

**BULGARIAN SCHOLARS AND CLERICS
IN THE EUROPEAN POLITICS AT THE END OF THE 14TH CENTURY
AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 15TH CENTURY**

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Rezumat: Savanți și clerici bulgari în politica europeană de la sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea și începutul secolului al XV-lea

Evenimentele din ultimele decenii ale secolului XIV și primele din secolul al XV-lea, legate de cuceririle Imperiului Otoman, au schimbat harta Europei. Savanții și clericii bulgari (ultimii patriarhi de Târnovo – Teodosie și Eftimie, Ciprian – "Mitropolitul Kievului, al Moscovei și al întregii Rusii", Grigore Țamblac – "Mitropolitul moldo-valah" și "Mitropolitul Kievului, al Rusiei și Lituaniei", Grigore Bulgarul – "Mitropolitul Kievului și al Lituaniei", Constantin din Kostenets etc.) au participat în mod activ la politicile bisericești și seculare din Europa. Chiar dacă s-au aflat printre cei mai pasionați susținători ai învățăturilor mistice ale isihasmului, prin viața lor, ei au fost, de asemenea, reprezentanți ai așa-numitului "isihasmul politic", ca răspuns la provocările timpului lor.

Abstract: *The events in the last decades of the 14th century and the first of the 15th century related with the conquests of the Ottoman Empire changed the map of Europe. The Bulgarian scholars and clerics: the last patriarchs of Tarnovo - Theodosius and Euthymius, Cyprian – "Metropolitan of Kiev and Moscow and whole Russia", Gregory Tsamblak – "Wallach-Moldovan Metropolitan" and "Metropolitan of Kiev, Russia and Lithuania", Gregory the Bulgarian "Metropolitan of Kiev and Lithuania", Constantine of Kostenets, etc. actively participated in the church and secular policies in Europe. Even though they were among the most passionate supporters of the mystical teachings of hesychasm, through their life they were also representatives of the so-called "political hesychasm", as a response to the turning point of their time.*

Résumé: Savants et clercs bulgares dans la politique européenne de la fin du XIV-ème siècle et le début du XV-ème

Les événements des dernières décennies du XIV-ème siècle et les premiers du XV-ème, ayant liaison avec les conquêtes de l'Empire Ottoman, changèrent la carte de l'Europe. Les lettrés et les clercs bulgares (les derniers patriarches de Târnovo – Théodose et Eutychés, Cyprien – "Métropolitaine de Kiev, de Moscou et de la Russie toute entière", Grégoire Țamblac – "Métropolitaine valaque et moldave" et "Métropolitaine de Kiev, de la Russie et de la Lituanie", Grégoire le Bulgare – "Métropolitaine de Kiev et de la Lituanie", Constantin de Kostenets etc.)

participèrent activement aux politiques ecclésiastiques et séculières de l'Europe. Même si ceux-ci se trouvèrent parmi les plus passionnés soutenant des enseignements mystiques de l'hésychasme, par leur vie, ils furent, aussi, les représentants de l'ainsi nommé "hésychasme politique", comme réponse aux provocations de leur époque.

Keywords: *Bulgaria, hesychasm, church and secular policies, Byzantium, monastic communities.*

Introductory note

The Bulgarian scholars and clerics who lived in the end of the 14th – 15th century after the Kingdoms of Tarnovo and Vidin fell under Ottoman rule transferred the ideas of the hesychasm of Gregory Palamas and Gregory of Sinai, the language reform of Patriarch Euthymius, and new higher style of Old-Bulgarian rhetoric – “pletienie slovesъ” (weaving words) on the Balkans, the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Gregory Tsamblak and Constantine of Kostenets went to Serbia, Gregory Tsamblak went into Moldova, Wallachia and Lithuania, Cyprian Tsamblak went into Kiev and Moscowian Russia, etc. They were spiritual students and disciples of the founders of the Byzantine hesychasm - Gregory of Sinai, of the father John of Athos, of Patriarch Callistus, etc. Theodosius of Tarnovo, Euthymius of Tarnovo, Cyprian Tsamblak were direct students of Gregory of Sinai in the hesychastic monastery in the area of Paroria, Strandzha Mountain, on the territory of Bulgaria. Most of them were students of the hesychasts of Athos, especially of the John, and spent part of their lives in Athos as well as in the Constantinople monasteries. Constantine of Kostenets could not find Patriarch Euthymius alive, but he became a student of deacon Andrei who was a disciple and a direct student of the Patriarch of Bulgaria in the school of the Bachkovo Monastery.

The ideal of a perfect human personality

The Bulgarian clerics and scholars were one of the most passionate disciples and spreaders of hesychasm and at the same time they were also among the most famous clerics in the tumultuous political events in the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century.

Hesychasm became an official divisions in the Byzantine church and then in the Bulgarian, Serbian, Moldavian, Russian, etc. churches in the end of the 14th century after the victory of the Gregory Palamas's mystical theology over the rational division of theology advocated by the disciples of Barlaam of Calabria. A

new type of mysticism was established which was associated with the mystical doctrine of seeing God through “pure prayer” and mystical practices and until reaching the “divine light” as a way toward *theosis*, deification of man. As an ideological division hesychasm preached individual self-awareness and internal humanity and it should contrast to the participation in the external, especially secular, social and political activities. Nevertheless versatile religious and political activities among the most popular hesychasm followers, Byzantines, Bulgarians, etc. was noticed before the Eastern Roman Empire fell under Ottoman rule.

Nevertheless, this “political hesychasm” was spreading among the majority of intellectuals in Byzantium, in Bulgaria and on the Balkans and through their activity throughout the whole Eastern Europe. It contained the rest of the definitions of hesychasm, excluding its radical manifestation as a mystical practice.¹

The belief that namely hesychasm, as mysticism, drove further the intellectual elite from the current political events and its direct influence on the society had direct relation to the Ottoman conquest was far too simplified. We could ask ourselves what would have happened if the Barlaam’s concept and the rationalism had been accepted and could it affect the loss of state independence and development of the Renaissance in the European East? The question is far more complicated and the interweaving of ideological and political conceptions and events in that era should also be considered.

Actually, Humanism is a concept adopted earlier by the fathers of the church – the Christian *paideia*, improvement of human, but in the East it developed differently – mysticism and internal meditation of human until reaching unity with God and in the West – getting closer to the ancient ideal for perfect human personality. The famous “definition of philosophy” by Constantine the Philosopher²: “And later he was asked (by the Logothete) “Philosopher, I would like to know what philosophy is?” And he (Constantine), being much witted, quickly replied: “*Knowledge of the God’s and human things, which teaches as far as a man can approach God and how through his deeds to become image and likeness of the one who created him.*”

It was actually a shortened definition of the Christian *paideia* (*humanitas*). Even Gregory of Nyssa’s stories that describe in detail the concept for the *paideia*

¹ Г.М. Прохоров, *Исихазм и общественная мысль в Восточной Европе в XIV в.* [Hesychasm and the Social Thought in Eastern Europe in the 14th century], Труды отдела древнерусской литературы, т. 23, Ленинград, 1968, с. 86-108.

² I. Ševčenco, *The definition of philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine*, in *For Roman Jakobson. Essays on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday 11 oct. 1956*. Den Haag, 1956, p. 449-457; See Nikolova’s critical review, Св. Николова, *Проблемът за философските възгледи на Константин Кирил* [The problem of the philosophical ideas of Constantine Cyril], in *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, Кн. 5, София, 1988, с. 17-48.

as a forming process of human personality “a way toward unity with God, divine anabasis” do not explain it as good. Similarly to the Cyril’s definition it was also spread through the Dialectics of John of Damascus, translated by John the Exarch, in the chapter “For Philosophy” which later was copied as a separate work and spread in Serbia and Russia.³

The doctrine of Gregory of Sinai and Gregory Palamas in the 14th century further developed the mystical monastic division of Christianity mainly through teaching *theosis* - deification and the mystical practices to reach it – “practice” and “theory”. The overall approach of man to God can only be achieved at the last stages of upliftment of hesychasts in which “the divine light shines in the human body itself”. This Byzantine system reveals different accents and beginnings of other systems – the idea for the *paideia* (or humanism) and the deification is the final goal of humanistic, scholastic, and radical mystical doctrines as well.

After the victory of the Gregory Palamas’ doctrine at the Synod in August 1341 it gained extreme popularity. Palamas was referred to as “a teacher of righteousness, rule of the holy dogmas, and a pillar of the right faith and the vindicator of the Church”. The clerics borrowed the theological arguments from his stories and strengthened his authority. As a famous theologian he was renowned even by his intransigent opponents such as Patriarch John Kalekas. His ideas defeated the rational theologians and scientists who went into the Italic cities and helped the development of the Renaissance in Western Europe with their activity, collections of Greek manuscripts, translations, and teachings.

Gregory Palamas’ followers made the hesychasm an official division in the Constantinople church and from there it was transferred in Bulgaria and the other countries. Hesychasm influenced the emergence of new ideas in the Byzantine theology, the development of literature and art.⁴

A political dimension of the hesychast controversy

The main division of the Byzantine theology had the same view on man as the ultimate goal of the Christian *paideia*. Man was called to “know God”, “to participate in his life and to be “saved” not only by the external God’s interference or by the rational knowledge of God’s truths but through *theosis*, becoming one

³ *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus Έκθεσις ἀκριβής τῆς ὀρθοόξου πίστεως*, in *Übersetzung des Exarchen Johanes*. Hrsg. L. Sadik, 1-3 (MLS DV, T. - XVI), Wiesbaden - Freiburg, 1967 - 1983.

⁴ R. Picchio, „*Prerinscamento esteuropeo*” e „*Rinascita slava ortodossa*”, in “*Ricerche slavistiche*”, vol. VI, 1958, p. 185-199; Idem, *Die historisch-philologische Bedeutung der kirchenslavischen Tradition*, in “*Die Welt der Slaven*”, Jhrg. VII. H. I, Juni, 1962, p. 21.

with God. This theosis fundamentally distinguishes the Byzantine theology from the Neo-platonic return to the impersonal Unity that was new manifestation of the evangelical life “in Christ”.⁵

The separation of the Byzantium intellectual elite in the dispute between Gregory Palamas and Barlaam is explained as a formation of two parties connected with the new political ideas. The Barlaam party found supporters mainly in a narrow circle of intellectuals Akindin, Nicephorus Gregory, etc., who further turned to the West. The Paleologus Renaissance, as numerous studies have proved, was one of the many Renaissances in Byzantium, i.e. increasing the interest toward Antiquity considering that the antique culture and the secular traditions there never interrupted their development. The Barlaam party rather aimed at introducing new theological ideas in order to help in the negotiations for the unification of the Christian churches.⁶

Depending on the John Kantakouzenos' auspices, Barlaam presented before the Holy Synod a project for unification of the Churches. In 1335, he was sent as a Logothete of the Emperor in Avignon, but without any official prerogative of the Church.⁷ The Barlaam's movement and the ideas of the numerous Renaissance in Byzantium were not successful not only because of the connections of the clerics with the Roman Church and the West but also because of his attitude toward “Hellenes” and everything “Hellenic”, which in the Christian church was a synonym of “pagan”.⁸

Whereas the Barlaam party found supporters in a relatively narrow circle of highly educated intellectuals-aristocrats, the monastic party was the main supporter of the Christian universalism. The monastic party had also had strong positions in Byzantium before, especially through the Monastery of Stoudios. The victory of the monastic party, led by Gregory Palamas, of the synods in 1341, 1347 and 1352 and the consecration of Gregory as Archbishop of Thessalonica, and his supporters Isidore Buchiras, Callistus and Philotheos Kokkinos – succes-

⁵ L.H. Grondijs, *The Patristic Origins of Gregory Palama's Doctrine of God*, in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 5, Berlin 1962, p. 323-328; D. Constantelos, *The Formation of the Hellenic Christian Mind*, in D. Constantelos, *Christian Hellenism. Essays and Studies in Continuity and Change*. Publishing by Aristide D. Caratzas, New Rochelle, New York & Athens, http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/Constantelos_1.html

⁶ J. Meyendorff, *Introduction a l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, in “*Patristica Sorbonensia*”, 1959, V, 3, p. 78.

⁷ R.E. Sinkewicz, *A New Interpretation for the First Episode in the Controversy between Barlaam the Calabrian and Gregory Palamas*, in “*The Journal of Theological Studies*”, 1980, N.S., 31, p. 489-500.

⁸ H. Hunger, *Reich der neuen Mitte: Der christliche Geist der Byzantischen Kultur*, Graz, Vienna, Cologne: Styria, 1965, p. 371.

sively becoming patriarchs afterwards, finally affirmed the ideas of hesychasm in Byzantium, as official for the church.

The political ideas of the monastic party won the arguments namely because they were connected with affirming the positions of the Orthodox Church and broadening the influence of the Constantinople church. The party proved to be a leading force for protecting the universal Christian church and the system of the Roman Empire in the conditions of weakening and dying of the secular state power during the Ottoman invasion. Finally, the idea of supremacy of the church over the secular authority, which was present in the whole Byzantine period, mainly legally, not factually, could be accomplished⁹

Led by this ideology the leading monastic party did not resist the attempts for union and seeking help from the West especially in the end of the Byzantium Empire. However, it could accept the union excluding the claims of the Roman church for universal domination as this was the main conflict between Rome and Constantinople. Practically this failed all attempts for union between the churches and the main opposition continued after Byzantium fell under Ottoman rule. The idea of Byzantium after Byzantium was implemented through the politics of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and clerics – the hesychasts.¹⁰

The last division of the Byzantium policy directly affected the Orthodox countries. Considered as part of the Byzantium community they became again a main target of the Byzantium foreign political and church interests. Having adopted the state and political model of Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia were trying to lead the Pax Byzantina, as Simeon, Ivan Asen, Ivan Alexander, Stefan Dušan, not only called themselves “Roman Emperors”, but actually had claims to the Byzantine crown.¹¹ The Byzantine culture was in the foundation of the transfer of antique values in their patristic interpretation into these countries.

In this respect it was no coincidence that the spiritual elite in Bulgaria and Serbia perceived the ecumenical claims of the Constantinople church as their own and actively participated in their application in the East. Thus they preserved and spread their cultural traditions. The unsuccessful so-called “second South Slavic influence” mainly in the principalities of Kiev and Moscow not only affirmed the language reform of Patriarch Euthymius, designed to introduce a unified spelling system in literature, but completed one of the main stages of the

⁹ J. Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 34-39.

¹⁰ Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹¹ В. Тъпкова-Займова, *Търново между Ерусалим, Рим и Цариград (Идеята за престолен град)* [Tarnovo between Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople (The idea of a capital city)], in *Търновска книжовна школа*, Т. 4, БАН, София, 1985, с. 257-259.

idea for unity in the Orthodox world.¹² In the reform enormous amount of manuscripts were transported and kept.

Characteristics of the Bulgarian hesychasm

Through the activities of the Bulgarian hesychasts - students and disciples of Gregory of Sinai, the fate of the Orthodox world after the Ottoman conquest could have been another. They perceived the ecumenical Christian idea as their own and actively participated in the European politics of transition not only between the 14th and the 15th century but of two eras.

The last patriarchs of Tarnovo - Theodosius and Euthymius, Constantine of Kostenets, Cyprian - "the Metropolitan of Kiev and Moscow and all Russia", Gregory Tsamblak "Metropolitan of Kiev, Russia and Lithuania", Gregory the Bulgarian "a Metropolitan of Kiev and Lithuania", etc. - they were the spiritual leaders of their time, without whom the history of the church in this period could not be written.

Guided by their mission to preserve and spread Christianity and Christian culture the Bulgarian hesychasts conducted the policy of the Constantinople Church and the monastic party as a whole but as the letters and documents show they also conducted separate policy.

So Patriarch Callistus in a message written in 1355 to Theodosius of Tarnovo and the Bulgarian monks-hesychasts severely denounced the actions of Theodosius that the liturgies did not mention the ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople as the most respected in all churches. According to Callistus the Patriarch of Constantinople was the one who, as a last instance of appeal, "straightens, validates and unites" the decisions of the other three patriarchs - the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Antioch and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. So he asked "Isn't it appropriate for the Bulgarian church to refer to him as a Sir, considering that the Patriarch of Bulgaria received his title because of his honour and substantially he does not differ from the metropolitans who are subordinated to Constantinople." This did not prevent Theodosius from consecrating Theognostus of Kiev as Metropolitan in 1352 without the knowledge of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The actions of the Bulgarian Patriarch were in tune with the adoption of the idea of "Tarnovo - the Third Rome" in the reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander.

¹² Д.С. Лихачев, *Некоторые задачи изучения второго южнославянского влияния в России* [Some Tasks of the Research of the Second South Slavic Influence in Russia], Доклад на IV Международном съезде славистов, Москва, 1958, с. 64-65.

In 13th – 14th century such unity of the educational and cultural centres could not be observed as in the First Bulgarian Empire (the Preslav and Ohrid Literary Schools). In this period, pluralism was more apparent, which is associated with a relatively independent turning of some cities (e.g. Montana) and monasteries (e.g. the Bachkovo monastery) into literary centres. Furthermore, the Tarnovo School not only dominated the cultural life, but it made an overall impact on the activity of literary centres outside of Bulgaria in the 14th - 15th century.

In the 14th century, the hesychasm influenced the most prominent people in Tarnovo from that time, Theodosius of Tarnovo, St. Euthymius of Tarnovo, etc. and most of their students, which put a mark on their interests and established the direction of their works. Hesychasm marked the final stage in the development of the idea of the Christian Paideia as spiritual formation of bringing human personality near God. It influenced as a whole the cultural life and the directions of education in this period of the Middle Ages in Bulgaria. The fact that almost all literary schools were established and built around the personalities of the most prominent hesychastic spiritual leaders - Gregory of Sinai, Theodosius of Tarnovo, Joachim, Patriarch Euthymius, etc. is indicative in this respect.

The traditions of the Tarnovo Literary School continued to exist in 15th – 16th century through the work of many prominent Bulgarian writers who worked after the country fell under Ottoman rule in and outside its borders and thus they contributed to the development of literature of other nations - Serbians and Russians. They transferred the methods and the educational philosophy of their teachers-hesychasts. The prominent Bulgarian writers such as Constantine of Kostenets, Gregory Tsamblak, Vladislav Gramatik, Mardarij Rilski, Visarion of Debar, etc. showed increased interest in the philosophy and the translation of works with philosophical and theological content. Staying true to the type of literature of the Golden Age when selecting works and forming collections these writers had already been influenced by the Renaissance and humanistic ideas entering the Balkan Peninsula.

The literary schools in the 14th – 15th century, as well as in the 9th – 11th century, were supported by the state. The writers implemented the ideas of the “inspirer” of the school, continuing his work, as it was in the Tarnovo School and in monasteries on the Balkans.¹³

¹³ Г.А. Ильинский, *Грамоты болгарских царей* [Charts of Bulgarian Tsars], Москва 1911; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти на българските царе* [Charts of Bulgarian Tsars], София, 2005; В. Марковић, *Православно монаштво и манастири у средњој Србији* [Orthodox monks and monasteries in medieval Serbia], Сремски Карловци, 1920.

From Theodosius of Tarnovo to Constantine of Kostenets

Due to the dispersion of educational centres in this period and the specific historical moment the reforming activities of St. Patriarch Euthymius were spread by him or by his followers and students in many monasteries and larger urban centres: the monasteries around Tarnovo (the Kilifarevo Monastery, “Holy Trinity”), the Bachkovo Monastery, in the monasteries of Mount Athos, the Rila Monastery, the Resava Monastery (by Constantine of Kostenets), in Žegligovo Monastery by Vladislav Gramatik, in Wallacha by Gregory Tsamblak (in the Monastery of Neamts), in Russia by Cyprian and etc.

The activity of Theodosius of Tarnovo was described in detail in his “Life” as well as the established by him Literary School in the Kilifarevo Monastery near Tarnovo. He was helped building the monastery by Tsar Ivan Alexander. “The devout King Alexander responded to their request first because of his old and strong love to Theodosius, and also because he wanted to enjoy the constant guidance”. This school became very popular and attracted many disciples: “However, the wise Theodosius did not settle with them and attracted many others like a magnet from various places. And that fascinating mountain was filling with many monks. And as the bright stars in the firmament shone, so those virtuous monks shone on the fascinating slope supported by the education and guidance of the wise father. And you can see in them strange and wonderful effort because they wanted to outdo one another in virtues.”¹⁴ Adopting the rules and traditions of the Saint Catherine’s Monastery, the Kilifarevo School became one of the centres for spreading hesychasm not only in Bulgaria but on the Balkans.

Euthymius continued the work of Theodosius in the school founded by him at the monastery “Holy Trinity” near Tarnovo. When he collected “a swarm of students how many, how worthy of such a father...”¹⁵. There one of the centres of hesychasm was established as well as the reform of Euthymius on liturgical books.

After Tarnovo fell under Ottoman rule Patriarch Euthymius was exiled in Bachkovo. There he established one of the most famous literary schools, which became a centre for training scholars who continued the Euthymius’ reform. In the “Eulogy for Euthymius”, Gregory Tsamblak wrote: “And what did Euthymius do when he was exiled? Catching fish, so loved by all apostles, only that he didn’t

¹⁴ В.Н. Златарски, *Житіе и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Феодосіа* [Passional and Life of our Reverend Father Theodosius], София, 1904, с. 6-8.

¹⁵ П. Русев, А. Давидов, И. Гълъбов, Г. Данчев, *Похвално слово за Евтимий от Григорий Цамблак* [Eulogy of Euthymius by Gregory Tsamblak], София, 1971, с. 226.

try to catch fish but humans. Furthermore he tried every day, every night, every hour. Because people came to him from all over the mountain as the Jewish Jerusalem went to John the Baptist once.”¹⁶

In many of the larger monasteries schools were established, spiritual circles around a famous spiritual figure. These schools were set up for specific periods of time, as some of them also became popular and gathered students from different parts of the Balkan Peninsula. The schools in the monasteries of Mount Athos became popular – e.g. the established spiritual circle around the Old Man John, who began the reform of the liturgical books and who also educated Euthymius; the school in the monastery in the Town of Cherven, established by Joachim I with the help of the Bulgarian Tsar Asen, a centre for the spreading Hesychasm – Gregory of Sinai’s Monastery of Paroria, etc.

The practice to send Bulgarian boys to study abroad, in Constantinople and in Rome, and to later train them for senior church clerics also continued in this period. Such was the case with the two Bulgarian boys sent by Tsar Kaloyan in Rome - Basil and Bethlehem (one of them was the king’s son), “to learn Latin” in respect to the concluded union. On the other hand, the preparation of the higher clerics was completed after residing in different famous monastic schools in Constantinople and Mount Athos.

This can be assumed because of the data in the life of St. Romil of Vidin. “Because it wasn’t appropriate of such a good offspring not to be familiar with the scriptures of the divine doctrine, he was given by his parents to study with a teacher. Since he obeyed his teacher, as it was appropriate, he surpassed all children who had come before him in the school. And the fact that he not only surpassed them, but he also taught them to discard the usual children’s games and unreasonable gatherings was most surprising.” Probably the school in Vidin was either private or church. There children of different ages were trained, as besides the teacher, the older children educated and guided the younger ones. Training from the early age of 7 is mentioned in the lives of other saints. For example, in the Life of Kozma Zografski it was written: “When an offspring reached 7 years of age, he was given to study reading and writing first in his native Bulgarian language and then in Hellenic-Greek dialect”¹⁷. In some cities there were Greek schools or in the Bulgarian ones Greek was taught. This independency in the policy of the Bulgarian church in the 14th century was manifested in the ac-

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 228.

¹⁷ *Пространно житие на Ромил Видински от Григорий Доброписец* [Romil of Vidin’s Life by Grigoriy Dobropisets]. Прев. Кл. Иванова и М. Спасова, in *Стара българска литература*, Т. 4, *Житиенписни творби*, София, 1986, 89-108.

tivities of the Bulgarian-Hesychasts during the Ottoman conquest and the fall of the Bulgarian state.

Constantine of Kostenets not only brought the Euthymius' reform in Serbia and established the Resava literary school, but he often participated in the church politics in the principalities of Lazar and Uglješa. The scarce information about the life of Constantine of Kostenets, contained mostly in his works – “Explanatory Exhibition of letters”, “Life of Stefan Lazarević” in the passage of the Lovech Collection of 16th century, etc. shows that he travelled to Palestine and Mount Athos. The Bulgarian writer of the 15th century Constantine of Kostenets brought to Serbia Euthymius' spelling reform. As most researchers suggest, Constantine kept his secular image. His book “The Saga of the Letter” (“Explanatory Exhibition of Letters”) revealed most comprehensively the system, the method and the specifics of education in medieval Bulgaria and Serbia in the 15th century. This work is rather a “book for teachers”, i.e. a guide for teachers, but on the other hand Constantine of Kostenets revealed very important information about the medieval education in Bulgaria.

There is only one copy of the “Saga of letters” dated 1645 in the Sremski Karlovci. Based on it, however, the summarized version “Word for letters” was written and spread, which was more widespread and kept in more transcripts as it was even proven that some of them date back in the 15th and the 16th century, i.e. they are older than the extended version¹⁸.

Constantine of Kostenets was the only Bulgarian writer who was given the name “Philosopher”. In the Bulgarian medieval literature the only person being given the same title was Constantine the Philosopher - Cyril. Having this title in medieval Bulgaria is quite unclear. From the scarce information about the life of Constantine of Kostenets, which he gave for himself in “The Saga of the Letters” we can assume that he studied some time with deacon Andrei (or Andronicus), one of the disciples of the Patriarch Euthymius in Bachkovo: “The aforementioned Constantine ... They say he was a student of a person called Andrei – one of the students of Euthymius, the former Patriarch of Tarnovo... then Euthymius was in exile in Stenimacha where he died when this Constantine arrived at the monastery he found a few of the Euthymius' students but Euthymius was no longer alive.”

Probably this education was only part of the in-depth preparation of Constantine of Kostenets, which he received in Byzantium. He was very familiar with the Greek language, which we assume from the translations of his texts which had philosophical and natural scientific content. His rich general culture and lore

¹⁸ К. Костенечки, *Съчинения. Сказание за буквите* [Stories. Saga of letters]. Изд е подготвено от А.-М. Тотоманова, София, 1993, с. 70-71.

only confirm this assumption. Considering that there are no more specific details, researchers believe that the title “philosopher” was given to him in Serbia, in the courtyard of Stefan Lazarević.

Y. Trifonov believes that Constantine of Kostenets worked in the Diocese of Plovdiv and that he was close to Metropolitan Damian¹⁹. K. Kuev, after data analysis of “The Story”, concludes that Constantine ran from Bulgaria (1410-1411) during the robbery of Musa in Thrace. Musa attacked and beheaded Valko, Stefan Lazarević’s brother, captured and killed Damian, the Metropolitan of Plovdiv. Left without support, Constantine went to Belgrade, in the court of Despot Stefan Lazarević. Then Constantine was sent by the despot in the Serbian Patriarch to study. He traveled to Palestine and left (translated) an itinerary of the holy places “A travel to Palestine”. He probably went through Mount Athos, but only for a short time, and returned to Belgrade, where he was appointed as teacher. After the death of the despot (in 1427), Constantine left Belgrade and then after wandering for some time went to the monastery “Holy Trinity”, the Resava Monastery, where he probably wrote some of his stories – “Life of Stefan Lazarević” – praise for the ruler and for Serbia which he felt as a second homeland, “Explanatory Exhibition of Letters” (Saga of the Letters), the summarized version of the saga - „Словеса вкратце” (“Word of letters”), his cosmographic story, etc.

The treatise “The Saga of Letters” is an apology and defense of Euthymius’ work and reform, but also a passionate polemic with the Serbian and Bulgarian writers who did not follow the norms of the Old Bulgarian liturgical language and thus created conditions for the emergence of new heresies.²⁰

In the Lovech collection, an excerpt is preserved from the small prosciniarius “Description of the holy places in Palestine”, which also probably belonged to the translation made by the Bulgarian scholar. The exact Greek prototype of this excerpt has not been found yet.

The story “Fragments of Medieval Cosmography and Geography” was most fully preserved in manuscript of 16th century in the so-called Bogishichev’s collection. B. Angelov convincingly proved that this collection was written in the 16th century by Vissarion of Debar. Vissarion’s collections – Bogishichev’s and Skopski are similar in content with the excerpts of the Drinov’s Collection.

In “Chronograph Overview” the Russian scientist A. Popov was the first to write that the articles with cosmographic and geographic content of 15th – 16th

¹⁹ К. Кувев, Г. Петков. *Събрани съчинения на Константин Костенечки. Изследване и текст* [Collection of Stories by Constantine of Kostenets. Research and Text], София, 1986, 67-73.

²⁰ К. Костенечки, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

century, manuscript No. 316 (951), a Russian edition of the former Synod library were taken from a collection made by Constantine of Kostenets. The same opinion was expressed but in connection with the articles in Bogishichev's and the Vatican collection, by C. Giannelli.²¹

Nevertheless, so far in most of the works dedicated to Constantine of Kostenets there are only vague opinions. For example, in the latest edition of the "Collected Works" of Constantine of Kostenets - Kuyo Kuev and Georgi Petkov do not even mention the discussion and the existing opinions of scientists. Furthermore, they do not address the issue of authorship of Constantine of Kostenets of the story "Fragments of Cosmography". Perhaps that is why it continues to be issues as a proscinitarius "A Trip to Palestine."²²

"Fragments of cosmography" were based on the Byzantine source materials, mostly excerpts from the story of Symeon Seth – "Solutiones breves quaestionum naturalium" ("Brief explanation of natural matters"), which was widespread and used as an educational book on the Balkans "almost until recently" and 22 excerpts were taken from it. Four excerpts were taken from the work of Michael Psellus – "De omnifaria doctrina", four from "Hexaemeron" of St. Basil the Great and several other Byzantine sources.²³ However so far a complete Greek manuscript with such content has not been found and therefore we are prone to believe that it was written by Constantine of Kostenets or a disciple of his. This story has to be more confidently connected with the creative work of Constantine of Kostenets, but the research of its content and spreading (manuscripts, transcripts, etc.) is still about to be done.

A closer look at the stories with geographic content still preserved until today from the Middle Ages (unfortunately just a few) cannot reveal if most of them are translations or compilations of Byzantine works. We can assume that the excerpt with geographical description in "Life of Stefan Lazarević" by Constantine of Kostenets²⁴ was an original. There are also two "Descriptions of the Holy Places in Palestine" by Constantine of Kostenets and Arseny of Thessaloniki based on the Byzantine works, but without direct prototypes. The other works that contain geographic descriptions or travelogues are translations. Probably this contributed to the formation of a similar impression for the geographic knowledge in Bulgaria during the Middle Ages. And indeed, the stories of travel-

²¹ C. Giannelli, *Di alcune versioni e rielaborazioni serbe delle "Solutiones breves quaestionum naturalium" attribuite a Michele Psello*, in "Studi bizantini e neoellenici", Roma, V, 1, 1939, p. 445-468.

²² К. Кув, Г. Петков, *op. cit.*, с.17

²³ C. Giannelli, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

²⁴ К. Костенечки. *op. cit.*, p. 72-200.

lers such as in the Arabic countries, Western Europe and other travelogues or of the Russian "Hozhdeniya" (Travellings), did not reach Bulgaria. This does not mean that medieval Bulgarians were less inquisitive than other peoples. Probably similar stories of the Middle Ages in Bulgaria were lost or the translated works satisfied the desire for knowledge for distant lands and peoples. It should be considered that as a whole translated literature is part and parcel of medieval literature, and that these stories have their own life, they become bearers of new and specific values among the Bulgarians and the other Slavic peoples.

Medieval Bulgarian scholars quite naturally selected from the not so rich Byzantine geographical literature those works which were appropriate for the Christian doctrine.

The Legacy of Cyprian and Gregory Tsamblak

One of the most active participants in the church policy in this period in Europe, mainly in Russia, was Cyprian Tsamblak. He was born in Tarnovo in the prominent Tarnovo family Tsamblakovtsi. He spent some time in Constantinople and Mount Athos and was sent by the Patriarch of Constantinople in Kiev.²⁵

Cyprian's activity in Russia was also marked by the idea of the establishment of Christianity and Orthodoxy on these lands as during separate periods when he was non-canonically consecrated as a metropolitan, he acted by himself and was driven by his ideology rather than by imposing domination of the Constantinople Church. So in 1375 Patriarch Philotheos again rose Cyprian by giving him the title "Metropolitan of Kiev, Russia and Lithuania" even before Metropolitan Alexius died, explaining that this consecration, considered non-canonical, was a "great economy" i.e. care for Orthodox population in the lands ruled by the Lithuanian King Olgerd, which Alexius had abandoned, which was the beginning of the intervention in the policy of the Lithuanian church and limitation of the influence of the Catholic Church in this diocese.²⁶

The role of Cyprian in his relations with the Moscow Prince Dimitry Donskoy is quite significant. He relied on his relationship with the Byzantine Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354, 1364-1376), but when the Patriarch was in disgrace, he continued to conduct independent policy. The severe differences

²⁵ Й. Иванов, *Българското книжовно влияние в Русия при митрополит Киприан* [Bulgarian Literary Influence in Russia in the Period Cyprian was Metropolitan], in Й. Иванов, *Избрани произведения* [Selected Works], Т. 1, София, 1982, 53-110; Н. Панайотова, *Киприан* [N. Panayotova, Cyprian], София, 1981.

²⁶ J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*, Crestwood, New-York, SVS Press, 1989.

between the two – the Russian Duke and Cyprian, were enhanced by the intervention of the Genoese who defended their interests in Russia. After numerous obstacles, the issues were resolved in favour of the Orthodox policy set by Cyprian. He initiated negotiations for stopping the Lithuanian troops from participating in the Battle of Kulikovo thus removing the danger the Moscow Principality to become dependent again by the Golden Horde. Cyprian set the cult to Saint Alexander Nevsky in Moscow because he aimed to strengthen both the Anti-Latin moods and of the opposition against the Teutonic Order.²⁷

Metropolitan Cyprian in 1396-1397, proposed in Russia, probably in Lithuania, to convene a synod for church unification. Gregory Tsamblak wrote for Cyprian: “He was nurtured by our country but God gave him to you; and you enjoyed him much and we missed him. You titivated yourself and we mourned for him, and with him you thrived as you grew in the commandments of God!”²⁸ Cyprian, Metropolitan of Kiev, Lithuania and all Russia, was officially recognized in 1472 for a saint and wonderworker (reverence: 16 Sept. new style).²⁹

Cyprian’s activity was continued by Gregory Tsamblak, before that by the Wallach-Moldovan Metropolitan. Gregory Tsamblak born in Tarnovo received higher education and at the end of the 14th century became Synkelus (Secretary) at the Patriarchate in Constantinople. In 1401 in the complex military and political situation on the Balkans and the advance of the Ottoman army, he was sent to Suceava, Moldova to Alexander I of Moldavia to inquire about the legitimacy of the consecration of the Moldovan Archbishop Joseph.³⁰

Gregory stayed in Suceava and in 1402 he became a preacher at the metropolitan church in the city.³¹ The real reason for this was the intensified diplomacy of Byzantium and Constantinople church to unify against the Ottomans. In the next few years Gregory actively participated in the implementation of these plans. He became abbot of the newly built monastery “Christ Pantocrator”, also known as Neamt. There he wrote homiletic works in Bulgarian language, which are preserved in manuscript collections. He also transferred to Moldova the lan-

²⁷ *Ibidem*, chapter 9, *Metropolitan Cyprian and the Separatism of Moscow (1376-1381)*.

²⁸ П. Русев, А. Давидов, Ив. Гълъбов, Г. Данчев. Цит.съч., *op. cit.*, с. 243.

²⁹ Д. Чешмеджиев, Д. *Митрополит Киприан и култовете на българските светци* [Metropolitan Cyprian and the Cults of Bulgarian Saints], in “*Studi Slavistici*”, 5, 2008, p. 15-30.

³⁰ Д. Кенанов, *Митрополит Григорий Цамблак – православен проповедник и светител* [Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak – Orthodox Preacher and hierarch], www.uni-vt.bg/.../Tsamblak%20pravoslaven%20propovednik.pdf

³¹ R. Theodorescu, *Implications balkaniques aux debuts de la Metropole de Moldavie. Une hypothese*, in “*Revue roumaine historique*”, 1986, № 4, p. 267-287.

guage reform of Euthymius.³²

In 1406 he became abbot of the Decani Monastery in Serbia. He was then summoned to Moscow by his relative Cyprian Tsamblak, Kiev and Moscow Metropolitan. Tsamblak went in Lithuania, in Vilnius with a recommendation by the ruler of Moldova - Alexandru cel Bun, probably to negotiate with Vitovt – the Grand Duke of Lithuania. There he learned of Cyprian's death. In approximately 1409 Gregory Tsamblak became an abbot in the Plinary Monastery.

After establishing a dynastic union between the Polish Kingdom and Lithuania Principality in 1385, the Lithuanian Duke Jagiello was crowned as king of Poland with a promise to unite the Polish and Lithuanian lands and to choose the side of Catholicism. The contradictions for the church affiliation of the Lithuanian Principality to Rome or to Constantinople strained the relations between the patriarchal and papal throne.³³

In 1415 in King Vitovt convened the Council of Bishops on which Gregory Tsamblak was elected a Metropolitan of Kiev and Lithuania. This choice was not acknowledged by the Metropolitan of Moscow, Photius Patriarch, and with a decision of the Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory Tsamblak was asked to release the bishop position and was excommunicated from the Orthodox Church.

Gregory was one of the promoters of the union in these difficult years in Europe and he was one of the most active participants in the convened on this matter Council of Constance 1414 – 1418. He participated in the Council as a messenger of the Duke of Lithuania, but refused to sign the union. Gregory struggled for spiritual unification and for canonical peace in the Church.³⁴

³² П. Русев, А. Давидов, *Григорий Цамблак в Румъния и старата румънска литература* [Gregory Tsamblak in Romania and the Old Romanian Literature], София, 1966; P. P. Panaitescu, *La littérature slavo-roumaine des XV-e – XVIII-e ss. et son importance pour l'histoire des littératures slaves*, Praga, 1932.

³³ Д. Кенанов, *Констанцият събор, унията и митрополит Григорий Цамблак* [The Council of Constance, the Union and Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak], in "Търновски писмена. Алманах за Търновската книжовна школа", No. 2/2009, Велико Търново, с. 180-193; Т. Василевски, *Политическата и културната роля на българите във Великото княжество Литва през XIV и XV век* [Political and Cultural Role of Bulgaria in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14th and 15th century], in Т. Василевски, *България и Византия. IX-XV век* [Bulgaria and Byzantium. 14th-15th century], София, 1994, с. 183-184.

³⁴ Х. Фай, *Българско културно наследство в Германия – Григорий Цамблак на Вселенския събор в Констанц – 1418 година* [Bulgarian Cultural Heritage in Germany – Gregory Tsamblak at the Ecumenical Council of Constance – 1418], in "Литературна мисъл", № 10, София, 1981, с. 31; Х.-Д. Дьопман, *Митрополит Григорий Цамблак и неговото отношение към римската църква на Констанцият събор* [Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak and his attitude toward the Roman Church at the Council of Constance], in *Търновска книжовна школа*, Т. 3, София, 1984, с. 382.

At the Council of Constance he was pro alliance with the Roman church, but mostly by preserving the alliance beginning and against the claims for domination of Rome.³⁵

Gregory asserted his position in his speech at closing the council. In his speech he defended the ideas of unity and overcoming the differences in the Christian church: "How long, oh most dear priests would you tolerate watching the members of Christ being separated by the alliances and relations? Until when Christ, who is the head of the Church, will be attacked constantly by the members with which he should titivate and rejoice? Where next to jealousy there are the fights, next to the consensus there are ellipticallies, next to experience there is the desire of one party to defeat the other, is not the fight against Christ, who is the head of the Church, obvious? Therefore appropriately Christ was called by Paul – the Head of the Church (Eph 5:23). < ... > How long the unified Christian Church shall be separated in two? And how will the Christian church be called since the union of Christ is not present? Christ unites us through Baptism and the Gospel, and when he went toward voluntary suffering, Father prayed for us and said, "Holy Father, protect them by the power of your name, the name you gave me, so that they may be one as we are one" (John 17:11)"³⁶.

Gregory Tsamblak wrote mainly for the aspirations of the times in which he lived, as he gave a lot of information for the church controversies, the intervention of secular authority in church matters, for the failure of the political figures and clerics to see a wider spectrum of the consequences of their actions for the future of most of Europe, where the Ottoman Empire was settling.³⁷ Gregory Tsamblak died in the Neamt Monastery in the winter of

³⁵ Г. Първев, Кр. Банев. *Срещата на Григорий Цамблак с папа Мартин V на събора в Констанц през 1418 г.* [Gregory Tsamblak meets Pope Martin V at the Council of Constance in 1418], in "Исторически преглед", № 5, София, 1982, с. 126; Fr. Miklosich, I. Muller, *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, Vol. 2, Wien, 1862, p. 280-285; Ю. К. Бегунов, *К вопросу о церковно-политических планах Григория Цамблака на Констанцском соборе* [To the question for church-political plans of Gregory Tsamblak of the Council of Constance], in Ю. К. Бегунов, *Творческое наследие Григория Цамблака* [The Art Heritage of Gregory Tsamblak], Женева-Велико Търново, Изд. „Буй туръ“, „ПИК“, УИ, 2005, с. 404.

³⁶ Translation into New Bulgarian by М. Спасова, сп. „Епохи“ [M. Spasova, Magazine „Eras“], Veliko Tarnovo, University Edition, No. 1, 1995, 78-82); Д. Кенанов, *Констанцкият събор*, [The Council of Constanc], p. 190.

³⁷ Д. Кенанов, *Озареният Григорий Цамблак. По материали от Вилнюските ръкописни и старопечатни сбирки* [The Enlightened Gregory Tsamblak. Materials used from Vilnius Manuscripts and Old Print Collections], Пловдив – Велико Търново, 2000, с. 14-17.

1420. The words: “Tarnovo bore him, Athos nursed him, Kiev took him as a pastor, and here he found peace ...” were written on the epitaph on his grave which is currently missing.³⁸ In 1458 Patriarch Isidore consecrated his former protodeacon Gregory (the Bulgarian) as metropolitan “of Kiev, Galicia and all Russia”.

Conclusions

The active participation of Bulgarian intellectuals in the events of the last decades of the 14th and the first of the 15th century in the European church politics and diplomacy are indicative of the awareness of impending danger, of their responsibility to resist peacefully the invasion of the Ottomans, which interrupted the development of the states of southeast Europe for five centuries.³⁹

The firm opinion for the hesychasts as radical mystics and hermits who do not participate in the public life and turn their backs on the major political events of their time can be attributed to the radical followers of this doctrine in the monastic community, but not to the most prominent intellectuals-hesychasts of the end of 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. According to the words of Gregory Palamas, who after the example of Aristotle did not reject but embraced the importance of public activity he wrote: “Farmers give their surpluses to those who are not engaged in agriculture and with the money they receive they buy houses or clothing and the shoemakers by selling shoes and by getting good price for them buy whatever they need. So by mutual communication our lives are arranged: that is why the cities and countries erupt - because man is social creature” (“ὅτι εἶναι «κατὰ φύσιν» (Arist. Pol. A 1252b 13 -17) κοινωνικό ζῶο ο ἄνθρωπος”).

³⁸ Н. Дончева-Панайотова, *Староруските летописи за Григорий Цамблак* [Old Russian chronicles for Gregory Tsamblak], in *Търновска книжовна школа*, Т. 5, *Паметници. Поетика. Исторιογραφия*, УИ, Велико Търново [Tarnovo Literary School. Vol. 5. Monuments. Poetics. Historiography], 1994, с. 77-92.

³⁹ А. Каткуте, *Григорий Цамблак в историографията на XVII век* [Gregory Tsamblak in the Historiography of 17th century], in *Българистични проучвания* [Bulgarian Researches], Т. 5, Велико Търново, 1999, с. 63-72.

**УКРАИНЦЫ В ЭТНОКУЛЬТУРНЫХ СТЕРЕОТИПАХ МОЛДАВСКИХ
ЛЕТОПИСЦЕВ, РУМЫНСКИХ ИСТОРИКОВ
И ПИСАТЕЛЕЙ: ОБРАЗ ИВАНА ПОДКОВЫ – КАЗАЦКОГО
ПРЕДВОДИТЕЛЯ И МОЛДАВСКОГО КНЯЗЯ**

**UKRAINIANS IN ETHNOCULTURAL STEREOTYPES OF MEDIEVAL
MOLDAVIAN CHRONICLERS, MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY
ROMANIAN HISTORIANS AND WRITERS: IMAGE OF IVAN PIDKOVA
AS LEADER OF COSSACKS AND MOLDAVIAN PRINCE**

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Rezumat: Ucrainenii în clișeele etnoculturale ale cronicarilor moldoveni medievali, istoricilor și scriitorilor români moderni și contemporani: imaginea lui Ion Nicoară Potcoavă - căpetenie căzăcească și domn moldovean

Viața unei personalități istorice reale - Ion Nicoară Potcoavă, ataman căzăcesc și Domn al Moldovei (1577), servește autorilor articolului drept element primar pentru analiza procesului de constituire a clișeele etnice cu privire la ucrainenii în mediile cronicărești moldave și în rândul istoricilor și scriitorilor români. Studiul se întemeiază pe analiza critică a izvoarelor: letopisețe, documente de arhivă, opere istorice și literare.

Abstract: Ukrainians in ethnocultural stereotypes of medieval Moldavian chroniclers, modern and contemporary Romanian historians and writers: image of Ivan Pidkova as leader of Cossacks and Moldavian prince

The life of a real historical figure - Ivan Pidkova, ataman (leader) of Cossacks and Prince of Moldavia (1577), serves as main instrument in the authors' analysis on the formation of ethnic stereotypes about Ukrainians in Moldavian chronicles and among the

Romanian historians and writers. The study is based on critical analysis of the sources: chronicles, archive documents, historical and artistic works.

Résumé: Les Ukrainiens dans les clichés ethnoculturels des chroniqueurs moldaves médiévaux, des historiens et des écrivains roumains modernes et contemporains: l'image de Ion Nicoară Potcoavă – chef cosaque et prince régnant moldave

La vie d'une personnalité historique réelle – Ion Nicoară Potcoavă, hetman cosaque et Prince régnant de la Moldavie (1577) sert pour les auteurs de l'article ci-joint comme élément primaire pour analyser le processus de constitution des clichés ethniques concernant les Ukrainiens dans les milieux des chroniques moldaves et parmi les historiens et les écrivains roumains. L'étude se base sur l'analyse critique des sources: chroniques, documents d'archives, œuvres historiques et littéraires.

Keywords: *Ukrainians, Romanians, Moldovan, Moldavians, Ivan Pidkova, Cossacks, Moldavia.*

Вступление

Восприятие украинцев соседними народами на протяжении веков оформилось в устойчивый гетеростереотип, совокупность оценочных суждений, которые стали ядром стабильных представлений о внешнем виде, об историческом прошлом и особенностях образа жизни данного народа. Второй частью этого этнического стереотипа является целый ряд суждений о коммуникативных и моральных качествах, которые не характеризуются стабильностью, а имеют тенденцию к изменчивости.

Дело в том, что характер стереотипа, его качество, в значительной степени определяется теми социальными задачами, которые пытаются решить его носители. Изменение оценок, указанных качеств, тесно связано с динамикой в межнациональных и межгосударственных отношениях.

Эволюция становления стереотипа относительно казацкого гетмана Ивана Подковы в общественном мнении румыноязычного сообщества раскрывает механизм этого этнопсихологического явления. Изучение названной эволюции и воздействий, которые способствовали формированию данного стереотипа, составляют основную цель предложенного в этой статье исследования.

Краткий обзор источников и историографии

Источником сведений об этой исторической фигуре служат летописи

того времени: «Летопись Земли Молдавской»¹ Григория Уреке и «Хроника польская»² под редакцией Мартина (Иоакима) Бельского, «Описание Европейской Сарматии»³ итальянца Алессандро Гваньини из Вероны, в том числе и украинские хроники, касающиеся упомянутой темы⁴. Документы, которые раскрывают фактическую сторону проблемы, нашли свое отражение на страницах целого ряда румынских сборников документов.⁵ Ценный материал содержится в воспоминаниях иностранных свидетелей тех событий.⁶

Особе Ивана Подковы уделено значительное количество исторических работ и художественных произведений, как в украинской⁷,

¹ Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei ... De la Dragoș-Vodă până la Aron-Vodă* [The Chronicle of Moldavia ... From Prince Dragoș to Prince Aron], in *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei. Grigore Ureche. Miron Costin. Ion Neculce* [The Chronicle of Moldavia. Grigore Ureche. Miron Costin. Ion Neculce], edited by T. Celac, Chișinău, Editura Universul, 2006.

² J. Bielski, *Kronika polska* [The Polish Chronicle], ed. K. J. Turowski, Sanok, 1856, p. 1430.

³ Олександр Гваньїні, *Хроніка Європейської Сарматії* [The Chronicle of the European Sarmatia], Київ, Києво-Могилянська академія, 2009, 1006 с.

⁴ Mihail Dan, *Știri privitoare la istoria Țărilor Române în cronicile ucrainene* [News on the History of Romanian Principalities in Ukrainian chronicles], in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie" [Studies and Materials of Medieval History], București, II, 1957, p. 284.

