57-77

- (with Matei Cazacu) *John Eppler, the Abwehr's Spy, Romanian Oil and the Plans for Annexation of Bessarabia by the Soviets in the Years 1939-1940*, "Revista de Istorie Militară", 2009, 1-2, p. 70-79

- *Les batailles de Sibiu (22 mars 1442) et de la rivière de Ialomița (2 septembre 1442). Essai de reconstitution d'après les sources de l'époque*, in «*Extincta est lucerna orbis*». *John Hunyadi and his Time* (ed. by A. Dumitran & L. Mádly), "Mélanges d'Histoire Générale", new series, I/2, Cluj-Napoca 2009, p. 405-426

- *Les guerres irrégulières dans les principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)*, in *Stratégies irrégulières* (ed. by Hervé Coutau-Bégarie), Paris 2010, p. 160-183

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- (with Dan Ioan Mureșan) Ioan Basarab, un domn român la începuturile Țării Românești, Bucharest 2013
- (with Nicolas Trifon) *Un Etat en quête de nation. La République de Moldavie*, Paris 2010
- *Romania during the Reign of King Carol I*, Bucharest 2009
- *Sfârșitul Vechiului regim în România: 21 august 1945*, “Revista Istorică”, new series, 20 (2009), p. 511-531
- *Les Juifs de Roumanie au XXe siècle*, “Historical Yearbook” 6 (2009), p. 137-160

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- *Colaborarea eșuată a Partidului Laburist cu Partidul Social-Democrat (1947)*, in *Stat și societate în Europa*, IV (ed. by Mihai Ghițulescu & Lucian Dindirică), Târgoviște 2012, p. 285-299
- *Allied Discords: Some Considerations Regarding the Overthrow of the Rădescu Government*, “Valahian Journal of Historical Studies” 16 (2011), p. 125-135
- *Comentarii ale presei britanice referitoare la România (1945)*, in *Stat și societate în Europa*, III (ed. by Marusia Cârstea & Sorin Liviu Damean), Craiova 2011
- *Acordarea azilului pentru Generalul Rădescu la Legația Britanică*, “Analele Universității din Craiova. Istorie” 17 (2010), 1, p. 233-240
- *The relations of the Romanian People’s Republic with the United Kingdom (1947-1953)*, “Valahian Journal of Historical Studies” 13 (2010), p. 95-104

Șerban MARIN, National Archives of Romania, Bucharest; **research field:** medieval history of Venice; Venetian chronicles; classical crusades; Venetian-Byzantine relationship; editorial activity; **recent publications:**

- (ed. of) Giovanni Giacomo Caroldo, *Istoriei venețiene*, I-V, Bucharest 2008-2012
- *Venice – obstacle for the Crusades? The Venetian Chronicles’ Viewpoint*, “Revista Istorică”, new series, 23 (2012), 3-4, p. 251-268
- *A Venetian Chronicler in Crete: the Case of Lorenzo de’ Monaci and His Possible Byzantine Sources*, in *Italy and Europe’s Eastern Border (1204-1669)* (ed. by Iulian-Mihai Damian, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popovic & Alexandru Simon), Frankfurt am Main 2012, p. 237-258
- *Crusades seen through Venetian Eyes – Between Being in Abeyance and Involvement. The Case of the Chronicle Ascribed to Marcantonio Erizzo*, in

Aut viam inveniam aut faciam. In honorem Ștefan Andreescu (ed. by Ovidiu Cristea, Petronel Zahariuc & Gheorghe Lazăr), Iași 2012, p. 121-144

- *Some Notes with Regard to the Venetian Chronicle Ascribed to Daniele Barbaro, Patriarch of Aquileia. The so-called 'Barbaro Group'*, "Historical Yearbook" 8 (2011), p. 233-252 and 9 (2012), p. 139-152

Andreea MIRA, Facultad Ciencias de la Documentación, Universidad Complutense de Madrid; **research field**: diplomatic relations between Romania and Spain; 19th century; **recent publications**:

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Andrei POGĂCIAȘ, independent researcher; **research field**: history; military history; **recent publications**:

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Daniel Florin PREDOIU, Laval University, Quebec City; **research field**: the phenomenon of migration; the Romanian anticommunist exile; the social and the regional history (special interest in the region of Făgăraș – Transylvania); **recent publications**:

- *S'initier à l'errance en la racontant: l'exil, l'identité et la mémoire dans les journaux intimes de trois intellectuels Roumains*, Saarbrücken 2011

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Mădălina-Diana RUȘANU-RADU, National Archives of Romania, Teleorman County; **research field**: management of the traditional and electronic archives; Romanian recent history; history of the Romanian institutions; **recent publications**:

- *Contribuții documentare la istoria localității teleormănene Măgura în perioada 1939-1944*, "Publicațiile Muzeului Județean Teleorman" 2 (2010), p. 45-48

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Raluca TOMI, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; **research field**: history of Italy during the *Risorgimento*; Modern history of Romania (foreign travelers, Romanian abolitionism; Italian emigration in Romanian Principalities); the history of "Nicolae Iorga" Institute; **recent publications**:

- *L'Italia e la modernizzazione dei Principati romeni 1856-1866*, in *Italia e Romania verso L'Unità nazionale* (ed. by Francesco Guida), Bucharest 2011, p. 50-74

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Michal WANNER, Department of Archives Administration and Records Management, Prague; **research field**: archival science; archives and IT; history of international relations; history of trade; **recent publications**:

- *Abbildungen der Welt: Veduten in tschechischen Archiven – vom Verzeichnis bis zur Webapplikation*, “Archivalische Zeitschrift” 93 (2013), p. 187-206

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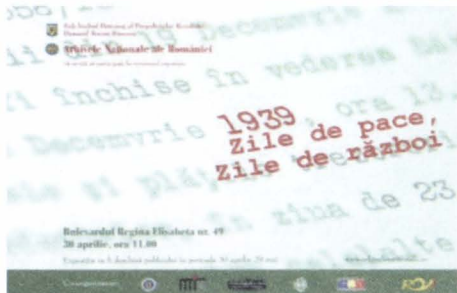
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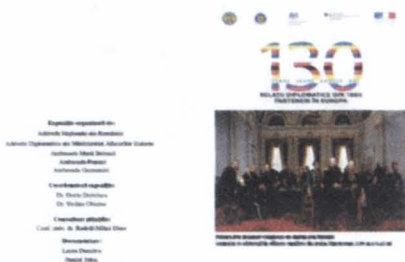
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2009



Online version:
<http://history.readfwd.com/expozitia1939/index.html>



2011



2010



Online version:
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