⁵ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor* [Documents concerning the History of Romanians], București, 1900, XI, p. XXXIV, note 3; *Documente privind istoria României (Moldova). Sec. XVI* [Documents concerning the History of Romanians (Moldova). XVI century], București, 1953, Vol. III, doc. 514, p. 425; Nicolae Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor adunate din depozitele de manuscrise ale Apusului* [Acts and pieces concerning the history of Romanians gathered from manuscripts deposits of the West], vol. I, București, 1895, p. 114, 120; A.Papadopol-Calimah, *Cântecul hatmanului Ivan Serpeaga (Ioan Potcoavă, Crețul, domnul Moldovei (1577-1578). Cântec popular din Rusia Meridională* [Song Serpehy Ivan (John Horseshoe, Curly, hospodar of Moldavia (1577-1578). Folk Song of the South of Russia], în „Convorbiri literare” [Literary Talks], XXI, nr. 11, Iași, 1888, p. 999-1009; A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești. Acte și scrisori* [Documents about history of Transylvania, Moldova and Romania. Acts and letters], vol. II (1573-1584), București, Imprimeria Națională, 1930, p. 140-141, 147-148, 154-155.

⁶ *Історія Львова в документах і матеріалах. Збірник документів та матеріалів* [History of Lviv in documents and materials. Collection of documents and materials], Київ, Наукова думка, 1986, с. 41-43; *Călători străini despre Țările Române* [Foreign travelers about the Romanian countries]. Book edited de M. Holban, M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, vol. III, București, Scientific and Enciclopedic Publishing House, 1971.

⁷ Мирослав Мамчак, *Іван Підкова – гетьман запорозького козацтва* [Ivan Pidkova – Hetman of Zaporizhian Cossacks] in “Флотоводці України. Історичні нариси,

так и в румынской литературе⁸. Следует отдельно отметить краткую, но очень содержательную статью Т. Чобану⁹. Маленький эпизод правления казака на троне средневековой Молдовы не выпал из поля зрения авторов истории Молдовы и Румынии¹⁰.

хронологія походів”, Снятин, 2005, in http://www.ukrlife.org/main/prosvita/_pidkova.html (Accessed in 11.12.2013); Андрей Павлович, *Дума об атамане Подкове, убитому Польшей во Львове* [Duma about Hetman Pidkova, killed by Poles in Lviv] in Избранные произведения, Пряшев, Изд-во культурного общества украинских трудящихся, 1955, с. 127–136; Олексій Романець, *Шевченків «Іван Підкова» у літературній традиції* [“Ivan Pidkova” by Shevchenko in literature tradition] in “Збірник праць п’ятнадцятої наукової шевченківської конференції”, Київ, 1968, с. 222-235; Николай Мохов, *Боевое содружество украинских казаков и молдаван в 70 – 80-х годах XVI в. и деятельность И.Подковы* [Battle concord of Ukrainian Cossacks and Moldavians in the 70-80 years of XVI century and activity of I. Pidkova] in “Ученые записки Института истории, языка и литературы Молдавского филиала АН СССР”. Серия историческая, 1957, Т. 6, с. 29-41.

⁸ Богдан Хашдеу, *Иоан-Водэ чел Кумплим* [Ioan Vodă the Terrible] in „Опере алесе” [Selected Works], Кишинэу, Картя молдовеняскэ [The Moldavian Book Publishing House], 1967, Вол. II [vol. 2], р. 7-137; Florin Pintescu, *Unele considerații privind relațiile moldo-cazace în evul mediu* [Some considerations regarding Moldovan-Cossack relations in the Middle Ages] in „Україна – Румунія – Молдова: Историчні, політичні та культурні аспекти взаємин” (Міжнародна наукова конференція 16-17 травня 2001 р.), Чернівці, 2002, с. 73-90; Viorel Dolha, *Români uitați. Articolul „Țara noastră de dincolo de Nistru”. Țara nimănu* [Forgotten Romanians. The article “Our country beyond the Dniester river. No Man's Land”] in <http://ro.altimedia.info/romani-uitați>; Claudiu Pădurean, *Cum a ajuns Nicoară Potcoavă idolul ucrainenilor* [How Ivan Pidkova became the idol of the Ukrainians] in www.romanalibera.ro/cultura/aldine/ (Accessed in 23.12.2011); Alexandru Odobescu, *Doamna Chiajna* [Princess Chiajna]. in *Scrieri alese* [Selected Works], București, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, 1995, p. 41-76; Radu Economu, *Sfârșitul lui Ioan Nicoară Potcoavă* [The End of Ivan Nicoară Pidkova] in „Magazin istoric” [Historical Magazine], no. 11, București, 1970, p. 66; *Uciderea domnitorului Nicoară Potcoavă, din romanul lui Mihail Sadoveanu* [Murder of the Hospodar Ivan Pidkova, from the novel of Mikhail Sadoveanu] in www.lovendal.ro (Accessed in 10.08.2009).

⁹ Tiberiu Ciobanu, *Ioan Nicoară Potcoavă, domn al Moldovei (1537-1558)* [John Ivan Pidkova, the Hospodar of Moldavia (1537-1558)] in <http://www.agero-stuttgart.de/REVISTA-AGERO/ISTORIE/Ioan%20Nicoara%20Potcoava%20de%20Tiberiu%20Ciobanu.htm> (Accessed in 20.12.2013).

¹⁰ *История РСС Молдовенешть* [History of the Soviet Socialist Moldavia]. vol. I, Кишинэу, Картя молдовеняскэ [Moldavian Book], 1967, 710 p.; *Istoria României. Compendiu* [History of Romania. Compendium], București, Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, 1974, 559 p.; *Istoria românilor. Compendiu* [History of Romania. Compendium], coordinated by I. Agrigoroaiei and I., Toderășcu, București, Culture without frontiers („Cultura fără frontiere”) Publishing House, 1996, 369 p.; Petre P. Panaiteșcu, *Istoria românilor* [History of Romanians], 1st part, Chișinău, 1990, 184 p.

Популяризации фигуры славного атамана способствовала поэма Т. Шевченко «Иван Підкова»¹¹, а также роман М. Садовяну «Никоарэ Подкоавэ»¹². Определенную роль в этом сыграли и личные качества героя. В соответствии с надписью под единственным сохранившимся в польском альбоме начала XVII века портретом Подковы, он «был таким сильным, что не только ломал подковы, но и талеры, а когда воткнул талер в деревянную стену, то его нужно было вырубить. Взяв за заднее колесо, он остановил повозку, запряженную шестью лошадьми. Дышло ломал об колено. Взяв зубами бочку с медом, перебросил ее через голову. Взяв в руки воловий рог, пробил им ворота».

Исследуя происхождение атамана, которому удалось занять молдавский княжеский стол, большинство авторов сходятся на той версии, что по материнской линии он был армянином по фамилии Серпега¹³. Б. П. Хашдеу утверждал, что его армянская фамилия «Карабиед Сербега, он был известен в наших (т. е. молдавских) летописях как Иоан Крецул (Кучерявый), а в казачьих анналах - как Иоан Подкова»¹⁴. Григоре Уреке называет его в своей летописи «Иоан Поткоавэ, прозванный Крецул, взявший себе имя при правлении Ион Водэ»¹⁵. Исходя из показаний документов, он был «Никоарэ, который однажды стал Подковой»¹⁶. Поэтому в румынской литературе его чаще называют Ион Никоарэ Подкоавэ¹⁷. М. Мамчак утверждает, что запорожцы окрестили его сначала Волошиным¹⁸. В украинской историографии гетман упоминается как Иван Пидкова. В литературе, посвященной анализу поэмы Т. Шевченко «Иван Пидкова», ставится под сомнение его гетманство и даже участие в морских походах. Правда, сведения о морской кампании подтверждаются ссылкой на фольклорную поэму «Татарский поход Серпяги»¹⁹. Есть работы, в

¹¹ Тарас Шевченко, *Іван Підкова* [Ivan Pidkova] in "Кобзар", Київ, Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет», 2011, с.78-81; Тарас Шевченко, *Зібрання творів* [Collection of works], К., 2003, Т. 1., с. 122-123, 628-630.

¹² Михаил Садовяну, *Никоарэ Поткоавэ* [Nicoară Pidkova], Кишинэу, Литература артистикэ, 1980, 412 п.

¹³ Tiberiu Ciobanu, *Ioan Nicoară Potcoavă ...*; H.Dj. Siruni, *Legenda Serpegăi* [Legend of Serpyag] in „Arhiva Națională din Iași” [National Archive from Iași], II, Iași, 1936, p. 81-82.

¹⁴ Богдан Хашдеу, *Иоан- Водэ чел Кумплит ...*, p. 118.

¹⁵ Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 108.

¹⁶ Eudoxie Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare ...*, note 3.

¹⁷ Tiberiu Ciobanu, *Ioan Nicoară Potcoavă ...*; Михаил Садовяну, *Никоарэ Поткоавэ*, Кишинэу, Литература артистикэ [„Artistic Literature” Publishing House], 1980.

¹⁸ Мирослав Мамчак, *Іван Підкова ...*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Володимир Мовчанюк, «Іван Підкова» Тараса Шевченка та проблема

которых современные украинские авторы рассматривают его как флотоходца²⁰. Что касается гетманства Подковы, то следует согласиться с В. Мовчанюком в том, что он, скорее всего, являлся «историческим атаманом» вопреки современному утверждению о том, что он был гетманом украинского казачества. Большинство авторов считает, что он был братом Иона Водэ Лютого, отличившегося мужественным выступлением против турецкого сюзеренитета в 1573-1574 годах (при поддержке запорожских казаков под предводительством гетмана Свирговского)²¹. В польской хронике утверждается, что «Иоан Подкова был из запорожских казаков, природный брат (как некоторые его называли) погибшего Иоана воеводы Молдавии»²², а в украинской уточняется, что в 1577 году «находился среди запорожских казаков родной брат господаря молдавского Ивана, замученного турками, Иван Подкова»²³. В Украине все знали его как «Подкова брата Ивана»²⁴. Но абсолютной ясности в этом вопросе нет. Сам Ион Водэ Лютый, прозванный в летописях Армянином, был внебрачным сыном воеводы Штефэницэ (или Штефана Молодого, внука Штефана Великого). И как отмечает Тибериу Чобану, «нет уверенности в том, что Штефэницэ Водэ (1517-1527) ... был бы и ему (т. е. Подкове – авт.) отцом»²⁵. Вероятно, они были братьями по материнской линии. М. Садовяну в своем романе подает художественную версию этой интриги: «Каломфира (жена Юнга Литяна) родила Иона Водэ от Штефэницэ Водэ (вне брака), а Никоарэ и Александра от Петра сотника»²⁶. Фамилии изменены, но сюжетная линия выглядит правдоподобно. Этот факт давал право Ивану Подкове претендовать на молдавский престол. Согласно правилам наследования княжеской власти в средневековой

історичності поеми ["Ivan Pidkova" by Taras Shevchenko and the problem of historical character of the poem] in "Вісник Львівського Університету. Серія філологія", Львів, 2009, Вип. 48, с. 144-152.

²⁰ Мирослав Мамчак, *Іван Підкова ...*, указ. соч., с. 1.

²¹ Антоній Мойсей, Аркадій Мойсей, *Українці в етнокультурних стереотипах румунів та молдаван (1). Українські козаки очима молдавських середньовічних літописців* [Ukrainians in the ethnocultural stereotypes of Romanians and Moldavians (1). Ukrainian Cossacks from the point of view of Moldavian chroniclers of Middle ages] in "Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу. Збірник наукових статей", Чернівці, Чернівецький національний університет, 2013, Т. 25-26, с. 202-208.

²² *Kronika polska ...*, p. 1430.

²³ Mihail Dan, *Știri privitoare ...*, p. 284.

²⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Acte și fragmente ...*, p. 114, 120.

²⁵ Tiberiu Ciobanu, *Ioan Nicoară Potcoavă ...*, p. 1.

²⁶ Михаил Садовяну, *Никоарэ Поткоавэ ...*, p. 78-82.

Молдавии, претендент должен быть сыном или родственником покойного правителя. Он избирался боярами, но «после восстания Иоана Армянина турки взяли себе право утверждать господаря»²⁷.

Исторический контекст

В Молдавии ситуация после антитурецкого выступления (1574 г.) Иона Водэ была нестабильной. Петр Хромой (Шкьопул), приведенный к власти турками после убийства Иона Лютого, не пользовался популярностью не только среди простых людей, но и среди части боярства. Причиной такого к нему отношения была чрезвычайно большая власть, предоставленная приближенным к нему боярам, что вело к росту их произвола; удвоению дани в пользу Порты; непомерному росту всевозможных налогов, собранных для выплаты долгов, сделанных им в Стамбуле при покупке должности²⁸. Его союзники, татары, после победы над войском Иона Водэ, подвергли Молдову ужасным грабёжам. «Еще никогда не было такого опустошения в стране, – утверждает летописец, – между Прутом и Днестром не осталось людей»²⁹. Поэтому против этого турецкого ставленника часто возникали заговоры, которые активно поддерживали украинские казаки.

Для объективного описания событий, связанных с молдавскими походами Ивана Подковы, следует обратиться к свидетелям тех событий. Одним из них является уже упомянутый Алессандро Гваньини. По его информации, молдавская знать предложила Подкове трон господаря: направила письма киевскому воеводе К. Острожскому и старосте Бара, с просьбой оказать Подкове помощь только до Днестра, где они сами будут ждать его с войском. В Баре к Подкове присоединились шляхтич Копицкий, который двадцать лет жил и воевал среди казаков, и молдаванин Чапа. Они привели к Подкове гетмана Шаха и 330 казаков, и с этими силами Подкова отправился на Молдавию. Однако, услышав, что против них идет воевода Петр с многочисленным войском и пушками, Подкова вернулся в Украину. Господарь Петр и султан немедленно обратились к королю с протестом, и тот приказал коронному гетману и местным магнатам схватить Подкову. Слуга коронного гетмана Боболецкий с тремя ротами войска попытался сделать это, но ему не удалось. Между тем, к Подкове

²⁷ Димитрие Кантемир, *Дескриеря Молдовей* [Description of Moldavia], Кишинэу, Литература артистикэ, 1980, п. 73.

²⁸ *История РССМ ...*, с. 260.

²⁹ Grigorie Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 107.

вновь пришли 600 запорожцев Шаха (при этом на Низу осталось еще 400 казаков), и он совершил повторную попытку заполучить Молдавию. Когда Подкова пришел в Сороки, «чернь приветствовала его как господаря». Битва под Яссами против превосходящих войск турок и Петра Хромого засвидетельствовала тактическое мастерство казаков. Воевода поставил впереди своего войска 500 янычар с пушками и огнестрельным оружием. Однако казаки, заметив дым от горящих фитилей, по команде упали на землю за мгновение до турецкого залпа. Турки решили, что те убиты, и ринулись на казаков. Но казаки, вскочив, одновременно выстрелили из ружей, положив на месте почти 300 всадников. Остальные бросились враспынную. После этой неудачи Петр Хромой убежал к своему брату, волошскому господарю, и попросил помощи у Порты. Подкова же, которого с энтузиазмом встретило и поддержало население, осуществил ряд существенных шагов для обеспечения необходимой внутренней жизни государства, отпустил всех заключенных. Между тем, по приказу султана, Петр Хромой получил поддержку из Силистрии, Никополя, Видина. Когда турки и Петр подошли к Яссам, казаки вышли им навстречу и возле села Доколина нанесли Петру сокрушительный удар. Бывший господарь едва смог сбежать с поля боя. Однако Подкова не смог воспользоваться победой, потому что против него ополчилось большое семигородское войско. Забрав 14 пушек и «лучшие вещи», Подкова вернулся в Украину. Однако в Немирове брацлавский воевода Я. Збаражский предложил Подкове поехать к королю и объяснить ситуацию. Посредником выступил коронный гетман (он имел королевский приказ любой ценой поймать Подкову), который и доставил Подкову в Варшаву на сейм. Король хотел казнить его немедленно, но шляхта «очень жалела Подкову, как хорошего мужа». Тем не менее, после сейма Подкову отправили в тюрьму в Раву, а потом его казнили во Львове по требованию султана³⁰.

Иван Подкова в западноевропейских источниках

Л. Мюллер, служивший королю Стефану Баторию, оправдывал его действия, но, тем не менее, с симпатией относившийся к казакам, вспоминает о демарше турок, которые требовали от Батория казни Ивана Подковы³¹. Агент тосканского герцога Ф. Талдуччи считал, что казнь

³⁰ Олександр Гваньїні, *Хроніка ...*, р. 229.

³¹ L.Muller, *Kurze und wahrhafte Beschreibung welcher massen dieser jetzt regierungen Konig in Polen Stefanus...*Frankfurt, 1585 in litopis.org.ua/ochima/ocbibl.html (Accessed in 23.11.2013).

казацкого вожака «навлекает позор на польское королевство». Галдуччи, со слов доверенного лица, подробно описал мужественное поведение Ивана Подковы перед казнью: «При объявлении смертного приговора стоял шум от стука барабанов и людей. Подкова обошел два раза площадь, поглаживая бороду и глядя на народ, показывая, что ничуть не боится смерти. Он попросил тишины и, достигнув этого, сказал такие слова: «Господа поляки! Меня привели на смерть, хотя в своей жизни я не совершил ничего такого, за что заслужил бы подобный конец. Я знаю одно: я всегда боролся мужественно и как честный рыцарь против врагов христианства и всегда действовал во благо добра и пользы своей родины, и было у меня единственное желание – быть ей опорой и защитой против неверных, и действовать так, чтобы они остались в своих краях и не переходили Дунай...». Казнь вызвала большое народное сочувствие и столь сильный гнев, что можно было опасаться восстания ... У присутствующих людей из народа покатались слезы, особенно у многих из тех воинов, которые прибыли сюда, очевидно, только ради него. Гайдуки, ожидая чего-либо, стояли с аркебузами наготове... Известно, что это событие вызвало в народе большое недовольство»³². История Ивана Подковы также подробно отражена в реляциях из Варшавы папских нунциев Лаурео и Калигари. Последний, в частности, пишет, что эта казнь, совершенная Стефаном Баторием в угоду туркам, «произвела на всех негативное впечатление»³³.

Образ Ивана Подковы в трудах Григория Уреке

В Молдове эта история впервые попадает на рукописные страницы хроники Григория Уреке в середине XVII века, затем передается из поколения в поколение в копиях Симиона Даскала, Мисаила Кэлугэра и Аксинтия Урикара до тех пор, пока в 1852 году известный румынский историк и политический деятель М. Когэлничяну не осуществил первую его печать. Фактическим материалом для летописи послужили собранные при дворе славянские книги, польская хроника Иоахима Бельского и латинская космография. Основной заслугой текста, по мнению специалистов, является интеграция исторических фактов в систему политической мысли. Г. Уреке называют «идеологом великого молдавского боярства», который «возрождает историю в благоприятном

³² *Исторія Львова в документах ...*, с. 41-43.

³³ *Россия и Италия. Сборник исторических материалов и исследований* [Russia and Italy. Collection of historical materials and researches], Санкт-Петербург, Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1908, Т. 2, с. 59.

для великого боярства свете». В своей внешнеполитической ориентации он был полонофилом, считая, что освобождение Молдовы от турок возможно только в союзе с Польшей.

Исходя из обозначенной выше позиции автора, его негативное видение деятельности Ивана Подковы становится основой для создания первого стереотипа о данной исторической фигуре. При этом подобное восприятие распространяется на весь цикл этой освободительной акции, то есть и на деятельность Иона Водэ Лютого, который имел мужество обратиться к народу во время своей антитурецкой кампании. Хотя вначале Уреке вынужден признать, что новый правитель «острого ума, твердого слова и трудолюбивый и мог бы быть не только здесь господарем, но и другим странам правитель»³⁴, впоследствии называет его Лютым. А причина – в антибоярской политике: «Показывая себя страшным, он не нашел возможности заняться ничем другим, как ужасными казнями и кровопролитием. Он зарезал Ионашка Збиеру на Пасху и многие другие убийства совершил»³⁵. Новый господарь уничтожал также представителей церкви, которые сильно обогатились. «И считал он, – продолжает летописец, – что нет никого достойнее его. Над верой насмеялся, потому что во время великого поста женился и много других нарушений закона совершил»³⁶. Согласно позиции Уреке, из-за этих нарушений, турецкий султан решил устранить господаря с должности и это повлекло восстание (на самом деле причина была в требовании турок дублировать ежегодную дань)³⁷. Поэтому и суть событий летописец излагает в неблагоприятном для повстанцев свете: «Собрав народ, чтобы завоевать их сердца, он обратился к нему мягкими словами о турецкой жадности (свою – он не видел), говоря, что турки все меняют для увеличения дани, которая отягощает народ, обедняет и обессиливает его». Он также скептически относился к вероятности получить необходимую помощь от поляков, в чем воевода заверял своих сторонников. Зато он не ставит под сомнение слова князя о том, что запорожские казаки, которые обещали помочь, «всегда побеждают турок»³⁸.

Олицетворением турецкого вмешательства в этот период выступает их ставленник Петру Водэ Шкьопул (Хромой). Он с помощью турецко-татарских войск и ценой опустошения страны становится правителем

³⁴ Grigorie Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 101.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, с. 103.

³⁷ Богдан Хашдеу, *Иоан- Водэ чел Кумплит ...*, p. 46.

³⁸ Grigorie Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 103.

Молдовы, и, конечно, всеми патриотами воспринимается как раболепный и угодливый слуга османов. Однако, в восприятии Г. Уреке, тот выступает как идеальный правитель. Хромой у него наделен «всеми достоинствами, которые необходимы честному господарю, потому что он боярам был отцом, держал их в большом почете и следовал их советам беспрекословно. Для страны был защитником, к бедным милостив, монахов и монастыри укреплял и миловал ... судил мягко и без лицемерия». Когда в очередной раз султан решил увеличить дань Молдове, Петру Хромой подал в отставку. Это послужило Уреке поводом для нового панегирика этому правителю. Он предлагает назвать Петра Милостивым, потому что он был «хозяином кротким, как matka без жала, в суде справедливым, непьющим, не развратником, не жадным, не мотом, все делал по древним предписаниям...»³⁹. Одновременно летописец сетует на судьбу Петра Хромого: «имел постоянные хлопоты с казаками, от одних не успевал избавиться, как другие против него шли...»⁴⁰.

В контексте подобного понимания политической ситуации стереотип Ивана Подковы преподносится именно в образе возмутителя спокойствия, мятежника. Летописец представляет его как некоего проходимца по прозвищу Иван Поткова, «потому что рвал подковы», в то время как другие, по информации Уреке, называли его Кучерявым. Он выдавал себя за брата Иона Лютого, ссылаясь на то, что родом из Мазовии, откуда был и упомянутый воевода, и утверждал, что имеет право на молдавский престол. Желая идти на Молдову, он решил хитростью заполучить на это разрешение от начальства. Для этого «он подделал письма со многими печатями от бояр и придворных земли Молдавской», согласно которым его приглашали на трон. Тем не менее, Уреке не отрицает наличия сторонников Подковы в Молдове, наоборот, по отдельным данным, были люди, желавшие его прихода. С этими письмами Кучерявый-Подкова приходит к Киевскому воеводе князю Константину и к Барскому старосте, доказывая, что его приглашают на княжение. Одновременно он обещает, что и они, в случае оказания ему помощи, будут иметь большую выгоду из этого. Но его не поддержали, ссылаясь на волю короля не нарушать мир с турками. Помощь Подкове предоставил некий Колицкий, который имел большое влияние на Сечи. Тот «некоторых обещаниями накормил, – говорит автор хроники, – других – деньгами, из тех, что сам собрал, глаза подмазывая, склонил; смог приблизить к себе молдаванина по имени Чапа,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

давно женившегося среди казаков»⁴¹. Таким образом, им удалось собрать 330 казаков, возглавляемых гетманом Шахом, для похода в Молдову. Им навстречу вышло войско Петра Хромого, вооруженное артиллерией. Казаки, осознав преимущество молдавского правителя, были вынуждены отказаться от кампании. «Прихватив, что смогли у границы, казаки вернулись назад, сохраняя свои силы для следующего раза, пошли готовиться», – излагает свое видение Уреке. Боясь новых нападений казаков на Молдову и грабежа с их стороны, князь направил через кастеляна Галицкого письмо польскому королю, в котором выражал свое недовольство тем, что казаки претендуют на его престол и тем самым нарушают подписанный с Портой мир⁴². Таким образом, действия Подковы оценивались как нападение на турецкие территории, считавшиеся Речью Посполитой как нежелательные из-за соответствующих договоренностей со Стамбулом. В такой политической ситуации Иван Подкова должен был стать жертвенной пешкой в геополитической игре.

Казацкий предводитель и претендент на чужой трон должен быть задержан на территории Украины и подвергнут суду. Но это, как уже отмечалось выше, польской власти не удалось. Иван Подкова осуществляет вторую попытку захватить власть, которая оказалась удачной. Казаки в двух битвах побеждают войско Петра Хромого. Притом летописец не отрицает смелости и военного мастерства запорожцев. Он описывает и удачный маневр казаков в первом бою, когда они успешно обошли артиллерийский огонь противника⁴³ и смогли 23 ноября 1577 г. привести к власти своего атамана, и битву при Доколине, в которой сечевики успешными действиями перехитрили конкурента⁴⁴. Автор описывает также состав противоборствующих сторон: Хромого поддержали турки, татары с Добруджи и Буджака, мунтяны и молдаване с юга, а с казаками Кучерявого вместе выступило «молдавское войско, ибо многие присягнули» новому правителю. Этот печальный для него факт Уреке вынужден с горечью констатировать еще при вхождении казаков в Молдову: «Кучерявый уже с большим количеством людей лучше подготовился и перешел границу страны у Сороки. Там, таково естество человеческое, как узнали о новом господаре, многие поклонились ему»⁴⁵.

Победа при Доколине не позволила Подкове удержаться на престоле.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

На него надвигалось большое войско из Венгрии, поэтому он был вынужден вернуться в Польшу. Здесь у него возникли проблемы с польской властью: его хотели задержать, но на некоторое время ему удалось это предотвратить. По рассказу летописца, воевода Брацлавский вызвал гетмана Шаха на такой разговор: «Вы нанесли королю и стране большой вред, вы нарушили мир с турками. Поэтому устраните Кучерявого и идите к (коронному) гетману. Он его пошлет к королю, и вы останетесь чистыми. И Кучерявого еще освободят, потому что король поймет, насколько он полезен». Дальнейший ход событий Уреке изложил кратко: «Думая, что король поможет ему стать правителем», И. Подкова заблуждался, потому что «король бросил его в тюрьму и вскоре отсек ему голову»⁴⁶.

Итак, Григорий Уреке не искажает исторические события, фактологическая часть рассказа соответствует исторической реальности, но он придает им определенную идеологическую окраску. Для него Иван Подкова Кучерявый является одним из многочисленных «панычей» (*domnişori*) – незаконных претендентов на престол Молдовы, который, по сути, вмешивается во внутренние дела соседней страны. Более того, это происходит во время правления идеального для него правителя – «матки без жала» Петра Хромого Милостивого. Такая оценка исторической фигуры казацкого вожака была положена в основу формирования стереотипа о нем, который последовательно закреплялся и в других изданиях.

Иван Подкова – образ негативного героя в румынской историографии

После издания «Летописи» в 1852 году круг его читателей существенно расширился и этот факт, безусловно, закрепил начальный стереотип. К тому же добавились суждения из другого лагеря: из Валахии. Известный в Румынии бухарестский писатель, археолог и политик Александру Одобеску (1834-1895) в своем историческом очерке «Княгиня Кияжна» изображает историю жизни матери Петра Хромого. В антитурецкой кампании Иона Лютого его герои (руководство Мунтянской земли) находились в османском лагере. Они видели казаков с другой стороны, но при этом авторская характеристика не является негативной: «...издалека появилось многочисленное войско. По низкорослым волосатым лошадям, по широким красным шароварам, по их острым киверам, затянутым песням и по высоким копьям, которые блестели на солнце, как колосья на поле, легко угадывались отряды, которые пришли

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

под руководством Свирского на помощь Иону Водэ»⁴⁷. Но они вместе с молдаванами «подвергли грабежу валахский лагерь», в результате чего на некоторое время все разбежались, впоследствии, однако, вернулись в прежнее состояние и «Петр Хромой, достойный похвалы и любви всего общества, стал правителем в Молдове»⁴⁸. Из этого следует, что те, кто выступал против него, являются узурпаторами, нарушителями покоя и законности государства.

Николае Бэлческу (1819-1852), румынский историк, писатель и революционер, один из лидеров революции 1848 г. в Валахии и Трансильвании, посвятил свою самую популярную историческую работу военному искусству румын⁴⁹. Анализируя времена Петра Хромого, он характеризует Иона Лютого так: «Этот государь (...) одержал определенные триумфы в борьбе с турками, поляками, валахами и имел возможность вернуть молдаванам их давнюю военную славу. Он поднял флаг независимости: но молдаване, недовольные его тиранией, отказали ему в поддержке». Он сравнивал воеводу Петра в битве против войска Ивана Подковы при Доколине с великим Ганнибалом при Замме. «При отсутствии слонов, он поставил перед первой линией стада коров и табуны лошадей, чтобы растоптать пехоту Подковы (...), но казаки позволили приблизиться армии Петра Водэ и внезапно открыли шквальный огонь. Тогда животные, испугавшись, побежали назад и привели войско Петра Водэ в замешательство. Казаки воспользовались этим обстоятельством, они ударили с флангов и победили»⁵⁰. То есть Н. Бэлческу не воспринимает Ивана Подкову как борца за независимость от турок, а просто как очередного претендента на молдавский престол.

Петре Панаитеску (1900-1967), румынский историк и филолог, член-корреспондент Румынской академии наук, в «Истории румын» (1942), популярном школьном учебнике, не отходил от стереотипа, созданного Г. Уреке. «Новый государь, поставленный турками, Петру Шкьопул, – пишет он, – был человеком мягким, состоял в дружбе с боярами, слово которых он не нарушал. Казаки беспокоили его правление, грабя неоднократно Молдову»⁵¹.

⁴⁷ Alexandru Odobescu, *Doamna Chiajna* [Princess Chiajna], in *Scieri alese* [Selected Works], București, Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishing House, 1995, p. 74.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Nicolae Bălcescu, *Puterea armată și arta militară la români* [Armed forces and military art at Romanians], București, Military Publishing House, 1990, 302 p.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵¹ Petre P. Panaitescu, *Istoria românilor ...*, p. 156.

Авторы коллективного компендиума «История румын»⁵² (1996) настаивают на оценке событий 1577-1578 годов в версии Г. Уреке. Они очень высоко оценивают деятельность Петра Хромого, подчеркивая такие его заслуги в дипломатии: ему удалось сохранить автономию Молдовы, заключить торговый договор с Англией, защитить православие, гармонизировать отношения между различными группами боярства. При нем, по мнению авторов пособия, культура достигла расцвета, румынский язык начал использоваться в княжеской канцелярии. Никоарэ Подкоавэ в этом контексте упоминается как один из претендентов на княжеской трон, не имея никакого отношения к антитурецкой борьбе⁵³.

Сочувствуют Петру Хромому, который «проходил через тяжелые испытания», и авторы работы «Великие державы и румынское пространство в XV-XVI веках» И. Казан и Е. Дениз⁵⁴. Никоарэ Подкоавэ у них – претендент (узурпатор), который угрожает правлению законного правителя. Выдавая себя за брата покойного Иона Лютого, он завоевал определенный авторитет в народе. «Наверное, в сердцах молдаван героические времена погибшего господаря еще имели резонанс», – вынуждены признать авторы работы.

Таким образом, стереотип Ивана Подковы, в основу которого легла оценка, созданная Г. Уреке в своей «Летописи», закрепился в сознании румынского читателя и имеет приверженцев до сегодняшнего дня. Его основной тезис: «панычи» типа И. Подковы посягали на покой Молдовы и его «милостивое» правление.

Иван Подкова – образ позитивного героя в румынской историографии

Новые идеи свободы, государственной независимости и социальной справедливости, которые проникли в Дунайские княжества вместе с веянием европейской «весны народов», изменили в XIX веке подходы к пониманию исторических событий прошлых эпох. Толкования прошлого базировались на понимании необходимости освобождения от турецких поработителей. Чувствовалась потребность в освещении героики

⁵² *Istoria românilor. Compendiu*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 120-121.

⁵⁴ Ileana Cazan, Eugen Denize, *Marile puteri și spațiul românesc în secolele XV-XVI, capitolul X: Rivalitatea polono-habsburgică în bazinul Dunării și poziția Țărilor Române (1574-1593)* [Great Powers and the Romanian space in 15th-16th centuries. Chapter X: Polish-Habsburg rivalry in the Danube basin and the position of the Romanian Countries (1574-1593)], București: biblioteca.rocarta.info/95 : site „Ioan Potcoavă”, 2002, p. 2 (Accesed in 23.11.2013).

антиосманской борьбы. Деятельность Иона Лютого, названного многими историками Смелым, как и его последователя Ивана Подковы, совпадали с подобным видением.

Один из представителей новой волны историков, Богдан Петричейку Хашдеу, в 1865 году издал очерк «Иоан Водэ Лютый» (1572-1574), в котором на солидном фактическом материале проанализировал этот знаменательный для молдаван период антитурецкой борьбы. Петра Хромого он характеризует как «молодого человека, воспитанного греками, приятеля боярства, т. е. ненавистного народу»⁵⁵. Его видение казаков, пришедших на помощь молдаванам, изложено в легкой литературной манере, но очень метко и поэтому заслуживает внимания. «За Днестром, на границе Польши с Татарской страной, – рассказывает Хашдеу, – пятьдесят лет тому сформировалась маленькая республика смельчаков, лозунгом которых стало уничтожение врагов христианства. Та рыцарская республика, – продолжает автор, – образовалась из трех соседних народов: румын, поляков, московитов, которые забывали здесь свою национальную неприязнь для того, чтобы ненавидеть вместе только магометанцев. Разговаривали на смешанном языке, который понимали все». Дается характеристика запорожцев как воинов: «Они были всадниками, моряками, всеми по очереди, в зависимости от потребности: всадниками в степи, пешими в горах, моряками на воде. Их стратегия была татарской, а тактика скорее польской. Их жизнь была сплошным бродяжничеством для отслеживания врага, их оружие: лук, сабля, копье, особенно ружье, из которого они стреляли исключительно метко». Оценивается социальный состав сечевиков: «Все они были парнями без женщин и детей, их ряды постоянно пополнялись приходящими отовсюду молодцами, преступниками, авантюристами, которые находили здесь себе приют».

В поисках этимологии слова «казак» Хашдеу придерживается старой версии М. Костина: «Таким образом, они стали грозной силой под названием казаки, то есть людей легких, как косули», – заключает он рассказ о запорожцах.

Ион Лютый, по версии Б. Хашдеу, ожидал помощи от «губернатора южной Польши князя Острожского». Он характеризует позицию украинского воеводы: «Острожский, – говорит он, – с одной стороны, будучи греческого вероисповедания, симпатизировал румынским единоверцам и презирал фанатичный папизм нового польского короля, с другой стороны, будучи руководителем южных рубежей Польши, он не имел покоя от бесконечных татарских нашествий, что положило начало

⁵⁵ Богдан Хашдеу, *Иоан- Водэ чел Кумплит ...*, р. 52.

неумемной ненависти ко всему мусульманскому, поэтому просьба Иона Водэ задела деликатные струны его сердца». Как результат, повстанцам была оказана помощь в 600 казаков под предводительством известного моряка Покотила. Очень высокую оценку получает «герой Свирчевский»: «Хотя он и не является румыном, он заслуживает того, чтобы быть среди святых: эпитет, который наш народ давал не за аскетические подвиги, но исключительно защитникам страны», – заключает автор⁵⁶.

Завершающая часть очерка посвящена Ивану Подкове как последователю Иона Лютого. Год 1577-й, три года после гибели смелого воеводы, описывается с грустью: «На престоле Молдовы, после того, как он был куплен ценой двойной дани и потоками румынской крови, правил в тишине, как на кладбище, Петру Хромой, окруженный мироедами, которые называли его “маткой без жала” и монахами, которые восхищались его знаниями астрономии и музыки. Крестьяне голодали. Казна была пуста. Янычары, из которых состояла княжеская гвардия, были хозяевами в городах и селах». Вот почему казаков в Молдове встретили «как друзей, а Подкову – как спасителя»⁵⁷. В дальнейшем он подробно описывает битвы Подковы с Хрымом и причины ухода казаков из Молдовы. «Характер Подковы, – заключает Хашдеу, – представляет тип средневекового рыцарства: презрение к материальным выгодам, неумемная любовь к славе. Он с небольшим количеством людей показал миру, что может завоевать княжескую мантию. С горсткой людей он доказал миру, что умеет побеждать гидру. За четыре года в непрерывной борьбе с неверными он ни разу не потерпел поражения...»⁵⁸. Дальнейшая судьба И. Подковы, как и его героическое поведение перед казнью во Львове, подробно описана в очерке румынского автора. В завершении он приводит слова львовского католического архиепископа, который, по его словам, будучи явным врагом православия, был вынужден констатировать, что «почти все граждане сожалели о смерти этого отважного молдаванина, и король многое потерял из-за этого в глазах других народов...»⁵⁹.

Итак, с легкой руки Б. П. Хашдеу началось новое формирование стереотипа Ивана Подковы: настоящего рыцаря, героического борца за освобождение от турецкого ига, справедливого по отношению к простолюдинам князя.

Новый стереотип был поддержан самыми популярными историками

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53, 77, 84, 114.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117, 121.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Румынии. А. Д. Ксенопол называл Ивана Подкову «отважный Иоан Никоарэ Поткоавэ»⁶⁰. К. К. Джюреску многочисленность «панычей» при княжении Петра Хромого объясняет его слабостью, отсутствием харизмы⁶¹, предлагает полный список претендентов на его трон. Показывая отвагу Подковы во Львове, приводит его слова перед казнью: «Люди добрые, знаете ли вы, почему мне сейчас отрежут голову? Потому что я насытил свою саблю турецкой кровью и так много раз рисковал своей жизнью в борьбе с вашими врагами и врагами всего христианства»⁶². Цитата не воспроизводит подлинную речь казацкого предводителя, но очень хорошо передает суть сказанного. Приведённая речь Подковы показывает позицию автора относительно приоритетов его деятельности, в частности, основой формирования стереотипа является антитурецкая позиция казака.

С симпатией также оценивается деятельность славного казака молдавскими историками советского периода. Но основной упор в их анализе делается на классовой составляющей событий. Само название подзаголовка статьи, помещенной в двухтомнике «Истории МССР», убедительно иллюстрирует эту позицию: «Ион Поткова и его борьба с молдавским боярством и Турцией»⁶³. Классовым подходом проникнута вся статья: широкие народные массы ненавидели Петра Хромого, запорожцы братались в Молдове с народом и они совместными усилиями били турок и их прислужников из числа молдавских феодалов, войско господаря было разбито казаками и массами молдаван; валашские, венгерские и польские феодалы пошли против Подковы, потому что боялись, чтобы крестьянская война не распространилась на их страны и т. д.⁶⁴ Но, несмотря на односторонний анализ, положительный стереотип казацкого атамана только подкреплялся, расширяясь в сторону борьбы за социальную справедливость. Подобная оценка в советские времена была индульгенцией от критики и пропуском в число героев, поэтому роман М. Садовяну как в Румынии, так и в Советской Молдавии имел хорошо подготовленную почву для успеха.

Образ Ивана Подковы

⁶⁰ Alexandru D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană* [History of Romanians from the Traian Dacia], vol. III, University of București Publishing House, 2005, p. 119.

⁶¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor* [History of Romanians], II, București, Royal Foundation for Literature and Art Publishing House, 1943, p. 237.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁶³ *История РСФСР...*, p. 260.

⁶⁴ *История РСФСР ...*, p. 261.

в романе румынского писателя Михаила Садовяну

Роман Михаила Садовяну «Никоарэ Подкоавэ», напечатанный в 1952 году, был переработанной версией «Соколов», написанный им на заре своей писательской карьеры в 1904 году. Работа имела большой успех и, по мнению большинства авторов, привела Ивана Подкову к вершинам популярности.

На страницах книги Ион Никоарэ Подкоавэ предстает уже в возрасте мудрости, когда выглядел «приличным и без спеси, выющиеся волосы причесаны посередине, как святой», хотя никто не забывал, что он является «мужем отважным со славным именем, создав переполох между народами», о котором казаки составляли песни. «Сейчас, уже с сединой, он стал более мягкого нрава», но его младший брат Александру помнил прошлые отчаянные подвиги гетмана, когда он во главе казаков на сорока сорокавесельных чайках брал Синоп, что в «стране неверных». Подкова принимал также участие в кампании Иона Лютого, брата по матери, против османов. Он чудом спасся после поражения у Кагульского озера. Побудительный мотив его дальнейшей борьбы – это месть тем великим боярам, которые предали господаря Лютого в решающей битве. «Когда готовился его величество Ион-водэ идти жертвой в лагерь беглербея, поцеловал мне лоб в своем шатре, снял саблю. Неси ее ты! Будь достойным», – этот символический поступок подпитывает неумную энергию казака в бесконечном противостоянии турецкому присутствию в Молдове и желании мстить отступникам и османским прислужникам. Основным его противником является воевода Петр Хромой, «измаильтянская кукла», при правлении которого «не имеет народ ни зернышка пшеницы, чтобы накормить детей, ни места для захоронения стариков, ни слез, чтобы оплакивать свое рабство...». Поэтому защита простых людей является естественным долгом будущего молдавского господаря. Крестьяне воспринимают казака как своего защитника: «Ваше величество, возвращайся, чтобы лишить нас измаильтянского гарача (дань, которая выплачивалась ежегодно султану), грабежа княжеских сборщиков поборов, ногайских поджогов, чтобы мы могли в покое доживать дни, которые нам отведены в этом мире». К этому добавляется и твердая позиция Подковы защищать христианство. При захвате Ясского престола, его рукоположил митрополит Анастасие, который заверяет верующих в том, что новый воевода пришел не по воле турецких неверных, а с христианским войском, чтобы силой своего меча защищать веру. Они противопоставляют его Петру Хромому, которого не воспринимают как

своего: «Он не наш. Он принадлежит туркам и боярам. Турки, бояре и воевода обдирают страну, как чабаны овцу, выбранную на обед. Нам не нужен вражеской господарь; нуждаемся в своем воеводе, таком, каким был его величество Ион»⁶⁵. Поэтому, при вынужденном отходе нового князя из Молдовы, словами одного из персонажей рассказа, Митри Лэкустяна, характеризуются его деяния: «Боже, рады мы, жители этой земли, приходу Вашего величества и скорбим, что уходишь от нас. Ты научил нас справедливости, уменьшил количество наших поработителей и призвал к вольности, которую имели наши прародители (...) оставил надежду на освобождение...»⁶⁶.

Подкова на страницах романа выступает образованным человеком, который учился в юности в Барском колледже. Даже в походах, в оббитом железом сундуке, он вез с собой дорогие его сердцу книги. «И во время зимней лени, когда ветер гудит в оконных стеклах и огонь грохочет в высокой печи, он доставал то детское очарование и наслаждался стихами древних латинских и греческих поэтов или рассказами о прошедших временах». В этом контексте естественным выглядит анализ геополитической ситуации, сделанный его сторонниками: «...Вот Валахия, вот Молдова, вот Ардял и Венгерская страна, много лет тому назад затоптанные всадниками султана Сулеймана; вот Крым и Буджак под нашими ребрами, вот райи в Тигине и Хотине; вот крепости его величества в руках измаильтян, вот закрытое море для нашей торговли, германской империи и генуезцев, вот перекрытые пути с севера на юг и с запада на восток...»⁶⁷.

В предсмертной речи отважный казацкий атаман и господарь Молдовы отмечает антитурецкую направленность своей деятельности, подчеркивая, что «король уничтожает одного из воинов христианства» и покрывает себя позором. С его крови, говорит он, «прорастет расплата, как прорастает пшеница из зерна». А его собратья уверены в том, что «его величество Никоарэ пронесся, как народная мечта. С его духа, который не угасает, вспыхнем и мы, как загорается свет от света»⁶⁸.

В своем романе М. Садовяну, изучив обычаи и менталитет украинцев, создал героический образ Ивана Подковы. С такой же симпатией он относится к украинцам, хорошо понимая условия их существования. Впервые здесь встречаем описание простых украинских крестьян: «... в

⁶⁵ Михаил Садовяну, *Никоарэ Поткоавэ ...*, р. 103, 125-126, 131, 203, 332-333.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, р. 373.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, р. 209, 213, 373.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, р. 382-384.

Могилеве (...) где-то двадцать хохлов, крестьян, присланных паном Тадеушем, с расчесанными волосами, в чистых кожихах и сапогах, смазанных дегтем, спокойно и равнодушно смотрели на мещан...». Эти «хохлы» вместе с молдаванами сопровождали Подкову в Сечь и по дороге отмечали, что от Умани уже не ощущалась власть поляков. «Паны, – подчеркивает автор –, не смели заходить сюда без войска. Народ настойчиво защищал свою волю; Краков не считал нужным подавить такое сопротивление. Под угрозой нападений южных соседей поляки были готовы сохранить даже такую неуверенную власть». Поэтому, заходя на территорию Молдовы, казаки утверждали, что идут не грабить, а «установить справедливость и радовать народы...»⁶⁹.

Молдаване замечают у казаков некоторые необычные традиции. Например, при встрече хозяина они не снимают шапок, ибо, как отмечает автор, в лагере запорожцев встречают гетманов и есаулов с покрытой головой. Один из героев романа, Карайман, рассказывает о том, что казаки, когда им не везет в делах, целятся стрелами в облака. «Против злых орлов?», – спросил товарищ. «Нет, против бога», – был ответ. «Неужели они такие язычники? Нет, они не язычники, они такие же православные, как и мы, крестятся так, как я и ты, но они такие горячие, как та фузия, что сейчас появилась при королевских дворах: взрываются с одной искры...»⁷⁰.

Костандие Шах, гетман низовых казаков (реальная историческая фигура – Яков Шах), как утверждает Садовяну, участник антитурецкой кампании Иона Лютого, сопровождает Подкову в обоих его молдавских походах, получит замечательную характеристику. «Небольшого роста, живой взгляд, орлиный нос. Улыбка тонкая, говор мягкий. В войне любил использовать более ум, чем палаш. Поэтому голову сохранял холодную, и чрезмерная выпивка вызывала у него отвращение. Был бы хорошим монахом, если бы не оказался таким прилежным воином»⁷¹. Шах был очень хорошим гетманом, все хозяйство было у него в порядке, особенно он заботился о лошадях. Его заслугой перед запорожцами была ловля и укрощение диких лошадей, которые жили в степи. Автор утверждает, что эти лошади остались от скифов и сарматов, одичали и кормились на забытых пастбищах, на островах и пустынях. Со временем выжила «крепкая порода с широким копытом, что позволяло им проходить болота, и длинными волосами зимой, которые линяли под весенним солнцем». В отличие от татар, которые загоняли этих лошадей в болота, ловили для

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211, 234, 289.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

мяса, казаки арканили их и использовали для походов. «Особенно искали отяжелелых кобыл, которые после родов, полностью поддаются человеку, а жеребенок становится лучшим боевым конем», – описывает автор этот казачий промысел.

Также живо изображается и быт казаков. Сами казаки утверждали, что в походе не требуют еды от местного населения, так как возят с собой сало, соленое и копченое мясо, сухари и гурут. А гурут они научились готовить от монголов: «гречневая мука и пшеница, заквашенные с брынзой, молоком и яйцом; тесто, утончённое скалкой, резали мелкой лапшой, сушили в печи или на солнце и загружали в мешки». В походе гурут варили и получали замечательный суп⁷². Благодаря этому казаки не задерживались долго на месте и преодолевали быстро большие расстояния, что в военном деле имело немаловажное значение.

Взаимоотношения запорожцев с татарами, вопреки давнему стереотипу, являются союзническими. Татары, как утверждает автор, осуждали то, как турки поступили с Ионом Лютым (не сдержали своего слова и казнили воеводу). Согласно плану, ногайцы должны были поддержать Подкову при захвате власти в Молдове. «Когда пойдём на Молдову, сзади и сбоку мы не должны иметь врагов. А страна, в которую мы идем, должна быть защищена от грабежей чамбулуков», – говорит по этому поводу Никоарэ. В романе описывается дружеская встреча с ногайцами (с Демир-ханом) на охоте недалеко от Казак-Бунара, а перед самым походом происходит новая встреча⁷³, где Подкова получил возможность отомстить убийце Лютого – Чигале.

Мы неоднократно подчеркивали значение местности, где проживает народ, для создания его этностереотипа⁷⁴. В этом нет намёка на географический детерминизм или антропогеографию, согласно которым природные условия формируют национальный дух и национальный характер. Это один из элементов мозаики, дополняющий различные грани портрета определенного народа. В художественных произведениях описание климата, флоры и фауны, места жительства играет на усиление положительного или отрицательного образа героя или целого этноса.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, с. 255, 265, 295.

⁷⁴ Антоній Мойсей, Аркадій Моїсей, *Українці в стереотипах румунів та молдаван (2). Одруження Тимоша Хмельницького та Роксандри Лупул у румунських джерелах* [Ukrainians in stereotypes of the Romanians and Moldavians (2). Marriage of Tymish Khmelnytsky and Roksolana Lupul in thr Romanian sources], in “Питання стародавньої та середньовічної історії, археології й етнології (Збірник наукових праць)”, Т. 2 (36), Чернівці, Друк Арт, 2013, p. 187-203.

Рассказ М. Садовяну о климате Запорожья усиливает стереотип о твердости характера сечевиков, об их умении приспосабливаться к суровым условиям обитания. «Там люди носят шапки и кожухи, ледовые сосульки в бороде и бровях, сапоги с кошмы, как бочки, и кажется, что они только что пришли на прогулку от ледовитых морей...», – описывает автор зиму. Но строгость изложения становится мягкой и жизнеутверждающей весной, когда «трескается лед на Днепре и новая вода затапливает плавни. В этих кубках прозрачности, в которых скребет себе гнездо света солнце, начинает гостить дичь из теплых морей в своем спешном прохождении к полярной оттепели...»⁷⁵. А в поймах жизнь дичи бурлит, здесь собрались «гуси всей земли», казакам предоставляются огромные возможности для охоты. Одним словом, в суровом климате и в дикой природе живут мужественные люди, которые любят свободу и справедливость.

Итак, роман М. Садовяну способствовал созданию положительного стереотипа казака И. Подковы, запорожцев и украинского народа, хотя дискуссионной до сих пор остается мотивация автора. То есть, почему он решил на завершающем этапе своей писательской карьеры вернуться к теме, поднятой им в ее начале в новелле «Соколы». Существует мнение, с которым согласны и авторы данной статьи, согласно которого «Никоарэ Подкоавэ» позволил Садовяну «вновь погрузить роман в историческое время, и одновременно намекнуть на социальную справедливость, как пророчество о будущих коммунистических молочных и медовых временах, что нравилось новым социальным господам»⁷⁶. Это еще раз подтверждает тезис о взаимозависимости созданного стереотипа и субъективной, личной или социальной, позиции автора.

Выводы

Процесс создания стереотипа, как мы видим, проходит определенные этапы, имеет свою внутреннюю логику, испытывает различные воздействия. Притом, следует отметить, что он не является завершенным. Сегодня еще появляются материалы, посвященные личности И. Подковы. Некоторые авторы, анализируя политическую ситуацию той эпохи, оценивают трагичность судьбы казака, соискателя молдавского трона, как жертвы геополитической игры между великими державами того времени – Польшей и Османской империей. Другие обращают внимание на

⁷⁵ Михаил Садовяну, *Никоарэ Поткоавэ ...*, p. 269-271.

⁷⁶ Robert Ancuceanu, *De ce s-a întors Sadoveanu la „Nicoară Potcoavă”* [Why Sadoveanu came back to Ivan Pidkova] in anuceanu.wordpress.com (Accesed in 16.08.2012).

человеческий фактор: люди строили между собой отношения в конкретных социальных, политических и межнациональных условиях.

При таких обстоятельствах на княжеском престоле средневековой Молдовы находились Александру и Константин Подковы, Петр Лунгул, Петр Казаку, а гетманскую булаву держали молдаване Г. Лобода, Т. Байбуза, С. Кишка, И. Сырку, Т. Волошанин, Д. Апостол и др. В этой борьбе проявляли героизм и мужество многие из этих лидеров. Иван Подкова является одним из них, и наиболее ярким. Своим достойным поведением при несправедливой казни он вызвал к себе уважение не только современников, но и потомков. Румыноязычные авторы рассказывают своим читателям о памятниках, посвященным И. Подкове во Львове, в Гданске, а К. Падурян завершает свою статью «Как стал Никоарэ Подкоавэ идолом украинцев» символическими словами: «Независимо от того, кто отстаивает на него права: армяне, румыны или украинцы, Никоарэ Подкоавэ остается одним из самых славных рыцарей в истории Восточной Европы»⁷⁷.

Таким образом, в румыноязычной литературе в создании стереотипа Ивана Подковы наблюдаем две тенденции – негативную и позитивную, которые противоречат одна другой, но сосуществуют долгие годы. Одновременно нельзя не отметить, что мощное влияние патриотической освободительной волны XIX века и идеи социальной справедливости, доминирующие в XX в., способствовали приоритету положительного стереотипа.

⁷⁷ Claudiu Pădurean, *Cum a ajuns Nicoară Potcoavă ...*, p. 2.

ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA IN THE TIME OF THE ORGANIC REGULATIONS (1831-1832), BETWEEN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONALISM AND POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

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Rezumat: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română din Moldova și Valahia în vremea Regulamentelor Organice (1831-1832), între tradiționalismul religios și modernizarea politică*

În cadrul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române se produsese la sfârșitul secolului XVIII și începutul secolului XIX o separație între adepții „tradiției” ortodoxe și cei atrași de modernizarea social-politică de tip vest-european. Clericii din prima categorie rămăneau atașați ideii de „națiune ortodoxă” (de națio, categorie social-națională privilegiată, în sens medieval), dorind restaurarea Imperiului Bizantin.

Cea de-a doua categorie de clerici era constituită din adepții – la nivel politico-social, nu religios – modelului vest-european, militând pentru constituirea mai multor state balcanice, fondate pe idealuri democratice și pe respectul drepturilor cetățeanului, încă inexistente în acea parte a Europei. Acești clerici conștientizau faptul că dobândirea libertății naționale pentru Moldova și Valahia nu era posibilă decât prin adoptarea treptată a culturii politice și sociale occidentale, dublată de lupta armată a popoarelor aservite puterii otomane.

Adepții modelului politico-social vest-european au avut câștig de cauză odată cu introducerea în Valahia (iulie 1831) și Moldova (ianuarie 1832), sub influența Rusiei, a primelor Constituții de tip modern – Regulamentele Organice.

Articolul analizează modernizarea instituțională a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Moldova și Valahia sub influența Regulamentelor Organice: controlul autorității statale asupra Bisericii, stipularea prin lege a atribuțiilor clericilor, măsuri de protecție a edificiilor religioase, salarizarea unor categorii de clerici, crearea instituției preoților militari.

Din punct de vedere religios, Regulamentele Organice au păstrat neschimbate dogmele și tradițiile religioase ale Bisericii Ortodoxe Române.

Abstract: *In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the Romanian Orthodox Church had occurred a separation between the followers of the "tradition" orthodox and those attracted to the Western European type of the socio-political modernization. The clerics of the first category remained attached to the idea of "Orthodox Nation" (natio as a privileged socio-national group, in the medieval sense), seeking restoration of the Byzantine Empire. The second category consisted of clergy attached to*

the Western European model (at the political-social level, not at the religious one), advocating for the establishment of several Balkan states, based on the democratic ideals and on the respect for citizens' rights, yet absent in that part of Europe. These clerics realized that acquiring of the national freedom of Moldavia and Wallachia is possible only through the gradual adoption of the Western political and social culture, accompanied by an armed struggle of the peoples enslaved to the Ottoman power. The followers of the Western European socio-political model had prevailed, along with the introduction, under the Russian influence, of the first modern Constitutions – the Organic Regulations – in Wallachia (July 1831) and Moldavia (January 1832).

The article analyzes the institutional modernization of the Orthodox Church in Moldavia and Wallachia, under the influence of the Organic Regulations: the control of the state authority over the Church, the stipulation, by law, of the clergy's civil and religious duties, the measures for protection of the religious buildings, the remuneration of certain categories of clergy, the establishment of the military chaplain institution. From a religious perspective, the Organic Regulations preserved the dogmas and the religious traditions of the Romanian Orthodox Church, emphasizing the subordination of the Church to the State, according to the existing model in Russia.

Résumé: L'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine de la Moldavie et de la Valachie pendant les Règlements Organiques (1831-1832), entre le traditionalisme religieux et la modernisation politique

Une séparation eut lieu dans le cadre de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine à la fin du XVIII-ème siècle et le début du XIX-ème entre les adeptes de la tradition orthodoxe et ceux attirés par la modernisation sociale-politique de type ouest européen. Les clercs de la première catégorie restèrent attachés à l'idée de nation orthodoxe (natio, catégorie sociale-nationale privilégiée, dans le sens médiéval), voulant la restauration de l'Empire Byzantin.

Les adeptes – au niveau politico-social, pas religieux – du modèle ouest-européen, militant pour la constitution des Etats balkaniques, fondés sur des idéaux démocratiques et sur le respect des droits du citoyen, encore inexistant dans cette partie-là de l'Europe, constituèrent la seconde catégorie de clercs. Ces clercs étaient conscients qu'on ne pouvait obtenir la liberté nationale de la Moldavie et de la Valachie que par l'adoption graduelle de la culture politique et sociale occidentale, doublée par la lutte armée des peuples assujetties au pouvoir ottoman.

Les adeptes du modèle politique-social ouest-européen gagnèrent avec l'introduction en Valachie (juillet 1831) et en Moldavie (janvier 1832), sous l'influence de la Russie, des premières Constitutions de type moderne – les Règlements Organiques.

L'article ci-joint analyse la modernisation institutionnelle de l'Eglise Orthodoxe de la Moldavie et de la Valachie sous l'influence des Règlements Organiques: le contrôle de l'autorité d'Etat sur l'Eglise, la stipulation par loi des attributions religieuses et civiles des clercs, des mesures de protection des édifices religieux, la rétribution des catégories de clercs, la création de l'institution des prêtres militaires.

Du point de vue religieux, les Règlements Organiques gardèrent inchangées les dogmes et les traditions religieuses de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine, accentuant pourtant la

subordination de l'Eglise envers l'Etat, conformément au modèle existant a cette époque-là en Russie.

Keywords: *Organic Regulations, Moldavia, Wallachia, Russia, modernization, the Orthodox Church, 19th Century*

Introduction

In the 14th-18th centuries, the Orthodox Church from Moldavia and Wallachia was placed from the administrative point of view under Hospodar's (Rom: "domn" or "voievod") authority and from the spiritual point of view under the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The head of the Church, i.e. Metropolitan, had to be confirmed by the Hospodar and occupy the first place in the State's Council (Divan).

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, inside the Romanian Orthodox Church had been a gap between supporters of the medieval Orthodox tradition and those attracted to the Western tradition¹. Clerics in the first category remain attached to the idea of „Orthodox nation” inherited from the organizational structure of Ottoman Empire, dreaming of restoring a medieval Byzantine Empire. This latter utopian project was perceived as a divine intervention of God in history, as a combination of the old Greek and Byzantine virtues supported by the messianism of the Russian Empire.

The second category was made up of Western model followers, who wanted more than one establishment of Balkan states, based on democratic ideals and respect for the rights of the citizen, still non-existent in that part of Europe. At the same time, they realize that gaining freedom is only possible by gradual adoption of Western political and social culture, doubled with the armed struggle of the people enslaved at that time by the Ottoman power².

The core of the Romanian “conspirators” [i.e. revolutionists] who had begun to be manifested at the beginning of the 19th century was attracted to Russia and its pan-Orthodox propaganda, generally by the secret Russian agents. It was widespread among priests in the villages the idea that the Greeks are the main responsible for their difficult financial situation – a direct reference to the huge number of land properties owned by the Greeks. Thus, a time of rise of

¹ Asterios Argyriou, *Eglise orthodoxe et insurrections nationales dans les Balkans*, in Jean-Marie Mayeur (coord.), *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. X, Paris, Editions Desclée de Brouwer/Fayard, 1997, p. 759.

² Mirel Bănică, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română, stat și societate în anii '30* [Romanian Orthodox Church, State and Society in the 30s], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2007, p. 35.

national consciousness is recorded in April 1821. Then the country's noblemen (Boyars) negotiate with the Ottoman Empire, and managed to obtain the right to be led again by the local princes (Hospodars) as well as limiting the access of a large number of Greek officials to main civil and religious functions. The relations between the Orthodox Church and the political power shall enter into a new phase, and is marked by the maturation and the expression of national consciousness, what gets a dynamic character, even explosive in some areas of the Balkans³.

By the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 Moldavia and Wallachia get greater autonomy. Also, the official Russian „protectorate” over them was introduced. Moreover, this treaty stipulated internal administrative reorganization on the basis of new rules, contained into the future so called Organic Regulations (Rom. Regulamente Organice)⁴. In order to oversee a proper implementation of the Organic Regulations, Russia sends count Pavel Kiselev as administrator in Moldavia and Wallachia.

This article will seek to demonstrate that the Organic Regulations really contributed to the modernization of the Moldavia and Wallachia. Also, we will try to show that these constitutional documents supported institutional modernization of the Romanian Orthodox Church and its full integration into the structures of a modern state. Paradoxically, this was done by keeping the Orthodox Christian dogmas and religious traditions of the medieval Romanian Orthodox Church.

Our research is based not only on the texts of the Organic Regulations but also on the most representative Romanian bibliography on this topic.

The provisions of the Organic Regulations concerning the Orthodox Church in Moldavia and Wallachia

Complex measures taken by the Organic Regulations had generally positive consequences on the future political, economic and social development of Moldavia and Wallachia. Among other things, it mobilized the priests to help fight blind fatalism of average people, illiterates and also helped doctors to introduce vaccine to fight the scourge of plague⁵. Mentioned Regulations have entered into force in July 1831 in Wallachia and in Moldavia in January 1832.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 36-37.

⁴ A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [Romanians history from Trajan (i.e. Roman) Dacia, vol. XI / XII, 1896, p 74.

⁵ Dumitru Vitcu, *Pavel D. Kiseleff în Principatele Române (1829-1834). Virtuțile și frustrările unui ocupant atipic* [Paul D. Kiseleff in the Romanian Principalities (1829-

Organic Regulation contained rules for the state organization, rules of administrative or financial law and even provisions of civil law. This enactment has been entered in the first place in order to bring to an end abuse in all areas, but accelerate Church subordination to the State, by extending and formalizing control of rulers and governors in ecclesiastical problems, in the same way as in Russia.

Also in this case, precedents were not missing: this matter had become current starting with 1832⁶. Subsequently, beginning with the spectacular reforms of the Manolache Costache Epureanu government would have to take into account the question of bringing under state control the *unconsecrated* monasteries (Rom. „neînchinat”)7.

Mihail Sturdza (1834-1849) claimed since 1835 the adoption of a bill in this respect, prepared by Metropolitan Veniamin Kostaki.

Veniamin Kostaki's proposals were related to the division of unconsecrated monasteries into categories, after wealth. Their entire income must be gathered in a “central house” at the Mitropolia. For each place of worship was established an amount necessary for maintenance. Half of the “surplus” money had to be used for the benefit of religious education (priority have the Socola Seminar, near Iași) and charity institutions⁸.

This measure was in accordance with the Organic Regulation of Moldavia which, by the article 416, stipulated that a part from the monastic income must be taken into account for maintenance of some institutions as seminars and public schools⁹.

Other half of income remained for repairs of monasteries and unplanned expenses. Monastic estates of the unconsecrated monasteries had to be leased to

1834). *Virtues and frustrations of an atypically occupant*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol Iași” [Yearbook of the Institute AD Xenopol of Iași], tome XLII, 2005, pp. 115-122.

⁶ Alexandru Gavriș, *Manolache Costache Epureanu și începuturile reformismului autoritar* [Manolache Costache Epureanu and the beginnings of the authoritarian reformism] in Ivănescu Dumitru, Dumitru Vitcu (coordinators), *Toți în Unu: Unirea Orincipatelor la 150 de ani* [All in One: 150 years since Principalities Unification], Junimea Publishing House, Iași, 2009, pp. 85-86.

⁷ Monasteries consecrated by boyars or Hospodars to the monasteries from Athos mount in Greece. There were consecrated income, land, animals and buildings of a monastery.

⁸ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents concerning the history of Romanians], vol. V, Supplement I, doc. CVIII, 1893, pp. 224-227.

⁹ D. Vitcu, G. Bădărău, C. Istrati (Editors), *Regulamentul Organic al Moldovei* [Organic Regulation of Moldavia], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2004, p. 563. Further quotation: ROM

the Metropolitan for three years, in the presence of a representative of the Hospodar; all documents related to incomes and expenditure had to be sent to the metropolitan, who had to submit them to the Hospodar.

The project was converted into law in the same year (1835)¹⁰.

The provisions related to Church organization have been inserted in Chapter III, Annex A (Article 1-9) and in Chapter IX, Section III (Articles 411-417) in the Organic Regulation of Moldavia and, in Chapter VIII of the Organic Regulation of Wallachia¹¹.

In the Church, only Ecumenical Council (Synod) had unlimited jurisdiction. Councils (Synods) of local churches, regardless of their importance, do not hold a sovereign jurisdiction, except in matters in which it is not reserved for the higher authority of the Ecumenical Synod. Organic Regulations do not change clergymen's relations with state, in matter of their old advantages and privileges. Clerics of high rank had to be selected among deserving men, born in Moldavia and Wallachia. On the other hand, the Organic Regulations have restricted the right of clergy to dispose freely of its properties and income of dioceses. Also, their powers and participation in civil affairs have been reduced¹².

The tradition of laity's participation from State Council at the election of hierarchs has been kept during Organic Regulations; the Council was now replaced by "Adunările Obștești Obișnuite (Ordinary Public Assemblies). The great boyars of 1st class might participate to the election of the high hierarchs, even they were not members of this Assemblies.

The criteria provided by the Organic Regulations, which had to be respected by the eligible candidates were as follows: to be of Wallachian or Moldavian descent, to be pious and to have good knowledge in matter of religion. They were confirmed by rulers and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and their enthronement was done according to church canons¹³. Metropolitans were

¹⁰ I. C. Filitti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul Organic 1834-1848* [Romanian principalities under Organic Regulation 1834-1848], Bucharest, 1915, pp. 531-533.

¹¹ Negulescu Paul, George Alexianu, *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei* [Organic Regulations of Wallachia and Moldavia], vol. 1, Bucharest, 1944, p. 305; See also ROM, p. 95.

¹² V. V. Munteanu, *Statul și biserica la români (sec. XV-XX)* [The State and Church at Romanians (15th –20th C)], in „Revista Istorică [Historical Review], new series, t. VII, nr.5-6/1996, p. 445.

¹³ *Regulamentul organic al Valahiei* [Organic Regulation of Wallachia], chapter VIII art. 359. Further ROV; ROM, chapter IX, art. 411. See full text in *Colecțiunea vechilor legiuri administrative. Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei. Texte puse în aplicare la 1 iulie 1931 în Valahia și la 1 ianuarie 1832 în Moldova* [The Collection of old administrative laws. Organic Regulations of Wallachia and Moldavia. Texts

chosen among the clerics who had been bishops before the time of Regulations. Ordinary priests were ordained only with the written approval of the Hospodar, after the scribes (chancellors) of the church made reports in this respect. They had to refer in their reports to candidate's merits and to specify if they graduated the seminary. The Hospodar have final decision in the case of appointment of priors and abbots¹⁴.

By Organic Regulations were preserved medieval privileges of the clerics of high rank concerning their right to be elected in the State Assembly and to legitimate the Hospodar by their spiritual authority¹⁵. After the Hospodar was elected in the Assembly, he traveled to the Metropolitan Cathedral to be anointed with Holy chrism by the Metropolitan and to utter the oath of allegiance to the country and its laws¹⁶.

Clerics of high rank have continued to fulfill their political and social duties. Metropolitans and bishops continued to be part of the legislative body of the country, The Ordinary Public Assembly (Rom. Adunarea Obștească Obșnuită), the Metropolitan holding the role of chairman of the Assembly¹⁷.

Hierarchs held from the Middle Ages judicial powers. Both the Mitropoly and the Bishoprics held from those times consistories and dicasteries, recognized by Organic Regulations. Members of these bodies were priests, archimandrites, archpriests and other clergymen, appointed by the bishops. Consistory judge church matters of confessional nature; dicasteries were led by the vicars (vice-bishops) and judged disciplinary and matrimonial (divorce) matters. Their vote was consultative; the decision was valid only after approval by the bishop¹⁸.

At the Dicasterial meetings were also participating boyars (who were at the Mitropoly concerned about other problems, or for helping one of theirs

implemented on 1 July 1931 in Wallachia and from 1 January 1832 in Moldova], vol. 1, edition coordinated by Paul Negulescu and George Alexianu, Bucharest, 1944.

¹⁴ ROM, chapter III, Appendix A, art. 1 and chapter IX, art. 415, p. 388; *Regulamentele Organice ale Valahiei și Moldovei*, chapter VIII, art. 363, p. 161. Further ROVM

¹⁵ Ioan C. Filitti, *Principatele Române de la 1828 la 1834. Ocupația rusească și Regulamentul Organic* [Romanian Principalities from 1828-1834. The Russian Occupation and the Organic Regulation], Bucharest, Institute of Graphic Arts „Bucovina”, 1934, pp. 9-21.

¹⁶ ROM, chapter I, art. 29-47; ROVM, chapter I, art. 29-43, p. 57.

¹⁷ ROV, chapter I, art. 45-48; ROM, chapter I, art. 48-49; See also Sever Buzan, *Regulamentele Organice și însemnătatea lor pentru dezvoltarea organizației Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [Organic Regulations and their meanings for organizational development of Romanian Orthodox Church], in „Studii Teologice” [Theological Studies], year VIII, 1956, no. 5-6, pp. 369.

¹⁸ Nicolae Dobrescu, *Studii de istoria Bisericii Române contemporane* [Studies of history of the contemporary Romanian Church], vol. I (1850-1895), Bucharest, 1905, p. 43.

protégé), diocesan bishops, bishops and hierarchs of Eastern patriarchates, visiting the Romanian Countries. Consistories and Dicasteries were law courts with an religious character, where disputes between clergy, regarding the properties of the Church, concerning families and individuals, were solved.¹⁹

With the new Organic Regulations, priests performed also the local administrative tasks, but they were put under the control of secular power. Priests were integrated as representatives in the system of civil courts, in each village or outskirts of the cities. They were also entitled to keep documents and records of civil status (birth, baptism, wedding, marriage, death). Control on these activities was exercised by the metropolitans, bishops, representatives of the Department of Domestic Affairs²⁰.

Compilation and maintenance of civil acts was done according to the Organic Regulations. At the end of the year all registers – received from the archpriests, were taken by the control commissions. Afterwards, they were closed and received an alphabetical nameplate. On the base of these registers three new regional registers, containing the names of the born children, the married and those who died were formed. Based on these registers, the steward (Rom. “ispravnic”) sent a copy to the Department of Domestic Affairs. Careless priests commissioned with the documents keeping were punished by the church authorities. Metropolitans and bishops were responsible for the situation of civil documents. If one of them died, then the successors would take over, with official reports, those registers²¹.

The Organic Regulations stipulated also when a hierarch could lose his seat. In Wallachia, the Metropolitan and the bishops could be removed for spiritual misconduct, but also for some political reasons: „Metropolitan and the bishops are immovable in their own nominations, except when they deviate from their spiritual duties, and when they have a political behavior that could harm the state, proven by the Ordinary Public Assembly, and acknowledged by Prince (Hospodar)”²².

In Moldavia, the nature of their offenses and the trial procedure was specified more clearly. For spiritual deviations, hierarchs were to be judged by 12 titular bishops from Moldavia and Wallachia, and for political violations by a

¹⁹ Ioan C. Filiti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul Organic*, p. 526.

²⁰ ROV, chapter I, art. 115; ROM, chapter I, art. 139. Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, *Instituția Episcopatului în lumina legislației cu caracter bisericesc din secolul al XIX-lea* [Episcopate Institution in the light of religious legislation from 19th century], in „Theologica Ortodoxa”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, year LV, 2/2010, Cluj-Napoca, p. 90.

²¹ ROM, chapter IV, art. 139, section III, letter B, Annex, p. 257.

²² ROV, chapter VIII, art. 361.

committee composed of 12 bishops and 12 great boyars (which were not priest's relatives or enemies), chosen by the Ordinary Public Assembly, but in the absence of Metropolitan and bishops.

Committee members had to vote a verdict. The majority vote report had to be presented to the prince. If the accusation was proved to be well founded, it was sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople, for defrocking of the hierarch. If accusation was proved false, the plaintiff would lose his boyar rank (if it was a nobleman) and was punished according to Pravila (a collection of Byzantine laws) if it was not a nobleman).

According to the Organic Regulation, the political facts that make the bishop punishable were incitement to disobedience and disrespect of the princely provisions: „when they will provoke rebellion by disturbing the people and when they will resist the lawful commands of the Prince (Hospodar) and those known under the Public Assembly”²³.

Metropolitan also had important political tasks, one of the most important being to preside over the Assembly for the Prince's election. Also, the metropolitan was the one who had the obligation to ensure lieutenancy during the *interregnum*, and to welcome in that situation members of diplomatic missions. Metropolitan was the legitimate president (chairman) of the Assembly and, in his absence, the function was performed by the Bishop of the highest rank.

The Assembly was convoked in the Church, the election of the Prince being made after the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. Metropolitan, after his speech, was reading the oath. After that, each of the electors, with his hand on the Bible, uttered “I swear”. Next, voting with ballots would take place. Two secretaries and three assessors gathered ballots and hand them over to the Metropolitan. After examining them, he would announce the election results²⁴.

The new Prince (Hospodar), with his hand on the Holy Bible had to say the oath: “I swear in the name of St. Trinity, to guard the codices and Wallachian laws after the established rules, and to make the others to keep them”. That was the case in Moldavia too.

Another positive step taken towards the institution of the Church consisted in exemptions from taxes to the state and landlords. However, in Moldavia, the clergy had to perform corvée, tithe and a payment for the house lot obtained from the landowner. Priests (or monks) with wine yards, apiaries or sheep gave tithe for these, as the other inhabitants or by agreement with the owner. The priests also paid a fee of 20 lei to the state in two installments/tranches. They

²³ ROM, chapter IX, art. 413; Gabriel-Viorel Gâdan, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁴ ROV, chapter I, art. 2, 29-42; ROM, chapter I, art. 2, 27-45.

were only exempted from the tax of 1 “galben” (i.e. coin of gold) annually – for the maintenance of “National Schools House”. These measures reflect the influence and the power of the great boyars, who did not give up their medieval privileges²⁵.

The main obligation of priests was to perform religious services free of charge, being thankful for whatever they would get. The archpriests and the treasurer (Rom. “economul”) of a monastery had to receive salary, according to a special regulation. Priest’s widows received financial aid from the church for a year, and manorial tax exemption for life. Only for the “food place” (Rom. “locul de hrană”) they had to agree with the landowners²⁶. For nuns from two monasteries (Văratec and Agapia) were settled pensions and financial aid. Because some monasteries contributed with products to the maintenance of hospitals, they were exempted from taxes²⁷.

The state has intervened in order to secure the welfare of the priests, giving laws by which landowners were forced to give to priests portions of land which peasants had to work, leaving thus them to fulfill the mission for which they were trained at the seminar. Thus, because of land works, some clerics left their careers²⁸.

In other news, the Regulation of Moldavia provided the first measures regarding the protection of church (religious) buildings and in favor of religious sites and buildings. It was also provided that churches and monasteries must not be surrounded by tall buildings and the surrounding buildings should be placed far away, in order to protect churches from fire. Cemeteries were moved out of towns and surrounded by trees, to refresh the air²⁹.

Metropolitans were elected by hierarchs who were elected bishops, prior to the Regulation: in Moldavia from the titular bishops of Roman and Huși and in Wallachia from the ones of Buzău, Râmnic and Argeș³⁰.

²⁵ ROVM, Anex A, art. 1, 9, 14, 67, p. 559.

²⁶ Ion Stoian, *Statutul „Preoților de oștire” din epoca Regulamentară până în timpul domniei lui Alexandru I. Cuza* [The status of „military priests” from Regulation era until the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza], in Iosif Iulian Oncescu, Radu Florian Bruja (coordinators), *Istoria între mituri și realități ale României moderne. Profesorului universitar doctor Dumitru Vitcu la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani* [History between the myths and realities of modern Romania. For Ph.D. Professor Dumitru Vitcu, at the age of 70 years], Târgoviște, „Cetatea de scaun” Publishing House, 2010, pp. 77-78.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, passim.

²⁸ ROM, chapter III, art. 7 and 8; chapter IX, art. 414; ROVM, chapter VIII, art. 362.

²⁹ ROM, chapter III, section II, art. 74; chapter III, section III, art. 79, chapter X, art. 416; ROVM, chapter III, section V, art. 123.

³⁰ ROM, chapter IX, art. 411 and 412.

Also, from the Organic Regulations period came the first evidence of the military priest's existence. In 1834 there was, for instance, a confessor of the chapel (Rom. "confesor al capelei") in the headquarters of the "dorobanți" (i.e. infantrymen), and three years later was recorded the activity of an army priest (Rom. "preot al oștirei", the monk Visarion³¹).

In 1835, in Moldavia, was established a rule for the administration of indigenous unconsecrated monasteries. Hospodar's trend for clergy reorganization, for putting under the state's control Metropolitan incomes, for submission this regime to all monasteries, including those dedicated to the Holy Places, have attracted the disapproval of Russia. The result was the conflict with the Metropolitan Veniamin Kostaki and his complete withdrawal, in January 18th/30th 1842³².

The epoch of the Organic Regulations which introduced a new regime for the Church ended in 1848, when the Revolution have broken out in Iași and Bucharest. Generally, from 1848 to 1866, the Romanian Orthodox Church from Moldavia and Wallachia entered in a time of accelerated secularization, according to the Western pattern.

Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the Organic Regulations contributed to the general progress of society in Moldavia and Wallachia. Among the reforms of Organic Regulations are included the ones from the religious domain. As in Russia and in all contemporary Western countries, these reforms have severely restricted the clergy's right to freely dispose of the dioceses properties and incomes. Also, they restricted the participation of Church in the public affairs³³, in comparison with the Middle Ages times. However, the Organic Regulations have contributed to

³¹ Ilie Manole, *Preoții și oștirea la români (1830-1948)* [Priests and the army at Romanians (1830-1948)], Răzvad-Târgoviște, Daniel T. Publishing House, 1998, p 39.

³² Gheorghe Platon, *Domniile regulamentare [Regulation Reigns]*, in *Istoria românilor* [History of the Romanians], vol. 7, tome I, Buharest, Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2003, p. 123.

³³ Mirela Beguni, *Patrimoniul bisericesc și situația clerului ortodox din Moldova în perioada preregulamentară* [Clerical patrimony and the situation of the orthodox clerics from Moldavia before the Organic Regulation period] in Dumitru Vitcu (coordinator), *Prin labirintul istoriei – stat, societate și individ în perioada construcției naționale* [Through the labyrinth of history – state, society and individual in the period of national construction] Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2009, pp. 99-100.

raising the culture of priests, many of them having, initially, poor general knowledge³⁴.

These reforms have made the Church a liable part of modernization of the society. Paradoxically (or not), the Romanian Orthodox Church was not secularized by these reforms, as already happened in the West of Europe. This Church managed to safeguard its Christian Orthodox dogmas and authority, almost as in the medieval times.

³⁴ Ion Stoian, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

IOAN ALEXANDRU BRATESCU-VOINEȘTI : DE PACIFISME A HOULIGANISME

IOAN ALEXANDRU BRĂTESCU-VOINEȘTI: FROM PACIFISM TO HOOLIGANISM

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Rezumat. Ioan Alexandru Brătescu-Voinești: de la pacifism la huliganism.

Această lucrare își propune să prezinte și să explice adeziunea lui I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești în tabăra naționalistă. Scriitor în a cărui operă compasiunea pentru cei umili este atât de evidentă, om dornic să-și servească patria cu decență și responsabilitate, militând în anii de după Primul Război Mondial pentru un pacifism profund și autentic, admirat și apreciat de critică și de public, Brătescu-Voinești a fost, multă vreme, exponentul unei direcții politice umanitare și democratice. După mijlocul deceniului al patrulea însă, discursul și atitudinea sa se schimbă radical. Înregistrăm o evoluție care avea să-l conducă, finalmente, la asumarea și propagarea unui antisemitism virulent. Scriitorul se va lăsa prins în mrejele legionarilor, alăturându-se extremei drepte. Aderarea scriitorului la noile idei, prețuirea pentru regimurile politice din Germania și Italia, cultul pentru Hitler, antisemitismul său, evidente încă din articolele publicate în ziarul „Universul” în 1937-1938 și în revista „Sfarmă-Piatră” în anul 1938, se vor accentua în anii următori. Luciditatea și bunul simț din scrierile de tinerețe sunt evacuate, luându-le locul un discurs demagogic, lipsit de substanță, axat pe naționalism, antisemitism și, după 1940, pe mitul omului providențial.

Abstract. *This paper aims to present the adherence of I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești to the nationalist camp. A writer whose work manifestly displays compassion for the humble, a man eager to serve his country with decency and responsibility, supporting during the years after the World War I the idea of deep and genuine pacifism, admired and praised by the critics, I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești was, for a long time, the exponent of a humanitarian and democratic political direction. After the middle of the fourth decade, however, his speech and attitude changed radically. We witness the evolution that would lead him, eventually, to assuming and propagating a virulent anti-Semitism. The writer will be lured by the Legionary movement to join the Far Right. The writer's adherence to the new ideas, his praise for the political regimes of Germany and Italy, the cult of Hitler, his anti-Semitism, all obvious traits since his 1937-1938s articles, published in the newspaper “Universul”, and*

“Sfarmă-Piatră” magazine in 1938, will deepen in the following years. The lucidity and the common sense in the writings of youth are replaced by the demagogic speech devoid of substance, focused on nationalism, anti-Semitism and, after 1940, on the myth of the providential man.

Résumé: *L'ouvrage ci-joint se propose à présenter et à expliquer l'adhésion d' I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești au parti nationaliste. Ecrivain dans l'œuvre duquel la compassion pour les humbles est si évidente, homme voulant servir sa patrie avec décence et responsabilité, militant les années de la Première Guerre Mondiale pour un pacifisme profond et authentique, admiré et apprécié par la critique, mais aussi par le public, Brătescu-Voinești fut longtemps, l'exposant d'une direction humanitaire et démocratique. Mais après le milieu de la quatrième décennie, son discours, ainsi que son attitude changea de manière radicale. On y enregistra une évolution qui le fera finalement s'assumer et propager un antisémitisme virulent. L'écrivain se laissera entraîner dans les appâts des légionnaires, joignant l'extrême droite. L'adhésion de l'écrivain aux nouvelles idées, l'estime pour les régimes politiques d'Allemagne et d'Italie, le culte pour Hitler, son antisémitisme, évidents dès les articles publiés dans le journal “Universul” en 1937-1938 et dans la revue “Sfarmă-Piatră” de l'année 1938 s'accroîtront les années suivantes. La lucidité et le bon sens de ses écritures de jeunesse furent évacués et le discours démagogique manqué de substance, centré sur le nationalisme, l'antisémitisme et, après 1949, sur le mythe de l'homme providentiel les remplaça.*

Keywords: *pacifism, humanitarianism, nationalism, anti-Semitism, hooliganism.*

Introduction

Les options idéologiques de droite, les accents nationalistes et son attitude envers les minorités – spécialement envers celle juive – pendant l'époque de l'entre deux guerres doivent être puissamment individualisés. On doit comprendre ceux-ci dans un cadre puissamment marqué par la séparation radicale des intellectuels de cette époque-là en deux partis antagoniques, les européanisés et les traditionalistes, avec leurs diverses formes de manifestation¹. Cela n'implique, biensûr, une explication sommaire – et de moins une justification – de la conduite manifestée et des idées professées par chacun des protagonistes de la scène culturelle et politique de cette période-là. Il s'agit seulement d'une grille nécessaire pour la “lecture”, afin de réaliser une herméneutique et comprendre la violence du discours xénophobe et – en

¹ Voir Keith Hitchins, *România, 1866-1947* [La Roumanie, 1866-1947], traduction d'anglais par George D. Potra et Delia Răzdolescu, București, Editura Humanitas, 1994, pp. 315-358.

certains cas, comme celui-ci joint – le passage, apparemment inexplicable – de certains des intellectuels de front dans le parti nationaliste.

La trajectoire littéraire et politique d'I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești ne semble pas à suggérer une évolution qui le conduise, finalement, à s'assumer et à propager un antisémitisme véritablement sinistre. Au contraire. Ecrivain dans l'œuvre duquel la compassion pour les humbles est si évidente, homme voulant servir sa patrie avec décence et responsabilité, militant les années de la Première Guerre Mondiale pour un pacifisme profond et authentique, admiré et apprécié par la critique, mais aussi par le public élargi, Brătescu-Voinești fut longtemps, l'exposant d'une direction politique humanitaire et démocratique. Mais après le milieu de la quatrième décennie, son discours et son attitude politique changèrent radicalement.

La compassion pour les humbles

Une certaine candeur paraissait cachée dans la personnalité même de l'écrivain, mais celle-ci attira des ironies, même des sarcasmes. Certains de ses contemporains remarquèrent son ingénuité. "L'âme de Monsieur Brătescu-Voinești – commenta F. Aderca – a le don d'illuminer les plus humains sentiments", suggérant une certaine innocence du "plus doux et plus chaste prosateur"². En effet, nous dit l'éditeur, c'est une manière de "communiquer, à l'intermédiaire de qualificatifs favorables, un jugement critique totalement négatif, comme celui concernant les limites de goût de Brătescu-Voinești envers la nouvelle littérature, avec des conséquences inopportunes, même dans les mesures d'ordre administratif"³. Plus sarcastique et plus exigeant fut Arghezi, avec son style vif et mordant, pendant que la polémique avec Brătescu-Voinești, qui débuta les premières années de la Première Guerre Mondiale, se prolongea jusqu'à la mort du dernier, en 1946. Le poète l'accusa d'hypocrisie, de sentimentalisme, d'ambiguïté ; il dira de son confrère plus âgé qu'il fut "un facteur d'engourdissement par monotonie, sagesse, obéissance et sujétion cherchée"⁴. Pendant que Zaharia Stancu ne censura point son mépris envers le vieil écrivain et mit en évidence son hypocrisie supposée, sa méchanceté et son

² F. Aderca, *Contribuții critice* [Contributions critiques], vol. I, *Mărturia unei generații. Articole, cronici, eseuri (1914-1926)* [Le témoignage d'une génération. Articles, chroniques, essais (1914-1926)], édition, préface et notes par Margareta Feraru, București, Editura Minerva, 1983, p. 37.

³ *Ibidem*, p. XLIX.

⁴ Tudor Arghezi, *Scrieri* [Ecrits], vol. 27, *Proze* [Proses], București, Editura Minerva, 1975, pp. 384-385 (l'article *I. Brătescu-Voinești*, apparu en "Adevărul" [La Vérité], an 60, no. 16749, 22 décembre 1946).

infamie⁵. Celui-ci même écrit un véritable article invective afin de lapider le nom de Brătescu-Voinești et le chasser de son siège d'académicien et du Panthéon de la littérature roumaine, dans un moment – juin 1945 – lorsque les régimes favoris de l'écrivain tombèrent.

Tout en revenant à la littérature de Brătescu-Voinești, on opina qu'on y trouve condensée la souffrance comme expression de la condition humaine, qu'en cette qualité le nouvelliste est "un réaliste achevé, dont le lyrisme réside seulement dans la chaleur avec laquelle il sait conquérir". Brătescu-Voinești est, par conséquent, "le poète de la souffrance humaine"⁶. Garabet Ibrăileanu le définit comme "le poète tragique de l'inadaptation de certaines catégories sociales dans le milieu social de nos jours [...]", manifestant ouvertement sa "sympathie pour les inadaptés" et peignant la souffrance de toute une catégorie sociale, celle de petits boyards, cette classe-là de "petits boyards, honnête, avec une vie patriarcale morale et sentimentale, qui se développa par son histoire même" et dont la disparition représente "quelque chose outre mesure de douloureux"⁷. Il s'agit de son propre expérience: "On trouvera toute cette *expérience* de la vie déposée dans son œuvre – et celle-ci nous expliquera toutes les sympathies et les antipathies de l'auteur"⁸. En effet, on a affaire avec une projection mentale de l'auteur, avec une régression – utopique – dans le passé, parce qu'une classe semblable, avec de tels traits, n'exista jamais, celle-ci fut une construction, celle-ci remonte d'une mythologie sociale politique. Celle-ci est, finalement, un effet de compensation psychologique pour les frustrations de l'écrivain, une identification avec un type humain qui – seulement dans l'imagination ou dans la foi de l'auteur – atteint la perfection, transcende la réalité habituelle. Mais de telles mises en évidence tiennent aussi des conceptions sociales politiques du critique même, pas seulement de Brătescu-Voinești. Car – comme on y put apercevoir – ses ébauches et ses nouvelles "se fondent sur la simple observation des milieux qui sont les mêmes où l'écrivain vit"⁹; par conséquent, l'écrivain peut être détaché, lucide, froid, analytique et insouciant, sa "douceur" n'étant nécessairement, authentique, fondée sur

⁵ Zaharia Stancu, *Cap-de-găină* [Tête de poule], en Idem, *Secolul omului de jos* [Le siècle de l'homme d'en bas], București, Editura Eminescu, 1946, pp. 15-18.

⁶ Pan M. Vizirescu, *Poetul suferinței umane* [Le poète de la souffrance humaine], en "Sfarmă-Piatră" ["Casse Pierre"], an IV, no. 129, 1 juillet 1938, p. 8.

⁷ Garabet Ibrăileanu, *Ioan Al. Brătescu-Voinești*, București, Institutul de Editură „Cultura Românească”, f. a., p. 31-33.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁹ G. Călinescu, *Istoria literaturii române de la origini până în prezent* [L'histoire de la littérature roumaine de ses origines jusqu'à présent], la II-ème édition, revue et complétée, édition et préface par Al. Piru, București, Editura Minerva, 1982, p. 575.

l'empathie et sur la participation émotionnelle. Devant la souffrance humaine, "il répond, à son tour, avec indifférence", affirme, bien fondé, Ibrăileanu¹⁰. Il est vrai, celui-ci est aperçu par le de public comme vibrant devant la souffrance et il cultiva cette image-là, qui générerait, le long du temps, une réelle frustration. Dan Mănuță pense que l'écrivain "se montre «doux» pour ne pas être agressif et pour cacher sa désillusion existentielle"¹¹. Sa littérature est donc une forme de sublimer l'agressivité et sa propre désillusion, une manière de dissimuler ses propres réactions psychologiques liées du cadre social et politique de la période de l'entre deux guerres. En effet, l'auteur oscilla continuellement entre les contraires, entre le mélodrame sous séquent à sa prose et la lutte avec celui-ci. Le conflit est intérieur, le narrateur est celui qui souffre, il est celui qui manifeste la tendance de réconcilier les contraires¹². Sa campagne d'après 1936 – à l'aide des articles de presse et de ses conférences, Brătescu-Voinești s'impliquant avec énergie et dévotion dans la discussion liée de la solution du "problème juif" – représente justement une soupape pour les conflits intérieurs de l'écrivain. Dans cette étape de la vie et de l'activité de l'écrivain, qui comprend une prose "d'attitude", engrainée sur le terrain du civisme, à caractère moralisateur, les antonymies souterraines se convertissent dans des antithèses ouvertes. Plus correctement en opposition ouverte"¹³.

Pacifisme et humanitarisme

L'écrivain fut longtemps du point de vue social l'exposant des idées pacifiques et altruistes. La publication démocratique "Faclă"/ "Le Flambeau" publia, lors de son numéro 304/1914, une interview avec I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești sur les maîtres et leurs sujets, dans lequel il manifesta sa démophilie et sa sympathie pour les infortunés¹⁴. A cette époque-là, il était l'adepte des convictions progressistes. Cela ressort aussi du programme du quotidien "Dacia. Ziar de dimineață" / "La Dacie. Journal de matin" (București, 23 novembre 1918 – 30 janvier 1919), la direction duquel il s'assuma ensemble à Al. Vlahuță. Le journal se proposait à dire "la vérité à tout prix et contre qui que ce soit", à militer pour "l'éducation sociale des masses" et à contribuer à la connaissance de la réalité par une attitude objective. Brătescu-Voinești fait référence,

¹⁰ Garabet Ibrăileanu, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ Dan Mănuță, *Introducere în opera lui I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești* [Introduction dans l'oeuvre d'I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești], București, Editura Minerva, 1997, p. 133.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 134, 141.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 140-141.

¹⁴ Apud I. Hangiu, *Dicționarul presei literare românești 1790-1990* [Le dictionnaire de la presse littéraire roumaine 1790-1990], La II-ème édition revue et copmété, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1996, p. 173.

dans un article du premier numéro, au triomphe du vote universel et à la signification de l'acte de la Grande Union¹⁵ En tout cas, la gazette eut une attitude tout à fait spéciale sur le plan politique et national, étant accusée d'"indifférence" vis-à-vis l'attitude pro allemande du gouvernement Marghiloman, dans une période où tout le monde accusa le leader conservateur et considéra comme des traîtres à ceux qui restèrent, pendant la guerre, dans le Bucarest occupé par les Allemands¹⁶. Plus tard, il essaya se disculper, niant l'accusation que pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale, il aurait été l'adepte "d'une neutralité aisément bienveillante à l'Allemagne" (Il écrivait ces mots-là en 1937, lorsque la Roumanie ne devint encore l'alliée de l'Allemagne de Hitler. Une année plus tard, il clamera sa germanophilie). Il ne s'impliqua pas de manière concrète dans l'appui des actions pour l'unité nationale et justifia cela par les réserves normales, causées pas sa situation de fonctionnaire (secrétaire de l'Assemblée de Députés). De plus, le leader même du Parti Libéral et le président du Conseil de Ministres à cette époque-là, Ion I. C. Brătianu, lui demanda de ne pas s'impliquer, ne plus écrire sur le thème de l'entrée dans la guerre, afin de ne pas gêner ses actions et ses décisions¹⁷

Comment explique-t-on son pacifisme et son humanitarisme? On ne doit pas exclure que, sous l'impression des théories professées par le cercle du critique de Iași et par la revue "Viața Românească", ses idées sociales et politiques s'imprégnèrent d'un certain humanitarisme, de pacifisme, de compassion pour les infortunés, par la conscience d'un certain civisme. Dan Mănuță lia la genèse de ses idées pacifistes et

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 139-140. Pour respecter la vérité, on doit préciser que Brătescu-Voinești publia en "Flacăra. Literară, artistică, socială" / "La Flamme. Littéraire, artistique, sociale" (no. 44-45/1914), un article intitulé *Sosim! / Nous arrivons!*, dans lequel il se prononçait pour l'entrée dans la guerre, contre l'Austro Hongrie. Apud I. Hangiu, *op. cit.*, p. 185. On peut expliquer sa position, au-delà de la réaction de moment et du désir de voir se réaliser l'Union, par "le rejet du paternalisme". Selon Dan Mănuță, *În slujba păcii* "comprend un long réquisitoire à l'adresse de la «minorité» qui opprime la majorité en Russie, en Autriche, en Allemagne ou en France. La révolte se dirige premièrement contre «l'empereur», symbole de l'excès de pouvoir" (Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 17). Par conséquent, la réaction contre l'Austro Hongrie pourrait être comprise de la prisme de l'intérêt et de la compassion pour les opprimés, telles les minorités nationales de la monarchie dualiste, cette "prison des peuples". Il ne manifestera, malheureusement, la même sympathie pour les minorités de la Roumanie.

¹⁶ Voir la relation du dialogue de Pan M. Vizirescu avec Brătescu-Voinești, dans le livre du premier, *Coloane care cresc necontenit. Portrete eseistice* [Colonnes qui augmentent tout le temps. Essais de portraits], Iași, Editura Timpul, 1999, p. 102.

¹⁷ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Huliganism?* [Houliganisme?], en "Universul" ["L'Univers"], an 54, no. 286, 17 octobre 1937, pp. 1, 2. On inclus l'article ci-joint, aussi, dans les volumes *Huliganism* [Houliganisme], București, Editura Ziarului „Universul”, 1938, pp. 187- 195, respectivement *Strigăte de alarmă în chestia evreească* [Cris d'alarme dans la question juive], București, Colecția „Convorbiri literare”, 1940, pp. 98-103.

humanitaires des liaisons entretenues avec un cercle de socialistes humanitaires, dans la maison des frères Gheorghe et Elena Carp, de București, aux alentours de 1890¹⁸. Le chercheur pensa même qu'on doit chercher l'une des explications de l'approchement ultérieur d'Ibrăileanu dans la fréquentation lors de sa jeunesse du cercle socialiste. Pour l'apercevoir comme "progressiste", on doit mentionner qu'on inséra comme note marginale la dernière phrase¹⁹ du volume *În slujba păcii* sur le frontispice d'une publication obscure de Huși, vaguement communisante, nommée "Prometeu. Publicație literară-socială"/ "Prométhée. Publication littéraire-sociale", dont la première série apparut en 1926²⁰.

Au service de la paix : une "Bible de la paix"

În slujba păcii / Au service de la paix apparut, dans une première édition, en 1919, mais il l'écrivit dès les premières années de la guerre. "Il s'agit d'un livre écrit avec une révolte extraordinaire" – nota extasié et exagérant un des apologistes de l'écrivain - "une des plus puissantes répliques données à l'esprit guerrier", "le plus puissant cri d'alarme de la conscience universelle pour la salvation de l'homme"²¹. Cette "**Bible de la Paix**" – comme la nomma G. Spina – "prêche la fraternité et notre conciliation"; par cet ouvrage-là, l'auteur "lève l'étendard des revendications de l'humanité toute entière et, tout en maudissant le souffle destructeur de la guerre, il nous montre le chemin que nous suivons vers l'édification du nouveau édifice social..."²². C'est "le témoignage d'une âme inadaptable à l'ordre du mal et d'une croyance dans la possibilité finale du bien"²³, commentait, deux décennies plus tard, Nichifor Crainic. L'exégète de son œuvre émis l'opinion que la principale attitude de Brătescu-Voinești fut, dans ce livre, l'humanitarisme, "résultant de l'essai d'appivoiser les contraires"²⁴. Il est vrai, les associations paradoxales d'idées sont souvent évidentes. La thèse centrale du livre est contradictoire. L'auteur y propose une réforme de l'armée, la réorganisation du service militaire et repenser le rôle de

¹⁸ Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 13 et les suivantes.

¹⁹ „Dacă te-ai hotărât să spui adevărul, pregătește-te de suferință”/ “Si tu a décidé de dire la vérité, prépare-toi pour la souffrance”. Voir I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *În slujba păcii: (scrisori)* [Au service de la paix: (lettres)], București, Editura „Cartea Românească”, 1925, p. 160.

²⁰ Cf. I. Hangiu, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

²¹ Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²² „Umanitatea (revistă literară, socială și științifică)” [“L’Humanité (revue littéraire, sociale et scientifique)”], An I, no. 1, Juin 1920, p. 51, apud Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²³ Nichifor Crainic, *De la pacifism la huliganism* [De pacifisme à houliganisme], en „Sfarmă-Piatră”, an IV, no. 129, 1 juillet 1938, p. 4.

²⁴ Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

l'institution militaire. Celle-ci devrait se métamorphoser dans un cadre organisé de "mobilisation d'un certain nombre d'énergies constructives, pour accomplir un ouvrage d'intérêt général, qu'on avait établi, par plans et études dressés bien auparavant et qu'on puisse exécuter pendant quelques jours"²⁵. De cette manière, celui-ci ne voulait pas la dissolution de l'armée, mais sa transformation d'une institution à caractère militaire dans une à caractère utilitaire, dans un géant camp de travail en intérêt général. Ou – selon les mots de l'auteur lui-même de plus tard – l'investissement de l'héroïsme avec un sens supérieur, celui du "travail créateur"²⁶. La "question juive" elle-même aurait trouvé sa résolution par la réorganisation de l'armée, écrit ensuite Brătescu-Voinești, car "elle habituerait de nouveau avec le travail physique et régénérerait une race qui dégénéra du point de vue physique, à cause de ses occupations, depuis des siècles tout entiers exclusivement commerciales"²⁷.

On se trouve, bien sûr, dans l'espace du discours utopique, où tout fantasme est possible. On doit souligner de manière prégnante, au-delà de ces exagérations de l'ingénu réformiste, le refus décidé de la guerre comme moyen de solutionner les conflits entre les Etats. Il met en relief "l'absurdité monstrueuse des guerres", considérées des "infamies". Celui-ci se déclare "stupéfait d'étonnement" de "l'insuccès de jusque là des idées pacifistes"²⁸. Naïf, il prédit une "longue époque de paix" et la prise mimétique de la réforme qu'il préconisa, lorsque, confrontés à l'évidence, les dirigeants de la politique externe de la mappemonde reconnaîtront "son énorme valeur"²⁹. Continuant de la même manière utopique, il pérora, se situant en dehors des données immédiates de la réalité, des observations évidentes: "[...] le maintien de l'héroïsme militaire devant la table de valeurs de l'humanité est un égarement [...]"³⁰. Le patriotisme lui-même "se purifierait de la haine que suppose sa forme actuelle" et deviendrait "plutôt amour pour tous nos concitoyens, le désir sincère de travailler ensemble pour améliorer la destinée commune, partageant ensemble les fruits du progrès et de la civilisation – et finalement, sans haïr les autres peuples, le désir de ne pas être craint par ceux-ci, mais aimés et respectés pour toutes nos qualités"³¹. Cette connotation particulière empruntée au terme surprend, dans le sens de l'humanitarisme, de la solidarité et de l'approchement entre les peuples, en vue de former une véritable communauté internationale. Celle-ci étonne par sa remarquable actualité. C'est, semble-t-il, la destinée de ces visions prophétiques, des buts sublimes que les utopies parfois anticipent.

²⁵ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁶ Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁷ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *op. cit.*, p. 139-140.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 99-100.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 143-145.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 131.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 140-142.

Cette attitude tolérante ressort plus clairement encore et ses idées humanitaires prennent contour à la suite de la lecture d'une lettre que l'historien et l'homme politique de Bucovine, Ion Nistor lui envoya ; il remercia à celui-ci pour l'invitation de collaborer à la revue projetée "Junimea", qui devrait continuer la publication "Junimea literară"³². Dans l'épître qu'il expédia, Brătescu-Voinești accusait fermement la responsabilité des écrivains pour les hécatombes de la conflagration mondiale. Ils seraient coupables, intentionnellement ou pas, d'"avoir créé les sentiments et l'état d'esprit desquels éclata la guerre". Ils ont le devoir de créer un climat spirituel qui facilite la paix et la coopération entre les peuples, à empêcher l'éclatement d'un nouveau cataclysme et l'écroulement de la civilisation. Son pacifisme est imprégné et enrichi d'une attitude profondément tolérante et respectueuse pour les diverses nationalités, du désir d'harmoniser les intérêts nationaux avec ceux de l'humanité. Il condamna fermement toute forme de nationalisme grégaire, n'importe ses ressorts et ses motivations. Choissant soigneusement ses mots, manifestant un esprit pacifique et ouvert, un humanisme profond et un patriotisme éclairé, il conseilla Nistor à éviter "toutes sortes d'accusations, pour les injustices passées, tout flottement au vent des rubans tricolores, toute graine de discorde"³³.

Quelques réminiscences de l'extravagante idée de la transformation de l'armée dans une institution utile en temps de paix, une sorte d'organisation structurée en vue des ouvrages d'utilité publique, ayant des buts bénéfiques pour la société, résultent aussi des certaines lignes de ses articles d'après 1937. Vers la fin de sa vie, convertie par les idées de l'extrême droite, il manifesta parfois de la méfiance dans la finalité de l'effort de soutenir l'armement et la création d'une armée puissante. Malgré ses propres réserves concernant les idées qu'il soutint deux décennies plus tôt, il continua à rejeter la guerre, considérée "la plus grande folie du monde"³⁴. Cette dimension pacifique représente un reste des idées professées après la première conflagration mondiale. Son pacifisme se dégrada considérablement, se dilua de manière substantielle pendant la dernière partie de sa vie et de son activité sous l'influence d'un antisémitisme évident. On doit porter la lutte sur le front intérieur, contre les Juifs. Les dangers externes sont imaginaires, de simples fantasmes. Par conséquent, Brătescu-Voinești ne crut pas dans l'utilité de "l'armement jusqu'aux dents", sacrifiant, à ce but, le budget de l'Etat. L'écrivain ne douta point de la bonne croyance des politiciens adeptes du nationalisme, qui demandaient un effort soutenu en vue d'assurer les frontières de l'Etat, mais il le considéra donquichottesque. A son avis, il était plus important

³² I. Hangiu, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

³³ *Din arhivele cernăuțene: scrisori către Ion Nistor* [Des archives de Tchernovtsy: lettres à Ion Nistor], édition soignée, étude introductive, notes, commentaires, annexes: Doina-Iozefina Iavni, préface: Florin Pintescu, Suceava, Editura Universității "Ștefan cel Mare", 2012, pp. 25-26.

³⁴ Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

d'assurer l'existence du peuple "par l'armement de l'âme". Seulement de cette manière on pouvait lutter contre les "métèques", qui prêchent un "humanitarisme hypocrite", utilisé comme un narcotique pour paralyser l'organisme national³⁵.

Anti-politicisme et dérapages antidémocratiques

On doit apercevoir et comprendre ses idées sociales et politiques en étroite liaison avec son antipoliticisme et, biensûr, avec les options idéologiques, l'état d'esprit et les égarements de toute une génération. De cette manière, on aperçoit plus facilement une certaine cécité politique, qui ne devient plus excusable, mais, peut-être, plus intelligible. Tard, en 1938, il témoignait qu'il n'aima jamais la politique, dans laquelle il vit justement "un système de parvenir et d'avancer pour ceux manqués de mérites"³⁶. Il se caractérisa comme un "homme apolitique", relevant "la différence absolue" de sa manière d'être avec "l'occupation de politicien", pour laquelle il ne manifestait aucune aptitude³⁷. La politique – affirma-t-il, autre part – "représentera le chemin de la plus faible résistance pour acquérir de situations et de fortunes, pendant que la ruse restera le critère fondamental selon lequel on répartit les situations [...]"³⁸. On considérait la politique un tremplin pour satisfaire les ambitions des *arghirofilii* et une arène où ceux manqués de mérites et de scrupules ont l'occasion se prélasser. L'idée n'était pas nouvelle. Il la véhicula, presque utilisant les mêmes mots, deux décennies auparavant. Il évoquait à cette époque-là "le mal du politicienisme [qui] s'étend sans cesse"³⁹. Ce "politicisme féroce", ensemble à l'"apparente intransigeance morale et l'ainsi nommé pureté sans compromis", devint un puissant motif pour son adhésion aux mouvements de droite pendant le second versant des années 1930⁴⁰.

On peut, de cette manière, comprendre plus facilement son passage de ses opinions et attitudes sociales politiques de jeunesse, à celles professées après le milieu de la quatrième décennie du siècle passé. Ces aspects nous aident à comprendre plus

³⁵ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Apărarea sufletului* [La défense de l'âme], en "Sfarmă-Piatră", an IV, no. 137, 16 octobre 1938, p. 2.

³⁶ Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁷ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Huliganism?*, en "Universul", an 54, no. 286, 17 octobre 1937, pp. 1,2. Voir aussi son livre *Huliganism*, pp. 189- 190. L'article ci-joint a été inclus, aussi, en volumul *Strigăte de alarmă în chestia evreească*, pp. 98-103. Voir aussi son ample article, intitulé *Zoon apoliticon*, apparu en "Sfarmă-Piatră", an IV, no. 129, 1 juillet 1938, pp. 2-3. Voir aussi Pan M. Vizirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁸ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Huliganism*, en "Universul", no. 280 de 11 octobre 1937, p. 1 (article repris dans ses volumes *Huliganism*, pp. 157-161 et *Strigăte de alarmă în chestia evreească*, pp. 84-86).

³⁹ Idem, *În slujba păceii*, éd. cit., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

correctement son radicalisme d'après 1936, nous offrent une clef de lecture pour ses articles d'une cruelle obtusion et d'une violence indéniable du langage. Ceux-ci nous indiquent, aussi, qu'on ne peut point opérer une disjonction radicale entre sa littérature et ses articles de presse, que la "métamorphose" extrémiste de l'auteur ne représente pas une "illumination", une conversion brusque et inexplicable à une idéologie fanatique et grégaire, que les sources et les motivations de son extrémisme ne sont seulement externes, mais aussi intérieures, psychologiques, profondes. En d'autres mots, l'auteur lui-même est un "homme faible" – pas seulement les personnages qu'il construit – qui se cache derrière des formules stéréotypes, prouvant de la compréhension. Les automatismes intérieurs de ses héros reflètent ses propres turpitudes. De manière ironique, il y a une superposition de plans entre sa littérature et sa propre vie. Brătescu-Voinești s'aligna à l'esprit grégaire de la communauté, il s'y soumettra docilement – par conviction? par lâcheté? par manque d'esprit politique? – aux idées dominantes à cette époque-là, il répandra, d'une manière hallucinante, des opinions extrémistes, dans un langage violent et ayant à sa base une armature idéique totalement rudimentaire, rapproché du cliché. Le publiciste se laissa contaminé et standardisé. Il deviendra l'homme de l'opinion stéréotype, des préjugés et, finalement, de la violence et de l'agressivité.

Son antipoliciatisme dérivait d'une conception fautive sur la politique. Celle-ci était équivalente avec le politicianisme. Les institutions sur lesquels se fonde un régime constitutionnel lui semblèrent – justement à lui, qui fut magistrat, mais aussi député⁴¹ – périmées. Celles-ci semblaient assurer la continuité de "l'actuel", de "l'ordre constituée", des privilèges des gouverneurs. Dans une optique semblable, il définissait la politique en termes qui n'ont rien à faire avec les précisions de la philosophie

⁴¹ Entre 1892 et 1896, il a été juge, successivement à București, Pitești, Craiova, Târgoviște. Il s'est ensuite inscrit dans le barreau de Târgoviște (1897), il fut avocat dans sa ville natale pour plus d'une décennie. Proche, au début, des *junimiști* et de Maiorescu, il se rallia, ultérieurement, aux libéraux. Il s'est inscrit dans le Parti National Libéral et fut élu député de Dâmbovița (1907-1911), dans les élections de mai 1907, obtenant dans le deuxième collège, 410 votes (il y avaient 599 électeurs inscrits, 539 votèrent et on annula 6 bulletins). Voir *Dezbaterile Adunării Deputaților* [Les Débats de l'Assemblée des députés], la session extraordinaire 1907, no. 1, la séance de 7 juin 1907, p. 8. Pendant ce mandat, il fut élu, en sessions successives, secrétaire de la Chambre. Voir, par exemple, *Ibidem*, no. 2, la séance de 7 juin 1907, p. 16; Idem, la session ordinaire 1909-1910, la séance de 16 novembre 1909, p. 3; Idem, la session ordinaire 1910-1911, no. 1, la séance de 15 novembre 1910, p. 2. En 1914, il devint directeur administratif de l'Assemblée des Députés, fonction transformée, après la Première Guerre Mondiale, en celle de secrétaire général de la Chancellerie du Parlement, où il resta jusqu'à la retraite (1939). Voir aussi *Dicționarul general al literaturii române* [Le Dictionnaire général de la littérature roumaine] (coord. gén. Eugen Simion), vol I (A/B), București, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2004, p. 653; Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 26.

politique, d'Aristote jusqu'à nos jours. "La [p]olitique n'est pas autre chose, vitupérait-il, que l'art dont l'objet consiste en trouver les moyens par lesquels on peut assurer à une minorité la domination commode et tolérée, ainsi que l'exploitation de la majorité"⁴². Son antipoliticisme viscéral se releva avec toute son intensité dans des lignes semblables. Il y en a un déterminisme, presque une fatalité, dans la domination exercée par quelques uns sur la majorité. Au-delà du masque hypocrite, nécessaire afin de capter l'électorat, les politiciens sont intéressés seulement à maintenir "l'ordre constituée". Par conséquent, ceux-ci défendent un système qui assure leurs privilèges personnels et consolide leur suprématie sur l'arène publique. Leurs buts dévoilent l'égoïsme profond, individuel et de classe. Ils ne se préoccupent point pour le bien de la population, mais pour sa domination. Par conséquent, leurs actions sont, évidemment, réactionnaires, elles ne visent le bien être de la société. Leur rôle dans la réalisation du progrès est extrêmement réduit⁴³. Les hommes politiques sont la victime d'une illusion de perspective, car, attentifs aux besoins immédiats de leurs votants, pour leur fournir l'illusion qu'ils suivent leurs nécessités, ne sont pas intéressés du progrès de la société. Leur attitude arrogante et leur mépris pour les gouvernés ne sont générés seulement par la croyance de leur toute puissance, mais aussi par la passivité de la foule⁴⁴. Ces digressions, plus profonds encore, car ce que Brătescu-Voinești veut mettre en évidence, est le fait que la démocratie ne peut pas être une authentique, qu'à son ombre fleurit la tyrannie, sont suggestives d'une autre perspective, aussi. Celles-ci se constituent dans une reconnaissance implicite d'une conscience politique baissée de la population, qui permet sa manipulation. Son remède serait l'augmentation du niveau intellectuel de la foule, tout en soulignant le rôle majeur de la culture dans l'espace publique⁴⁵. De cette manière, on ouvrirait le chemin vers la méritocratie et on donnerait "le droit de diriger aux hommes les plus appliqués et les plus capables"⁴⁶.

⁴² I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *În slujba păcei*, ed. cit., p. 25.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. 23-25, 28 et passim.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 30, 49. Sur l'espace public roumain, vicié par les élucubrations des hommes politiques et par "l'indifférence sage d'un peuple ironique et constant", voir les lignes pénétrantes écrites par Tudor Arghezi, en 1933, dans le contexte des discussions liées de la limitation de la liberté de la presse, en "Adevărul literar și artistic" ["La vérité littéraire et artistique"], an XII, no. 631, 8 janvier 1933 (apud Tudor Arghezi, *Scrieri*, vol. 26, *Proze*, București, Editura Minerva, 1974, pp. 38-39). A l'encontre de Brătescu-Voinești, Arghezi est sthénique et confiant dans le discernement du peuple, mais aussi dans les vertus de la démocratie.

⁴⁵ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *În slujba păcei*, ed. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁶ Voir l'article *Mărturisiri dureroase* [Témoignages douloureux], publié par Brătescu-Voinești dans le premier numéro (30 octobre 1921) de "Revista vremii politice, literare și economice" [La revue de l'âge politique, littéraire et économiques]. Apud I. Hangiu, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

Par antithèse avec l'image mesquine et tarée du politicien générique, l'auteur se présente comme un citoyen sérieux et responsable, conséquent défenseur du bien public, "dont le cerveau est sans cesse tourmenté par le soin du bien communautaire". Tout en remarquant la popularité et la notoriété facile de certains hommes politiques, Brătescu-Voinești s'aperçoit comme un homme sans visage dans ce monde déformé d'égoïsme et d'intérêts bas; il n'est plus sûr de sa propre identité: "[...] Je suis ... que suis-je?..."⁴⁷ Certainement, cette auto caractérisation représente une simple manœuvre rhétorique, un artifice, une interrogation par laquelle il essaie, tout en utilisant des procédés spécifiques à l'art discursive, à mettre en évidence la supériorité implicite de l'auteur. Il déteste les politiciens, quoiqu'il passa des dizaines d'années parmi ceux-ci et s'opposa avec ferveur au "politicianisme". Son incapacité de s'adapter à un monde semblable, l'horreur ressentie envers la discursivité plate et hypocrite des hommes politiques, le refus d'accepter leur comportement et leurs valeurs, toutes ces choses n'attent avec une certaine limite politique, avec une cécité dérivant de l'impuissance de comprendre le mécanisme de fonctionnement de la politique. Il pourrait rester à l'écart, mais il a le sentiment de désertier de sa mission de citoyen et surtout de l'impératif moral d'aider les autres. La décadence ressentie sur tous les plans – moral, social, culturel – le fit prendre attitude. Vers la fin de la troisième décennie du XX-ème siècle, apparaît le volume *Firimituri (Miettes)* (1929), où on ressent pleinement ces tendances moralisatrices, même si drapées, pour l'instant, sous le masque du sarcasme. C'est une prose d'"attitude"⁴⁸, n'existant pas un but précis de ses critiques, mais, plutôt, un essai de diagnostiquer, en termes fermes, la réalité de ses alentours. On ne peut pas identifier toujours la différence avec précision, on ne peut pas attribuer la responsabilité de la culpabilité sans équivoque.

Extrémisme et antisémitisme

Les débats envisageant les nouvelles tendances dans la littérature et la polémique avec la presse de gauche menèrent, après le milieu des années '30, à des ripostes beaucoup plus acides et à l'identification du péril menaçant la nation roumaine. La conscience impérieuse d'un danger public, représenté par les avatars de la "question juive", le fit s'y impliquer. Paranoïaque, il eut le sentiment que les étrangers nourrissent une haine acharnée, inavouable, contre les Roumains, manquée de toute motivation et illogique. La campagne "dénigrante" de la presse étrangère, générée par la situation des minorités nationales sur le territoire de l'Etat roumain, lui sembla sordide et inacceptable. L'auteur sent le besoin de réagir, "sans violence, car je

⁴⁷ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Firimituri* [Miettes], Edition définitive, București, Editura „Cartea Românească”, 1943, pp. 33, 36.

⁴⁸ Comme la nomma le spécialiste Dan Mănucă, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

ne suis pas violent, contre ces procédures”⁴⁹. Il publia pendant des années entières dans la presse de droite – tout en commençant avec ses interventions en “Universul”, en avril 1937 – des articles imprégnés d’un antisémitisme évident et d’une virulence du ton presque inconcevable pour le “doux” écrivain. Il y proféra toute une série d’accusations à l’adresse des Israélites et y véhicula “tous les stéréotypes, anciens et nouveaux, repris sous la forme d’un *cuzism* «populaire», causeur et didactique, facile à comprendre”⁵⁰. De cette manière, il prouve être un “homme faible”, qui se cache derrière des clichés, de la conduite générale, prouvant de l’incompréhension envers ses prochains.

Tout en tenant compte de son activité et de sa conduite à caractère civique toutes entières, Dan Mănuță considère manquées de raison “toutes les spéculations concernant la «tour d’ivoire» où aurait vécu l’écrivain jusque vers 1937, c’est-à-dire jusque dans l’année de son adhésion aux mouvements de droite”⁵¹. D’une certaine manière, il se trouva dans une “tour d’ivoire”, parce qu’il ne comprenait pas la politique, ne la jugeait pas conformément à ses critères, lui appliquant des autres critères, éthiques, extrinsèques à celle-ci, comme on sait depuis Machiavelli. Une certaine rigidité et l’incapacité d’accepter le compromis raisonnable, nécessaire dans la vie politique, sont révélatrices pour sa pensée.

Les conceptions humanitaires de jeunesse, devenues caduques et incompatibles avec les thèses véhiculées dans les pages des gazettes extrémistes, seront répudiées. Comme il aurait voulu convaincre les gens, dans son volume publié immédiatement après la guerre, mais écrit pendant la conflagration mondiale, *În slujba păcei (Au service de la paix)* (1919), qu’on doit comprendre le patriotisme comme “l’amour pour le pays où nous sommes nés et nous avons vécu”, refusant toute association chauvine⁵², Brătescu-Voinești ressent le besoin de concilier ces opinions de jeunesse avec les idées véhiculées en “Universul”, dès 1937, dirigées contre les Juifs, qui suscitèrent l’étonnement de plusieurs de ses contemporains. Une certaine vocation du double accompagne sa pensée, pendant que le rapport devint antinomique : “nous” versus “les autres”⁵³. Mais l’opposition radicale, la dichotomie parfaite, constituant son

⁴⁹ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁰ Leon Volovici, *Ideologia tradiționalistă și „problema românească”. Esee despre formele antisemitismului intelectual în România anilor ‘30* [L’idéologie traditionaliste et le “problème roumain”. Essai sur les formes de l’antisémitisme intellectuel dans la Roumanie des années ‘30], București, Editura Humanitas, 1995, p. 179.

⁵¹ Dan Mănuță, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Son allusion semble faire référence aux affirmations de Leon Volovici, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Il y parlait du fait, qu’après 1937, conduit par le “sentiment aigu du danger”, sa “descente [c’est-à-dire de Brătescu-Voinești – n.n.s. D.B.] de «la tour d’ivoire» [...] se serait produite”.

⁵² Voir I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *În slujba păcei: (scrisori)*, éd. cit., pp. 140-142.

⁵³ Voir René Girard, *Violența și sacrul* [La violence et le sacré], traduction par Mona Antohi, București, Editura Nemira, 1995.

discours ne marqua plus son contenu d'idées. L'écrivain ne peut pas se dédire nettement de ce qu'il venait d'écrire, si passionnément, jadis ; il affirme toujours sa conviction dans la justesse de ce qu'il avait écrit il y a deux décennies et communique la croyance dans leur vérité absolue. Mais il est d'avis que ces idées sont impossibles à professer dans la "Babylonie de nos jours" ; pourtant, celles-ci restent utiles, on pourrait les mettre en pratique dans un avenir meilleur. Jusqu'à cette époque-là, on doit s'assumer le nationalisme – écrit-il ingénument, justifiant de cette manière les nouveaux abords – parce qu'il "représente une phase fatale et inévitable dans l'évolution de l'humanité"⁵⁴.

Le Juif devient le bouc émissaire. Il crut jusqu'à la fin que les plus acharnés ennemis des Roumains ne se trouvent pas à l'extérieur, mais à l'intérieur du pays. Par conséquent, il est convaincu de la nécessité d'une réaction décidée⁵⁵. L'attitude normale, nécessaire dans la lutte contre "le danger juif", lui semble celle d'un "fauteur de désordres" – terme assumé à cette époque-là par les jeunes iconoclastes, qui refusaient les attitudes et les idées de la génération plus âgée, considérée périmée, militant pour une nouvelle référence à la vie et à la société, caractérisée par l'émergence de l'instinct, opposée aux dogmatismes de la raison, professée antérieurement⁵⁶.

On aperçoit son dérapage pas seulement dans ses écrits, mais aussi dans son activité publique. D'ailleurs, c'était une méthode habituelle des dirigeants afin d'obtenir de légitimité et de respectabilité, de faire sortir devant les hommes de culture qui se trouvaient dans la conscience du public. Et Brătescu-Voinești en était, certainement, un de ceux-ci. Cela aurait déterminé Charles II l'introduire dans le nouveau Parlement, résultant à la suite des élections de juin 1939. Il faisait partie des sénateurs nommés directement par le roi⁵⁷. Dans un ample article, publié en "Sfarmă-Piatră" / "Casse Pierre", l'écrivain opposait le régime autoritaire de Charles II à la démocratie de l'entre deux guerres. L'éloge de la monarchie et – y inclus – celui de Charles II résultait, en miroir, de la critique véhémement des hommes politiques et du politicianisme : "Notre pays se trouve en convalescence – écrivait-il, le 1-er juin – à

⁵⁴ Le texte apparut en "Universul" de 20 juin 1937, pp. 1,2, étant repris en I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Huliganism*, pp. 97-100; Idem, *Strigăte de alarmă în chestia evreească*, pp. 50-56.

⁵⁵ "Universul", no. 292, 23 octobre 1937. Voir aussi I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Huliganism*, pp. 213-217; Idem, *Strigăte de alarmă în chestia evreească*, pp. 111-114.

⁵⁶ Mircea Eliade, *Huliganii* [Les fauteurs de désordres], édition soignée et préface par Mircea Handoca, București, Editura Rum-Irina, 1992 (l'édition princeps date de 1935).

⁵⁷ Lucian Boia, *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între 1930 și 1950* [Les pièges de l'histoire. L'élite intellectuelle roumaine entre 1930 et 1950], București, Editura Humanitas, 2011, pp. 134-135.

peine guérie de la grave maladie où la poussa le politicianisme d'hier". Il rejeta, à la même occasion, toute critique adressée à la "dictature" royale et à la censure, affirmant qu'il se sentait libre, "pas de tout enchaîné"⁵⁸.

Les mêmes considérants auraient déterminé les légionnaires le mettre au premier plan. Et l'écrivain se laissa attirer et joignit l'extrême droite. L'adhésion de l'écrivain aux nouvelles idées, la considération pour les régimes politiques de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie, le culte pour Hitler, son antisémitisme, évidents dès les articles publiés en "Sfarmă-Piatră" en 1938, s'accroîtront les années suivantes. Ses articles de "Porunca vremii", publiés entre 1940-1943, en témoignent. On évacua la lucidité et le bon sens de ses écrits de jeunesse, un discours démagogique prit leur place, manqué de substance, axé sur le nationalisme, l'antisémitisme et, après 1940, sur le mythe de l'homme providentiel. Une limite politique terrible et un inexplicable manque de discernement le firent persévérer sur ce chemin-là. Après avoir été l'adepte des légionnaires, il apporta des hommages à Antonescu et continua à écrire des articles venimeux contre les Juifs. Les partis lui semblaient indignes de confiance, la démocratie même une simple étiquette. Sa "démophilie" était imprégnée d'un populisme rudimentaire, pendant que la fascination pour Antonescu remplaça les principes élémentaires d'un système politique moderne. S'y ajouta un nationalisme drapé en mots d'ordre et clichés de large circulation et, bien sûr, un antisémitisme extrêmement virulent.

Il admirait la personnalité tutélaire, l'homme providentiel, le sauveur⁵⁹. Il attachait à la personnalité en cause des vertus tout à fait extraordinaires, lui offrit l'auréole d'une mission salvatrice pour la nation roumaine. "Lorsque notre patrie se trouva aux bords d'un terrible abîme, Dieu nous donna un homme qui la sauva", écrivait, apologétique, Brătescu-Voinești. On considérait Antonescu un des hommes rares, semblables à Hitler et Mussolini, qui apparaissent très rarement en histoire, réunissant dans leur être le sage et l'homme d'action⁶⁰. L'écrivain abandonna le pacifisme de jadis. On justifia la guerre, on lui révéla le "sens profond". Dans une interview accordée par le Dirigeant de l'Etat à Brătescu-Voinești, celui-ci lui aurait

⁵⁸ I. Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Zoon apoliton*, en "Sfarmă-Piatră", an IV, no. 129, 1 juillet 1938, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁹ Raoul Girardet, *Mituri și mitologii politice* [Mythes et mythologies politiques], préface par Gabriela Adameșteanu, Iași, Institutul European, f. a., pp. 47-74.

⁶⁰ ***, *Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944* [Les Juifs de la Roumanie entre les années 1940-1944], vol. II, *Problema evreiască în stenogramele Consiliului de Miniștri* [La question juive dans les sténogrammes du Conseil de Ministres], préface : Acad. prof. dr. Nicolae Cajal, volume dressé par Lya Benjamin, București, Editura Hasefer, 1996, pp. 499-500, doc. no. 160 (texte pris de „Porunca Vremii” [“L’Ordre du Temps”], 5 mars 1943). Voir aussi Ion Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Am văzut pe Mareșalul* [J’ai vu le Maréchal], en "Curentul" ["Le Courant"], vol. 16, no. 5408, 8 mars 1943, pp. 1,5.

parlé de la nécessité d'agir et de "déparasiter" le pays des ennemis de l'intérieur, les Juifs et les Maçons, considérés "plus dangereux que ceux externes, parce que les ennemis de dehors peuvent tronquer le corps du pays, pendant que de ceux de l'intérieur viennent l'empoisonnement et la scélérateuse de l'âme de notre peuple"⁶¹. On peut se demander sur l'exactitude de la reproduction ci-jointe et si on n'a pas affaire justement avec les mots et les idées de l'écrivain. En tout cas, on les retrouve aussi dans les articles publiés entre 1937-1938, dans des formules presque identiques⁶². Il est difficile à croire que le Maréchal aurait plagié si bien à Brătescu-Voinești. Cela ne suppose qu'Antonescu n'aurait pas pensé ou dit ce que l'académicien relate, si on tient compte des références à la dignité et à la nécessité de la guerre contre la Russie bolchévique ou à l'impératif de la loyauté envers les pouvoirs de l'Axe⁶³.

La haine et le mépris y débordaient, l'agressivité longtemps domptée y exhibait. Celle-ci se reflète, aussi, dans le langage utilisé. On ressent les bruits des gazettes concernant la santé d'Antonescu comme des dangers imminents et puissants. Par un sophisme classique, de l'ambiguïté, on considérait l'attaque à l'adresse du Maréchal comme une attaque à l'adresse de "notre peuple". Il y essaya la connotation positive de cette véhémence. Il voulait identifier son état comme une exaspération envers la situation dans laquelle se trouvait le pays et la nation, justifiant la nécessité d'une riposte, afin d'améliorer l'état de choses. L'euphémisme ne peut pas éluder le débordement de l'agressivité. A presque chaque page, en tout article on sent le besoin de masquer sa duplicité foncière, les affectes antinomiques, les contraires par formules et procédés rhétoriques.

Conclusions

Sa cécité et son besoin de protection le pousseront à s'assumer le paternalisme. Un tel comportement lui apporta la désapprobation de plusieurs de ses confrères. Dès novembre 1941, il demanda par une lettre publique, apparue en "Curentul" / "Le Courant" de Pamfil Șeicaru, d'être écarté du collectif dirigeant de "Revista Fundațiilor Regale" / "La Revue des Fondations Royales"⁶⁴. Il ne voulait plus garder des relations

⁶¹ *** *Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944*, vol. II, pp. 501-502.

⁶² Voir, par exemple, Ioan Al. Brătescu-Voinești, *Hitlerism* [Hitlérisme], en "Universul", no. 156, 9 juin 1937, pp. 1,2.

⁶³ *** *Evreii din România între anii 1940-1944*, vol. II, pp. 499-503.

⁶⁴ Apud I. Hangiu, *Dicționarul presei literare românești 1790-1990* [Le dictionnaire de la presse littéraire roumaine 1790-1990], La II-ème édition revue et complétée, București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1996, p. 126. Il est intéressant que sur la couverture du numéro 6/1944 de "Revista Fundațiilor Regale" / "La Revue des Fondations Royales" on annonce un nouveau comité de rédaction, où figure, aussi, le nom de Brătescu-Voinești (cf. *Ibidem*, p. 373).

avec un forum culturel qui n'était plus affilié directement aux nouvelles autorités. Il continuera à soutenir Antonescu et à approuver la législation raciste et les mesures antijuives de celui-ci⁶⁵. Ses articles de "Porunca vremii" continuèrent la série commencée les années 1937-1938, en "Universul" et "Sfarmă-Piatră" ; ils s'ajoutèrent à la gloire de l'hitlérisme, au soutien de l'alliance avec l'Axe et le culte ordurier d'Antonescu. Mais on peut expliquer aussi l'attitude et les réactions déplacées par l'aggravation de son état de santé, qui affectèrent son discernement. Le vieil écrivain tomba gravement malade l'été de l'année 1943, de manière qu'il n'était plus capable à comprendre ce qui se passait. L'effondrement fut brusque et inexorable. L'automne de l'année 1944, après le changement du régime politique, on le considéra un des "coupables pour le désastre du pays". Pourtant, l'état précaire de sa santé le dispensa des ennuis d'un procès politique. Il devint un "homme enchaîné", tracassé par les nouveaux dirigeants d'après 23 août⁶⁶. Ni même ses adversaires acharnés ne considérèrent plus nécessaire de punir juridiquement l'écrivain. La peur dans lequel il menait ses jours suffisait ; celle-ci était plus terrible que les remords⁶⁷. La mort "l'amnistia", écrivait Arghezi, pardonnant à celui qui l'avait haï avec acharnement⁶⁸. Mais l'opprobre tomba sur son nom et on écarta l'écrivain, pour une période de temps, du Panthéon de la littérature roumaine. Après la chute du régime d'Antonescu, on l'exclut de la Société des Ecrivains Roumains, ensemble à d'autres membres de ce fore, "pour des dangers idéologiques"⁶⁹. Comme il devint invouable, seulement la mort le protégea de l'exclusion de l'Académie, aussi. De cette manière finissait un parcours commencé sous le signe des idées généreuses, mais terminé à l'ombre de l'extrême droite roumaine et du régime d'Antonescu.

⁶⁵ Jean Ancel (ed.), *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986, vol. IV, pp. 491-495, apud Leon Volovici, *op. cit.*, p. 178. Pour la législation antijuive des premières années du régime Antonescu, voir aussi Gheorghe Dumitraș-Bițoaica, *Statutul juridic al evreilor și legislația românizării* [Le statut juridique des Juifs et la législation de la roumanisation], București, Editura Prometeu, 1942.

⁶⁶ Tudor Arghezi, *I. Brătescu-Voinești*, en Idem, *Scrieri*, vol. 27, ed. cit., pp. 385-886.

⁶⁷ Zaharia Stancu, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ Tudor Arghezi, *op. cit.*, pp. 386, 388.

⁶⁹ „Orizont”, an I, no. 1, 1 novembre 1944. Voir aussi Lucian Boia, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

MULTICULTURALISM IN HISTORICAL DIDACTICS: CASES OF VILNIUS, KAUNAS AND KLAIPĖDA

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Rezumat: Multiculturalism în didactica istorică: cazurile Vilnius, Kaunas și Klaipėda

Studiul analizează reprezentarea diferitelor comunități interetnice în curriculum-ul de istorie lituaniană din perioada interbelică și din zilele noastre. Accentul principal este pus pe moștenirea interculturală a trei mari orașe lituaniene – Vilnius, Kaunas și Klaipėda – și înțelegerea sa în două perioade diferite ale Lituaniei independente – în perioada interbelică, atunci când a fost creată prima Republica Lituania și după căderea comunismului în 1990, când Lituania a redevenit independentă și a început să-și dezvolte un nou curriculum pentru istorie. În acest articol autorul caută să evalueze pe scurt importanța educației (învățământului) istoric din perioada interbelică pentru educația (învățământul) istoric din zilele noastre și să distingă principalele diferențe și cauzele adiacente lor.

Abstract: *This study analyses the representation of different ethnic communities in Lithuanian history curriculum both in interwar period and nowadays. The main focus is on the multicultural heritage of three major Lithuanian cities – Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda – and its understanding in two different periods of independent Lithuania – during the interwar period, when the first republic of Lithuania was created, and after the fall of Communism in 1990, when Lithuania became independent once again and started to develop new history curriculum. In this article the author seeks to briefly evaluate the importance of interwar history education to nowadays history education, and to distinguish the main differences and their causes.*

Résumé: Multiculturalisme dans la didactique historique: les cas Vilnius, Kaunas et Klaipėda

L'étude ci-jointe analyse la représentation des différentes communautés interethniques dans le curriculum d'histoire lituanienne de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres et de nos jours. On met l'accent principal sur l'héritage interculturel de trois grandes villes lituaniennes – Vilnius, Kaunas et Klaipėda – et sur sa compréhension durant deux périodes différentes de la Lituanie indépendante – pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, lorsque fut créée la première République Lituane et après la chute du communisme en 1990, lorsque la Lituanie redevint indépendante et commença à développer un nouveau curriculum pour

l'histoire. L'auteur cherche à évaluer bref dans cet article l'importance de l'éducation (de l'enseignement) historique de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres pour l'éducation (l'enseignement) historique de nos jours et à distinguer les différences principales et leurs causes adjacentes.

Keywords: *multiculturalism, historical didactics, ethnic minorities, Lithuania, history textbooks*

Introduction

Multiculturalism is a trend-name in today's world. Starting from the basics of everyday life – talking about multicultural food or fashion industry, it spreads over every topic – history or historical understanding of the society is no exception at all. Researches of Lithuanian history and its interpretations for past two decades have revolved around the concept of multiculturalism. As one of the most famous Lithuanian interwar historians Adolfas Šapoka¹ and many of its contemporaries aimed to find Lithuanians in Lithuania's history, it seems that nowadays many historians mostly seek to find the satisfactory prove of multiculturalism in Lithuanian past. This perspective is perfectly understandable because of its correlation both with the lack of historical studies on Lithuania's ethnic minorities and of course with the so-called *Zeitgeist*, the global interest to form tolerant, wide-sighted society.

However, in this article this matter will be discussed from a bit different and a bit more pragmatic perspective – the representation of multiculturalism in historical didactics and its contradiction to the main current historiographical line regarding multicultural Lithuanian history. The brief comparison in the representation of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda cities in multicultural context both in interwar Lithuanian historical didactics and in nowadays public historical education will be conducted. Thus this article will be mostly focused on the one of two different narratives of Lithuania's history regarding the topic of ethnic minorities – historical didactics, oriented towards general public.

In terms of historiographical depiction of the issue being studied, it is worth mentioning that it has not gone beyond the scope of the researchers in Lithuania. The relevance of this topic is usually forgotten in the light of more common nationalistic perspective – analysis of history curriculum in the schools of ethnic minorities and its consistency with the interests of national Lithuanian

¹ Adolfas Šapoka, *Lietuvos istorija* [History of Lithuania], Kaunas, 1936.

state². In the absence of adequate studies in Lithuanian academic space, the significant historiographical importance is of joint academic project conducted by scholars of Eastern Europe (in Poland³, Slovakia⁴, Czech Republic⁵, Hungary⁶ and Russia⁷), their studies analyze the representation of Jewish history and culture in different school systems of Eastern Europe. Although, not so similar to the topic of this article, there are also several Lithuanian studies regarding the common features in educational programs and its changes, thus these works are considered for historiographical background of this research as well.⁸

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- ² Benediktas Šetkus, *Tautinių mažumų mokykla Lietuvoje 1918-1940 m.: daktaro disertacijos santrauka* [Schools of ethnical minorities in Lithuania 1918-1940: the abstract of doctoral dissertation], Vilnius, 2000; Nijolė Saugėnienė, *Lietuvos tautinių mažumų švietimas multikultūriškumo vertybiniame kontekste* [The education of Lithuanian ethnical minorities in the context of multicultural values], Kaunas, 2003. The increasing attention to these topics are shown by the increasing number of conferences and publications of its materials as well: *Tautinių mažumų švietimas Lietuvoje: teoriniai ir praktiniai aspektai: konferencijos medžiaga* [The education of ethnical minorities in Lithuania: theoretical and practical approaches: materials of the conference], Vilnius, 2001; *Švietimas daugiakultūrinėje aplinkoje - Europos dimensija: tarptautinės konferencijos medžiaga* [Education in multicultural society – European dimension: materials of international conference], Vilnius, 2008.
- ³ Hanna Węgrzynek, *Treatment of Jewish Themes in Polish Schools*. Via website: http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF7D/Treatment_Jewish_Themes_Polish_Schools.pdf [2013-01-13]
- ⁴ Peter Salner and Eva Salnerova, *Treatment of Jewish Themes in Slovak Schools* : http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF7D/Treatment_Jewish_Themes_Slovak_Schools.pdf [2013-01-13]
- ⁵ Leo Pawlat, *Treatment of Jewish Themes in Czech Schools*. Via website: http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF%7D/Treatment_Jewish_Themes_Czech_Schools.pdf [2013-01-13]
- ⁶ Monika Kovacs, *Treatment of Jewish Themes in Hungarian Schools*. Via website: http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/7B42d75369-d582-4380-8395-d25925b85eaf7D/treatment_jewish_themes_hungarian_schools.pdf [2013-01-13]
- ⁷ Lev Krichevsky, *Treatment of Jewish Themes in Russian Schools*. Via website: http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/7B42d75369-d582-4380-8395-d25925b85eaf7D/treatment_jewish_themes_russian_schools.pdf [2013-01-13]
- ⁸ *Mokykliniai istorijos vadovėliai ir europinės visuomenės ugdymas Rytų ir Vidurio Europos šalyse. Konferencijos medžiaga* [History textbooks in schools and education of Europe-oriented society in Eastern and Central Europe], Vilnius, 2006.; Audronė Svėrienė, *Istorijos vadovėlio kultūra (1999-2002 m.)* [The culture of history textbook], *Knygotyra*, no. 43. Vilnius, 2004; Stanislovas Stašaitis, *Istorijos didaktika ir jos uždaviniai* [History didactics and its aims], Vilnius, 2002; Benediktas Šetkus, *Istorija bendrojo lavinimo mokykloje* [History in school], *Istorija* (LXI). Vilnius, 2004. pp. 65-68; Idem, *Istorijos mokymo Lietuvos bendrojo lavinimo mokykloje tobulinimo kryptys* [The development of history education in Lithuanian schools], *Istorija* (LIII). Vilnius, 2002. pp. 90-97.

The main sources used in this study are Lithuanian history, ethnography and geography textbooks of interwar period (1918-1939) and current Lithuanian history textbooks (1990-2012), and school history education programs for both periods. During this research, 26 interwar history, ethnography and geography textbooks (1919-1939) and 35 current history textbooks (1990-2012) were analyzed.

History education in interwar Lithuania: variety of nations and variety of denationalizations

When the first republic of Lithuania was established in 1918, it established itself as a state, which majority of population were Lithuanians. However, until the independence of Lithuania, due to many political, cultural and historical reasons (which are not the basis of this article) the majority of Lithuanians were villagers, and city life revolved around the large groups of ethnic minorities – Jews, Poles, Germans etc. In this context the question, how the self-perception of traditional rural society coped with the idea of Lithuanian state and foreign cultural heritage of the major cities, raises itself. The first thing we notice, while analyzing the contents of interwar history textbooks, is the highlights on the idea, that every other nation, except Lithuanian, are eternally alien to Lithuanian lands, there are no discussions about their historicity there. It should be noted, that this kind of image is common to many modern nations of that time, when the idea of each nation having its *promised land* was highly accepted. In Lithuanian textbooks existed such presumptive statements as – “People, who have been living in Lithuania since ancient times, are called Lithuanians. Together with them live other ethnic groups as well”⁹, - these kind of statements enabled diverse interpretation regarding nationality, citizenship or homeland. Both in public discussions and history textbooks the concept of nationality generalized, and was perceived only by origin (and usually by the language, which is specific to that origin, like Lithuanians – Lithuanian language, Poles – Polish languages etc.), and individuals self-identification with one or another ethnic group is understood as irrelevant, or is to be regarded negatively as a fake, illusory escape from his reality: “next to the real Poles in Lithuania, there are *Polonized* Lithuanians, whose last names and traditions prove them to be not actual Poles, just *Polonized* Lithuanians”.¹⁰ In this situation the most relevant and commonly used

⁹ Antanas Vireliūnas, *Krašto mokslo vadovėlis: III-jam pradžios mokyklos skyriui* [Ethnography textbook: the 3rd grade of primary school], Kaunas, 1931. p. 50.

¹⁰ Pelikšas Šinkūnas, *Lietuva: geografijos vadovėlis V sk.* [Lithuania: geography textbook for the 5th grade], Kaunas, 1937. p. 51.

was the example of Vilnius region and its problematic, also exceptional was the interpretation of the situation in Klaipėda city and its region, which were inhabited with a large German community for centuries: “on the other hand, the process of villagers moving to the city actualized the need for adaptation, changed their communication habits and enforced Lithuanians to use German language in daily life more and more. It is no coincidence that in traditional rural society, there was a stereotype about those who migrate to the city – even the willingness to migrate meant that they are ready to be “Germanized”.¹¹

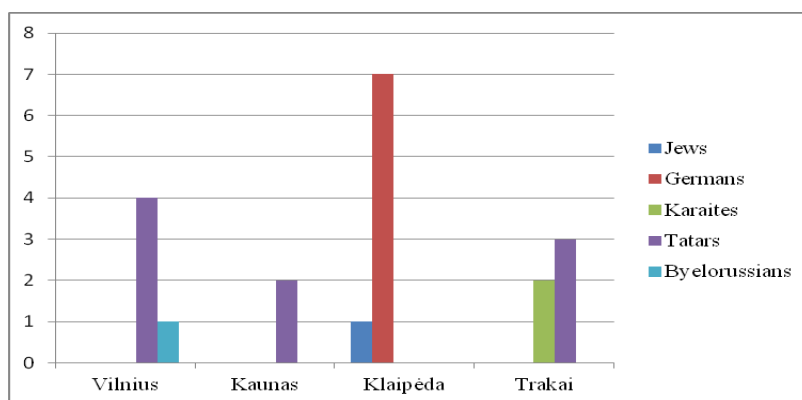


Figure 1. The most common historical links between ethnic communities and Lithuanian cities (including Vilnius region) in interwar history textbooks (data of 26 textbooks)

Two-dimensional identity, *gente – lituanus, natione – polonus*, which existed in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was forgotten and at the margins of understanding in interwar Lithuania (even so during this period another variation developed – by origin Lithuanians, by language - Germans), national narrative eliminated the possibility to be Lithuanian without talking Lithuanian. In addition, the concept of homeland was specifically clarified. An excellent example of this kind of clarification is the commonly used statement, that Jews “have lost their homeland long, long ago”¹² [which presupposes that Lithuania have

¹¹ Vasilijus Safronovas, *Atminties orientavimas ir mentalinis Klaipėdos integravimas Lietuvoje XX a.* [The orientation of memory and mental integration of Klaipėda in the 20th century Lithuania], *Nuo Basanavičiaus, Vytauto Didžiojo iki Molotovo ir Ribbentropo: atminties ir atminimo kultūrų transformacijos XX-XXI amžiuje* [From Basanavičius, Vytautas Didysis to Molotov and Ribbentrop: transformations of memory and memory cultures in the 20th-21stcenturies], Vilnius, 2011. p. 71.

¹² Elena Baronienė, *Gimtasis kraštas: geografijos vadovėlis pradžios mokyklų V sk.* [The homeland: geography textbook for the 5th grade of primary school], Kaunas, 1937. p. 80.

never been and will never be their homeland, because what matters is the historical narrative of homeland]. Although, this kind of understanding of homeland is not applied for Lithuanian Tatars, because, according to textbooks' authors, they came to regard Lithuania as their homeland due to privileges and freedoms, which Vytautas granted them¹³. Thus accepting Tatars rights to Lithuania as a homeland and denying the same legitimacy to Jews, the authors of textbooks showed their double-standard evaluation of ethnic groups in Lithuania. In this respect, it is questionable, whether the new homeland can be created as such, and where is the homeland of secular non-Zionist Jews of interwar Lithuania. However, both textbooks' authors and society members did not seek to find the answer to this complicated question regarding other local ethnic communities, because they had another goal – to legitimize the historicity of Lithuanians as a nation and the legal existence of the Republic of Lithuania, which emerged from this historicity.

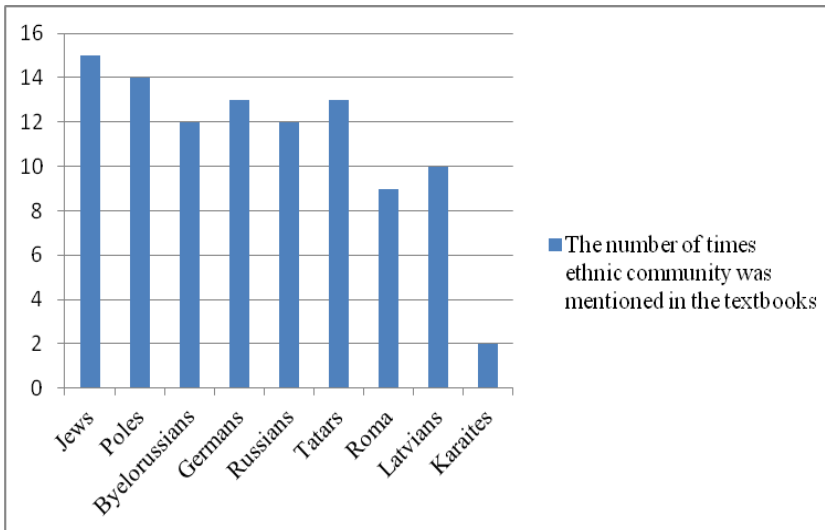


Figure 2. The representation of ethnic communities in interwar history textbooks (data of 26 textbooks)

Historical didactics of interwar period is usually seen in a relation to the authoritarian regime of Lithuanian president Antanas Smetona (1926-1940), especially emphasizing the influence of this regime on both historical and cultural education of the society¹⁴. Even quite neutral interwar studies critique the relation

¹³ Pelikšas Šinkūnas, *op. cit.* p. 89; Stasys Matulaitis, *Lietuvių tautos istorija* [The history of Lithuanian nation], Kaunas, 1923. p. 91.

¹⁴ Bernaras Ivanovas, *Tautiškumo paieškant Antano Smetonos Lietuvoje: tautinių įvaizdžių klausimas* [In a search for nationality in Antanas Smetona Lithuania: the issue of

between authoritarian ideology and educational system¹⁵. However, it should be noted, that historical didactics, oriented towards one – Lithuanian nation, is the prerogative of Lithuanian education during the whole interwar period – both before the authoritarian regime, and during that. Moreover, most of the textbooks, published during the democratic period, were republished during the reign of Smetona as well. It shows, that even with the changes in political conjuncture, when democratic government was replaced by authoritarian one, narrative of Lithuanian history, which started to form in independent Lithuania, have not been modified much – it was acceptable for both moderate and more radical ideologists.

We can distinguish the main aspects, with which ethnical minorities, represented in the history textbooks, are being related:

1. Influence on the de-nationalization of Lithuanians;
2. Literacy and cultural traditions;
3. Religious traditions;
4. Relationship with the major Lithuanian cities.

While talking about the influence on the de-nationalization of Lithuanians the emphasis is both on the guilt of Lithuanians, who denied their ethnical identity by their own choice („Due to the passivity and hindsight of Lithuanians *Germanization* is going on very well in Klaipeda“¹⁶) and the guilt of another ethnic groups, which supposedly encouraged Lithuanians to do so for pragmatic reasons – for instance, already mentioned Germans in Klaipeda’s region („*Germanization* work is driven by a strong pace, and it is generously supported by Germany itself“¹⁷). Textbooks’ authors usually emphasized the *Germanization* of Klaipeda region¹⁸, but differently than in the case of *Polonization* in Vilnius region, the situation in Klaipeda was presented not as a historically influenced reality, but as a deviation influenced by the current time („From Germany poison are coming to Lithuania and settling in profitable commercial institutions“¹⁹). This kind of cultural distance between Klaipeda city and the rest of Lithuania is not totally unexpected and is not only the image formed by nationalist ideology, which sought to protect Lithuanians from the foreign influences. The newest historiography, which analyses historical changes in Klaipeda city, suggests that

ethnic images], Vilnius, 2005.

¹⁵ Saulius Kaubrys, *Lietuvos mokykla 1918-1939 m.: galios gimtis* [Lithuanian school in 1918-1939: the rise of power], Vilnius, 2000.

¹⁶ Stanislovas Tarvydas, *Antropogeografija su ekonominės geografijos priedu: vadovėlis VI klasei* [Anthropogeography with economical geography: a textbook for the 6th grade], Kaunas, 1937. p. 186.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁸ Pelikšas Šinkūnas, *op. cit.* p. 52.

¹⁹ Stanislovas Tarvydas, *op. cit.* p. 186.

there was not a favourable social environment, which would enable the development of Lithuanian cultural ideas or national principles.²⁰ Moreover, after the region of Klaipėda was attributed to Lithuania, German ethnic minority group sought to fight the *Lithuanization* politics in this region – both by establishing more German schools and raising German national feelings²¹, which were the most likely inspired by the expansionist ideology in interwar Germany itself. The continuous emphasis on the cultural and political strength and influence of Germans in Klaipėda shows, that Klaipėda region, which was recently returned to Lithuania, changed only in the cartographic and administrative sense, while culturally it continued to be tightly bonded with Germany, which also subsidized the process of *Germanization* in this area. In this case interwar Lithuania is a standard example of „oversized“ state²² - the newly formed national state, which territory includes other ethnic groups with distinctly expressed nationalism and appreciation of their ethnical homeland rather than the current homeland (as in case of Germans in Klaipėda city).

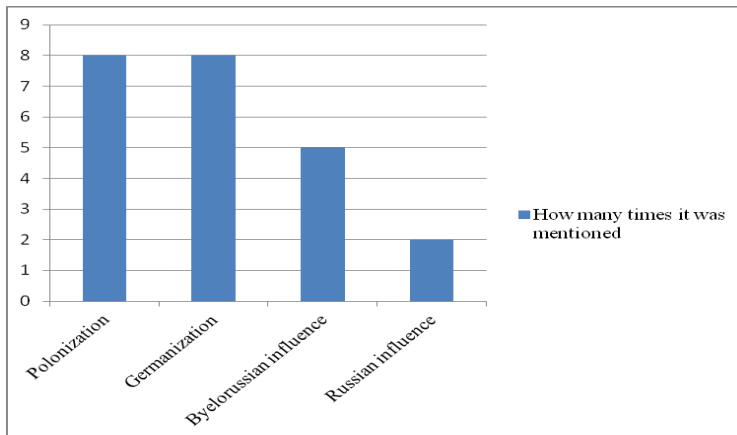


Figure 3. Directions of Lithuanians' de-nationalization mentioned in interwar history textbooks (data of 26 textbooks)

In the complex ethnic context of Vilnius and Klaipėda regions during the interwar period the question of ethnicity in other Lithuanian cities is also very intriguing. It is interesting, that while talking about the Lithuanian cities and

²⁰ Vasilijus Safronovas, *op. cit.* p. 72.

²¹ Saulius Kaubrys, *op. cit.* p. 143.

²² As these kind of states during the interwar period could be referred such neighbouring countries – Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. See more: Mark R. Thompson, *Building nations and crafting democracies – competing legitimacies in interwar Eastern Europe, Authoritarianism and Democracy in Europe, 1919-39*. Houndmills, 2002. pp. 20-38.

their historicity as such, there are no mentioning of Trakai as a city, which does not belong to the interwar Lithuania and as a part of Vilnius district belongs to Poland – Trakai is represented with a patriotic note as a truly Lithuanian Medieval city. The small ethnical group, Karaites, were also historically associated especially with Trakai and represented as a group, which were localized only there. However, this was far from reality, because interwar period in Lithuania could be even called as a cultural Karaite Renaissance, which centred in another major Lithuanian city – Panevėžys²³.

Historically the strongest position regarding the main Lithuanian cities is given to Tatar community – they are repeatedly related with Vilnius, Trakai and Kaunas. Paradoxically Jewish connections to the main historical cities of Lithuania stayed unnoticed by the authors of textbooks. Although the fact, that Jews have been living in cities and towns, was repeated commonly, these cities and towns are usually depersonalized and Jews are represented as living everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Although in historiography there is a popular opinion²⁴, that during the interwar period Lithuanians used the image of Jewish Vilnius as a means of propaganda against Poles, the information regarding this matter in the textbooks proves it wrong – this type of propaganda did not exist on official educational level, textbooks did not emphasize so-called Jewish Vilna. This way Jews are eliminated from the mental map of Lithuania as historically and culturally alien element.

While talking about the formation of Kaunas as an extremely Lithuanian city image, we can notice, that it was a gradual process. In the twenties textbook authors did not coronate Kaunas as Lithuanian Mecca – on the contrary: „In Kaunas one can easily communicate only in Russian“²⁵ or „Kaunas is forced to be the provisional capital of Lithuania“²⁶ (as if it would not suit this city). However, this tendency seems to fade out in the thirties and is replaced by the newly represented understanding of strong connection between Kaunas city and new concept of Lithuanian identity, which basically legitimized Kaunas as Lithuanian

²³ Dovilė Troskovaitė, *Periferinės karaimų bendruomenės. Centro ir periferijos įtakos pasidalijimas XVII-XVIII amžiais* [Peripheral Karaite communities. The influence of center and periphery in the 17-18th centuries], *Orientas Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos visuomenės tradicijoje: totoriai ir karaimai* [Orient in the tradition of GDL society: Tatars and Karaites], Vilnius, 2008. pp. 38-44.

²⁴ Ezra Mendelson, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars*, USA, 1987. pp. 213-223.

²⁵ Kazys Pakštas, *Baltijos Respublikų politinė geografija* [Political geography of Baltic States], Kaunas, 1929. p. 73.

²⁶ Pelikšas Šinkūnas, *Lietuvos geografija: vidurinei mokyklai bei namų mokslui* [Lithuanian geography: for a secondary school and home-schooling], Kaunas, 1927. p. 161.

capital (although it never excluded its temporal aspect and the longing for Vilnius as a historical capital was never replaced). Historians, who have been analyzing interwar cultural formations, pointed out, that particularly after the coup of 1926, between 1927 and 1930, the strategy of *Lithuanization* process have been changing both in Kaunas and in the province – „in the quite forced pace the history of old Lithuania was integrated with the images of nationalist era, giving the priority to the ancient history but not the reality of interwar world.“²⁷ So little by little Kaunas gained the status of exceptionally Lithuanian city, and this status was even more strengthened by the cases of two other cities - Vilnius, which at the time belonged to Poland and was greatly missed as the cultural space of Lithuania, and Klaipėda, which even now belonging to Lithuania, maintained its German culture and heritage.

Nowadays historical education: one nation and historical *Lithuanization*

Nowadays nationalism in many of its forms reveals itself usually as a reaction to the over-escalated issue of globalization, which is presented in the perspective of Western Europe and its complex situation regarding ethnic minorities. However, Lithuania does not fit the same frame – differently from the Western cases, the majority of local ethnic groups are historically related to Lithuanian land. Even the special kind of *Lithuanianess* of Lithuania's ethnic minorities can be emphasized (for instance, unique development of Litvak, Karaite or Russian Old-Believers cultures in this region), thus not confuse the threats of globalization with non-existing threats of ethnic minorities. On the contrary – historical perspective can contribute to the liberation of society from provincial thinking about the ethnical minorities, which tends to be quite stereotypical²⁸.

All current history textbooks representing the interwar period emphasize the complicated relationship between Lithuanians and Poles in Vilnius district. Different to the period of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in interwar history it is

²⁷ Dangiras Mačiulis, Alvydas Nikžentaitis and Vasilijus Safronovas, *Simbolinis daugiakultūrio miesto užvaldymas: Kauno, Klaipėdos ir Vilniaus atvejai* [Symbolical possession of multicultural city: cases of Kaunas, Klaipėda and Vilnius], *Naujasis Vilniaus perskaičymas: didieji Lietuvos istoriniai pasakojimai ir daugiakultūris miesto paveldas* [Vilnius in a new perspective: the great historical narratives and multicultural city heritage], Vilnius, 2009. p. 114.

²⁸ Rita Repšienė, *Mitologija šiandien: nacionalumo klausimai ir istorinės perspektyvos* [Mythology today: questions about nationality and historical perspectives], *Istorinės realybės ir mitai nacionalinėse kultūrose: dabarties vizija* [Historical realities and myths in national cultures: present vision], Vilnius, 2009. p. 36.

the most important to distinguish Poles from Lithuanians, because Poles, who were both culturally and religiously the closest community to Lithuanians, were also the biggest threat to the formation of Lithuanian identity – the fact of their similarities questioned the authenticity of Lithuanian cultural traditions and its importance in historical perspective. And of course, next to these more philosophical matters, there was a real threat to Lithuania – the occupation of Vilnius region. Textbooks still highlight that Lithuanian patriotism contradicts with Polish culture, and express the remaining grievance for the loss of Vilnius district in interwar period. However, this grievance is not a passive one, and it embraces negative emotions in both historical didactics and public opinion – not only Poles from Vilnius district, but Poles in the territory of Lithuania as well, are considered as enemies: „Patriotic Lithuanians were very displeased with the news about the establishment of 75 new Polish schools in Lithuania“²⁹. However, in the light of nowadays historiography educational materials represent the city of Vilnius itself as an example of multicultural and multi-confessional city, so its history is relevant to many nations: Lithuanians, Poles, Jews and Byelorussians. Authors of different textbooks do not agree on the question, which ethnical group culturally dominated in Vilnius in different historical periods. With the tolerant notions, which are a must in the 21st century, textbook authors introduce us with the equal rights for every ethnic community in the city, however, while talking about Vilnius situation in interwar period, they tend to support the position of Lithuanians. Nevertheless, all textbooks state, that Poles occupied Vilnius region exactly from Lithuanians, even if Vilnius of that time the same as many other major cities of Lithuania was populated more by other ethnic groups than Lithuanians.

In 35 nowadays textbooks, which are analysed in this research, there are 60 illustrations on the topic of ethnic minorities of Lithuania (their number varies in different textbooks, there are several textbooks without this kind of illustrations at all). The examples of religious buildings are the most prevailing, and mostly related to the Jewish religious buildings in Vilnius (The Great Synagogue in Vilnius, still existing Vilnius Choral Synagogue) (6), past and present Tatar mosques in various parts of Lithuania (4), also – Karaite kenesa in Trakai (3). The richness of illustrations in topics presenting Holocaust (22 illustrations about Holocaust in Lithuania, while about local Polish community – 2; Karaites – 6; Tatars – 8; about Jews in Lithuania (not related to Holocaust) – 21) is remarkable – it exceeds the number of all illustrations about ethnic minorities: photographs from daily life in Vilnius and Kaunas ghettos, photographs of mass mur-

²⁹ Arūnas Gumuliauskas, *Lietuvos istorija nuo 1915 iki 1953 metų, X klasei* [Lithuanian history from 1915 until 1953, 10th grade], Kaunas, 1993. p. 66.

der in "Lietūkis" garage or portraits of the Righteous among Nations from Lithuania (O. Šimaitė, Č. Sugihara).

Sadly, the history of ethnic minorities in Lithuania ends after the Second World War – and do not get me wrong, ethnic minorities still existed in soviet times, and of course there is a variety of ethnic groups in nowadays Lithuania. Their history ended only in the history textbooks, and the fact of their existence in the second part of the twentieth century is mostly ignored. This fact is quite ironical considering that current educational programs emphasize the importance to understand the link between present and past, and this is highlighted as one of the most important tasks to reach by historical education³⁰. It should be noted, that illustrations are at least used as a productive means to relate historical and nowadays dimensions of ethnical minorities and their culture in Lithuania. Although, textbooks' lack of representation of the late 20th regarding ethnic minorities should be noted, illustrations help to fill in these gaps a little bit: nowadays Karaite girl in ethnic clothing³¹, Tatars in ethnic clothing³², tombstones from old Vilnius Jewish cemetery³³ etc. Also, the photographs of current religious buildings of different ethnic and religious groups illustrate the continuum of different cultural traditions, especially in the biggest cities of Lithuania.

Conclusions

The comparison of both factographical and interpretational information about ethnic minorities in interwar and nowadays history textbooks shows, that despite both the close interaction with ethnical minorities in interwar daily life and nowadays increasing historiography about the history and culture of different local ethnic groups, textbooks of both periods are full of factographical mistakes regarding ethnical minorities and their history in Lithuania and its cities. However, interwar textbooks present ethnic groups as still existing and active units of society, while nowadays, in the light of Holocaust, Jewish community is presented as only the relict of the past, and other ethnic groups are left only in the past without the emphasis of their situation in nowadays Lithuania.

³⁰ *Socialinis ugdymas: istorija, geografija, integruotas istorijos ir geografijos kursas, teisė, religijotyra, filosofija, ekonomika ir verslumas, psichologija* [Social education: history, geography, integrated history and geography, law, religion studies, philosophy, economics and bussinessmanship, psychology], *op. cit.*, passim

³¹ I. Kapleris *et al.* *Laikas: istorijos vadovėlis, 8. II dalis* [Time: history textbook, 8. Part II], Vilnius, 2005. p. 212.

³² Evaldas Bakonis, *Tėvynėje ir pasaulyje, 9* [In the homeland and the world], Kaunas, 2009. p. 143.

³³ Bronius Makauskas, *Lietuvos istorija* [Lithuanian history], Kaunas, 2000. p. 162.

**VOYAGER AVANT 1848 A TRAVERS LES PRINCIPAUTES ROUMAINES:
LES CHEMINS DANS LA VISION DES CONSULS ET VOYAGEURS
FRANÇAIS**

**TRAVELING THROUGH THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES DURING
THE PRE-1848 PERIOD: THE ROADS IN THE VIEW OF FRENCH
CONSULS AND TRAVELERS**

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Rezumat: Călătorind prin Principatele Române în perioada prepașoptistă: căile de comunicație în viziunea consulilor și călătorilor francezi.

Mijloacele de călătorie erau diferite în perioada prepașoptistă, dar erau urmate cu precădere rutele terestre. Călătorii și consulii francezi, precum contele d'Hauterive, generalul conte de Langeron, marchizul de Salaberry, Louis Allier d'Hauteroche, contele de Guilleminot, căpitanul Aubert, Alexandre de Moriollles, Charles Frédéric Reinhard și soția sa, Christine, contele de Lagarde, diplomatul J.M. Tancoigne, căpitanul Thomassin, contele de Marcellus, J. Jaquin, M. Cochelet, Stanislas Bellanger, Felix Colson, Huber, Fanny de la Rochefoucauld, Duclos, au lăsat în jurnalele lor de călătorie sau în rapoartele consulare mărturii despre drumurile și călătoriile lor prin Principatele Române. În general, au observat starea deplorabilă a drumurilor, adeseori trasate la întâmplare, dificultatea cu care se călătorea în acele regiuni, organizarea precară a stațiilor de poștă, nesiguranța drumurilor, dar și caracterul loial al locuitorilor. Obișnuiți cu realitățile din apusul continentului european, mulți se așteptau să călătorească ca în Franța, dar speranțele lor s-au năruit repede.

Abstract: Traveling through the Romanian Principalities during the pre-1848 period: the roads in the view of French consuls and travelers.

Travel means were different during the pre-1848 period and mostly land routes were followed. The French travelers and consuls, as the count d'Hauterive, the general count of Langeron, the marquis of Salaberry, Louis Allier d'Hauteroche, the count of Guilleminot, the captain Aubert, Alexandre de Moriollles, Charles Frédéric Reinhard and his wife, Christine, the count of Lagarde, the diplomat J.M. Tancoigne, the captain Thomassin, the count of Marcellus, J. Jaquin, M. Cochelet, Stanislas Bellanger, Felix Colson, Huber, Fanny de la Rochefoucauld, Duclos, left in their travel diaries or consular reports testimonies about the roads and their voyages in the Romanian Principalities. In general, they observed

the deplorable state of the roads, often drawn at random, the difficulty of traveling in those regions, the precarious organization of post stations and the uncertainty of roads as well as the fairness of the inhabitants. Accustomed to the realities from the western part of the European continent, many of them were expecting to travel as in France, but their hopes proved illusory.

Résumé: *Voyager avant 1848 à travers les Principautés Roumaines: les chemins dans la vision des consuls et voyageurs français.*

Les manières de voyager furent différentes dans la période d'avant 1848, mais on suivait le plus souvent les routes terrestres. Les voyageurs et les consuls français, comme le comte d'Hauterive, le général comte de Langeron, le marquis de Salaberry, Louis Allier d'Hauteroche, le comte de Guilleminot, le capitaine Aubert, Alexandre de Moriolles, Charles Frédéric Reinhard et sa femme, Christine, le comte de Lagarde, le diplomate J.M. Tancoigne, le capitaine Thomassin, le comte de Marcellus, J. Jaquin, M. Cochelet, Stanislas Bellanger, Felix Colson, Huber, Fanny de la Rochefoucauld, Duclos, laissèrent dans leurs journaux de voyage ou dans les rapports consulaires de véritables témoignages sur les chemins et leurs voyages à travers les Principautés Roumaines. En général, ceux-ci observèrent l'état déplorable des chemins, tracés le plus souvent au hasard, la difficulté de voyager en ces parages-là, l'organisation précaire des stations de poste, l'insécurité des routes, mais aussi le caractère loyal des habitants. Habités avec les réalités de l'ouest du continent européen, plusieurs de ceux-ci croyaient qu'il voyageraient comme en France, mais leurs espoirs prouvèrent rapidement illusoire.

Keywords: *French travelers and consuls, vision, travel diary, consular reports, voyage, roads, Moldavia, Wallachia.*

Introduction

De perspective zonale, la modernité roumaine doit une contribution consistante aux influences extérieures, exercées de l'est, mais surtout de l'ouest ; on identifia la dernière, généralement, mais pas exclusivement, avec celle française. L'analyse des journaux de voyage ou des rapports consulaires concernant les Principautés Roumaines des Français qui les traversèrent ou y séjournèrent, dès la fin du XVIII-ème siècle et durant la première moitié du suivant, offre la perspective dans laquelle les représentants d'un autre monde – celui occidental – apercevaient les Roumains et contribue, en même temps, à l'enrichissement d'un domaine généreux de la recherche historique, celui de l'histoire des mentalités.

Les voyageurs français arrivés dans les Principautés manifestèrent des différences de mentalité et d'options politiques vis-à-vis les autochtones. Les

plus "officiels" de ceux-ci, les consuls eurent la mission d'informer les autorités de France sur les réalités économiques, sociales, mais surtout politiques des Principautés Roumaines. Leurs observations furent regroupées en divers rapports, journaux de voyage ou de campagne (des officiers enrôlés dans l'armée tsariste), mémoires ou notes personnelles.

La base documentaire existante et la littérature historique afférente imposèrent de focaliser notre attention sur la situation des deux Principautés, la Moldavie et la Valachie: dans le contexte de l'évolution des relations internationales et surtout de "la question orientale" dans la période mentionnée, on traita la problématique des deux Etats roumains de manière associative et pas séparément. Evidemment, une autre explication serait, biensûr, leur statut juridique et politique identique envers l'Empire Ottoman.

Le décalage culturel spécifique à cette zone vis-à-vis la civilisation occidentale, en général, et envers celle française, en spécial, influença les opinions des observateurs étrangers, consuls ou voyageurs, n'importe combien avisés furent-ils en ce qui concernait le monde oriental. On doit suivre et juger les textes laissés par les étrangers, spécialement par les Français, soient-ils officiels ou pas, pas seulement comme sources narratives sur les réalités qu'ils y rencontrèrent, mais aussi comme des exponentiels des valeurs sociales, des traditions, des mentalités ou des options idéologiques de leurs auteurs.

Sans orienter notre analyse dans un univers stricte de la littérature de voyage ou de la correspondance diplomatique, nous avons tâché à reconstituer l'image des chemins, la manière de voyager à travers les Principautés Roumaines dans la période précédant la révolution de 1848 de la perspective de la littérature de voyage, des mémoires, mais aussi de la sphère officielle, tout en essayant à apercevoir cette information de la perspective de l'image de l'autre. Nous avons utilisé dans notre démarche scientifique des textes qui appartiennent au genre épistolaire, des textes à valeur historique, des mémoires à contenu ethnographique et pas explicitement politique.

Nous avons essayé de surprendre une image issue de l'imaginaire culturel de l'époque. Soit qu'il s'agit d'un mémoire politique ou d'une simple relation de voyage, le tracé culturel parcouru par l'auteur des textes démontre que, malgré les différences thématiques et de construction des textes, celui-ci appartenait au périmètre de l'Europe civilisée, c'est-à-dire française.

Nous voudrions souligner, aussi, notre propre contribution, consistant dans l'analyse systématique de sources documentaires françaises anciennes et nouvelles (*Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. X; vol. I – nouvelle série; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. X, XVII etc.) corroborée avec la valorisation critique de la littérature de profil (voir les

ouvrages de N. Iorga, N. Munteanu-Breastă, Leonid Boicu, Victor Spinei et Michaela Spinei, Sorin Şipoş, Stela Mărieş, Simona Vărzaru, Alex. Rally, Marian Popa, Ion Toderaşcu, Gilles M.P.A. Bardy ou Paul Cernovodeanu).

Les manières de voyager dans les Principautés Roumaines dès la fin du XVIII-ème et jusqu'au milieu du XIX-ème, furent différentes, mais on suivait le plus souvent les routes terrestres; on voyageait surtout avec la charrue de poste, pendant que les riches utilisaient des voitures personnelles¹. Après 1834, on utilisa, aussi, la route du Danube, après l'apparition des vaisseaux à vapeur². Le plus commun chemin traversait la Transylvanie et la Valachie (Cluj –Alba Iulia – Sibiu, d'où partaient deux routes qui se dirigeaient vers Bucureşti: une passait les Carpates par Turnu Roşu, où les autorités autrichiennes installèrent la quarantaine – Râmnicu Vâlcea – Piteşti, et la seconde par Braşov – le passage Rucăr – Căineni – Câmpulung – Târgovişte ou sur la vallée de Prahova par Ploieşti; les

¹ Dans les Principautés Roumaines, il n'y avait point des chemins de fer; ceux-ci se repandirent dans l'ouest et le centre de l'Europe dès la quatrième décennie du siècle passé. Paul Cernovodeanu, *Importanța corpusului de călători străini pentru istoria Țărilor Române în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* [L'importance du corpus de voyageurs étrangers pour l'histoire des Pays Roumains dans la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle], en "Revista istorică" ["La Revue historique"], tome III, no. 11-12, 1992, p. 1100; Keith Hitchens, *Români. 1774-1866* [Les Roumains. 1774-1866], Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti, 1998, p. 137.

² Les voyageurs anglais utilisèrent le plus intensément le chemin du Danube. Ils prenaient les vaisseaux à vapeur à Vienne ou Peste, transbordaient à Porțile de Fier, ensuite ils passaient par Cerneți – Calafat – Corabia, suivaient le cours du fleuve jusqu'à Giurgiu, d'où ceux-ci prenaient le chemin de Bucureşti. Ceux qui allaient en Moldavie, continuaient leur voyage par le fleuve jusqu'à Galați, pendant que ceux qui se dirigeaient vers Constantinople ou Odessa, continuaient leur chemin par le Delta du Danube, par le bras Sulina. Comme la Russie tsariste accapara les bouches du Danube par le traité d'Andrinople (1829), jusqu'à l'époque de la guerre de Crimée, on enregistra des difficultés de navigation dans la zone du Delta. En 1838, en Angleterre, en France et en Autriche apparurent les premiers projets de réalisation d'un canal navigable qui lie Cernavodă ou Rasova de Constanța. De cette manière, on aurait raccourci considérablement le chemin de Vienne vers Constantinople et on aurait évité la région névralgique du Delta. Des voyageurs français souteneurs du canal on mentionne Saint Marc Girardin (1836) et Felix Colson (1839). Paul Cernovodeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1100-1101; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre în Moldova între anii 1834-1848 (II)* [Les chemins de communication terrestres en Moldavie entre les années 1834-1848 (II)], en "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol»" ["L'Annuaire de l'Institut d'Histoire et Archéologie «A.D. Xenopol»"], V, 1968, Editura Academiei, Iași, p. 124.

deux tracées passaient par București. De la capitale, les voyageurs se dirigeaient vers Giurgiu ou Călărași, traversaient le Danube vers Rusciuc, respectivement à Silistra en Bulgarie. De cet endroit-là, ils voyageaient vers Constantinople.

Les voyageurs qui traversaient la Moldavie, se dirigeant vers la Mer Noire, prenaient le chemin de Tchernovtsy – Siret – Suceava, par la Bucovine occupée par les Autrichiens – Iași – Fălciu – Galați, se déplaçant ensuite vers l'embouchure du Danube. S'ils traversaient la Valachie, les voyageurs allaient par Iași – Roman – Bacău – Adjud – Focșani; pour aller en Transylvanie, ils traversaient les pas Oituz et Bârgău, vers Târgu Secuiesc, Brașov et Bistrița. Ceux qui allaient en Russie, utilisaient la route Iași – Ungheni – Chișinău³.

Les relations des Français sur les voies de communication de Moldavie et de Valachie

Dans son journal de voyage, le comte d'Hauterive décrit avec beaucoup de talent et humour les 28 jours du voyage de Constantinople à Iași. S'intéressant vraiment des réalités rencontrées à travers son voyage, le voyageur français nota dans son journal les observations et les réflexions concernant les gens et les endroits qu'il y rencontra. Au départ de Pera, d'Hauterive était convaincu qu'il voyagera à travers l'Europe orientale comme en France, mais ses illusions disparurent tout de suite. Il décrit de manière réaliste, les paysages monotones manqués de végétation, les villages boueux, les masures et la pauvreté où vivaient les gens de ces contrées-là. Il traversa le Danube par Silistra, où la peste ravagea. La rive valaque du fleuve était déserte, le voyageur français n'y aperçut aucun homme, aucune habitation. Comme on s'éloignait du Danube, la Valachie devenait plus peuplée et de plus en plus belle. Le comte d'Hauterive y put apercevoir des haras de chevaux ressemblant à ceux d'Auvergne, des troupeaux de boeufs, de moutons ou de chèvres⁴.

Le général comte de Langeron laissa dans son mémorial dédié aux campagnes de 1788 et 1789, des descriptions des chemins de Bessarabie et de la Principauté de la Moldavie. En Bessarabie tous les 25 lieux, on trouvait un détachement de Cosaques qui servaient comme station de poste (*menzil*). Le militaire français mentionna, aussi, la commodité des cochers de ces stations de

³ Paul Cernovodeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 1099-1100; Dan Berindei, *Le Danube aux temps contemporains, un siècle et demi d'histoire d'un fleuve européen*, en "Revue Roumaine d'Etudes Internationales", XXVI, 5-6 (121-122), Bucarest, 1992, p. 313-314; L. Boicu, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁴ N. Munteanu-Breastă, „Moldova la 1787” în viziunea contelui d'Hauterive [“La Moldavie en 1787” dans la vision du comte d'Hauterive], en “Revista de istorie”, tome 41, no 7, 1988, p. 711.

poste, qui faisaient les voyageurs attendre 4-5 ou même 10 heures jusqu'à atteler aux chariots les chevaux demi sauvages "qui, le plus souvent, partent dans un galop fougueux et vous renversent". Faute d'éléments qui montrent le chemin, il y avait le danger que le voyageur s'égaré surtout pendant la nuit et seulement la chance aurait pu le rapporter sur le bon chemin⁵.

En échange, en Moldavie il y avait des chemins "frayés" et même clos avec des haies vives, mais extrêmement mauvais et impossibles à utiliser pendant l'hiver. Les chevaux moldaves réquisitionnés abusivement des paysans étaient si maigres et mal nourris qu'à peine 15 ou 20 "arrivent à tirer même le plus facile des voitures". Il arrivait souvent qu'une paire ou trois chevaux périssent le long du voyage. On allait au pas lorsqu'il était de boue, pendant qu'on parcourait les chemins secs – "en chasse"⁶. En sa qualité de témoin oculaire, le comte de Langeron laissa aussi une description des harnais utilisés⁷. Langeron tirait la conclusion, exagérant, biensûr, que le plus souvent, la plus petite colline représentait pour les pauvres chevaux moldaves un obstacle "pareil aux Alpes". De plus, il mentionnait sarcastiquement que "l'unique manière d'aller vite" était à la descente; comme les animaux n'avaient pas la force nécessaire pour retenir le chariot, ils roulent vers la vallée et, une fois arrivés aux pieds du versant, "tous ensemble, maîtres, cochers, voiture, bagages s'y élèvent, on répare tout et on part de nouveau"⁸.

En chaque village, les sergents russes emmenaient de force les chevaux des habitants pour le *menzil*. Le plus souvent, les chevaux y mourraient, le maître recevait des coups et revenait chez soi sans argent en échange de ses animaux.

⁵ *Călători străini despre Țările Române* [Voyageurs étrangers sur les Pays Roumains], vol. X, la II-ème partie, (volume soigné par Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu), Editura Academiei Române, București, 2001, p. 948; Radu Rosetti, *Arhiva senatorilor de la Chișinău. Amănunte asupra Moldovei de la 1808 la 1812* [Les Archives des sénateurs de Chișinău. Détails concernant la Moldavie de 1808 à 1812], en "Analele Academiei Române" ["Les Annales de l'Académie Roumaine"], Série II, tome XXXII, 1909-1910, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București, Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl S-sor Ioan St. Rasidescu, 1910, p. 96.

⁶ *Călători străini...*, vol. X, la II-ème partie, p. 949; Mihai Lazăr, *Călători străini despre creșterea animalelor în Moldova în secolele XVI-XVIII* [Voyageurs étrangers sur l'élevage des animaux en Moldavie pendant les XVI-ème – XVIII-ème siècles], en "Hierasus", Botoșani, 1978, p. 364; Victor Spinei et Michaela Spinei, *Însemnările cu caracter istorico-etnografic asupra Principatelor Române ale contelui de Langeron* [Les notes à caractère historico géographique sur les Principautés Roumaines du comte de Langeron], en "Hierasus", IX, Iași, 1994, p. 374.

⁷ "Deux ou trois paysans moldaves à cheval sur ces rosses infortunés, avec des bâts en bois, des brides en ficelles et des rênes en écorce de bois, crient, s'agitent et s'enlisent au premier marécage". *Călători străini...*, vol. X, partea a II-a, p. 949.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

Comme le prince Potemkin quitta le front en décembre 1790, plusieurs militaires le suivirent à Iași. Langeron consigna que le nombre élevé d'officiers et de valets qui rentrèrent dans la capitale moldave, le temps pluvieux, ainsi que l'état déplorable des chemins conduirent à la mort de neuf dizaines des chevaux. Les paysans portèrent les survivants dans les bois, où, les uns et les autres, mangèrent des herbes, échappant de cette manière à "la poursuite des Russes"⁹. Horrifié par les difficultés du chemin, Langeron rappelait qu'il avait vu même 150 chariots arrêtés dans une station de poste, mais aussi des voyageurs obligés à rester même huit jours dans un village, "mourant vraiment de faim"¹⁰.

Langeron quitta Ismail le 22 décembre 1790/2 janvier 1791¹¹. Il arriva à Iași le 31 décembre 1790/10 janvier 1791 "après le plus terrible voyage", après avoir été obligé à descendre du chariot ou de le pousser lui-même¹².

Sur l'état des chemins de la Valachie témoigne aussi le journal de voyage du marquis de Salaberry. Voyageant par Banat, l'Olténie et la partie ouest de la Valachie l'automne de l'année 1790, le voyageur français consigna "d'une manière brillante", mais "de mal augure" sur l'état des routes valaques son départ de Cerneți, "le premier foire roumain"¹³. Quelque douze chevaux et autant d'hommes réussirent à peine à mettre en branle la voiture. Le marquis de Salaberry y consignait que le chef de poste devait procurer des chevaux et des hommes des alentours de ce que les indigènes appelaient injustement "le grand chemin". Leurs services, assimilés à une corvée, apportaient aux paysans respectifs l'exemption des autres taxes¹⁴.

La traversée d'une "montagne d'environ un quart de lieue", situé à quelque distance de Cerneți et pour la montée de laquelle ils eurent besoin de trois heures, témoigne sur l'état des chemins et des chevaux de poste. Le voyageur français eut l'occasion d'observer "le caractère de ces bons Roumains": comme le chariot ne put plus avancer, l'ordonnance qui les accompagnait essaya à apporter quelques paysans, mais ceux-ci ont fui dans le bois. Après une

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 949.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre în Moldova între 1834-1848 (I)* [Les voies de communication terrestres en Moldavie entre 1834-1848 (I)], en "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol», Iași, Editura Academiei, IV, 1967, p. 82.

¹¹ *Călători străini...*, vol. X, partea a II-a, p. 948.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 949; Andrei Pippidi, *Călătoriile ducelui de Richelieu prin Moldova* [Les voyages du duc de Richelieu par la Moldavie], en "Revista de istorie", tome 41, no. 7, 1988, p. 684.

¹³ Les auteurs de la II-ème partie du volume X de *Călători străini despre Țările Române* identifièrent cette localité avec le village Cerneți, entrant dans la composition de la commune Simian du département Mehedinți. *Călători străini...*, vol. X, partea a II-a, p. 1005.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 1006.

poursuite “comme pour la chasse”, celui-ci réussit à rattraper environ 10-12. “Lorsque les fugitifs aperçurent qu’on ne traita pas mal à leurs compagnons et que nous, les premiers, nous donnions un coup d’épaule pour mettre en branle le chariot, ils vinrent nous donner un coup de main et j’ai pu compter plus de trente qui haussèrent le chariot sur leurs épaules”¹⁵. Les animaux commencèrent à les embarrasser à cause de leur nombre élevé, mais aussi à cause des harnachements utilisés. Les paysans avaient l’habitude, racontait Salaberry, de s’encourager avec des cris terribles, que le voyageur français n’aima pas, et qui, à son avis, approchaient l’homme des animaux. “La bienveillance que ses pauvres Roumains montrèrent vis-à-vis des hommes envers lesquels ils furent, au début, méfiants” l’impressionna. De plus, ils n’attendaient aucune récompense matérielle, comme, témoignait compatissant le marquis de Salaberry, “s’ils transportèrent leurs propres biens”. Il se rapellait, aussi, un pauvre vieux homme, qui, quoiqu’il s’appuyait dans un bourdon, “trouva la manière” d’abandonner celui-ci et de “pousser la voiture, ensemble aux autres”¹⁶.

Le long du voyage à travers la Valachie, le voyageur étranger devait prendre avec soi seulement le stricte nécessaire ; il y avait le danger que le voyageur en ces parages-là passe la nuit dans la forêt ; de plus, on n’était “jamais sûr qu’on parcourait six ou huit lieues en douze ou quinze heures”¹⁷. A certaines distances, il y avait des stations de poste où on échangeait les chevaux afin de faciliter les communications¹⁸.

Le marquis de Salaberry tira la conclusion concernant les chemins de cette province qu’on “peut croire justement ce qu’on dit sur les chemins et sur le manque d’aliments de la Valachie”¹⁹.

On retrouve des informations sur les chemins de la Principauté de la Valachie, ainsi que sur les conditions de voyager en ces parages-là au début du XIX-ème siècle, dans le journal de Louis Allier de Hauteroche. Dans la description du voyage de Constantinople à Paris de septembre 1805, de Hauteroche laissa, aussi, une description de son voyage à travers la Valachie ; il y mentionna, qu’ensemble à son compagnon, le vice-consul français de Galați, parcourt relativement vite la distance de Giurgiu, d’où ils partirent vers les 8 heures du soir le 9 octobre, jusqu’à Daia²⁰, où ils arrivèrent vers 9 heures et demi. Il

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 1006-1007.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 1007.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ Village et commune dans le département de Giurgiu. *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea* [Voyageurs étrangers sur les Pays Roumains au XIX-ème siècle], Serie nouă (Nouvelle série), vol. I (1801-1821), (volume soignée par Georgeta

s'agissait d'une distance de quatre lieues qu'ils parcoururent au galop. Le voyageur français consignait aussi que chacun voyagea dans sa propre voiture, à laquelle on attela quatre chevaux. Le 10 octobre, ils continuèrent leur voyage, traversant "des lits, des ravines, des petites rivières, des étangs, des cours d'eau", "des plaines larges séchées ou inondées", des jachères, des "larges espaces couverts de bois coupés". Ils traversèrent l'Argeș sur un pont de vaisseaux, et après deux lieues, un affluent de celui-ci sur "un pont roulant". Les voyageurs français furent obligés à transporter leurs bagages de l'autre partie de la rivière, pendant que les charrues passèrent par le lit, dans un endroit où l'eau n'arrivait que jusqu'à la croupe des chevaux. La traversée de la rivière dura presque une heure. Ensuite, ils allèrent quelque temps "assez bien, mais une roue s'est rompue et les cochers essayèrent en vain la réparer"²¹. Ils arrivèrent à București l'après-midi et furent logés dans la maison de leur compatriote, Sainte Luce²², qui les attendait avec le dîner²³. De Hauteroche quitta la ville de București le 13 octobre 1805, arriva à Florești après avoir parcouru en six heures une distance de deux postes roumaines²⁴ dans le galop des chevaux attelés au chariot. De Hauteroche consigna aussi que le prince régnant offrait gratuitement aux voyageurs étrangers des chevaux, "de logement et de provisions"²⁵.

Après le paragraphe dédié au caractère et à la destinée des Roumains, de Hauteroche mentionna qu'on y traitait les chevaux "avec une négligence inimaginable". Le soir, lorsque les voyageurs allaient dormir, on desattela ceux-ci. Comme ils allaient paître, les cochers les rattrapaient et les attelaient "ayant peur qu'ils ne partent", et les pauvres chevaux passaient de cette manière la nuit "tout le temps, faute de foin devant". Le voyageur français laissa des informations, aussi, sur les harnachements utilisés à cette époque-là dans la Valachie, dont le prix ne dépassait plus de 18 sous. Les harnais des chevaux se composaient d'une "corde qui remplaçait le fouet et un morceau de sangle à leur

Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia), Editura Academiei Române, București, 2004, p. 193.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

²² Commissaire provisoire de la France à București (1803-1806). *Ibidem*.

²³ Dans la maison de Sainte Luce, ils rencontrèrent, aussi, le Français Parandier, qui y "arriva quelques heures plus tôt". Il s'agissait du diplomate français Pierre Parandier, agent secret en Pologne, secrétaire d'ambassade à Constantinople et chargé d'affaires en 1804. De retour en France, il rédigea un *Mémoire sur la Turquie*. B.G. Spiridonakis, *Empire Ottoman. Inventaire des mémoires et documents aux archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de France*, Salonic, 1973, p. 61, *apud Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 194.

²⁴ Le voyageur français consigna que "chacune de ces postes équivaut avec cinq de nos lieues de 2280 ou 25 degrés". *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 194.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 195.

cou” ; les brides manquaient²⁶. Après le départ de Sălătruc, le voyageur français se dirigea vers Pripoare, “le long des défilées et des montagnes”, qu’ils montèrent et descendirent “à tour de rôle” sur des chemins extrêmement accidentés, “difficiles et pas entretenus, à travers les bois”. Il y eut l’occasion d’observer des arbres d’une hauteur remarquable, qui s’écroulaient de vieillesse. On y avait l’habitude de jeter les arbres tombés dans les abîmes pour les remplir, “précaution” sans laquelle le chemin de montagne aurait été “impraticable”²⁷. A Căineni, le voyageur français de Hauteroche et son compagnon, Parandier, assistèrent à un incident : une querelle suivie par quelques coups “donnés et reçus entre les cochers et les habitants de ces parages-là”. De Hauteroche parcourt la plus grande partie du chemin de montagne de Sălătruc à Căineni à cheval, pendant que Parandier préféra à “traverser dans la voiture les endroits les plus dangereux des Carpates”. Là où le chemin était gâté, on mit des pièces de bois à travers. De Hauteroche consigna qu’au dessous, il y avait des abîmes²⁸.

Dans le paragraphe dédié au gouvernement et à l’administration du *Rapport sur la Valachie et la Moldavie*, le consul français de Iași, Reinhard écrivait que, même après une pluie passagère, les chemins devenaient “impraticables”, se transformant dans une “boue molle”. Même à un quart de lieue de la capitale, les chariots plongeaient dans la boue ; le paysans que la pluie surprit sur le chemin, desattelaient ses chevaux et attendait patiemment pour que la route sèche²⁹. De plus, les endroits des alentours des routes plus importantes étaient “en friche et déserts”. Comme on disait que ces pays étaient misères, Reinhard tira la conclusion que “l’œil du voyageur turc” ne devait “voir aucune moisson”³⁰.

Dans une lettre de 11 juillet 1806 adressée à sa mère, Sofia Reimarus de Hamburg, la femme du consul français Charles Frédéric Reinhard, Christine Reinhard mentionnait la difficulté de traverser les pas des Carpates, venant de Transylvanie vers la Valachie, à Căineni. Ils voyagèrent sur des sentiers étroits, taillés “dans la côte de la montagne”, pendant que les roues des chariots atteignaient par endroits les bords des gouffres. Les gens de l’escorte soutenaient la voiture “à l’aide des cordes”³¹. Au départ de Căineni, relatait Christine Reinhard dans une nouvelle lettre adressée à la même destinatrice et datée le 17 juillet 1806, on déchargea leurs bagages des chariots et on les mit en deux chars, on leur donna une escorte et vers sa surprise, 60 chevaux pour le

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 257.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 258.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 284.

chemin³². Les chemins laissèrent à Madame Reinhard une impression négative³³. Elle témoigna à sa mère qu'elle fut presque tout le temps inquiète, "jusque mes yeux et mon esprit s'accoutumèrent avec le danger". Le lendemain, ils continuèrent la descente des Carpates, que Madame Reinhard compara avec les Alpes, sur des chemins si accidentés et dangereux "qu'on doit appeler en secours le fanatisme oriental pour risquer les parcourir". Maintes fois, les voyageurs étrangers furent obligés à descendre du chariot et l'aspect de leur "caravane" semblait à Christine Reinhard bizarre et même amusant³⁴.

Le 24 juillet 1806, Christine Reinhard écrivait de nouveau à sa mère, cette fois-ci de Iași, où ils arrivèrent "au bout de leurs égarements"³⁵, après le départ de București, souffrants et affaiblis par la chaleur intense de l'été avec laquelle ils n'étaient pas habitués, mentionnant le passage par Râmnic et Focșani. Elle remarqua de nouveau l'hospitalité des Roumains, qui, à chaque arrêt, leurs offraient du café, des gâteaux et des volailles. Quoiqu'il essayât à éviter une réception solennelle à Iași, le consul français, ensemble à sa famille, dût se soumettre à cette corvée, aussi. A la première vue, la ville ne produisit pas à Madame Reinhard une impression trop agréable : sous la pluie torrentielle, les ruelles devinrent de véritables ruisseaux et, quoique assise sur des oreillers en brocart brodés avec de l'or, elle dut de nouveau supporter les cahots de la route³⁶.

Le comte de Guilleminot finit son rapport concernant l'état des Principautés en 1807 avec une série de considérations concernant le manque des chemins construits dans les deux provinces. En général, les chemins de communication devenaient impraticables après quelques jours de pluie. De plus, les ponts y étaient si mal entretenus "et d'une construction si précaire", (paradoxalement, puisque le bois n'y manquait), que les chariots passaient avec peur même s'ils n'étaient pas trop pleins³⁷.

En 1807, le capitaine Aubert consigna le manque de chemins ; il nota que l'herbe couvrait la Moldavie toute entière. On emménageait les relais de poste

³² "J'ai souri lorsque j'ai entendu que nous aurions besoin de 60 chevaux pour le chemin, mais je me suis convaincue tout de suite qu'on utilisa tous". *Ibidem*.

³³ "Ton cœur se serait serré, chère maman, si vous nous aviez vu ramper sur des chemins si épouvantables". *Ibidem*.

³⁴ Devant allaient les enfants du couple Reinhard, portés sur les bras par les indigènes, ensuite la vieille servante escortée par les Tatares, "avançant comme une victime portée à la mort", les serfs "égayés par le vin bu outre mesure", le courrier français qui fuit de France, de l'Autriche et de la Turquie et qui jouissait du "privilège d'avoir été condamné à mort en trois pays", les voitures entourées de l'escorte. *Ibidem*, p. 285.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 289.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 290-291.

³⁷ Le rapport finissait avec la date de "27 septembre 1807" et avec la fonction et le nom de l'auteur: "Comandant adjutant Guilleminot". *Ibidem*, p. 368.

“dans une baraque, le plus souvent dans le bivouac des chevaux”. On laissait les chevaux, en nombre assez grand, pâtre librement dans la campagne pendant la nuit. Comme maintes fois les cochers les trouvaient à une distance d’une ou deux lieues, les voyageurs tardaient assez souvent justement à cause de cela. Pour le reste, les chevaux moldaves allaient assez vite³⁸. Partant de Hotin, Aubert continua son chemin par Rădăuți, Bălcăuți, Chireni, Ștefănești ; arrivé à Iași, le voyageur français continua son chemin, avec ses compagnons, vers Vaslui, par Scânteia et Uncești. De cet endroit-là, le voyage sembla à Aubert plus difficile³⁹. Il continua son chemin vers Focșani, par Socolina, Bârlad, Berheci, Tecuci. Le long du chemin par la région qui lui sembla “un peu plus cultivée”, le voyageur français observa plusieurs champs ensemencés avec du blé turc et de l’orge⁴⁰. De là, il se dirigea vers Galați, passant par Martinești et Maxineni, vers Brăila, d’où on arrivait au Danube⁴¹.

Dans le journal dédié à son voyage par la Moldavie de l’année 1809 dans la qualité de compagnon du comte polonais Branicki, Alexandre Nicolas Léonard Charles Marie de Moriolles rappela “le dégel total” qui fit les chemins “presque inutilisables”. Puisqu’ils voyagèrent le mois de mars, le dégel ralentit leur avance ; c’était “l’unique ennui” rencontré le long du voyage, parce que “les facilités de la vie” les “accompagnaient à chaque pas”. Le chemin jusqu’à Iași dura sept jours ; là, un groupe de boyards à cheval, envoyés à “saluer le comte et l’escorter jusqu’au palais du prince régnant”, où on les logea à l’ordre du feld-maréchal Prozorovski, les accueillit⁴². Après avoir passé trois jours à Iași, les voyageurs étrangers se dirigèrent vers Râmnic, escortés par les Cosaques.

³⁸ Aubert, *Notes statistiques sur la Pologne Russe, la Moldavie et la Valachie, Service historique de l’armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes, Fond Turquie et Péninsule Illyrienne*, 1 M 1629/4, p. 5-6, *apud* Sorin Șipoș, *Imaginea celuilalt: un document francez privind spațiul românesc de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea* [L’image de l’autre: un document français concernant l’espace roumain du début du XIX-ème siècle], en “Journal of the Study of Religious & Ideologies”, Cluj-Napoca, no. 12/ winter 2005, p. 43-44, en <http://www.jsri.ro/old/html%20version/index/ro-12/untiltl.3.htm>; Marcel Emerit, *L’enquête de Napoléon I-er sur les principautés roumaines*, en “Revue historique du sud-est européen”, XIII, no. 4-6, 1936, p. 193-194.

³⁹ “De Iași on traverse une contrée montagneuse et boisée. Le chemin est mal et difficile [...]. Aux alentours de la petite ville de Vaslui on découvre une position stratégique d’où, si celle-ci serait fortifiée, on pourrait défendre les sorties à endroit ouvert de plusieurs vallées”. Il est intéressant qu’Aubert, militaire de profession, saisit la position stratégique de ces parages-là, où Etienne le Grand vainquit les Turcs trois siècles auparavant. Aubert, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Marcel Emerit, *op. cit.*, p. 193-194.

⁴⁰ Aubert, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Marcel Emerit, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁴¹ Aubert, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Sorin Șipoș, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Marcel Emerit, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁴² *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 471.

Quoique, d'habitude, on parcourt un tel chemin en sept jours, ils "perdirent plus de temps" à cause de la traversée des rivières, des ravins fréquents, remplis de l'eau résultée du dégel des neiges, du marche forcé des fantassins qui les accompagnaient et qui nageaient dans la boue jusqu'à leurs genoux⁴³. Le long du voyage de Iași jusqu'à Râmnic, les Cosaques eurent d'innombrables occasions de montrer leur habileté et d'offrir leur secours: aux endroits les plus difficiles, ceux-ci descendirent de leurs chevaux et étayèrent les chariots, "les soutinrent de manière que ceux-ci ne versent, n'importe combien penché aurait été le versant"; à la traversée des "torrents", ils s'accrochaient des roues des chariots massifs pour empêcher leur renversement, pendant que des autres les soutenaient du "sommet du ravin" avec des cordes qu'on lia auparavant des essieux; pendant la traversée des eaux, les Cosaques passaient premièrement de l'autre côté, nageant, mesurant leur profondeur avec les lances. Vers Focșani, la poussière remplaça la boue, fait qui facilita leur avance⁴⁴.

Le diplomate français J. M. Tancoigne mentionna dans le journal de son voyage par les Principautés en 1809 le chemin qu'il suivit de Iași vers Lemberg et ensuite par Vienne. De la capitale de la Moldavie, il se dirigea vers Darabani et ensuite vers Hotin, "la dernière ville de la Moldavie située sur les bords du Dniestr"⁴⁵.

On retrouve des considérations sur les chemins des Principautés dans le journal de voyage d'Auguste Marie Balthazard Charles Pelletier, comte de Lagarde, aussi⁴⁶: voyageant de Călărași à București, le voyageur français n'observa rien de particulier en dehors de l'habitude "d'acquiescer le paiement de la poste une seule fois pour tout le chemin"⁴⁷. Le comte de Lagarde voyagea dans une charrue remplie de pailles, "assise sur quatre petites roues sans jantes", à laquelle on attela quatre chevaux "avec des cordes au lieu de harnachements". A cause des dimensions du moyen de transport, seulement une personne avec ses bagages tenait "difficilement" dans la charrue. Pour cela, on habitua "d'utiliser tant de charrues combien des voyageurs et des coffres il y avait"⁴⁸. De București,

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 473.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 474.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 530.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 562; George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri* [Du Bucarest d'hier], vol. II, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1990, p. 200; Idem, *Din Bucureștii de altădată* [Du Bucarest de jadis], Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1991, p. 93; Alexandrina Ioniță, *Carte franceză în Moldova până la 1859* [Livre français dans la Moldavie jusqu'à 1859], Casa Editorială Demiurg, Iași, 2007, p. 38.

⁴⁷ C'était quelque chose de bon, selon Lagarde, parce qu'on exemptait les voyageurs de la spoliation de chaque station de poste et de l'ennui de compter l'argent. *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 562.

⁴⁸ A l'occasion du passage par Râmnic, le cocher lui relata la mort du général lieutenant

le comte de Lagarde écrivait en janvier 1813 à son ami, Jules Griffith qu'il y arriva "grâce au ciel". L'absence des manoirs le désillusionna, mais comme il avait besoin d'"une chambre et d'un lit", on le logea au vice-consul de France, Barbier⁴⁹ qui lui mit à disposition sa maison jusque à ce que le comte Lagarde aurait trouvé une habitation appropriée⁵⁰.

Revenant chez soi des noces d'une jeune fille de la maison de Catinca Slătineanu en mars 1813, le comte écrivait de nouveau à son ami que le cocher presque le renversa à cause d'un grand trou du milieu de la ruelle. Comme l'*aga* (le chef) de la police était dans la même voiture, Lagarde le demanda "comment est-il possible qu'on ne pave pas la ville au lieu de la planchéier"⁵¹. Grigore Filipescu, l'*aga* de la police, lui aurait répondu que "la difficulté de mettre un pavage durable sur ce terrain marécageux aurait demandé des dépenses trop grands pour jamais pouvoir l'accomplir". De plus, une telle démarche aurait aggravé "le joug qui pesait sur ce pays infortuné"⁵².

Le mois d'avril, le comte de Lagarde partait vers sa patrie. Traversant le massif des Carpates vers la Transylvanie, il mentionna les chemins "à peine indiqués", suspendus maintes fois au-dessus des abîmes "épouvantables". Les Turcs détruisent les chemins pour empêcher l'approche des ennemis pendant la guerre avec les Autrichiens de 1788-1792. Lagarde consigna qu'on rétablit les communications en introduisant des solives en bois dans la terre, qui cédaient sous le poids des chariots et jetaient les voyageurs "dans les précipices, dont la profondeur ne permet aucune espoir de les sauver"⁵³. De la frontière de la

russe Arcadii Alexandrovici Suvorov (1784-1811), le fils du général Alexandru Vasilievici Suvorov, le vainqueur de Râmnic de 11/23 septembre 1789. *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Le mois de décembre 1812, pendant l'absence du consul titulaire Ledoux, on nomma Barbier vice-consul de la France. *Ibidem*, p. 563.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 562-563.

⁵¹ A cause de cela, précisait Lagarde, les ruelles se nommaient des ponts, pendant que l'air était malsain "à cause des eaux qui forment des marécages sous les solives en chêne". *Ibidem*, p. 570.

⁵² Le comte de Lagarde considéra que le préjugé conformément auquel il était impossible de paver avec pierre devait être "détruit". Le chemin de l'empereur Trajan, "qui, de la ville de Caracal, des bords du Danube, traverse toute la Valachie et ses traces s'aperçoivent encore aux pieds des monts Carpates" en était la preuve. *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 574; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains], volume X, *Rapoarte consulare prusiene din Iași și București: 1763-1844, culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, adunate, adnotate și publicate de Neculai Iorga* [Rapports consulaires prussiens publiés de Iași et București: 1763-1844, cueillis par Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, amassés, annotés et publiés par Neculai Iorga], Publicate sub auspiciile Ministerului Cultelor și Instrucțiunii publice și ale Academiei Române, Stabilimentul Grafic I.V. Socecu, Bucuresci, 1897, p. 549; N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători* [L'histoire des

Valachie, à Câineni, le comte de Lagarde écrivait de nouveau à son ami qu'il venait de laisser en arrière de mauvais chemins. Quoiqu'on lui dise qu'il y avait des autres pis, Lagarde considéra cela "impossible"⁵⁴.

On retrouve des informations sur le transport sur le Danube en *Itinéraire de Constantinople à Bucarest, passant par Andrinople ; et de Bucarest à Turnu Roșu ou Tothenthurn, où se trouve la carantine de la frontière de la Valachie avec la Transylvanie, décembre 1814* du capitaine français Thomassin : de Giurgiu à Rusciuc, on passait le Danube avec "des vaisseaux et des barques d'une mauvaise construction", en seulement une demie heure. Les courants du Danube favorisaient la traversée du fleuve du rivage turc sur celui valaque, pendant que de Giurgiu à Rusciuc on avait besoin de deux heures "à cause du cours [...] rapide". Quoique les Russes établissent des pontons sur le Danube, ceux-ci ne résistèrent trop à cause des eaux crues et des inondations fréquentes⁵⁵. Toujours le capitaine Thomassin consigna que de Giurgiu à București, on parcourait le chemin en 13 heures. A Daia, Pietrile, Fălăștoaca et Copăceni il y avait des stations de poste⁵⁶. L'hiver, le chemin était plus difficile, mais "pendant les périodes sèches", on le parcourait en cinq ou six heures. On devait, au moins en partie, les mauvais chemins pendant la saison pluvieuse au sol argileux, mais aussi au fait qu'on ne les entretenait pas ; à leurs bords, on n'y faisait au moins ni

Roumains par voyageurs], (édition soignée, étude introductive et notes par Adrian Anghelescu), Editura Eminescu, București, 1981, p. 455.

⁵⁴ Lagarde consigna qu'à peine 12 hommes réussissaient à soutenir les chariots; les voyageurs durent descendre de leurs chevaux, montant "sur les pics pointus des rochers, qu'on nomme en ces parages des chemins", rampant sur leurs genoux ou s'appuyant "contre les coins des pierres, comme les gens échappés du naufrage". Pendant un jour, les voyageurs réussirent à parcourir seulement une poste. Comme les princes régnants ne voulaient pas éveiller "des soupçons qu'ils auraient voulu faciliter le passage des armées étrangères", négligeaient "délibérément" la réparation des routes. De plus, consignait le voyageur français, "soit par calcul, soit par prudence", ils ne demandaient pas au moins la permission de la Porte pour cela. Lagarde mentionna aussi, qu'une fois arrivés à la paroi abrupte du rocher, les cochers habitaient à crier "un «Oh!» prolongé" pour que leurs camarades les entendent (Il écrivait aussi qu'en Allemagne on habitait à sonner du cor, en France à gifler le fouet dans de telles circonstances.). Des autres voyageurs qui y auraient passé, tout en écoutant leurs cris, auraient arrêté leurs charrues, afin de ne pas bloquer le chemin. Il s'agissait d'une mesure de prévoyance à cause des sentiers étroits qui ne les permettaient pas à faire des détours ou à retourner. *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 574; Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

⁵⁵ *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 601.

⁵⁶ Thomassin indiquait même dans son mémorial de voyage, le temps nécessaire pour parcourir les distances entre les stations de poste mentionnés: 2 heures de Giurgiu à Daia, 2 de Daia à Pietrile, 3 de Pietrile à Fălăștoaca, 2 heures de Fălăștoaca à Copăceni, et de Copăceni à București, 4 heures. *Ibidem*.

des fossés pour “les essorer et permettre la fuite des eaux”. Les mauvais ponts en bois, les chemins pas entretenus, les inondations rendaient plus difficile le passage des voyageurs par la Principauté⁵⁷.

Dans son journal de voyage, le capitaine Thomassin mentionna les stations des poste qui existaient entre București et Turnu Roșu : Bolintin, Florești, Mărcești, Găiești, Cârcinovu, Pitești, Mănicești, Curtea de Argeș, Sălătruc, Pripoare, Câineni. Il consigna aussi que de București à Turnu Roșu, il voyagea 9 jours, à cause des mauvais chemins⁵⁸. Il insista surtout sur le voyage de 4 heures de Sălătruc à Pripoare, le chemin presque impraticable pour les voitures. Il mentionna qu'ils durent atteler “au moins un numéro double de chevaux et de bœufs”. De plus, la présence des autres gens sur les côtés des charrues pour les étayer sur le chemin de montagne était nécessaire. Aux alentours du chemin, le voyageur français se rappelait qu'il avait aperçu des maisons isolées, qui auraient pu abriter “les voyageurs arrêtés à cause du mauvais temps”⁵⁹. Le chemin de Câineni à Turnu Roșu était très étroit et difficile à parcourir avec les charrues. Sur certaines portions, le chemin était couvert de rochers et les voitures étaient en danger de se renverser si on ne les appuyait pas. Autrefois, sur le chemin on trouvait “des solives enfoncés horizontalement dans la montagne”, qui formaient “des ponts peu résistantes”⁶⁰.

Marie Louis Jean André Charles de Martin du Tyrac, comte de Marcellus, décrit en *Relation du voyage à travers la Valachie et la Transylvanie* de 1820 le voyage en Valachie: il passa le Danube sur un voilier, débarqua à Giurgiu, d'où il voyagea en chariot jusqu'à Daia, le premier arrêt roumain. A cet endroit-là, il passa la nuit “sur un grand four chauffé sur lequel on mit un matelas”, pendant que dehors, la neige et la pluie devenaient plus fortes. Le 10 novembre 1820, le comte de Marcellus partait de nouveau, accompagné d'un équipage composé de cinq charrues de poste, ayant chacune quatre chevaux. On faisait les charrues roumaines en bois ; celles-ci parcouraient le chemin en grande vitesse. Le voyageur devait rester accroupi sur “un amas de pailles”. Le chemin, “pavé de travers avec des troncs d'arbres” cahotait le voyageur. Comme le chemin était couvert d'un gros borbier, le galop des chevaux couvrit le pauvre comte français “avec une couche de boue”. Quoiqu'au début, témoigne le comte, il essuya toute trace de boue de ses habits, bientôt il y renonça. Il arriva au consulat de la France couvert d'une couche de boue, “impossible à reconnaître”.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 602.

⁵⁸ Pendant l'été, lorsqu'il faisait sécheresse, on pouvait parcourir le chemin respectif en trois-quatre jours. *Ibidem*, p. 603.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 605.

⁶⁰ Le capitaine Thomassin mentionnait aussi qu'aux ordres du prince Eugène de Savoie, général des troupes autrichiennes, on fit construire ce chemin. *Ibidem*, p. 605-606.

Il traversa ensuite sur un pont de vaisseaux l'Argeș et la Dâmbovița, "une rivière boueuse, qui souillait la ville au lieu de la décrotter". Le comte de Marcellus consigna que d'Andrinople jusqu'à București, il y avait une distance de 80 lieux, qu'il parcourt en six jours. A București il resta quatre jours, où on le reçut à la cour du dernier prince régnant phanariote, Alexandru Suțu⁶¹.

A son départ de București, Marcellus loua une petite voiture allemande, à laquelle on attela quatre chevaux, dirigés par deux cochers. Un arnaute précédait l'équipage ; celui-ci voyageait dans une voiture de poste. Le chemin était inondé partout. Il passa par Bolintin, Florești, Cârcinov, Pitești, où résidait un *ispravnic*, Sălătruc, Câineni, Turnu Roșu. A Sălătruc, les huit chevaux ne purent plus tirer la voiture, qui était "une des plus légères de ce genre". Dix bœufs et dix hommes avec des cordes et des pieux, qui soutenaient le chariot "au-dessus les abîmes" leur offrirent du secours. Deux Roumains à chevaux, avec des haches précédaient l'équipage pour libérer le chemin des arbres tombés. Le comte de Marcellus consigna qu'ils ont parcouru huit lieues en quatre heures. De București jusqu'à la carantine de Turnu Roșu, il y avait, conformément au voyageur français, une distance de 50 lieues⁶².

Le 25 juin 1825, le consul français de Iași, Tancoigne mentionnait l'incertitude du voyage en Moldavie, les bandes de voleurs qui agissaient même en plein jour et que les dirigeants toléraient, ainsi que les troupes turques cantonnées dans la principauté⁶³.

J. Jacquin rappelait en 1828 en *Note confidentielle sur l'état des Principautés de la Valachie et de la Moldavie et sur le parti que peut en tirer la France dans son intérêt et dans intérêt général de l'Europe* l'état déplorable des chemins, tracés au hasard. Le voyageur français consignait que seulement grâce au caractère loyal des habitants, ils ne devenaient pas le théâtre des scènes épouvantables. Il soulignait, aussi, avec révolte et surprise que de la capitale et

⁶¹ Le comte de Marcellus écrivait que ce vieux sage homme connaissait "l'Europe presque aussi bien que les secrets de la Sublime Porte, ainsi que les troubles intérieurs de Phanar". *Ibidem*, p. 907, 909.

⁶² Après avoir passé trois jours dans la carantine de Turnu Roșu, Marcellus quittait "le prison" et se dirigeait vers Sibiu. De cet endroit-là, il traversa le plus rapidement qu'il put "et pourtant très lentement", la Transylvanie, Timișoara, le Banat et l'Hongrie, arrivant finalement à Vienne. *Ibidem*, p. 910.

⁶³ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains], volume XVII, *Corespondență diplomatică și rapoarte consulare franceze (1825-1846) culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, publicate după copiile Academiei Române de Nerva Hodoș* [Correspondance diplomatique et rapports consulaires français (1825-1846) cueillis par Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, publiés selon les copies de l'Académie Roumaine par Nerva Hodoș], Inst. de Arte grafice Carol Gobl, București, 1913, p. 20.

jusqu'aux frontières il n'y avait aucun auberge qui puisse offrir au voyageur les choses les plus usuelles⁶⁴.

De 1835, date le mémoire des boyards moldaves qui se plaignaient au tsar que Mihail Sturdza utilisa à la construction de la chaussée Iași – Mihăileni des habitants des contrées nordiques de la Moldavie, qu'il ne paya plus⁶⁵.

On retrouve des informations sur l'état des chemins et la manière de voyager en 1835 en Valachie, dans le journal de voyage de M. Cochelet⁶⁶. Entrant en Valachie par Căineni, le voyageur français traversa les chemins de montagne avec un lourd équipage tiré par 12 chevaux. Arrivé au monastère Argeș, on l'accueillit "avec grands honneurs"; après avoir participé à une messe, on l'installa dans l'appartement de l'archimandrite⁶⁷. Presque une année plus tard après son arrivée dans la capitale valaque, Cochelet visita à Iași le prince régnant de la Moldavie, auprès duquel il était accrédité. Parti de București le 13 septembre 1835, Cochelet prit le chemin de Brăila, passant premièrement par Călărași. Il voyagea dans une voiture solide, légère et résistante. On organisa le voyage en grande hâte et il fut accompagné par un "ancien et fidèle janissaire du consulat", l'Albanais Yani. Le chemin passa par les stations de poste Tinganu, Drumu-Scurt, Obilești, Bărăgani et Cordela. L'équipage arriva à Călărași à quatre heures de l'après-midi. Il passa ensuite par Brăila. Le séjour à Iași l'enchant⁶⁸.

Stanislas Bellanger traversa la Valachie en 1836⁶⁹. Il laissa dans son mémorial de voyage une description des difficultés du voyage à travers la

⁶⁴ Gh. Platon, Cristiana Oghină-Pavie, *Franța și Principatele Române în epoca „Restaurației naționale” (1821-1834)* [La France et les Principautés Roumaines à l'époque de la "Restauration nationale" (1821-1834)], dans le volume *Franța. Model cultural și politic* [La France. Modèle culturel et politique], (volume édité par Alexandru Zub, Dumitru Ivănescu), Editura Junimea, Iași, 2003, p. 243; Stela Mărieș, *Quelques aspects de l'histoire des transports en Roumanie au cours du XIX-e siècle*, en "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire", XXIV; 1-2, Bucarest, 1985, p. 153.

⁶⁵ Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. XVII, p. 539; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre... (I)*, p. 96.

⁶⁶ M. Cochelet a été agent et consul général de la France en Valachie et en Moldavie entre 1834-1839. Simona Vărzaru, *Prin Țările Române. Călători străini în secolul al XIX-lea* [A travers les Pays Roumains. Voyageurs étrangers au XIX-ème siècle], anthologie, traduction, étude introductive et notes par Simona Vărzaru, Editura Sport-Turism, București, 1984, p. 36, 53.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 54; Alex. Rally, *Le voyage de Cochelet dans les principautés roumaines (1834-5)*, en "Revue historique du sud-est européen", VIII, no. 10-12, 1931, p. 276-277.

⁶⁸ Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Alex. Rally, *op. cit.*, p. 279-293.

⁶⁹ Il vint en Valachie en 1836 pour s'occuper de la succession de son oncle, nommé Parrent, qui avait occupé à București la fonction de consul de la France. Ecrivain de talent, doué avec un esprit aigu de l'observation, Bellanger laissa plusieurs ouvrages concernant les Principautés Roumaines : *Le Moldo-Valaque*, *Le Keroutza*, la première publiée à Paris en 1844, et la seconde en 1846. Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Marian

Valachie de ce temps-là : les chemins pas entretenus et bloqués pendant l'hiver par la neige, le péril d'être attaqués par les pillards⁷⁰ ou par les bêtes sauvages⁷¹ ou de s'y égarer⁷².

Le secrétaire du consulat français de București, Felix Colson écrivait en 1839 que les Principautés Roumaines possédaient 20 vaisseaux⁷³.

On commença à améliorer les chemins de communication en Moldavie pendant l'administration russe ; ces démarches s'intensifièrent après 1834. Le consul français Huber signalait dans un rapport de 1839 qu'on traça en Moldavie de nouvelles voies de communication dans toutes les directions⁷⁴.

La comtesse française Fanny de la Rochefoucauld mentionna dans le journal dédié au voyage de la capitale valaque vers la Moldavie l'état déplorable des chemins : douze chevaux attelés à une voiture habituelle réussirent à grande difficulté à parcourir les chemins défoncés, stimulés par les cris des cochers et par les coups reçus. Il arrivait souvent que les harnais des chevaux, qui plutôt les gênaient, se rompent. Au-delà du mauvais état des chemins, la traversée des cours d'eau en crue à cause des pluies et manquées de ponts représentait la partie la plus dangereuse du voyage. La comtesse rappelait même les difficultés rencontrées pendant le passage de la rivière Buzău, extrêmement difficile à traverser pour les chevaux maigres et mal attelés, qu'ils réussirent à passer seulement à l'aide des Cosaques de l'escorte.

Popa, *Călătoriile epocii romantice* [Les voyages de l'époque romantique], Editura Univers, București, 1972, p. 186.

⁷⁰ Le guide du voyageur français, Gheorghe, même tua un voleur, qui guettait leur équipage. Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83.

⁷¹ Bellanger racontait la mésaventure d'un jeune officier qu'un ours attaqua sur le chemin de București, à Câmpina. *Ibidem*, p. 84.

⁷² Cela arriva à des commerçants partis de Iași, qui perdirent le chemin à cause de la neige. De trente deux personnes du convoi initial, seulement deux échappèrent ; du reste, on trouva seulement les os, "témoignage de la férocité des bêtes sauvages". De 80 chevaux, seulement huit échappèrent, mais on les sacrifia à cause de leur état lamentable. Seulement les marchandises restèrent intactes et on les récupéra plus tard. *Ibidem*, p. 85.

⁷³ Felix Colson, *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des Principautés de Moldavie et de Valachie*, Paris, 1839, p. 222-223, *apud* I. Toderașcu, *Preocupări pentru îmbunătățirea mijloacelor de navigație în Principatele Române (prima jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea)* [Préoccupations pour l'amélioration des moyens de navigation dans les Principautés Roumaines (la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle)], en "Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza” din Iași" ["Les Annales Scientifiques de l'Université „Al. I. Cuza” de Iași"], (nouvelle série), Secțiunea III, a. Istorie, tomul XX, 1974, fasc. 1, p. 38.

⁷⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. XVII, p. 795; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre... (II)*, p. 121, 122.

Le voyageur français mentionnait aussi son passage par Râmnicu Sărat, Focșani et Bârlad, avant son arrivée à Iași⁷⁵.

L'ingénieur français Hommaire de Hell consigna en 1841 qu'en Moldavie "l'industrie ne connut encore aucun développement" ; dans la principauté, on ne trouvait plus des travailleurs indigènes, les moyens y étaient réduits, pendant que "l'esprit d'association" ne fit encore son apparition et "on n'y peut pas construire de chemins de fer"; il préconisait, en échange, la construction des lignes sur solives en bois macadamisés⁷⁶.

Le 20 mars 1843, Duclos écrivait à Guizot que le tracé de la route Iași – Galați, conçu par Leon Braun, "honore particulièrement l'ingénieur qui l'a conçu et réalisé". Le consul français était impressionné surtout par la beauté et la résistance des ponts réalisés le long de ce chemin-là⁷⁷.

Conclusions

La connaissance des réalités roumaines de la période qu'on vient de mentionner est due surtout aux témoignages documentaires des voyageurs étrangers qui, soit traversèrent le territoire des Principautés, soit y résidèrent pour une certaine période de temps. Leurs écrits sont différents comme longueur et inégaux comme valeur. On ne peut pas comparer, par exemple, les notes fugitives du capitaine Thomassin, qui passa sur le territoire des Principautés dix jours, avec les mémoires du comte de Lagarde, qui y resta plusieurs années, amples, bien documentées, détaillées. De plus, il s'agit d'individus provenant de et illustrant différentes catégories sociales (des aristocrates: le comte d'Hauterive, le général de Langeron, le marquis de Salaberry, le comte de Guilleminot, le comte de Lagarde, le comte de Marcellus, le comtesse Fanny de la Rochefoucauld; des marchands: Louis Allier de Hauteroche; des militaires: le capitaine Thomassin, Aubert, de Langeron; des consuls, diplomates ou bureaucrates: Charles Frédéric Reinhard, J. M. Tancoigne, Felix Colson, Duclos; des journalistes: M. Cochelet, Stanislas

⁷⁵ Gilles M.P.A. Bardy, *Fanny de la Rochefoucauld dans la Moldavie de Mihail Sturdza, en Bessarabie et en Bucovine. Impressions inédites d'une comtesse*, en "Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes", XXX, 3-4, Bucarest, 1992, p. 322-323.

⁷⁶ Dumitru Vitcu, *Istoria salinelor Moldovei în epoca modernă* [L'histoire des mines de sel de la Moldavie pendant l'époque moderne], en "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «A.D. Xenopol», (Supliment IX), Universitatea „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași, 1987, p. 167; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre... (II)*, p. 468-469.

⁷⁷ Hurmuzaki, *Documente...*, vol. XVII, p. 948; L. Boicu, *Căile de comunicație terestre... (I)*, p. 91.

Bellanger; des ingénieurs: Hommaire de Hell), avec une éducation et une formation intellectuelle différentes, mais aussi manifestant de diverses sympathies politiques (les nobles sont des royalistes, pendant que les autres appartiennent au parti rival). Après des personnages avec une éducation complexe, dans les Principautés arrivèrent, aussi, des gens dont le titre nobiliaire cachait un vernis de culture ou une instruction superficielle. Les 20 voyageurs français qui laissèrent des témoignages sur les voies de communication de la période mentionné furent attirés par divers aspects de la société roumaine : vie politique, économique, sociale, vie mondaine, aspects quotidiens. Les observateurs français décrivent le monde qu'ils aperçurent et leurs relations sont intéressants et, en général, objectifs. Les intérêts et la condition des voyageurs qui arrivèrent dans les Principautés Roumaines sont différentes et comprennent une grande variété d'informations concernant les divers aspects de l'existence de jadis du peuple roumain; elles concernent le plus souvent l'organisation d'Etat et les obligations imposées par l'Empire Ottoman, les richesses des deux Principautés, l'aspect des villes et de la population, la manière de vivre des différentes classes sociales et les relations qui y existaient. Les relations des voyageurs étrangers sont extrêmement intéressants tant du point de vue de l'information historique contenue, mais aussi par leur côté critique.

En ce qui concerne les voies de communication, on a affaire quelque fois avec des relations amples : ils racontèrent en détail leur voyage, mentionnant les localités ou les stations de poste rencontrées, parfois même les distances ; autrefois, on a des descriptions détaillées et pittoresques des voitures ou des harnais utilisés (Christine Reinhard, Fanny de la Rochefoucauld, le comte de Lagarde, le comte d'Hauterive, le général de Langeron). Des autres concitoyens de ceux-ci furent plus expéditifs : ils dédièrent à l'état des chemins et à la manière de voyager seulement quelques lignes de leurs relations : c'est le cas du diplomate Tancoigne ou de J. Jaquin.

En général, les voyageurs français qui traversèrent les Principautés Roumaines dans la période précédant l'année 1848, aperçurent l'état lamentable des chemins, tracés le plus souvent au hasard, la difficulté de voyager en ces parages-là, l'organisation précaire des stations de poste, l'insécurité des routes, mais aussi le caractère loyal des habitants. Habitué avec les réalités de l'ouest du continent européen, plusieurs de ceux-ci croyaient qu'ils voyageraient comme en France, mais leurs espoirs prouvèrent rapidement illusoires. Les réalités de leur patrie les conduirent à faire une comparaison entre les chemins et la manière de voyager en France et dans les

Principautés Roumaines, comparaison qui prouva désavantageuse pour les dernières. Les consuls, les voyageurs, les diplomates ou les militaires français qui traversèrent la Moldavie et la Valachie de cette époque-là, surprirent assez exactement, avec beaucoup de talent et parfois avec humour, les réalités de ces contrées-là. Vers la fin de la période qu'on vient d'étudier, les voyageurs français aperçurent les progrès enregistrés dans les deux Principautés, dans ce domaine, aussi. Pourtant, on ne peut pas contourner une liaison entre la manière dans laquelle les observateurs étrangers décrivent les voies de communication et les premiers progrès enregistrés dans ce domaine-là.

POLITICO-TERRITORIAL PROJECTS CONCERNING BUKOVINA AND THE ROMANIAN-POLISH BORDER IN THE CONTEXT OF DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR I (1914-1920)

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Rezumat: *Proiecte politico-teritoriale privind Bucovina și granița româno-polonă în contextul negocierilor diplomatice din timpul și după Primul Război Mondial (1914-1920).*

Articolul prezintă în mod succint problematica recunoașterii unirii Bucovinei cu Regatul Român din 15/28 noiembrie 1918 de către Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1919–1920). Eforturile delegației Regatului Român conduse de către Ion I. C. Brătianu, președinte al Consiliului de Miniștri, și, ulterior, de către Alexandru Vaida–Voevod, au fost orientate spre recunoașterea integrală a Bucovinei în frontierele sale istorice (până la Ceremuș, Nistru și Colacin), așa cum fusese votat de către Congresul General al Bucovinei întrunit la Cernăuți la 15/28 noiembrie 1918. Obținerea recunoașterii internaționale a unirii Bucovinei a fost legată strâns și de eforturile româno-polone de stabilire a unei frontiere comune, obiectiv atins cu ajutorul Înaltelor Puteri Aliate și Asociate, ținându-se cont de interesele și drepturile istorice ale României și Poloniei, de evoluția situației geopolitice în estul Europei, precum și de interesele Marilor Puteri.

Abstract: *The paper concisely presents the issue of the recognition of the November 15th/28th, 1918 union of Bukovina with the Romanian Kingdom by the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920). The efforts of the Romanian Kingdom's delegation led by Ion I. C. Bratianu, the president of the Ministers' Council, and subsequently by Alexandru Vaida Voivod were oriented towards the full recognition of Bukovina within its historical borders (reaching Ceremuș, Dniester and Colacin) as it has been voted by Bukovina's General Congress that met at Chernivtsi on November 15th/28th, 1918. The achievement of Bukovina's union international recognition was also closely related to the Romanian-Polish efforts to establish a common border, a goal achieved with the support of the Allied and Associated Powers, taking into account: Romania and Poland's interests and historical rights, the geopolitical situation evolution in Eastern Europe, as well as the Great Powers' interests.*

Résumé: *Projets politico-territoriales concernant la Bucovine et la frontière roumaino-polonaise dans le contexte des négociations diplomatiques pendant et après la Première Guerre Mondiale (1914-1920).*

L'article ci-joint présente de manière succincte la question de la reconnaissance de l'union de la Bucovine avec le Royaume Roumain de 15/28 novembre 1918 par la Conférence de Paix de Paris (1919-1920). On orienta les efforts de la délégation du Royaume Roumain dirigée par Ion I. C. Brătianu, le président du Conseil de Ministres, et, ultérieurement, par Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, vers la reconnaissance intégrale de la Bucovine dans ses frontières historiques (jusqu'à Ceremuș, Dniestr et Colacin), comme le Congrès Général de la Bucovine réuni à Tchernovtsy le 15/28 novembre 1918 vota. L'obtention de la reconnaissance internationale de l'union de la Bucovine fut étroitement liée des efforts roumaino-polonais d'établir une frontière commune, objectif réalisé à l'aide des Pouvoirs Alliés et Associés, tout en tenant compte des intérêts et des droits historiques de la Roumanie et de la Pologne, de l'évolution de la situation géopolitique à l'est de l'Europe, ainsi que des intérêts des Grandes Puissances.

Keywords: *boundary, diplomacy, Bukovina, Romanian Kingdom, Poland, Peace Conference.*

Introduction

In a world where many borders become fluid and many others tend to become separation walls between civilizations, the border issue is a very interesting and actual research topic. "The delimitation of political space through internationally recognized and regulated borders represents an essential condition in defining a state, regardless of its organization form. If at the beginning of the last century, worldwide, there still existed demarcations between states through the "areal type border", nowadays the contact between countries became a direct one, through "linear borders", boundaries with a specific and well-defined route based on adopted principles, assumed and applied by most of the world's countries"¹.

Boundaries can contribute to the promoting of cooperation, peace and stability in the region, representing, as in the case of Romania, a factor of development and stability in the region. In fact, as Viorica Moisuc, a consecrated historian in the field of international relations, notes: "In order for states to live peacefully next to each other, they need to exercise their sovereignty over a certain part of the globe. This space must be circumscribed by limits called boundaries. Defining them is both a right and an obligation of the states. It can

¹ Apud Vasile Grama, *Frontiera și sistemul teritorial frontalier oriental al UE. Studiu de geografie politică* (rezumatul tezei de doctorat) [The frontier and the EU Eastern frontier territorial system. A study of political geography (the doctoral thesis abstract)] Oradea, Facultatea de Geografie, Turism și Sport, coord. științific, prof. univ., dr., Ilieș Alexandru, 2011, p. 6.

not be imagined a state without clear demarcations that separate it from another neighbouring state. There is a very close relation between the boundary and the territory it delimits. The absence of clear boundaries subjects the state to permanent conflicts with its neighbours”². The phrase boundary was firstly used in 1893 by the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, in the essay *The Significance of the Frontier in the American History* (Chicago, July 12th, 1893). The notion of boundary has the meaning of a territorial limit referring to the process of development of a culture, civilization, ideologies, religions, states and many others³. Rather than being interpreted in a strictly geographical manner, boundaries are mobile phenomena, representing some people's opportunity to verify their ability to preserve their own identity. The boundary motivates and maintains a complex variety of cultural, spiritual, political, and other processes understood in a broader sense as boundary processes⁴. For the Eastern and Central Oriental Europe boundaries, the situation is very complex, especially because of the mixed population areas. The relation between a state and an imposed community, usually by certain socio-political circumstances, is based on the parties' consent to the shaping of the respective geographical coordinates⁵. From a conservative perspective, the state boundary is the result of a need for protection and delimitation, marking the expansion of state's sovereignty. During the dismantling of the great European empires and the emergence of national states, when the Paris Peace Conference drew new boundaries between different regions of the Great Empires, thus being defined new national states, because of mistrust or incompetence vast buffer areas appeared between different sovereignties. These areas, future boundary areas and frontier areas, most often had a peripheral status in relation to the centre of power, becoming over time increasingly deficient from a demographic, economic, infrastructure and cultural perspective. Often, “the policy led by the centre aimed the structural weakening of these regions, through the absence of investment in communications and transportation means.”⁶

The frontier represents - as shown above - much more than a mere limit

2 Viorica Moisuc, *Istoria relațiilor internaționale – până la mijlocul secolului al XX-lea*, [The history of international relations - until the middle of the twentieth century] Ediția a III-a, București, Editura Fundației România de Mâine, 2007, p. 16–17.

3 Corduneanu Mirela-Lavinia, *Frontiera europeană. Caracteristici*, [European frontier. Characteristics] <http://ro.scribd.com/doc/203942558/Frontiera-Europeana>, p. 3, site accesat la 13 aprilie 2014.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 4.

5 Vezi și Nicolae Iorga, *Hotare și spații naționale. Conferințe de la Vălenii de Munte*, [National boundaries and spaces. Vălenii de Munte Conferences] 1938, p. 3– 4; 93.

6 Vasile Grama, *op. cit.*, p. 6; 17.

demarcating a state's territory, experts making a distinction between the concepts of boundary and frontier. "The boundaries represent a line that separate distinct regions; the boundary being a fix limit. The frontier can be represented by visible elements, but also by symbolic elements marking the transition from one stage to the other, from one category to another, from one age to another, and it may reflect ethnic, religious, or other appurtenance. The frontier implies different psychological, social and economic processes. The frontiers have a political importance, but also an economic, social and, especially a significance in terms of identity. Then we can talk about a frontier sociology, an economy or a psychology of the frontier"⁷.

In Bradley Parker's opinion, on the level structured boundaries, it is necessary to analyze boundaries from many perspectives: geographical, political, cultural and demographic.⁸ If in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century boundaries overlapped ethnic regions/national states, nowadays there is the tendency to recreate multicultural or multinational regions.⁹ Back to the twentieth century, we must bear in mind the undeniable reality that the inter-war frontier established between the Romanian Kingdom and the Second Polish Republic maintained and contributed to the development of economic, military, cultural and religious relations among the two states, in a multicultural and multi-ethnic context represented by the Romanian, Ukrainian and Hebrew communities that lived on both sides of the boundary. Two worlds with different cultural, religious, economic and special ethno-national identities found and complemented each other through their common boundary, in a space characterized by elements specific to the Central European area. The complexity of the entire ethno-confessional situation, over which overlapped the geopolitical interests of interwar Europe imposed and retained a careful and thorough analysis of the Allied and Associated Powers.¹⁰

This study aims to analyze the issue of Bukovina's septentrional boundary,

7 Apud Dumitrașcu Veronica, *Studiu sociologic și geopolitic asupra frontierei estice a Uniunii Europene. Studiu de caz: Românii din nordul Bucovinei* (rezumatul tezei de doctorat), [Sociological and geopolitical study on the Eastern boundary of the European Union. Case Study: Romanians in Northern Bukovina (the doctoral thesis abstract)] Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Sociologie și Asistență Socială, coord. științific, prof. univ. dr., Ilie Bădescu, p. 2.

8 Vezi și Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, *Europa: frontiere culturale interne sau areal cultural unitar* [Europe: internal cultural frontiers or unitary cultural area], în „Moldoscopie”, Chișinău, nr. 3/ (L), 2010, p. 123–143.

9 Corduneanu Mirela-Lavinia, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

10 For a comparison with Banat also see Adriana Babeți, *Banatul-un paradis între frontiere* [Banat - a paradise between boudaries], <http://www.memoriabanatului.ro/index.php?page=banat> (12 Aprilie, 2014).

in the context of the establishment of the Romanian-Polish border, but also based on the projects of sharing the province's territory between neighbouring states, according to various criteria. This research is based on the capitalization of primary sources discovered in the Central Historical National Archives and in the Diplomatic Archives (the Foreign Affairs Ministry) funds, as well as on collections of documents, studies and articles published by experts in the field. We are aware that during the research stages we have not exhausted the multitude of existing sources on Bukovina and/or the complex issue of the Romanian-Polish boundary.

Central Europe under the looking glass of the victorious powers

Before the surrender of the German Empire (through the Armistice of Compiègne, November 11th, 1918) and the end of World War I, the victorious powers debated and analyzed various projects for post-war Europe's reorganization¹¹. For the first time in the history of international relations, the justice of the force was intended to be replaced by the force of justice¹².

The United States, France, England and Italy (Japan being consulted exclusively on matters concerning the Far East) as the great allied and victorious powers, only on the last months of the year 1918, took into consideration the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, such a hypothesis not being approved until the end of the war, up to then still existed premises for the maintenance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire¹³. The initiation and promotion of the 14 points by Woodrow Wilson, the president of the U.S., led to a change in the vision of the Great Powers for the future of the multinational empires' component nations¹⁴. Presented to the American Congress by President Woodrow Wilson on January 18th, 1918, the 14 points created the premises of a profound remodelling of the geopolitics and of the ethno-state realities in Central and Eastern Europe¹⁵. In this program, the 10th point refers directly to the self-determination right of the peoples of Austria-Hungary¹⁶. This idea of President Wilson proved that the U.S., as well as its Entente partners, at the beginning of the 1918 had not decided yet to accept the imminent dissolution of

11 Ion Țurcanu, *Istoria relațiilor internaționale* [History of international relations], Chișinău, Editura Litera, 2005, p. 117.

12 Viorica Moisuc, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

13 Charles Zorgbibe, *Wilson. Un cruciat la Casa Albă* [Wilson. A crusader at the White House], București, Editura Fundației Titulescu, 2003, p. 229.

14 *Ibidem*, p. 233–234.

15 Viorica Moisuc, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

16 Ion Țurcanu, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy¹⁷. Without taking into consideration the profound wishes of the peoples that were under the dominion of the Court of Vienna, the Wilsonian perspective was based on the assumption that maintaining this great state in Central Europe could be an obstacle, on the one hand, for the Bolshevik Russia eventual expansion to the West, and on the other hand, for the Eastward German expansion. This 10th point represented the main topic of discussion at the 1918 Congress of Rome on the Austria-Hungary oppressed nationalities¹⁸. Wilson wished to convince the Paris Peace Conference to establish a “new world order based on mutual respect and cooperation among nations, in which all act in the general interest and are free to have their own lives under a common protection”¹⁹. “Some of Wilson's ideas, that were deeply democratic, were considered by its European allies as utopian and therefore difficult to put into practice. Shortly after the beginning of the Peace Conference, the American president got convinced that the European realities were more complicated than he initially considered and his solutions could not be applied in such a complex ethno-confessional space²⁰.”

The Big Four was the phrase used to designate Woodrow Wilson (the President of the U.S.), Georges Clemenceau (the prime minister of France), David Lloyd George (the prime Minister of England) and Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (the Prime Minister of Italy). They organized and coordinated the Paris Peace Conference proceedings and discussions, these resulting in a new Europe built on Versailles Treaty bases and principles.²¹ The committee of five foreign affairs ministers of the five allied states also had a significant role in the Peace Conference.

The establishment of the culprits for the deployment of World War I, the assessment of the war reparations' payments, the admitting of the new emergent states that resulted from the dissolution of the great empires and the application of the self-determination principle, the establishment of an institution that protects peace by preventing war, were the most important goals of the Paris

17 Jean Baptiste Duroselle, *Istoria relațiilor internaționale 1919–1947* [History of international relations 1919–1947], vol. I, traducere Anca Airinei, București, Editura Științelor Sociale și Politice, 2006, p. 19; 21–23.

18 Viorica Moisuc, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

19 Ion Țurcanu, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

20 *What Really Happened at Paris. The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918–1919, by American Delegations*, Edited by Edward Mandell House and Charles Seymour, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921, p. 14.

21 Dan Lazăr, *România și Iugoslavia în primul deceniu interbelic. Relații politico-diplomatice (1919–1929)* [Romania and Yugoslavia in the first decade of the interwar period. Politico-diplomatic relations (1919–1929)], Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2009, p. 23.

Peace Conference²². Meanwhile, it was added the establishment of a national minorities functional mechanism of protection, in accordance with the European standards in the field, by signing a minorities' treaty with the Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe states.

The Kingdom of Romania and the issue of future boundaries

Before presenting the actual issue of Bukovina and of the Romanian-Polish border in the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920), we shall focus on the developments of the Romanian Kingdom's situation in relation with the analyzed events. During the period of neutrality (1914-1916), the Romanian Kingdom carried out numerous secret negotiations and discussions about its engagement into the war, either for the Central Powers (in 1883, a secret treaty of alliance was signed with the Austro-Hungarian Empire and King Carol I wished to respect the commitment) or for the Entente (towards which the majority of the public opinion and of the Romanian political class manifested positively, wishing the unification of Transylvania and of other Romanian provinces that were under Austro-Hungarian administration). A large number of Romanians were living outside Romania's boundaries (250,000 in Bukovina under Austrian administration, 2,500,000 in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș under Hungarian dominion, approximately one million in Bessarabia under Russian administration, and with another half a million scattered in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia) and the Romanian state was too weak to help them without the support of a great power²³. Immediately after the beginning of the war, the German Empire had promised to award Romania with Bessarabia, Southern Bukovina (Suceava and Rădăuți counties) and to offer concessions for the Romanians in Transylvania, in exchange for its entering the war²⁴. On the other side, on September 18th/ October 1st 1914 a secret Russo-Romanian Convention was signed, in the form of an exchange of notes between Sergei Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, and Constantin Diamandy, the Minister of the Romania

22 E. H. Carr, *Criza celor douăzeci de ani (1919–1939). O introducere în studiul relațiilor in-ternaționale* [The twenty years crisis (1919-1939). An introduction to the study of international relations], Iași, Editura Polirom, 2011, p. 30.

23 David Sherman Spector, *România și Conferința de Pace de la Paris. Diplomația lui Ion I. C. Brătianu* [Romania and the Paris Peace Conference. The diplomacy of Ion I. C. Brătianu], Iași, Institutul European, 1995, p. 12.

24 Ion Agrigoroaiei, Ovidiu-Ștefan Buruiană, *România în relațiile internaționale din perioada 1914–1920 (Curs special de istorie contemporană a românilor)* [Romania in international relations during the period 1914-1920 (Special Course on Romanians' contemporary history)], Iași, 2013, p. 3.

Kingdom accredited in Petrograd²⁵. Through this document, the Russian Empire guaranteed Romania's territorial integrity and admitted its rights over the Austria-Hungary provinces inhabited by Romanians, remaining for Romania to occupy them when appropriate²⁶. As for Bukovina, the nationality principle was the basis for the delineation of territories between the two states²⁷. While the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy wished the expansion of Bukovina by including Northern Moldavia and Northern Bessarabia (the Hotin region), the Russian Empire wished to annex (at least) a part of the Austrian province relying on the slavish populations that lived in Bukovina²⁸.

The memorandum of Iancu Flondor (1915)

Given the open demands expressed by the Ukrainian National Democratic Party from Lvov for a part of Bukovina that was supposed to form together with Eastern Galicia a Ukrainian state, in 1915 Bukovina's leader, Iancu Flondor, sent to Ion I. C. Brătianu a *Memorandum regarding Bukovina's frontiers*, a very important document that had to be used by the Romanian delegation for the forthcoming Peace Conference²⁹. In this memorandum, Bukovina's political leader anticipated three essential elements in the determination of Bukovina's borders in the Peace Conference: **1. The nationalities' principle. 2. The future defence of the above mentioned principle. 3. Ensuring Bukovina's economic prosperity within its new boundaries.** Flondor noted that Bukovina's territory situated at the North of the Prut will be lost, but he considered that the rest of the province, especially the eastern territory located between Prut and Dniester rivers had to be seen "as an integral part of our claims"³⁰. Based on the ethnic reality of the Ruthenian majority of Western Bucovina (the Ruthenians mountains) Flondor suggested that "just in an extreme

²⁵ Titu Maiorescu, *România și războiul mondial. Însemnări zilnice inedite* [Romania and the World War. Unusual daily records], volum editat de Stelian Neagoe, București, Editura Machiavelli, 1999, p. 254.

²⁶ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice* [Political notes], vol. I, 1897–1924, Editura Institutului de Arte Grafice „Mihai Eminescu”, București, 1927, p. 243; 282; 184.

²⁷ *Interesele României în texte de drept internațional public* [Romania's interests in public international law texts], with an introductory study by Nicolae Dașcovici, Iași, Tipografia concesionară Alexandru Țerek, 1936, p. 82.

²⁸ Constantin Ungureanu, *Unirea Bucovinei cu România în 1918* [The 1918 union of Bukovina with Romania], în „Revista de Istorie a Moldovei”, Chișinău, nr. 1 (93)/2013, p. 31.

²⁹ Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale (în continuare ANIC) [The Central Historical National Archives (further referred to as ANIC)], fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 15, f. 2.

³⁰ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

case and as a last resort it would be more favourable to renounce to the Ruthenian mountains than the controversial territory between Prut and Dniester³¹ The data and analysis performed by Iancu Flondor on Bukovina's population statistics, especially on the ratio Romanian/Ukrainians are more valuable as it clearly prove that the 1910 Austrian census (as known this census was based on the conversation language of the counted persons) and did not correctly reflected the province's ethnic statistics, introducing a statistical table of the population that lived between Prut and Dniester, to Brusnitsa creek³². In the 48 localities (including the city of Chernivtsi) lived 183 930 people, of which 64 643 Romanian, 46.044 Ruthenian and 72.703 of other nationalities. The territory measured 109 473 hectares, out of which 50.413 hectares belonged to great landowners, the majority being Romanian (and some Polish and Armenian ethnic). Iancu Flondor insisted in his notes that "if the whole Bukovina can't be obtained, under no circumstance should the territory between Prut and Siret, with Chernivtsi city, be ceded. Prut's frontier as an efficient defence line of Southern Bukovina presents – in my opinion - a *sine qua non* condition. The entire left shore of Prut river along its course it is very wide and in many places susceptible to flooding, while the right bank, from Bukovina's current frontiers to the town of Zeleniv, has a relative height of two to five hundred meters, thus dominating completely the left shore in distances from seven to twenty kilometres. The new railway lines Novoselitsa – Chernivtsi, respectively Chernivtsi – Napolokivtsi – Vashkivtsi are under these circumstances absolutely impracticable for enemies, in the same situation being also the roads in the above mentioned valley. In addition, for the future, as for Bukovina's Northern and Western frontiers, almost certainly only defence is going to be taken into consideration. I conclude this chapter with the observation that – as Flondor noted – on the defence and ethnic strengthening of Bukovina's future frontiers, the undersigned will have to draw, in due time, a detailed program for the chosen ones. *Without Prut, as a border - warned Flondor - no agreement*"³³. The memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu through the deputy Ioan Mavrocordat, but it came into the hands of Ottokar Czernin, being the basis of a high treason trial filed in 1916 by the Austrian authorities to Iancu Flondor in Lemberg (Lviv)³⁴.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 15, f. 3–4.

³³ *Ibidem*, f.12.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.



Figure 1. Bukovina's map with the delimitation of the Ukrainian majority regions
(Source: ANIC, Iancu Flondor fund, file 15)

Secret negotiations and projects for Bukovina's division

In June 1915, the discussions between the Romanian kingdom and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, led to three options of possible territorial concessions

in Bukovina³⁵. According to the first two options, the territory ceded by the Austrian coincided with the course of Suceava river, unto the border with the Suceava district. The last option accepted the river Siret as frontier unto the boundary with Vizhnitsa district. If either of the first two options were to be accepted, the Romanian villages on the right bank of Suceava would have been given to Romania, but those situated on the left bank would have remained as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, thus separating Vicovul de Sus from Vicovul de Jos, Frătăuții Noi from Frătăuții Vechi, including the Hungarian colony Andreasfalva (Maneuti) from Hadikfalva (Dornești) and Istengetis (Tibeni) colonies. Finally, by resorting to the third option, it would have resulted in the loss of some Romanian villages (Ropcea, Iordănești, Carapciu, Prisăcăreni and Camenca) and of Storozhinets city³⁶. As mentioned before, not even Russia let aside some plans to share Bukovina: at the beginning of 1915, Lt. Gen. F. Vrebel, commander of the Russian troops that had occupied Bukovina in 1914, proposed the annexation of the entire province to the Russian Empire.³⁷ His initiative did not remain unsupported and a second annexation project of Bukovina drafted by D. N. Vergun, a Russian expert in Galicia and Bukovina issues being proposed, surprisingly, immediately after the signing of the Convention between Romania and Entente, in August 1916, about which we will discuss in the following lines. This project suggested the annexation to Russia only of a part of Bukovina, that necessarily had to include the city of Chernivtsi.³⁸

The Convention between the Romanian Kingdom and Entente (August 4th/17th, 1916)

After complex, long and of course secret negotiations, on August 4th/17th, 1916, it was signed in Bucharest *The alliance treaty between Romania*, on one hand, and *France, Great Britain, Russia and Italy*, on the other hand, as well as the *military convention*. The four states guaranteed Romania's territorial integrity, while Romania was obliged to declare war on Austria-Hungary and cease any

³⁵ Alexandru Marghiloman, *op. cit.*, pp. 470, 475, 478.

³⁶ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁷ *Condica tratatelor și a altor legăminte ale României 1354-1937* [The register of the treaties and of other covenants of Romania 1354-1937], drawn under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by F.C. Nano, Plenipotentiary Minister, former head of the Treaties' Division, București, 1938, doc. nr. 1161, *Schimb de note privind viitoarea frontieră ruso-română în Bucovina (Petrograd, 18 septembrie 1914)* [Exchange of notes for the future Russian-Romanian boundary in Bukovina (Petrograd, September 18th, 1914)], p.392.

³⁸ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

connections with the enemies of the Allies. There were recognized as Romanian the territories in Austria-Hungary foreseen and defined in a special article (Article IV)³⁹. The signatory states undertook not to conclude a separate or general peace, unless united and at the same time, Romania enjoying the same rights as its allies in the future peace conference. The Convention foresaw the mobilization of all the Romanian military forces for attacking Austria-Hungary no later than August 15th/28th, eight days after the beginning of the offensive in Thessaloniki.

The Russian army commits to initiate a vigorous offensive on the Austrian front in Bukovina, having to maintain at least the positions held at the signing of the Convention. The Russian fleet having to protect the Romanian sea coast and the banks of the Danube from any attempt of enemy attack. Russia undertakes to send to Dobrogea, at the time of the Romanian Army mobilization, two infantry divisions and a cavalry division to cooperate with the Romanian army. The four states committed to provide Romania with munitions and war material, on a minimum average of 300 tons per day, as well as other goods. Other stipulations on practical Russo-Romanian military cooperation were made. According to Article IV of the Convention, "the limits of the territories mentioned in the previous article are fixed as follows: The delineation line starts on Prut River at a point on the boundary between Romania and Russia, close to Novoselitsa and it will follow the river upstream unto Galicia's border, at the confluence of the rivers Prut and Cheremosh. Then it will follow the boundary of Galicia and Bukovina, and that of Galicia and Hungary unto Stog point (altitude 1655). From there it will follow the separation line between Tisa and Vitsa in order to reach Tisa in the village of Trebusha, near the place in which joins with Visa"⁴⁰. The Allied and Associated Powers (Entente) promised to comply to the commitments assumed by signing the Alliance Convention, recognizing Romania's right over the territories dominated by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (article IV)⁴¹. During the Crown Council of August 27th, 1916, Ion I. C. Brătianu stated that "by virtue of the rights won by entering the war, Romania will occupy the territory "unto Tisa, Banat, Crișana, the slavic part of Maramureș and Bukovina unto

³⁹ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice [Political notes]*, vol. II, 1916–1917, Editura Institutului de Arte Grafice „Mihai Eminescu”, București, 1927, p. 151.

⁴⁰ Bogdan Murgescu (coord.), *Istoria României în texte [The history of Romania in texts]*, București, Editura Corint, 2001, p. 272.

⁴¹ Also see Jean Marie Le Breton, *Europa Centrală și Orientală între 1917 și 1990 [Central and Eastern Europe between 1917 and 1990]*, with a foreword by Neagu Djuvara, București, Editura Cavallioti, 1996, p. 22.

Prut”⁴². Sergei Sazonov⁴³, the chief of the Russian diplomacy, fiercely opposed to the renouncement of the entire Bukovina and Bessarabia in favour of the Romanian Kingdom,⁴⁴ but further event's development reconfigured the Russian options on Bukovina.⁴⁵ Military operations caused significant losses to Bukovina, many industrial enterprises were evacuated or destroyed, several railway lines were demolished, the greatest loss being recorded in the area between Prut and Dniester, where the most violent military confrontations took place.⁴⁶ Bukovina, including Chernivtsi city, was under Russian military occupation three times (September-October 1914, February 1915, June 1916 - July 1917)⁴⁷, every time human and material losses were caused.⁴⁸

Russia's pulling out of the war and the Ukrainian claims over Bukovina

Meanwhile, on November 13th/26th, 1917, the Soviet Russia proposed to the Central Powers negotiations for an armistice, which was signed in a short time at Brest-Litovsk, on November 22nd/December 5th, 1917. On January 27th/February 9th, 1918, Ukraine signed at Brest-Litovsk the peace treaty with the Central Powers, and along with this event, disappeared completely the French project of organizing a joint Romanian-Ukrainian resistance.⁴⁹ The Central Powers troops proceeded to occupy the Ukrainian territory, primarily in order to obtain food, that was very much needed. After the Bolshevik Russia

⁴² Cristina Țineghe, *Studiu introductiv* [Introductory study], în Cristina Țineghe (editor), *Dezmembrarea Maramureșului istoric: decizii politice, reacții și consemnări în mărturii contemporane (1919 -1923)*[The dismantling of historical Maramures: political decisions, reactions and recordings in contemporary testimony], București, 2009, p. 3.

⁴³ Alexandru Gabriel Filotti, *Frontierele românilor*[Romanian's frontier], II, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2007, p. 296.

⁴⁴ Cristina Țineghe, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice* [Political notes], vol. III, 1917-1918, Editura Institutului de Arte Grafice „Mihai Eminescu”, București, 1927, p. 134.

⁴⁶ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *În apărarea României Mari. Campania armatei române 1918-1919* [Defending Greater Romania. The campaign of the Romanian army 1918-1919] foreword by prof. univ. dr. Liviu Maior, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 81.

⁴⁸ Generalul Henry Berthelot, *Memorii și corespondență (1916-1919)* [Memoranda and correspondence (1916-1919)], *Introduction* by Glen E. Torrey, translation Mona Iosif, București, Editura Militară, 2012, p. 29.

⁴⁹ Horia Vladimir Rusu, *Tratatele de Pace ale României (1918-1920)* [Romania's Peace Treaties (1918-1920)], Rezumatul tezei de doctorat [The abstract of the doctoral thesis], Universitatea din București, Facultatea de Istorie, Școala Doctorală, coord. prof. univ. dr. Ion Bulei, p. 3.

broke the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, the German-Austrian troops entered deeply on Soviet territory.⁵⁰

At the beginning of 1918, the Rada from Kiev proclaimed Ukraine's independence issuing territorial claims on Galicia, Bukovina, Bessarabia and Maramureș, these latter three being ancient Romanian territories. The Austrian diplomacy approved of the union of the territories of Galicia and Bukovina in an autonomous Ukrainian state, but insisted on keeping its Eastern territories within the empire's boundaries.⁵¹ On February 18th/March 3rd, 1918, the Soviet government made peace with the Central Powers and the Soviet Russia ceded Finland, Poland, the Baltic countries and acknowledged Ukraine as independent, conditioned only by the presence of the German and Austro-Hungarian armies on its territory. This allowed the Central Powers to control the back of the Romanian front. Thus, Romania was surrounded with no possibility of receiving any outside help and with no possibility to withdraw in case of defeat⁵².

The Treaty of Bucharest and its effects on the Romanian Kingdom

On February 9th, 1918, Ukraine and Austria signed a secret treaty through with the Austrians, in exchange for a million tons of grain, committed to form a new Austrian province, that included Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. This agreement was never discussed in the Parliament from Vienna, due to the fierce opposition of the Polish deputies and to the situation from the battlefield. The events described briefly in the lines above, led to the total isolation of Romania, that had to engage in negotiations for the signing on April 24th/May 7th, 1918, of a peace treaty with the Central Powers⁵³. Practically, “after the ratification of the treaty, the state of war became an occupation state, by the maintenance of six divisions, as well as of the “necessary formations for the economic exploitation” and this without any limit, but as long as the occupant should consider it appropriate “!

The Romanian Army – the great majority – had to be demobilized and disarmed⁵⁴. Practically, Austria-Hungary received almost entirely the Carpathian Mountains chain (an area of 5,600 sq km), with significant soil and underground riches and of a great strategic significance. Also, Romania had to pay important

⁵⁰ Henry Berthelot, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Ion Agrigoroaiei, Ovidiu Ștefan- Buruiană, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵³ *Ibidem*; Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 47– 48.

⁵⁴ R. W. Seton Watson, *O istorie a românilor din perioada romană până la înfăptuirea unității naționale* [A history of the Romanians from the Roman period to the achievement of national unity], Brăila, Editura Istros, 2009, p. 439.

amounts of money to Germany and Austria-Hungary, to renounce to any compensation on account of the damage caused on its territory etc.⁵⁵. The territory of Austrian Bukovina was going to be increased with a portion of the Hotin land, with an area of Hertsa region from Dorohoi land and with Dorna area of Romania. Through Article XI, the mountain border of Romania would be rectified considerably in favour of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Southern Bukovina it was mentioned that the future frontier will pass, "2 km South of Păișeni, over the letter N in the word Păișeni, over the letter O from the word Moldova, over the letter I in the name Cornul Luncii, over the Eastern outskirts of Rotopănești village and over the Southern outskirts of Mihăiești and East of the town of Siret, the boundary would be drawn on the eastern outskirts of Talpa, on the Eastern edge of Călinești, point 396, 402 at ½ km from Dersca, over the point 189, 198, 332, 304, the shadoof fountain 1 km South-West of point 311, on the Eastern edge of Baranca, on the eastern edge of Filipăuți, point 251, up to Prut 1 km East of Lunca"⁵⁶. Basically, the application of the treaty would have determined a major entrance of an important mountainous area situated South of Vatra-Dornei, several villages adjacent to the cities of Suceava and Siret, a significant territory of the Hertsa region, including the localities of Mihăileni and Dorohoi, all in an Austro-Hungarian enlarged Bukovina⁵⁷.

In the context of the geopolitical changes determined by the peace treaties signed at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, in the fall of 1918, the authorities planned the extension of Câmpulung, Gura Humorului and Siret districts, with the territories ceded by Romania, the establishment of a judicial district residing in Tsurenii, which included even the villages surrounding Hertsa. Another judicial district in Hotin had assigned the towns located in Northern Bessarabia that were planned to become a part of Bukovina⁵⁸

Attempts to reorganize the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the victory of the self-determination and nationalities' principles

On October 16th, 1918, Emperor Karl I of Habsburg released the proclamation *To my faithful Austrian people*, by proposing the reorganization of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on federative basis⁵⁹, in six independent states

⁵⁵ Ion Agrigoroaiei, Ovidiu Ștefan- Buruiană, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁵⁶ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 36-37.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 19, f. 57.

(Austrian, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Yugoslav and Ukrainian)⁶⁰. In this plan Transylvania remained a part of Hungary, while it was not mentioned the kind of status Bukovina and the city of Trieste would have. However, it was stated that their people will be able to choose among the six countries mentioned above. Bukovina was represented in the Parliament of Vienna by six deputies. The Bukovinian deputy Constantin Isopescu-Grecul presented on February 21st, 1918, in the Chamber of Deputies of the Viennese Parliament Romania's position on Bukovina, that was considered to be a "genuine Romanian heritage"⁶¹. In response, the Ukrainian deputy Ilya Semak presented on March 6th, from the rostrum of the Deputies' Chamber, the Ukrainian demands (also) for the counties of Chernivtsi, Storozhinets and Siret, considered to be mainly of ethnic Ukrainians (previously the Ukrainian demands included the counties of Vizhnitsa, Vashkivtsi, Kitsmani and Zastavna)⁶². The Ukrainian deputy Nikolai Wasilko requested for the division of Bukovina between Romania and Ukraine⁶³, this proposal being rejected by the socialist deputy Gheorghe Grigorovici in the last meeting of October 22nd, 1918⁶⁴. A similar position was also expressed in his speech by Anton Keschmann, the German deputy, the representative of the 200,000 Germans in Bukovina and Galicia, which requested an equitable resolution of the national issue for his countrymen and rejected the alternative of dividing the province. Straucher Benno, the Hebrew deputy, declared that he represented the Jews of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, and placed himself in opposition with Salo Weisselberg, former mayor of Chernivtsi.⁶⁵ Constantin Isopescu-Grecul stated that "he renounces any act of cession from Mister Wasilko and expects calmly the decision of the Peace Conference."⁶⁶ In the following period, the Ukrainians' claims grew significantly, in pursue of the annexation of the entire Bukovina to an Ukrainian state⁶⁷. Under these conditions, the reaction of the Romanians in Bukovina was immediate.

⁶⁰ Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁶¹ Ștefan Purici, *1918: Concepții privind viitorul Bucovinei* [Ideas regarding the future of Bukovina], in „Țara Fagilor” (Almanah cultural-literar al românilor nord-bucovineni alcătuit de Dumitru Covalciuc), Cernăuți-Târgu Mureș (XVIII), 2009, p. 46.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 19, f. 59.

⁶⁴ Ștefan Purici, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁵ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 19, f. 59.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ For details also see David E. Murphy, *Enigma Barbarossa. Ce știa Stalin* [Enigma Barbarossa. What Stalin knew], traducere Mona Iosif, București, Editura Militară, 2013, p. 56 și urmt.



Figure 2. **The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the emergence of new national states**

(Source: http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austro-Ungaria#mediaviewer/FiC899ier:DestrC3A4marea_Austro-Ungariei.jpg)

On November 3rd, 1918, Austria-Hungary requested the signing of an armistice⁶⁸, and on November 11th the German Empire signed the Armistice of Compiègne. “The empire's collapse became fact. On October 28th, Czechoslovakia proclaimed its independence, on November 2nd, Hungary declared its independence (but without recognizing the liberation of Transylvania) on November 11th, Poland became an independent republic, on November 12th it was proclaimed the republic of Austria, on November 24th, the Central People's Voice proclaimed the formation of the Serbo-Croatian state. The union of Bukovina (November 15th/28th) and of Transylvania (November 18th / December 1st) with the Kingdom of Romania

⁶⁸ United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919. The Paris Peace Conference* (infra: *FRUS*), Volume II, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1919, p. 175, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.FRUS1919Paris02> (27 March, 2014), p.178–179.

led to the achievement of Greater Romania⁶⁹.

The union of Bukovina with the Romanian Kingdom (November 15th/28th, 1918) and the national minorities' attitude

Due to the crushing defeat suffered by the Central Powers in the war, the Marghiloman government was forced to resign on October 24th/November 6th, 1918. It was formed a government led by General Constantin Coandă, that had as main objective “the mobilization of the army and Romania's joining the war again, with the Allies. The chambers elected in 1918 were dissolved and all the measures of the previous government were declared null and void (including, therefore, the Treaty of Bucharest)”⁷⁰.

Because of the instauration of an anarchy state in Bukovina, Iancu Flondor asked, through Zotta, the support of the Romanian army⁷¹. On November 6th, 1918, the troops of Division VIII led by General James Zadik installed in the frontier locality of Burdujeni, advancing by order of Alexander Marghiloman unto Chernivtsi.⁷² In the order sent to General James Zadik it was stated that “he together with all the border guards and gendarmes on duty at Bukovina's frontier should occupy without delay the localities of Ițcani and Suceava, and then gradually the entire province, including Chernivtsi”⁷³. In this important mission a great role was played by the border guards of Dorohoi, Botoșani and Suceava counties⁷⁴. The detachments that aimed at releasing Bukovina were highly suggestive renamed “Dragoș” (former “Dorohoi”), “Alexandru cel Bun” (former “Botoșani”) and “Suceava” (former “Fălticeni”)⁷⁵.

On November 11th, 1918, at 9 am the Romanian troops entered the great city of Chernivtsi⁷⁶. Because of the information that suggested an attack of the Ukrainian troops, the General Headquarters of the Romanian Army ordered on November 12th, the pacification of the entire province in the shortest time possible. Starting with November 19th the military operations were extended North of the course of Prut river unto the town of Shipenits, having recognition missions to the Mahala-Sadagura-Kitsmani-Orshivtsi line. The displacement of

⁶⁹ Ion Agrigoroaiei, Ovidiu Ștefan- Buruiană, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁷¹ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice* [Political notes], vol. IV, 1918–1919, Editura Institutului de Arte Grafice „Mihai Eminescu”, București, 1927, p. 114.

⁷² Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁷³ Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁶ Alexandru Marghiloman, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

the Romanian troops had the following configuration: the Suceava detachment had most subunits in Șipeniț, with patrols oriented towards Stara Lashkivka and Orshivtsi, a guard post at the bridge over Prut River on the road Kitsmani – Hlinitza, as well as other checkpoints on the Western border of Bukovina to Snyatin; The “Alexandru cel Bun” detachment, was North of the city of Chernivtsi near the post across Prut of the road Sadagura - Chernivtsi, with recognition missions sent to the Mahala – Novoselitsa region; The detachment “Dragoș” stationed in Chernivtsi (on November 19th arrived from Iasi, by rail, the “Stefan cel Mare” 13th Infantry Regiment. On November 21st, the Romanian Military Headquarters decided the completion of the military operations between Prut and Dniester, by dividing into three sectors and assigning for each one a reinforced infantry regiment: Regiment 13 in Zastavna region, Regiment 25 (in course of transportation from Vaslui) in Kitsmani and Vashkivtsi and Regiment 37 in Chernivtsi. The action was finalized on November 28th, when on the old Northern and Western Bukovina's frontier between Cheremosh and Dniester it was fixed a border guard station post. In total, Division VIII had 261 officers and 7542 troops (2316 horses and 417 carriages)⁷⁷. On November 28th, 1918, it started the progressive replacement of the Imperial Gendarmerie with the Romanian gendarmes, this process being completed in 1921⁷⁸.

On November 15th/28th, 1918, the General Congress of Bukovina unanimously decided the unconditional union with the Romanian Kingdom⁷⁹, at the event being also present the members of the Polish National Council, led by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, and of the German Council, led by Professor Alois Lebouton, alongside 13 representatives from five Ukrainian villages (Ridkivtsi, Toporivtsi, Velykyi Kuchuriv and Ivankivtsi and one of Storonets-Putila)⁸⁰. The Jews (although they were invited) chose not to participate in the Congress, awaiting the decision of the Peace Conference⁸¹, while Armenians and lipovan Russians expressed their adhesion to Bukovina's union with Romania, during

⁷⁷ Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, Costică Prodan, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁷⁸ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 14, f. 34–35; Ilie Nuțu, *Jandarmeria din Bucovina (noiembrie 1918–mai 1919)* [The gendarmerie in Bukovina (November 1918–May 1919)] in Mihai Iacobescu (coordinator), *Istorie și educație. In Honorem Mihai Lazăr* [History and Education. In Honorem Mihai Lazăr], Iași, Editura Junimea, 2012, p. 300; 303–306.

⁷⁹ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 19, f. 45; 47–48; f. 109.

⁸⁰ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁸¹ Ileana Maria Ratcu, *Teodor Bălan (1885–1972) istoric și arhivist al Bucovinei* [Teodor Balan (1885–1972) historian and archivist of Bukovina], Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2013, p. 44.

1919. The national minorities from the Romanian Kingdom, particularly those from the former historical Bukovina, organized themselves in various organizations and political parties, thus getting actively involved in public life, often in alliance with the Romanian political parties, expressing their opinions in public meetings, in the media or from the parliamentary rostrum⁸².

On November 1st, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council formally took over the power from Lviv, Stanislav and Tarnopol. On November 13th, 1918, this Council has proclaimed the Western-Ukrainian People's Republic that should have also included, beside Eastern Galicia and the Subcarpathian Ukraine, a part of Bukovina. As president of the Lviv Ukrainian National Council, on November 26th, 1918, Evgheni Petrushevich, addressed President Woodrow Wilson through a telegram, asking him to intervene so as to prevent the integral occupation of Galicia and Bukovina by the Polish and Romanian troops. Bukovina - states Petrushevich - having a Ukrainian majority in the North and North-West, had been annexed by the Romanian troops that were acting on behalf of King Ferdinand⁸³.

The leaders of the Bukovinian Ukrainians did not recognized Bukovina's union with Romania and did not take part in the first parliamentary elections held in 1919⁸⁴. Subsequently, they reappraised their attitude and took advantage of the democratic framework offered by the 1923 Constitution and elected representatives that defended their interests in the Parliament of Great Romania⁸⁵. Constantly, the diaspora collaborated closely with the Bukovinian Ukrainians maintaining and supplying a revisionist speech on the issue of the borders of historical Bukovina. A Report of the Security Service of Bukovina mentioned the following: "The Ukrainians compactly established in the Northern part of Bukovina and Bessarabia and in the North-West of Transylvania, are following the left political current, represented by Petrushevich, which is in Russia and who considers that with the support of the Soviet Russia it will be accomplished a unified Ukrainian state, that will comprise Transcarpathian Russia, Eastern Galicia, Bukovina and Bessarabia.

⁸² Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice* [Political notes], vol. V, 1920–1924, Editura Institutului de Arte Grafice „Mihai Eminescu”, București, 1927, p. 47.

⁸³ *FRUS*, II, p. 195–196.

⁸⁴ Frédéric Beaumont, *La frontière roumano-ukrainienne et le poids réel de la question des minorités*, în *Cybergeo : European Journal of Geography*, Espace, Société, Territoire, article 303, mis en ligne le 23 février 2005, modifié le 22 juin 2007. URL: <http://cybergeo.revues.org/3230> (29 Mart, 2014).

⁸⁵ Victoria Camelia Cotos, *Populația Bucovinei în perioada interbelică* [The population of Bukovina in the interwar period], *Foreword* by prof. univ. dr. Ioan Agrigoroaiei, *General index* by dr. Alexandrina Ioniță, Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2009, p. 67.

This policy of the Bukovina's Ukrainian party is also inspired and supported by the Ukrainian committees, so-called national, residing in Vienna, Prague, Uzhgorod or Moscow. Thus, all the attention of the leaders is directed not only on all matters of general policy of our country, but also on all special issues that could be exploited in order to keep continuously awake the Ukrainian national consciousness. These issues are: the agrarian matter, the Ruthenian language in church, the introduction of the new calendar and especially schools with their national teaching language and the affiliation of the Ukrainian population in Bukovina to different governing political parties is done only for the interest they seek, namely to achieve these goals that are highlighted on every opportunity and which is a conversation subject not only for the masses of Ukrainian populations, but also for intellectuals, as they all gather in their cultural, economic, sports, student etc. societies”⁸⁶

The issue of Bukovina at the Paris Peace Conference

In 1918, Romania has considerably increased its territorial area (295 047 sq km) and its population (approximately 19 million inhabitants, of which 29.1% belonged to national minorities), fact that required the development of a national policy for defending the boundaries by entering into alliances with the neighbouring states interested in maintaining the regional *status quo*. Once accomplished the union of Bukovina with the Romanian Kingdom through the democratically expressed decision of the General Congress of Bukovina (November 15th/28th, 1918, Chernivtsi) it appeared the issue of the diplomatic recognition of this act, alongside those of the representative assemblies of Chişinău and Alba Iulia (March 27th/April 9th, 1918 and November 18th/December 1st 1918) that founded Greater Romania. This recognition was accomplished in the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920) as a result of the discussions and debates that lasted about a year.

In the speech he will give in the first Parliament of Great Romania, on December 16th, 1919, Ion I. C. Brătianu will reveal the difficulties arisen when he asked for precise and definitive explanations concerning the Romanian state boundaries and what were, not only in theory, but applied on the geographical map, the rights that the allies will recognize and ensure to be granted to us if victory would be theirs. Do not believe that the admission of these conditions was so simple and could be obtained quickly.” Russia wanted to obtain Northern Bukovina and also Russia, “wished obstinately that we do not receive the entire

⁸⁶ ANIC fond *Direcția Generală a Poliției* (în continuare se va cita *DGP*) [The General Directorate of Police (further will be cited *DGP*)], file 74/1927, f. 80.

Banat". Following long and thorough discussions attended by representatives of the allied governments it was finally recognized Romania's right over Cernivtsi and the entire Banat, unto Tisza and unto the Danube."⁸⁷ On this subject, Cristina Țineghe, writes: "In presenting Romania's claims at the Paris Peace Conference, Ion I. C. Brătianu relied only partially on the 1916 secret treaty. Invoking the historical and ethnic rights and relying on the self-determination right, Brătianu will subsequently require entire Bukovina, as well as Bessarabia, both being territories that were not subject to the political convention signed with Allies"⁸⁸ Brătianu had in front of the "*Big Four*" a firm and inflexible attitude in matters concerning the Romanian Kingdom's boundaries' configuration or the protection of national minorities' rights⁸⁹. For this purpose, on the list of the Romanian delegation were included specialists such as Nicu Flondor⁹⁰ (expert on financial and economic issues of Bukovina)⁹¹, Archip Roșca⁹² and Alexandru Vitencu (competent in ethnic and geographical issues).⁹³

Bukovina's representation at this conference was not up to the expectations because, Iancu Flondor, the responsible for the Union with the Romanian Kingdom was not even included in the Romanian delegation, due to tense relations between him and Ion I. C Brătianu⁹⁴. Thus, article 3 of the Resolution adopted by Bukovina's Constituent Assembly on October 27th, 1918, on Bukovinians representation at the Peace Conference, was ignored. The mission of the Romanian delegation present at the Paris Peace Conference, based on the secret treaty signed with the Allies on August 4th, 1916, and on the Union with Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania, was not an easy one: after the Buftea-Bucharest (April 24th, 1918) ⁹⁵ peace agreement; in some circles of the allies existed the belief that "the treaty signed by the Ion I. C Brătianu government in 1916 lost its actuality."⁹⁶ Romania was about to be

⁸⁷ Ion Agrigoroaie, Ovidiu Ștefan- Buruiană, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁸⁸ Cristina Țineghe, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Alexandru Murad Mironov, *Vremea încercărilor. Relațiile româno-sovietice 1930–1940* [The time for experimenting. The Romanian-Soviet relations 1930–1940], București, Institutul pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2013, p. 47 *passim*.

⁹⁰ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 56, f. 4.

⁹¹ *FRUS*, III, p. 48.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁹³ ANIC file 73/1919 – 1920, f.1.

⁹⁴ *Idem*, file 32/1919, f. 63.

⁹⁵ Ion Bulei, *op. cit.*, p. 56;66.

⁹⁶ V. Fl. Dobrinescu, *România în fața Congresului Păcii* [Romania in front of the Peace Congress], in Gh. Buzatu, Horia Dumitrescu (coord.), *România Mare în ecuația păcii și războiului (1919–1947). Aspecte și controverse* [Great Romania in the equation of

informed on this and “in a discreet manner, only Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, Italy's Foreign Affairs Minister recognized that Romania signed the peace with the Central Powers being forced by the extremely difficult circumstances.⁹⁷” This situation amplified Romania's delegation assignment in Paris, more than just the ways in which they had to carry out the discussions and negotiations. Defending Romania's territorial rights based on the ethnic and historical principle, Brătianu stated that the Romanian state could not include all Romanians without endangering its fundamental interests. In the memorandum presented on the February 1st, 1919 Conference meeting, Brătianu stated that the Romanian government in establishing its territorial claims sacrificed legitimate aspirations in order to achieve sustainable peace in the world. Asking for the great Romanian unity, the hundreds of thousands of Romanians across the Dniester, the Romanians settled on the other side of the Danube and the Romanian villages from the Hungarian plain, this unity “could have easily disregarded the foreign elements set within Romania's natural borders, between the Danube, Tisza and Dniester.” It could be established “an artificial and scattered state” with a difficult economical development and “a geographical constitution that would have been a source of countless and endless conflicts with the neighbours, with whom it wants to live always in mutual trust, in respect of the rights and in good relations of peace.”

This does not mean that Romania could abandon the Romanians settled outside its borders. It has to help them live respecting the perfect equality treatment with the other inhabitants of the States on whose territory they live, as it will ensure the equality of all heterogeneous populations established on its own territory. “But Romania does not require the Romanian unification of all these populations settled across the Danube, Dniester and Tisza, not even of those that are separated only by a water stream. Romania only requires all the neighbouring countries to prove the same consideration and to make the same sacrifices in the interest of peace, of peoples' development and of Europe's economic progress.”⁹⁸ Regarding Bukovina, Brătianu invoked the provisions of the Convention signed with Entente in 1916, stating that the territory was

peace and war (1919-1947). Aspects and controversy], Iași, Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2009, p. 93–99.

⁹⁷ Viorel Screciu, *Documente americane privind situația Banatului în prima jumătate a anului 1919* [American documents on the situation of Banat in the first half of the year 1919], în „Banatica”, Muzeul de Istorie Caraș Severin, II, 13/1995, p. 375.

⁹⁸ Ion Agrigoroaiei, Ovidiu Ștefan- Buruiană, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

ripped from Moldova by Austria, in 1775.⁹⁹

**The Romanian-Polish boundary:
diplomatic efforts and mutual support of Romania and Poland
in favour of obtaining common boundaries**

An important role in the recognition of the Bukovina's d boundaries was played by the mutual support between the delegations of the Romanian Kingdom and the Second Polish Republic. The problem itself was not necessarily new, taking into consideration the historical tradition of neighbourhood and good cooperation between Moldova and Poland, brought into question during the contacts between the two delegations and set into direct connection with the military operations of the Romanian army in Pokutia, these anticipating the resuming of the bilateral diplomatic relations and mutual support against Bolshevism. In a 1918 specific context, the joint Romanian-Polish contacts were resumed and supported on the boundary issue and subsequently on signing a defensive alliance treaty against a possible Soviet attack¹⁰⁰. Romania and Poland supported each other in obtaining a common border, the discussions on this respect being started during 1918 through the diplomatic missions from London and Paris¹⁰¹. On November 11th, 1918, Poland proclaimed its independence focusing trenchant and quickly to resolve its many territorial issues, by obtaining the Romania's cooperation at the Peace Conference¹⁰².

On January 2nd, 1919 Ion I. C. Brătianu communicates to the Polish and Czechoslovak governments about the intention of establishing solid political and economic relations, inclusively the establishment of a solid boundary¹⁰³. Brătianu insisted on the emergency application on the ground of a Romanian-Polish junction plan on the Munkacs alignment (from Subcarpathian Ruthenia to Pocutia")¹⁰⁴. The Romanian Army - as shown above - entered Pocutia to

⁹⁹ Victor Aelenei, *Retrospectivă istorică a istoriei grănicerilor români și a Poliției de Frontieră Române* [Historical Retrospective of the history of Romanian border guards and of the Romanian Border Police], București, Editura Pro Transilvania, 2001, p. 133.

¹⁰⁰ *FRUS*, II, p. 741.

¹⁰¹ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *Istoria frontierei României* [History of the Romanian border], vol. I, București, Editura Pro Transilvania, 2003, p. 189.

¹⁰² Mihaela Bărbieru, *Relații militare româno-iugoslave în perioada interbelică (1919-1939)* [Romanian-Yugoslav military relations in the interwar period (1919-1939)], Craiova, Editura Aius, 2011, p. 131-132.

¹⁰³ Florin Anghel, *Construirea sistemului „Cordon sanitaire”. Relații româno-polone 1919-1926* [Building the "cordon sanitaire". The Romanian-Polish Relations 1919-1926.], Cluj Napoca, Editura Neremia Napocae, 2003, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

liquidate and eliminate the danger of Bolshevism, the South-East corner of Galicia being returned to the Second Polish Republic (and) with the military and diplomatic support of Romania¹⁰⁵. On February 1st, 1919, Brătianu argued for the rights of the Romanian Kingdom over the entire Bukovina, demanding the Supreme Council that “the river Dniester to become the natural boundary of Romania in Bukovina and Bessarabia”, thus changing the provision included in the Convention signed with Entente on August 4th/17th, 1916, by which, due to the pressure exerted by the Russian Empire, the boundary of the Romanian Kingdom was fixed on Prut river¹⁰⁶. The advocacy of the Romanian Prime Minister comprised historical, economic, demographic and ethnographic arguments, relying on the democratic decision of the Bukovina's General Congress from November 15th/28th, 1918¹⁰⁷. For Bukovina, the document in question required that the border line should pass from Vișeuul Maramureș “to Cârlibaba, where the border crosses in Bukovina and goes onto the mountains of Moldovița, Vicov, Siret, Storozhinets, Chernivtsi, and returns in a semicircle to Rădăuți, and then goes towards the city of Siret, Hliboka, Boian and Novoselitsa”¹⁰⁸

On the issue of Bukovina, the American delegation established since January 21st, 1919, a consistent documentation, comprising the ethnic and territorial boundaries of the province that would be returned to the Romanian Kingdom¹⁰⁹. The commission discussed initially the issue of Bukovina without the participation of any Romanian delegate. The result was “the drawing by the Americans of a memorandum presented at the Commission meeting of February 8th, 1919, that proposed the dividing of Bukovina in two main ethnic regions, separated by a border line that passed a mile away to the North-West of Chernivtsi, city that remained Romanian”¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁵ *Condica tratatelor și a altor legăminte ale României 1354–1937* [The register of the treaties and of other covenants of Romania 1354–1937], doc. nr. 983, p. 283.

¹⁰⁶ Romulus Seișanu, *Principiul naționalităților. Originile, evoluția și elementele constitutive ale naționalității. Tratatetele de pace de la Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, Sévres, Laussane* [The principle of nationalities. The origins, evolution and constitutive elements of nationality. The peace treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon, Neuilly-Sur-Seine, Sevres, Lausanne], București, Editura Albatros, 1996, p. 367.

¹⁰⁷ *FRUS, The council of ten: minutes of meetings January 12 to February 14, 1919*, III, p. 847.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹¹⁰ Radu Economu, *Unirea Bucovinei cu România. 1918* [The 1918 union of Bukovina with Romania.], București, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1994, p. 98.

The alignment of the border itself raised discontent and protests in Ukraine, that sent several memoranda to the Peace Conference. In March 1919, Grigori Sydorenko, a member of the *Directorate* led by Simeon Petliura¹¹¹ requested that in setting Bukovina's boundaries to be taken into account Ukraine's demands on the above mentioned area, that was inhabited in majority by Ukrainian population. Two months later, in May 1919, the demands of Grigori Sydorenko narrowed down to an area located in the Cheremosh valley (the Northwest of Bukovina). The Ukrainians did not have their own delegation in Paris, the requests and memoranda drawn by them and strongly supported by the Ukrainian diaspora from the United States and Canada were analyzed by the specialized members of the Peace Conference¹¹². Alexandru Vaida Voivod wrote on August 25th, 1919, "Sidorenco, Petliura's man, is working on creating the independent Ukraine. Pichon told Sidorenco that he wants and believes that it would be in the best interest of France to create an independent Ukraine, but it should also seek to develop close relations with Romania".¹¹³

The proposal of the American delegation presented by Charles Seymour¹¹⁴, raised numerous objections from the French and British delegates, who supported the granting of the entire Bukovina to the Romanian Kingdom. In the February 22nd, 1919 Commission meeting, Ionel Brătianu protested in regard to the American proposal¹¹⁵. Unable to reach an agreement after several meetings, the Commission decided on March 5th, 1919, to submit the issue of establishing Bukovina's borders to the analysis of a subcommittee, where it had been appointed Charles Seymour as representative of America¹¹⁶. The conclusions were presented to the Border demarcation Commission, that on April 6th, 1919, presented to the Supreme Council the ethnic boundary recommended by the American delegation¹¹⁷. This, having as starting point the irrelevant results of the

¹¹¹ ANIC fond *Iancu Flondor*, file 32/1919, f. 63.

¹¹² Daniel Hrenciuc, *Bucovina și problema minorităților naționale în dezbaterile Conferinței de Pace de la Paris (1919-1920)* [Bukovina and the issue of national minorities in the debate of the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920)], în „Țara Fagilor” , (XIX), 2010, p. 86.

¹¹³ Alexandru Vaida Voivod, *Scrisori de la Conferința de Pace. Paris-Versailles 1919-1920* [Letters from the Peace Conference. Paris-Versailles 1919-1920], edition cared for, study and notes by Mircea Vaida Voivod, București, Editura Multi Press International, 2003, p. 318.

¹¹⁴ Ion Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹¹⁵ *FRUS*, III, p. 848;851.

¹¹⁶ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății: Ucrainenii bucovineni în Regatul României Mari (1918-1940)* [The challenges of vicinity. The Bukovinian Ukrainians in the Greater Romanian Kingdom (1918-1940)], Iași, Editura Tipo Moldova, 2010, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

1910 census, considered in the report, incorrectly, that Romania would receive a territory inhabited by 85. 000 Ukrainians and 300 Romanians¹¹⁸. In the document, it was mentioned that it is to the advantage of the Ruthenians in Bukovina to be associated with the Romanians for the economic cooperation and being of the same religion¹¹⁹.

The difficulties of the diplomatic confrontations were amplified by the fact that on May 2nd, 1919, the govern of the Socialist Republic of the Ukrainian Soviets, through the People's Commissars President, Cristian Rakovsky, sent from Kiev an "ultimatum to the Romanian government urging the immediate evacuation of Romanian troops from Bukovina, he argued that the Socialist Ukraine is united with Bukovina through a solidarity bond uniting the working masses of all countries, through the ethnographic relatedness of its population with a considerable part of Ukrainian population"¹²⁰. On May 27th, 1919, Ion I. C. Brătianu sent a protest letter to Philippe Berthelot, in which he announced that he will not sign the treaty with Austria if Dniester will not be admitted as Bukovina's boundary¹²¹. The Romanian delegation oriented towards the establishing of a common Romanian-Polish border, fact directly related to the recognition of Bukovina as a Romanian territory by the Allied and Associated Powers, objective comprised in the memorandum sent by the Romanian delegation to the Peace Conference¹²², from January 21st, 1919.

Report no. 1 of April 16th, 1919 of the Commission on Romania's boundary contained a detailed description of the proposed boundaries and a map of the border line between Romania and Bukovina. Cernivsti was left to Romania but Horodenka, Snyatin and Kolomeea remained outside the boundaries of the Romanian state¹²³. The Commission was concerned with the correct establishment of the ethno-national relations in Bukovina, taking into account the number of the Ukrainians from Northern Bukovina, evoking the natural connection of the province with Romania and taking into consideration the common religion of Ukrainians and Romanians. In the document, it was also

¹¹⁸ David Sherman Spector, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹¹⁹ Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹²⁰ *Organizarea Conferinței de Pace de la Paris și poziția României în problema Bucovinei* [The organization of the Paris Peace Conference and Romania's position on the issue of Bukovina], p. 4.

¹²¹ AMAE, fond 71/1914, vol. 90, f.14–15. *Raport nr. 1945, de la Legația României din Londra, decembrie 1918* [Report no. 1945 from the Romanian delegation in London, December 1918].

¹²² *Idem*, fond *Convenții* 13/1, vol. 1, f. 1.

¹²³ Florea Șapcă, 1919: *Diplomația americană și problema Bucovinei* [The American diplomacy and the issue of Bukovina], în „Țara Fagilor”, XVIII/2009, p. 55.

admitted the modification of the historical boundaries of Bukovina according to the economic and ethnic needs, as follows:

a) In the North, it was succeeded the obtaining from the railway junction that connects the two cities of Galicia, Kolomeea and Zalishchyky.

b) In the West, it was detached from Bukovina the Cheremosh Basin, a region that presented economic interests for Galicia. These corrections that took from the area of Bukovina annexed to Romania the territories inhabited by about 85,000 Ukrainian and 300 Romanian gave Romanians a relative majority in the portion that was assigned to them”¹²⁴.

In any version, the setting of a border line that would respect the ethnic criteria in Bukovina would have placed outside the borders large ethnic groups. Such a border line – calculated by the American experts - would have passed from the North-East to the South-West through the centre of Bukovina, crossing four of the five counties and leaving untouched only a single county: Suceava county¹²⁵. The Commission's report was approved by the Central Territorial Committee on April 9th, 1919. On May 23rd, 1919, the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers approved Bukovina's boundaries without having solved, this issue in accordance with the Romanian Kingdom delegation's requests. On June 21st, 1919, it was approved the configuration of Bukovina's boundaries by the Council of the Four¹²⁶. Noteworthy is the position of the Italian delegation (G. de Martino, Luigi Vannutelli Rey) which argued that Romania should receive the entire Bukovina since it was promised this when it signed the 1916 Alliance Convention. There existed some opinions pertaining to experts that supported the concession of some Ukrainian parts of Bukovina to an Ukrainian state, or even to Poland.¹²⁷

On July 1st, 1919, the Supreme Council decided to inform Romania on the decisions made. On July 9th, 1919, Alexandru Vaida Voivod wrote, “Yesterday we were also handed the dimensioning of Bukovina's boudaries. The strip we received reaches only partially the territory promised in the Treaty, instead we were left parts that have been conceded to us. The land assigned to the Polish is the poorest region of Bukovina, inhabited by hutsuls and up to 80% are in other communes of very poor Jew. The forests are almost all exploited by Gotz. The mining taxes don't exist there. Poland will have to support within her boundaries

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹²⁵ *Documente străine despre Basarabia și Bucovina 1918–1944* [Foreign documents on Bessarabia and Bukovina 1918-1944] Selection of documents and the introductory study by Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu și Ion Pătroi, București, Editura Vreamea, 2003, p. 98.

¹²⁶ Ion Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

¹²⁷ Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

an autonomous Galician Ukraine, the same for the Czechoslovaks in North Eastern Hungary. Therefore, the concession is actually a gain.¹²⁸

The issue of Bukovina was resumed in the discussions had on the 22nd and 25th of July, 1919 by the Committee for Romanian and Yugoslav Affairs with the participation of U.S. experts (A. C. Coolidge and D. W. Johnson)¹²⁹. The American's opinion was influenced by the positions of France, Italy and England that supported the establishment of a joint Romanian-Polish border¹³⁰. The political leaders of Bukovina supported the negotiations with the Polish side for the correct establishment of a demarcation line between the boundary of Bukovina and Galicia, respecting the alignment *Dniester-Kolachin-Cheremosh*. This setting of the border should take into consideration aspects of "economic nature, strategic, military, and of course local particularities."¹³¹ Subsequent negotiations on the subject were held by the Committee for the studying of Polish territorial issues, led by Jules Cambon in May-June 1919¹³². The result was the establishment of the Romanian-Polish border line by the Allied and Associated Powers delegates in the July 2nd, 1919 meeting¹³³. Alexandru Vitencu and Nicu Flondor have submitted their point of view through a memorandum sent to the Romanian delegation that was at the Peace Conference (July 4th, 1919). The text of the Memorandum required for the railway route Chernivtsi-Zalishchyky to pass entirely on Romanian territory, along with the line Nepolokivtsi-Vizhnitsa that ensured the connection with Chernivtsi, as "the valley of Cheremosh has its natural economic opening in Chernivtsi". At the same time, it was necessary to study carefully the requests of inhabitants of the Romanian villages from across the Dniester, freeholder's villages that following their annexation to Galicia would be in danger of becoming slavich¹³⁴

The only border adjustments accepted referred strictly to Storozhinets area, the authors of the Memorandum (Alexandru Vitencu and Nicu Flondor) obviously wrongly considered that it does not imply too much ethnic and

¹²⁸ Alexandru Vaida Voevod, *op. cit.*, p. 234–235.

¹²⁹ Florea Șapcă, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹³⁰ Ion Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

¹³¹ Ion Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 39–40.

¹³² Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Istorice „General Radu Rosetti” (în continuare C.S.P.A.M.I), fond *Divizia 8 Infanterie*, dosar nr. 3, f. 37.

¹³³ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Bucovina și problema minorităților naționale în dezbaterile Conferinței de Pace de la Paris (1919–1920)* [Bukovina and the issue of national minorities in the debate of the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)], p. 92.

¹³⁴ AMAE, fond 71/1914, vol. 58, f. 86. *Memoriul semnat de Nicu Flondor și Alexandru Vitencu către delegația română la Conferința de Pace de la Paris* [The memorandum signed by Nicu Flondor and Alexandru Vitencu for the Romanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference], July 4th, 1919.

geographic loss¹³⁵. Fromageot acknowledged that “Romania has the right to demand for the entire Bukovina”, explaining however that the Allied and Associated Powers will absorb some of the (Romanian) authority over Bukovina, if “the Romanian delegation does not sign the treaty with Austria.”¹³⁶

The possibility of conceding certain bordering localities to the Polish State determined a series of protests addressed to the Supreme Council by the freeholders' and small boyars' Society, respectively the inhabitants of Stăneștii de Jos¹³⁷. To clarify this situation, the Commission for Romania's territorial issues assigned two special meetings - July 22nd and 25th, 1919 - destined to the analysis of Bukovina's borders. The new American representative in the Commission, Archibald Coolidge, noting that the area of Bukovina that had an Ukrainian majority had not been claimed by Poland¹³⁸, he proposed, based on economic reasons, that the Cheremosh basin should be given to Romania, issue accepted by the other delegations.¹³⁹ Galicia remained with only a small area of the Northwestern Bukovina, including the rail junction Kolomeea-Zalishchyky¹⁴⁰. The proposal was addressed to the Supreme Council on July 30th, 1919. It decided, based on the suggestion of André Tardieu, to accept the Commission's for territorial issues new version, following that Romania should be notified only after it had signed the Peace Treaty with Austria¹⁴¹.

On July 31st, 1919, at Lvov, it was signed the Romanian - Polish Convention concerning the evacuation of Pokutia and the establishing of the demarcation line between the two states. In Article 2 of the document it was stated that “the line that separates the Romanian Army and the Polish Army will consist of the Bukovina's historical boundary, from Babin, on the Dniester, onto Yablunitsa on the White Cheremosh. The village of Serafyntsi being a part of the territory that will be reoccupied by the Polish army. The Romanian-Polish Convention stated that the demarcation line followed exactly the route suggested by the Peace Conference delegates, noting that the village of Yablunitsa was mentioned as

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁷ Ion I. Nistor, *Problema ucraineană în lumina istoriei* [The Ukrainian issue in the light of history], edition coordinated by Ștefan Purici and foreword by Gheorghe Buzatu, Rădăuți, Editura Septentrion, 1997, p. 213.

¹³⁸ Ion Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹³⁹ Daniel Hrenciuc, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁰ Vezi și Ludmila Rotari, *Mișcarea subversivă din Basarabia în anii 1918-1924* [The subversive movement in Bessarabia during 1918-1924], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2002, p. 54.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Cu ochii la Răsărit: Relațiile româno-polone în perioada interbelică (1919-1939)* [Staring towards the East: the Romanian-Polish relations in the interwar period (1919-1939)], Iași, Editura Tipo Moldova, 2012, p. 82 passim.

part of the Romanian state.”¹⁴² Article 59 of the Peace Treaty with Austria (September 10th, 1919) stated on the issue of Bukovina that “Austria renounces in favour of Romania all rights and titles over the part of the former Duchy of Bukovina beyond Bukovina's boundaries, as will be fixed subsequently by the Allied and Associated powers.”¹⁴³ Article 60 of the same treaty specified that Romania accepted that the Allied and Associated Powers will protect the interests of the inhabitants of Romania which differ in race, language or religion from the majority of the population”¹⁴⁴

Austria was reduced to an area 84,000 square kilometres and a population of 6.7 million inhabitants, of which a quarter lived in Vienna.¹⁴⁵ Completing the treaty of Saint German en Laye with Austria through the introduction of *The minorities treaty* discontented Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Serbia.¹⁴⁶ The Supreme Council communicated to Romania the route of the Romanian-Polish border line only on December 18th, 1919, but it discontented Romania because it let outside its borders Babin, Luca, Prylypche, Zvenyachyn and Khreshchatyk communes, that were attributed to Poland.¹⁴⁷ For this reason, between the two countries took place subsequently, at a politico-diplomatic level, extensive discussions and negotiations for an exchange of territories. The document was presented by Georges Clemenceau on December 22nd, 1919, by this being acknowledged officially the appurtenance of Bukovina to Romania: “According to the decision taken by the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers on the 18th of the month, I have the honour to announce that Romania's boundary with Eastern Galicia, in Bukovina, from the Dniester to the

¹⁴² Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁴³ *Relațiile internaționale reflectate în dezbaterile Parlamentului României 1862 – 2010* [The international relations reflected in the Romanian Parliament 1862 - 2010], București, Editura Institutului de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, volumul I, Adunarea Deputaților, work drawn up under the care of Stelian Neagoe, 2010, p. 213– 214.

¹⁴⁴ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p. 195; George Sofronie, *Principiul naționalităților în Tratatetele de Pace din 1919–1920, Studiu introductiv* [The principle of nationalities in the Peace Treaties of 1919-1920, Introductory study,], coordinated by Constantin Schifirneț, București, Editura Albatros, 1999, p. 59.

¹⁴⁵ Gh. Buzatu, Marusia Cârstea, *Europa în balanța forțelor 1919–1939* [Europe in the balance of forces 1919-1939], vol. I, Iași, Editura Tipo Moldova, 2010, p. 24; also see *Condica tratatelor și a altor legăminte ale României 1354–1937* [The register of the treaties and of other covenants of Romania 1354-1937], *Protocol între România și Austria asupra bunurilor salvate din Bucovina (Viena, 26 iulie 1924)* [Protocol between România and Austria on the goods saved from Bukovina (Viena, July 26th, 1924)], dc. 392, p. 83.

¹⁴⁶ Gh. Buzatu, Marusia Cârstea, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Aurel Neagu, Victor Aelenei, *op. cit.*, p.102.

former boundary between Hungary and Galicia has been fixed as follows: “a line that leaves Dniester's thalweg unto a point located approximately 2 km downstream of Zalishchyky. From there towards the South-West to the meeting point of the administrative line between Galicia and Bukovina, with the boundary between Horodenka and Snyatyn districts at approx. 11 km South-East of Horodenka, a demarcation line on the field that passes through the 317, 312 and 239 altitudes.

From there towards the South-West, the former administrative line between Galicia and Bukovina to the junction point with the former boundary between Hungary and Galicia¹⁴⁸. In adopting this route, the Supreme Council maintained Bukovina - which was recognized as Romanian - with its historic territory integrity, except a slight correction, which was considered necessary so as not to cut the rail connection between the cities of Galicia, Horodenka and Zalishchyky”¹⁴⁹.

The inhabitants of neighbouring villages like Stăneștii de Jos have addressed a memorandum to the French Prime minister Georges Clemenceau, in which they protested against their integration into the territorial frameworks of Second Polish Republic¹⁵⁰, the document of the residents of that commune argued fiercely by the Romanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference was eventually successful. Other localities like Babin, Luca, Prylypche, Zvenyachyn and Khreshchatyk would have, according to the Treaty of Sevres, to become part of the Polish state¹⁵¹. This problem was solved through mutual understanding between Romania and Poland, based on the Mixed Commission Protocol signed at Bucharest on January 26th, 1926¹⁵². The final establishment of the Romanian-Polish boundary was fixed by the provisions of the Sevres frontier's Treaty of August 10th, 1920, signed by Romania on the one hand and on the other by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland and Czechoslovakia alongside the Allied and Associated Powers¹⁵³. On behalf of Romania, the Treaty of Sevres was

¹⁴⁸ *Interesele României în texte de drept internațional public* [Romania's interests in public international law texts], p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Grigore Stamate, *Frontiera de stat a României* [Romania's state frontier], București, Editura Militară, 1997, *Anexa I*, p. 292-312.

¹⁵⁰ Ion I. Nistor, *Unirea Bucovinei cu România* [Bukovina's union with Romania], București, Editura Bucovina - I. E. Torouțiu, 1940, p. 40-44.

¹⁵¹ *Relațiile internaționale reflectate în dezbaterile Parlamentului României 1862- 2010* [The international relations reflected in the debates from the Romanian Parliament 1862 - 2010], p. 214.

¹⁵² Ion I. Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁵³ Daniela Nica, *România și politica securității colective. Pactul Briand-Kellog* [Romania and the collective security policy. The Briand-Kellog Pact], Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2012, p. 63.

signed by Nicolae Titulescu and Dimitrie Ghica and as specified in the Preamble, was meant "to ensure the sovereignty of Romania, Poland, of the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and of Czechoslovakia over the recognized territories"¹⁵⁴

Mainly, the Romanian-Polish border was the one established by the Lviv Convention in July 1919. The exact determination of the common border line was performed only on January 26th, 1928 (when the idea of mutual territories' exchange was renounced) by a mixed Romanian-Polish Commission formed after the Treaty of Lausanne. In 1928 the Romanian Kingdom and the Second Polish Republic agreed to fix the boundary between them, the historical Bukovina's border before its annexation and Eastern Galicia¹⁵⁵." The Governments of the Romanian Kingdom and of the Second Polish Republic accepted the conclusions of the mixed Commission in the fifth plenary session, making this known by notification of identical diplomatic notes exchanged at Warsaw on October 10th, 1928¹⁵⁶. The last meeting of the Romanian-Polish mixed Commission took place on November 17th, 1935 in Bucharest, for taking note of the technical subcommittee activity of in the field frontier's demarcation, collected in nine volumes of documentation¹⁵⁷. The mixed Commission established in Article 2 of the Protocol that the border between the two states, which will start from the Stog edge, altitude 1605, and having as final point the confluence of Zbrucz River with the Dniester, is heading towards the former border between Galicia and Bukovina. The boundary thus established was the final one. On November 17th, 1935, in Bucharest, it was signed a Convention for the protection, conservation and recognition of the boundary stones and of other signs serving to indicate the border line. The international recognition of Bukovina had a diplomatic and politic complex route, starting with the Peace Treaty with Austria and ending with the protocol of the Romanian-Polish mixed

¹⁵⁴ Daniel Hrenciuc, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁵ *Interesele României în texte de drept internațional public* [Romania's interests in public international law texts], p. 28.

¹⁵⁶ *Condica tratatelor și a altor legăminte ale României 1354-1937* [The register of the treaties and of other covenants of Romania 1354-1937], doc. nr. 990, p. 285. "Poland made statements regarding: a - the polish transit on the Horodenka-Babin-Ștepanivka-Zalishchyky rail line; b - the grazing of cattle on both sides of the border; c - the transit on the Kolomeea-Deleatyn-Yasynia line and on the Hryniava-Copilaș road; the Polish renunciation to the litigious land located south of the Munceluș creek", *ibid*, doc. No. 992, p 286. Agreement made through exchange of notes for the establishment of the boundaries with Poland.

¹⁵⁷ *Interesele României în texte de drept internațional public*, p. 637- 674. *Reglementarea definitivă a graniței dintre România și Polonia. Protocolul final de delimitare al comisunii mixte de la 17 mai 1935, semnat la București.*

Commission of November 17th, 1935¹⁵⁸. The boundaries of the Romanian Kingdom were naturally reported in their majority to the boundaries of medieval Moldavia, as established in specific treaties¹⁵⁹. The Romanian-Polish border for which defensive strategies were built in the interwar period, could not resist subsequent geopolitical developments, because of the implementation of the provisions of the secret additional protocol annexed to the German-Soviet non-aggression pact known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, concluded on August 23rd, 1939¹⁶⁰.

On September 1st, 1939, the German troops invaded Poland and on September 17th the Red Army occupied 52% of the remaining Polish territory, taking control of the Eastern regions and reaching the Romanian boundary. In the interwar period, the security of Romania's Northern boundary relied on the common interest with that of the Second Polish Republic against a possible Soviet attack. The appurtenance of Bessarabia to Romania also prevented the direct contact of Bukovina with the Soviet Union in the North-East. The occupation of Galicia by the Soviet Union changed the entire regional geopolitics, Bukovina's defence becoming vulnerable, because "the upper parts of the rivers Prut and Dniester, as well as the northward part of the main rail that crossed from North to South, were occupied by the red Army"¹⁶¹. The Northern part of Bukovina to which was added Hertsa region and all of Bessarabia were ceded by the Romanian Kingdom to the Soviet Union as a result of the ultimatum addressed to the Romanian royal government on June 26th, 1940¹⁶². Subsequently, between 1941-1944 the territories ceded by the Romanian Kingdom to the Soviet Union were reclaimed by the Romanian army, but on February 10th, 1947, in the Horologe Hall at the Quai de d'Orsay in Paris the Great Powers acknowledge their return to the USSR by signing a treaty with Romania¹⁶³. The Prut boundary between Romania and nowadays Ukraine (previously the USSR) was established by the Paris Peace Treaty of February 10th, 1947 in the following terms: "*The Soviet-Romanian border is thus fixed in accordance with the Soviet-Romanian Agreement of June 28th, 1940*". (Article 1,

¹⁵⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁹ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *La Moldavie et ses frontieres historique*, București, Editura Semne, 1995, p. 12, 95.

¹⁶⁰ Gh. Buzatu, *România sub imperiul haosului 1939-1945* [Romania under the rule of chaos 1939-1945], București, Editura Rao, 2007, p. 61.

¹⁶¹ *Documente străine despre Basarabia și Bucovina 1918-1944* [Foreign documents on Bessarabia and Bukovina 1918-1944], p. 108.

¹⁶² David E. Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 57 și urm.

¹⁶³ Ion Agrigoroaei, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Part I) ¹⁶⁴. Through this action mode, dominated by the right of the force and by international arrangements foreign to the spirit of Versailles, the Northern part of Bukovina and the Romanian-Polish boundary were lost.

Conclusions

The diplomatic recognition of the Bukovina's union with the Romanian Kingdom and of the Romanian-Polish boundary was conducted in the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920), the efforts of Ionel I. C. Brătianu and Alexandru Vaida-Voivod, as well as of other representatives, including from the society of Bukovina, led by Iancu Flondor and Ion Nistor, were successful. The presentation of the historical ethnographic, economic, geopolitical arguments before the committees of the Peace Conference meant the capitalization and analysis of Romania's rights over Bukovina, an ancient Romanian territory whose ethno-confessional configuration modified radically during the 144 years of Austrian administration. The Romanian Kingdom by signing the Minorities' Treaty (December 9th, 1919) assumed European responsibilities in the protection of the rights of the national minorities that live on its territory. The national minorities from the former historical Bukovina were active in the political, social, cultural and religious fields in the Romanian Kingdom, from the Ukrainians existing some revisionist projects, but which have remained in theory, these being under Romanian authorities' strict control. Having an advantageous position from a geopolitical point of view, Bukovina was at the beginning of World War I - as briefly developed in this article - the subject of secret negotiations between the Romanian Kingdom, the Russian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, each of these powers wanting to take or to maintain control over it, at least partially. Russia didn't agree, in any version, the returning of the entire Bukovina to Romania, while Austria recognized democratically the appurtenance of the province to the Romanian state by signing the Saint German en Laye Peace Treaty (September 9th, 1919). In Paris, the Romanian Kingdom's delegation argued and supported with great determination Romania's right over the entire Bukovina, any other version being considered as unacceptable and therefore contrary to the historical, ethnic, geographic and geopolitical realities. Given the historical legitimacy of the right over Bukovina, confirmed in the spirit of the Wilsonian ideas by the principles of self-determination and of nationalities, the Romanian Kingdom managed, benefiting (also) from the performance of valuable political leaders, to gain recognition of the act of the representative council on November 15th/28th, 1918. The setting of the boundary of the

¹⁶⁴ Viorica Moisuc, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Romanian Kingdom with the second Polish Republic was imposed primarily by geopolitical considerations, the two states supporting each other, as previously shown, before the Allied and Associated Powers gathered at the Peace Conference.

The evolution of the politico-diplomatic and military context after 1918, imposed and shaped the Romanian-Polish closeness, the two countries (Romania and Poland) being directly interested in preserving the regional *status quo* against the revisionist danger represented by Soviet Russia (from 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Unfortunately, being in reality profoundly vulnerable the Versailles system was strongly and irreversibly affected by the secret understandings of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (August 23rd, 1939), on which relied the subsequent aggression of Germany and the USSR on Poland and Romania. In this context, Romania and Poland lost violently and brutally, what it had been obtained naturally and democratically in the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920). This paper, based on the capitalization of studies and primary documents, urges to knowing and revalorizing an important chapter in the history of Romania, namely Bukovina's and the Romanian-Polish border recognition in the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920).

**ЕДА И АЛКОГОЛЬНЫЕ НАПИТКИ
НА ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИХ ПРИЕМАХ В КРЕМЛЕ
(1941-1945 ГГ.)**

**MEALS AND ALCOHOL AT DIPLOMATIC RECEPTIONS
IN THE KREMLIN (1941-1945)**

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Rezumat: Mâncare și alcool la recepțiile diplomatice de la Kremlin (1941-1945)

Recepțiile diplomatice ținute la Kremlin în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial sunt prezentate în contextul comunicării interculturale. Mâncărurile delicioase și băuturile alcoolice oferite participanților la aceste banchete sunt evaluate în calitate de simboluri ale comunicării.

Abstract: *In this article the Kremlin diplomatic receptions of the period of World War II are considered in a context of cross-cultural communication. Viands and the alcoholic beverages offered participants of these banquets are estimated as sign of communicative symbols.*

Résumé: Plats et alcool aux réceptions diplomatiques de Kremlin (1941-1945)

On présente dans l'article ci-joint les réceptions diplomatiques organisées à Kremlin dans la période de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale dans le contexte de la communication interculturelle. On y évalue les plats délicieux et les boissons alcooliques qu'on offrit aux participants à ces banquets comme des symboles de la communication.

Keywords: *World War II, Kremlin, diplomatic receptions, Stalin, culinary semiotics, cross-cultural communication*

Введение

Еда и алкогольные напитки являются едва ли ни самыми характерными символами межкультурной коммуникации, особенно в ее невербальной сфере. Знаковые и коммуникативные функции продуктов

питания и напитков изучаются в рамках специальной отрасли науки – гасстики. Однако в этой области работают главным образом философы, культурологи, а также лингвисты, причем последние сосредоточивают свое внимание на выявлении механизма создания языковой картины, связанной с потреблением пищи и напитков. Профессиональные историки редко «вторгаются» в область гасстики.

В предлагаемой статье предпринимается попытка частично заполнить имеющуюся исследовательскую лакуну. Ее автор, опираясь главным образом на свидетельства иностранцев, присутствовавших на дипломатических приемах в Кремле 1941-1945 гг. с участием высшего руководства СССР (в первую очередь, – И. В. Сталина и В. М. Молотова), подкрепленные мемуарами и дневниками советских очевидцев событий, стремился выявить специфику восприятия зарубежными военными и политическими деятелями этих кремлевских застолий, оценки ими, как гостями, предлагавшихся хозяевами яств и алкогольных напитков.

Краткий обзор источников

В качестве основных источников использованы мемуары и дневники руководителей внешнеполитических ведомств СССР и зарубежных стран, их референтов, сотрудников иностранных дипломатических представительств в Москве, военных деятелей о происходившем на дипломатических приемах в Кремле в период Второй мировой войны. Подобного рода свидетельства оставили представители США К. Хэлл, А. Гарриман и Д. Р. Дин. Корделл Хэлл (1871-1955), американский политический деятель и дипломат, государственный секретарь США (1933-1944). Уильям Аверелл Гарриман (1891-1985), американский государственный и политический деятель, дипломат. Посол Соединенных Штатов Америки в Советском Союзе (1943-1946). Джон Рассел Дин (1896-1982), бригадный генерал, глава американской военной миссии в Москве (1943-1945).

Несомненный интерес представляют мемуары и дневники британских дипломатов А. Идена, А. Кадогана и А. Г. Бирса. Антони Иден (1897-1977) возглавлял в период Второй мировой войны Министерство иностранных дел Великобритании (1940-1945). Александр Джордж Монтегю Кадоган (1884-1968) занимал пост постоянного заместителя министра иностранных дел Великобритании (1938-1946). Второй секретарь посольства Великобритании в СССР Артур Герберт Бирс (1889-1967) являлся в военные годы переводчиком У. Черчилля и А. Идена.

Содержательный репортаж о кремлевском приеме 4 декабря 1941 г. оставил К. Прушински. Ксаверий Францишек Прушински (1907-1950), польский журналист, публицист, писатель и дипломат, пресс-атташе посольства в Москве Польского правительства в эмиграции (1941-1942). Дополнительные штрихи к этому описанию внес в своих мемуарах Е. Климковски. Ежи Климковски (1902-1991), адъютант командующего Польской Армией в СССР генерала Владислава Андерса (1941-1942).

При написании данной статьи в качестве источников также привлекались свидетельства советских участников событий: воспоминания И. М. Майского¹, В. М. Бережкова² и А. Е. Голованова³. Наконец, использованы воспоминания иностранных современников событий, не принимавших участия в дипломатических приемах в Кремле 1941-1945 гг., а получавших сведения о происходившем на этих застольях из «вторых рук». В данном случае речь идет об американском журналисте Г. Солсбери. Гаррисон Солсбери (1908-1993) являлся представителем Агентства ЮПИ в СССР (1944-1945).

Объект анализа

Дипломатические приемы имеют большое политическое значение и для хозяев-устроителей, и для присутствующих иностранных гостей. Их важность еще более повышается, если они организованы руководством страны пребывания. Дипломатические приемы – протокольные мероприятия, которые проводятся в ознаменование прибытия зарубежных представителей, подписания двусторонних договоров и соглашений т. д. и т. п. Такого рода банкеты устраивались в Кремле в годы Второй мировой войны, исходя из основных действовавших тогда правил протокола. Тем самым закреплялась существовавшая практика оказания

¹ Иван Михайлович Майский (1884-1975), дипломат, историк. Посол СССР в Великобритании (1932-1943), заместитель Народного комиссара иностранных дел СССР (1943-1946).

² Валентин Михайлович Бережков (1916-1998), дипломат. Помощник заместителя Народного комиссара иностранных дел СССР (1941-1943); помощник наркома иностранных дел (1943-1945).

³ Александр Евгеньевич Голованов (1904–1975), военачальник. Главный маршал авиации (1944). Командующий авиацией дальнего действия при Ставке Верховного главнокомандования (февраль 1942 – декабрь 1944).

почестей и гостеприимства высшим государственным должностным лицам, находящимся с визитом в стране в составе официальных делегаций.

Согласно установившейся международной протокольной практике, официальные дипломатические приемы разделяются на дневные и вечерние. При этом самым почетным видом вечернего приема является обед, который, как правило, начинается в промежутке времени между 20.00 и 21.00. Дипломатические приемы периода Второй мировой войны устраивались в Кремле от имени главы Советского правительства – Председателя Совета Народных Комиссаров СССР. До начала мая 1941 г. пост главы Советского правительства занимал В. М. Молотов, одновременно являвшийся (с 1939 г.) Народным комиссаром иностранных дел СССР. 4 мая 1941 г. Председателем СНК СССР был назначен И. В. Сталин.

Всего за 1941-1945 гг., согласно нашим подсчетам, в Екатерининском зале Большого Кремлевского дворца было устроено порядка 20-ти дипломатических приемов (банкетов). Введенные в научный оборот источники и исследовательская литература не дают возможности составить представление о том, какие именно яства и алкогольные напитки предлагались их участникам на всех банкетах подобного рода. Однако интересующие нас сведения сохранились лишь о следующих кремлевских дипломатических приемах: 1) в честь представителей СССР, Великобритании и США – участников межсоюзнической конференции в Москве (1 октября 1941 г.); 2) в честь президента союзного СССР Польского правительства в изгнании генерала Вл. Сикорского (4 декабря 1941 г.); 3) в честь английской официальной делегации во главе с министром иностранных дел Великобритании А. Иденом (20 декабря 1941 г.); 4) в честь премьер-министра Великобритании У. Черчилля и А. Гарримана, специального посланника президента США Ф. Д. Рузвельта; 5) в честь государственного секретаря Соединенных Штатов Америки К. Хэлла и А. Идена по завершении Московской конференции глав внешнеполитических ведомств союзных держав (СССР, Великобритании и США) (30 октября 1943 г.); 6) в честь президента правительства Чехословакии в изгнании Э. Бенеша (11 декабря 1943 г.); 7) после подписания советско-чехословацкого договора (22 декабря 1943 г.); 8) в честь главы Временного правительства Французской Республики генерала Ш. де Голля и французского министра иностранных дел Ж. Бидо (9 декабря 1944 г.).

Блюда и напитки на дипломатических приемах – символы невербальной коммуникации

После нападения Германии на СССР международное положение коренным образом изменилось. Советский Союз превратился в главного военно-политического партнера западных держав – Великобритании и США. Настоятельная необходимость координации военной, политической и дипломатической деятельности, конечной целью которой являлось достижение победы над общим врагом, потребовала постоянного обмена мнениями между руководителями союзных стран. Москву, начиная с сентября 1941 г., посетили с официальными визитами многочисленные политические лидеры, государственные, военные деятели, дипломаты стран-членов антигитлеровской коалиции. Как правило, подобные визиты завершались дипломатическими приемами в Кремле. Все они устраивались Председателем СНК СССР И. В. Сталиным в форме обедов (за исключением банкета в честь президента Чехословакии Э. Бенеша 11 декабря 1943 г., который проводился от имени Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР М. И. Калинина).

Застолье, т. е. потребление яств и алкогольных напитков, несомненно, являлось важной составной частью протокола дипломатических приемов в Кремле. Трапеза, сопровождавшаяся произнесением многочисленных здравиц, как правило, занимала 2-3 часа. Вслед за этим следовала непринужденная беседа в специальном помещении (оно примыкало к Екатерининскому залу), куда подавались кофе и сладости.

Дипломатические приемы в Кремле в военные годы организовывались с подобающей роскошью. У иностранных гостей неизменно вызвали восхищение сервировка столов и блестящее обслуживание квалифицированного персонала. К. Прушински вспоминал, что на приеме 4 декабря 1941 г. стол был сервирован с изысканной простотой. На великолепных скатертях голландского полотна стояли тарелки, доставленные из ресторана гостиницы «Москва», на которых сохранились поблекшие изображения виноградных гроздей и листьев. Как заметил Прушински, эта была уже не новая посуда: сервиз имел дореволюционное клеймо Императорского фарфорового завода в Петербурге. В центре стола стояли старинные хрустальные графины и «изумительной работы» тяжелые серебряные кувшины. Что касается столовых приборов, то, по свидетельству Прушинского, на них была

советская символика: изображение серпа и молота. Каждый из гостей имел перед собой меню обеда, отпечатанное по-русски и по-французски⁴.

Е. Климовского также поразило вид огромного накрытого стола, протянувшегося почти на весь Екатерининский зал, замечательно украшенного и буквально ломившегося под тяжестью красивой сервировки, всевозможных яств и разнообразных сортов алкогольных напитков⁵.

В. М. Бережков вспоминал, что во время банкета 30 октября 1943 г. Екатерининский зал Большого Кремлевского дворца был заставлен столами, украшенными красными гвоздиками и сервированными серебром и сверкающими фарфором. На столах стояли всевозможные закуски, бутылки с винами и напитками⁶. А, по словам Дж. Р. Дина, присутствовавшего на этом обеде, «накрытые столы представляли собой такое великолепие, что невозможно описать». Это было буквально «море блеска и света». Сервировка других обедов, происходивших в ходе работы Московской конференции глав внешнеполитических ведомств великих держав, показалась генералу Дину просто жалкой по сравнению с той, которая предстала перед ним в начале упомянутого банкета⁷.

Свидетельства иностранных гостей позволяют сделать вывод о том, что на официальных приемах в Кремле не только сервировка стола была блестящей, но и обслуживающий персонал отличался безукоризненной вежливостью и обладал высокой профессиональной квалификацией. К. Прушински отмечал, что банкет в Кремле обслуживали официанты гостиницы «Москва», которую сам он посещал во время пребывания в советской столице. Некоторые из них говорили по-французски⁸. Генерал Дж. Р. Дин также заметил среди obsługi несколько официантов, специально приглашенных из московских ресторанов, которых он имел возможность видеть ранее «на различных официальных банкетах»⁹. К. Прушински писал по этому поводу, что Кремль не имел собственной

⁴ Ksavery Pruszyński, *Noc na Kremlu* [Night in the Kremlin], Warszawa, Rój, 1989, s. 97.

⁵ Jerzy Klimkowski, *Byłem adiutantem generała Andersa* [I was aide-de-camp of General Anders], Warszawa, Wydawn. Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1959, s. 200.

⁶ Владимир Невежин, *Застольные речи Сталина. Документы и материалы* [Drinking speeches of Stalin. Documents and materials], М., АИРО-XX; СПб., Дмитрий Буланин, 2003, док. № 45.

⁷ John Deane, *The Strange Alliance*, New York, Wiking Press, 1947, p. 30.

⁸ Ksavery Pruszyński, *op. cit.*, s. 97.

⁹ John Deane, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

службы официантов; в случае необходимости они приглашались на время проведения приемов из лучших столичных ресторанов¹⁰.

Таким образом, ко времени начала войны между Германией и СССР для обслуживания официальных приемов советская дипломатическая служба использовала услуги работников первоклассных московских ресторанов, имевших хорошую репутацию. Она исходила из того, что даже хорошо подготовленный и в деталях продуманный официальный банкет может быть омрачен некачественным обслуживанием гостей. Именно во избежание досадных накладок и приглашались на приемы в Кремль опытные метрдотели и официанты. Они без подсказок знали, когда и как следует подавать яства и алкогольные напитки приглашенным, что и когда убрать, с кого начинать подачу блюд и кем заканчивать, как вести себя, когда произносятся тосты.

Как правило, во время официального дипломатического приема все блюда подаются официантами с рук. Они также наливают вина в определенной последовательности, в зависимости от перемены блюд. В качестве комментария к этому можно привести свидетельство К. Прушинского. Он писал, что перед каждым из приглашенных на банкет в Кремль стояли предназначавшаяся только для него тарелка с закусками и бутылки с различными алкогольными напитками. А. Г. Бирс вспоминал, что на банкете 30 октября 1943 г. вдоль одной стороны накрытого стола выстроились официанты в белой униформе, державшие большие блюда с различными видами горячих и холодных закусок, которые они и подавали его участникам¹¹.

Таким образом, своеобразно совмещались западная традиция «самообслуживания» и русский обычай проведения официальных застолий, согласно которому яства и спиртные напитки подавались обслуживающим персоналом, а у гостей имелось две возможности отведать разнообразных закусок и алкогольных напитков: самостоятельно или из рук нарядных кельнеров в белых пиджаках¹².

На приемах 1 октября 1941 г. и 14 августа 1942 г. количество участников достигало (в каждом случае) по 100 чел.¹³; на обеде 22 декабря

¹⁰ Ksavery Pruszyński K., *op. cit.*, s. 97.

¹¹ Arthur Birse, *Memoirs of an Interpreter*, London, Michael Josef, 1967, p. 145.

¹² Ksavery Pruszyński, *op. cit.*, s. 94.

¹³ Владимир Печатнов, *Сталин, Рузвельт, Трумэн: СССР и США в 1940-х гг.: Документальные очерки* [Stalin, Roosevelt, Truman: the USSR and the U.S. in the 1940s: The documentary essays], М., ТЕРРА-Книжный клуб, 2006, с. 34; Олег Ржешевский, *Сталин и Черчилль. Встречи. Беседы. Дискуссии: Документы,*

1943 г. – 46 чел., из которых 13 чел. являлись официальными представителями чехословацкой делегации¹⁴. Естественно, обслужить по всем правилам застольного этикета такое сравнительно небольшое количество гостей вышколенным официантам, привлеченным из лучших московских ресторанов, было вполне под силу.

Меню обеда на дипломатическом приеме, как правило, соответствует национальными традициями страны, которую представляют устроители (хозяева). Он включает две-три холодные закуски, первое, горячие рыбные и мясные блюда, а также десерт.

Уже в 1941 г. в меню дипломатических приемов в Кремле важную роль играла французская кухня, усиленная русскими закусками: красной икрой, соленой и копченой рыбой. Подлинной сенсацией на этом фоне, помимо уникальных русских закусок, выглядели жаркое из дичи (рябчики, куропатки, тетерева), блюда из оленины, лосятины, домашней птицы.

По свидетельству А. Гарримана, во время обеда 1 октября 1941 г. череда холодных закусок началась с подачи икры и различных видов рыбы и свиного окорока. Затем принесли горячее: суп, курицу и дичь. На десерт были мороженое и пирожные. Кроме того, в большом изобилии на столах имелись фрукты, которые не продавались в обычных магазинах. Гарриман предположил, что они произрастали в Крыму¹⁵.

К. Прушински отмечал, что на приеме 4 декабря 1941 г. яства, обозначенные в меню французскими названиями, происходили, однако, из традиционной русской кухни, «богатой, острой и тяжелой». Среди закусок преобладали рыбные блюда – из лосося, белуги, сёмги, а также икра наилучшего качества. Вслед за этим, как писал Прушински, официанты подали первое. За супами пришла пора мясных блюд – дичи, рыбы, которые были в большом выборе¹⁶.

Меню упомянутого дипломатического приема было следующим. В состав холодных закусок входили: икра зернистая, икра паюсная и расстегайчики. Помимо этого, на столе имелись: сёмга, балык белорыбий (произведенный из белорыбицы), сельди с гарниром, ветчина, салат оливье, поросенок, сыры, масло, огурцы кавказские и помидоры.

комментарии, 1941-1945 [Stalin and Churchill. The meetings. The conversation. The discussions: Documents, comments, 1941-1945], М., Наука, 2004, с. 382.

¹⁴ Владимир Невезжин, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁵ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin 1941—1946*, New York, Random House, 1975, p. 98.

¹⁶ Ksavery Pruszyński, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

Следует пояснить, что зернистую икру делают из отборных зрелых икринок («зернышко к зернышку»). Паюсная икра обычно бывает пюреобразного вида. Чаще всего, – это смесь жирной севрюжьей и осетровой икры. Расстегайчики (расстегай) — это вид печеных пирогов с отверстием сверху, которые готовятся из дрожжевого теста с различными начинками. Сёмга (или благородный лосось) – рыба семейства лососевых. Длина достигает 1,5 м, вес – до 40 кг. Белорыбица – рыба семейства сиговых. Имеет длину до 1 м и выше, вес – до 20 кг. Кавказские огурцы – это маринованные огурцы с добавлением перца и пряностей.

В качестве горячих закусок на упомянутом приеме в Кремле 4 декабря 1941 г. подавались грибы белые в сметане о гратен и медальон из дичи пуаврад. О гратен (от французского *o-gratin*) – золотистая корочка, образующаяся на поверхности блюда в духовке или на гриле. Пуаврад (от французского: «*sauce poivrade*») – соус к приготовленному мясу диких животных.

Собственно, обед на банкете в честь польской делегации во главе с Вл. Сикорским состоял из первого, второго и десерта. На первое участники банкета могли выбрать крем-суп (суп пюре), консоме и «борщок». Консоме (от французского «*consommé*») — это осветленный густой бульон. В классической кухне известны консоме из куриного и говяжьего бульона. «Борщок» – это, скорее всего, было первое блюдо, которое поляки называют «барщик». Во всяком случае, «гастрономический патриотизм» К. Прушинского не оставил ему другого выбора, как отведать именно это первое блюдо¹⁷. Вместе с первым подавались пирожки пай.

На второе во время банкета в Кремле 4 декабря 1941 г. предлагались: стерлядь в шампанском, нельма отварная, индейка, цыплята, рябчики, спаржа, соус муслин и сливочное масло.

Стерлядь – это рыба семейства осетровых. Достигает в длину 125 см, весом бывает до 16 кг. Нельма – рыба семейства сигов, подвид белорыбицы. Длина до 1,3 м, вес – порядка 40 кг. Специфика приготовления соуса муслин (от французского произношения г. Мосул в Ираке) состоит в том, что в него не добавляются желатин или другое связывающее вещество, а используют только взбитые сливки.

А. Иден вспоминал, что на банкете 20 декабря 1941 г. вслед за икрой последовали борщ, осетрина, молочный поросенок и разнообразные мясные блюда¹⁸.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁸ Anthony Eden, *The Eden Memoirs: The Reckoning*, London, Cassel, 1965, p. 302.

Наконец, на десерт на упомянутом приеме были предложены шоколадное парфе (от французского «parfait», т. е. безукоризненный, прекрасный), а также пети-фур (пирожные и печенье небольшого размера), фрукты и жареный миндаль. Участникам банкета вместе с десертом предложили кофе, ликеры и коньяк¹⁹.

Помимо приведенных выше сведений, представление о том, какие яства подавались на дипломатических приемах в Кремле в военные годы, дает меню обеда в честь Президента Чехословакии Э. Бенеша (22 декабря 1943 г.). Холодная закуска состояла из зернистой и паюсной икры, сёмги, холодного поросенка с хреном, расстегайчиков, кавказских огурцов, сливочного масла. Был также подан салат паризьен («парижский») из дичи и овощей. Горячая закуска была представлена пловом из молочного барашка, стерляди миньер (рыбы, жареной на небольшом количестве масла) с каперсами.

На первое во время обеда были поданы (вместе с различными пирожками) суп-пюре из пулярды (пулярки) – жирной, специально откормленной курицы, и консоме с профитролями. Профитроли (от французского «profiterole, profit» — выгода, польза) — это небольшие (менее 4 см в диаметре) кулинарные изделия французской кухни из заварного теста с различными начинками (как сладкими, так и несладкими).

На второе на приеме 22 декабря 1943 г. предлагались: нельма отварная, соус муслин, индейка, цыплята, куропатка с красной капустой и валованчики маседуан. Валованчики (от французского «vol-au-vent») маседуан (от французского произношения «македонский) – пирожки из пресного теста, подаваемые к разным бульонам. Десерт на этом банкете состоял из пломбира орехового, мороженого фруктового, фруктов, пети-фура, различных сыров, миндаля. Вместе с десертом были поданы кофе и ликеры²⁰.

Легко убедиться, что в меню кремлевских банкетов 4 декабря 1941 и 22 декабря 1943 гг. наряду с известными французскими кулинарными терминами («огратен», «пуаврад», «консоме», «парфе», «пети-фур», «оливье», «паризьен») имеются и исконно русские («расстегайчики», «сёмга», «балык», «нельма», «рябчики»).

Вполне вероятно, что при составлении меню дипломатических приемов в Кремле учитывались кулинарные пристрастия И. В. Сталина.

¹⁹ *Московский Кремль в годы Великой Отечественной войны* [The Moscow Kremlin in the years of the great Patriotic war], М., Кучково поле, 2010, с. 192-193.

²⁰ „Вопросы истории” [Questions of history], 2001, No, 3, с. 20.

Возможно также, что именно по рекомендации Сталина на обедах в Кремле 4 декабря 1941 г. и 22 декабря 1943 г. на горячее подавалась отварная нельма. Нельма водится в бассейне Северного Ледовитого океана. Сталин сам ловил эту рыбу для пропитания в период пребывания в заполярной ссылке в Курейке в 1913-1917 гг.²¹

В 1930-е гг. одной из составных частей в меню представителей кремлевской элиты были кавказские (преимущественно, грузинские) блюда; ведь И. В. Сталин, А. И. Микоян и Л. П. Берия были родом с Кавказа²². Эти блюда также подавались на дипломатических приемах в Кремле. Доставкой продуктов для высшего советского руководства в 1930-е—1940-е гг. ведал друг детства И. В. Сталина (по одной из версий – его молочный брат), высокопоставленный сотрудник НКВД СССР А. Я. Егнаташвили (Игнаташвили). Александр Яковлевич Егнаташвили (1887-1948), заместитель директора дома отдыха в Форосе (Крым) (1932-1934). Директор дома отдыха ХОЗУ ЦИК (Верховного Совета СССР) (1934-1938). Заместитель начальника 1-го отдела ГУГБ ГКВД СССР по хозяйственной части (1938-1941). Заместитель начальника 1-го отдела НКГБ СССР (1941-1943). Начальник 6-го отдела и заместитель начальника 6-го Управления НКГБ СССР (1943-1945). Майор госбезопасности (1938), старший майор госбезопасности (1940), комиссар госбезопасности (1943); комиссар госбезопасности 3-го ранга (1944); генерал-лейтенант (1945).

Вероятно, было трудно удивить каким-либо экзотическим яством У. Черчилля, который был искушенным гурманом. Биографы этого политического деятеля во всех подробностях описывают обеды и ужины, которые устраивались в его имении. Однако даже Черчилль, в жизни которого еда играла важную роль, был просто поражен тем эксклюзивным угощением, которое ему предложили на приеме 14 августа 1942 г. По некоторым сведениям, специально для британского премьера приготовили наиболее известное блюдо грузинской кухни – шашлык. Но поданный У. Черчиллю шашлык был не совсем обычным. Офицер НКВД П. Русишвили, который служил в спецподразделении, готовившем еду для И. В. Сталина и его гостей, в одном из позднейших интервью подробно рассказывал о том, как готовили шашлык из мяса двухнедельного ягненка,

²¹ Никита Хрущёв, *Время. Люди. Власть. (Воспоминания в 4-х книгах.)* [Time. People. Power. (Memoirs of the 4 books)], кн. 2, М., Информационно-издательская компания «Московские новости», 1999, с. 119.

²² Eric Scott, *How Georgian Cuisine Conquered the Soviet Table*, in «Kritika: Explorations in Russia and Eurasian History», No, 13, 4 (Fall, 2012), p. 836-840.

предназначавшийся для У. Черчилля. Кроме материнского молока такой ягненок не должен был пробовать ничего другого. Ягненка разделявали в присутствии врача: малейший дефект на печени или на легких давал основание для выбраковки. В течение суток тушка выдерживалась в холодильнике, и лишь после этого приступали к приготовлению шашлыка. Черчилль остался доволен приготовленным для него блюдом кавказской кухни: мяса шашлыка буквально таяло во рту²³.

Вспоминая о банкете 30 октября 1943 г., В. М. Бережков, в частности, писал: «Генерал Игнатшвили, ведавший церемониалом приемов, составил особенно изысканное меню. В разложенных у каждого прибора кремовых карточках с тисненым государственным гербом Советского Союза перечислялись блюда русской, французской и кавказской кухни»²⁴.

Все вышеизложенные позволяет утверждать, что, скорее всего, на дипломатических приемах в Кремле, особенно в 1941-1945 гг., имел место своеобразный синтез классической европейской (точнее – французской), русской и кавказской (грузинской) кухни.

Трудно однозначно судить о реальных кулинарных пристрастиях И. В. Сталина и его отношения к еде на основании свидетельств иностранных участников кремлевских дипломатических приемов. Так, А. Гарриман вспоминал, что на банкете 14 августа 1942 г. Сталин отведал лишь немного сыра и картофеля. Он объяснил Гарриману, что до этого успел поужинать²⁵. Ш. де Голль, наоборот, акцентировал внимание на том, что на приеме 9 декабря 1944 г. советский лидер много ел²⁶.

Естественно, помимо обильного угощения, гостям на дипломатических приемах в Кремле предлагались различные виды алкогольных напитков. А. Гарриман отмечал, что подле каждого из участников приема 1 октября 1941 г. стояли бутылки с перцовкой, красным и белым вином, коньяком. Шампанское было предложено по окончании основного обеда, когда наступало время десерта²⁷. К. Прушински свидетельствовал, что на банкете 4 декабря 1941 г. пили коньяк, зубровку, «российское бренди» (коньяк), московскую водку и «наилучшую из всех» – «Рябиновку». Прушински именовал ее «красной

²³ Алексей Богомолов, *Добрый дедушка Сталин. Правдивые рассказы из жизни вождя* [A good grandfather Stalin. True stories from the life of the leader], М., Астрель, 2012, с. 56.

²⁴ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, док. № 76, с. 335.

²⁵ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

²⁶ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, док. № 94, с. 408, 413.

²⁷ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

водкой», но, скорее всего, это была крепкая настойка (рябина на коньяке). Кавказские и крымские вина, бренди и ликеры источали уникальные ароматы. В ходе застолья первые бутылки спиртного сменялись последующими, а рюмки наполнялись вновь и вновь²⁸. А. Иден вспоминал, что на обеде 20 декабря 1941 г. после водки гости пили вино, а затем – советское шампанское²⁹.

Подобное разнообразие спиртных напитков на столе вполне соответствовало дипломатическому протоколу: водка идет под холодные закуски, после супов хороши вина. Причем крепленые вина подаются под дичь и под мясо, а полусухие – под рыбные блюда. Шампанское же предлагается не только под десерт: его пьют в продолжение всего обеда от начала до конца.

Особенно поражала воображение высоких иностранных гостей имевшая на цвет желтовато-коричневый оттенок, перцовка – водка, настоянная на горьком перце. Перцовка была предложена гостям, среди других алкогольных напитков, на обеде 20 декабря 1941 г. Ее употребляли члены британской делегации, когда была провозглашена первая серия тостов³⁰. И. М. Майский свидетельствовал, что в этот момент произошел забавный инцидент. Перед А. Иденом в числе других алкогольных напитков стояла большая бутылка перцовки. Желтоватый цвет жидкости в ней, возможно, напомнил английскому дипломату привычный виски. По свидетельству И. М. Майского, британский дипломат изъявил желание попробовать перцовки. И. В. Сталин взял бутылку, налил бокал А. Идену. Тот сделал большой глоток непривычно крепкого напитка, после которого, лишь отдышавшись, смог прийти в себя³¹.

В 1 час ночи 21 декабря упомянутый обед закончился. Руководители английской делегации А. Иден и А. Кадоган были приглашены И. В. Сталиным в специальный кинозал, оборудованный в Кремле, где им продемонстрировали советские художественные фильмы. Во время кинопросмотра, который завершился около 5 часов утра, все пили шампанское³². Иден, вопреки приведенному выше утверждению И. М.

²⁸ Ksavery Pruszyński, *op. cit.*, s. 97-99.

²⁹ Anthony Eden, *op. cit.*, p.301.

³⁰ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel., *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³¹ Иван Майский, *Воспоминания советского дипломата. 1925—1945 гг.* [Memoirs of a Soviet diplomat. 1925—1945s], изд. 2-е, М., Международные отношения, 1987, с. 629.

³² Alexander Cadogan, *The diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan. 1938—1945*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971, p. 423.

Майского, писал в своих мемуарах, что на этом приеме предпочитал пить приятное на вкус белое грузинское вино. При этом британский дипломат воздерживался от советского шампанского, которое считал неприятным на вкус и очень тяжелым для желудка³³.

Что касается перцовки, то во время приема 14 августа 1942 г. она сыграла злую шутку с Начальником Имперского Генштаба Великобритании А. Бруком, сопровождавшим У. Черчилля. В начале приема последовал тост «за доблестные вооруженные силы» союзников, и Брук опрокинул стакан этой водки. Однако, по наблюдению А.Е. Голованова, выразительная мимика высокопоставленного британского военного отражала борьбу «противоречивых чувств»: явного стремления выпить крепкий алкоголь и столь же явного инстинктивного противодействия этому его организма. Наконец, когда победила сила воли А. Брука, и перцовка была выпита, по лицу будущего британского маршала потекли слезы. Естественно, он решительно отказался от непривычно крепкого спиртного напитка время последующих тостов³⁴.

К. Хэлл вспоминал, что на банкете 30 октября 1943 г. он (как и Сталин) пил красное вино, «хотя многие гости предпочитали водку»³⁵. Это последнее предпочтение порой приводило к печальным последствиям, поскольку от глаз иностранных наблюдателей не могли ускользнуть пикантные подробности дипломатических приемов И. В. Сталина, связанные с последствиями чрезмерного потребления алкогольных напитков советскими участниками этих застолий. Так, на виду у британского министра иностранных дел А. Идена и других английских гостей на приеме 20 декабря 1941 г. К. Е. Ворошилов и С. К. Тимошенко «перебрали лишнего» и по окончании застолья не смогли покинуть зал без посторонней помощи³⁶.

А. Кадоган уточнял, что еще до начала банкета С. К. Тимошенко, с которым он перебросился парой слов, уже был «слегка навеселе». В течение последующих семи часов (в течение официального обеда и по его завершении, во время кинопросмотра) Тимошенко довольно основательно «загружался» спиртным. Под влиянием крепкого алкоголя (он

³³ Anthony Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

³⁴ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, док. № 70, с. 312.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, док. № 77, с. 343.

³⁶ Alexander Cadogan A., *op. cit.*, p. 423; Гаррисон Солсбери, *Сквозь бури нашего времени: Воспоминания* [Through the storms of our century: The Memoirs], М., Международные отношения, 1993, с. 246.

предпочитал перцовку)³⁷ другой сталинский соратник, К. Е. Ворошилов, «стал буйным»³⁸.

Нельзя сказать, что от подобного «недуга» страдали только советские участники дипломатических приемов в Кремле. Очень важные персоны, причастные к руководству антигитлеровской коалицией, также порой не могли избежать нежелательных последствий возлияний, которые стимулировались их радушными хозяевами.

Например, в интерпретации У. Черчилля дипломатический прием, который был дан в его честь 14 августа 1942 г., проходил вполне чинно и благородно: «Сталин и Молотов радушно принимали гостей. Такие обеды продолжаются долго, и с самого начала было произнесено в форме очень коротких речей много тостов и ответов на них. Распространялись глупые истории о том, что эти советские обеды превращаются в попойки. В этом нет ни доли правды. Маршал и его коллеги неизменно пили после тостов из крошечных рюмок, делая в каждом случае лишь маленький глоток. Меня изрядно угощали»³⁹.

Однако, если верить свидетельству А.Е. Голованова, одного из советских участников этого приема, «изрядное угощение» явно не пошло на пользу британскому премьеру: «Черчилль на глазах пьянел». В конце приема, под влиянием выпитого алкоголя, британский премьер уже не мог передвигаться самостоятельно, и покинул Екатерининский зал, «поддерживаемый под руки»⁴⁰.

Этот случай наводит на размышление о том, что на банкете 14 августа 1942 г. У. Черчилля, действительно, угощали «изрядно». Ведь в смысле потребления спиртного он был человеком стойким. Из крепких напитков У. Черчилль предпочитал виски. Известно афористическое высказывание Черчилля, смысл которого сводится к следующему: по молодости лет он придерживался правила не пить крепких спиртных напитков перед ланчем, а в зрелые годы установил порядок не делать этого перед завтраком⁴¹. Помимо этого, У. Черчилль был большим любителем бренди, марочного портвейна, кларета (красного бургундского вина), белого вина и шампанского.

³⁷ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, док. № 70, с. 311, 312.

³⁸ Alexander Cadogan, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

³⁹ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, док. № 69, с. 309.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, док. №70, с. 313.

⁴¹ *The Wicked Wit of Winston Churchill*. Completed, edited and introduced by Dominique Enright, London, Michael O' Mara Books Limited, 2001, p. 114.

Однако даже такой искушенный любитель крепких спиртных напитков, вина и шампанского, как Черчилль, не смог устоять перед силой армянского коньяка, который был предложен ему во время первого визита в Москву. Армянский коньяк ему явно понравился, и результат этого пристрастия, как следует из приведенного выше свидетельства очевидца событий А.Е. Голованова, последовал незамедлительно. В своих воспоминаниях Голованов также привел еще один пример, свидетельствовавший, по мнению мемуариста, о большом пристрастии британского премьера к коньяку. И. В. Сталин отослал через У. Черчилля различные подарки, предназначавшиеся для президента США Ф. Д. Рузвельта: черную икру, балык, рыбу, а также коньяк (и водку). Упомянутые спиртные напитки были выпиты Черчиллем еще в пути, в то время как дефицитные продукты доставлены адресату в целости и сохранности⁴².

Позднее, во время Тегеранской конференции лидеров держав-членов антигитлеровской коалиции (1943 г.) И. В. Сталин, по некоторым сведениям, пообещал британскому премьеру, что по окончании войны из СССР в Англию будет поставляться коньяк в большом количестве, и даже планировал построить в этой стране коньячный завод⁴³.

Так или иначе, У. Черчилль после первого своего визита в Москву накрепко пристрастился к армянскому коньяку. Вообще, Черчилль уподоблял хороший коньяк женщине: к нему, как и к женщине, утверждал британский премьер, следует приступать не сразу. Перед употреблением коньяка, рекомендовал он, необходимо понежить напиток и подержать в своих теплых руках⁴⁴. В данной связи необходимо отметить, что опыт общения с женщинами у У. Черчилля был весьма ограниченным. Приведенное выше высказывание британского премьера скорее всего может свидетельствовать о том, что он предпочитал хороший коньяк приятному общению с женщинами.

К слову сказать, И. В. Сталин не был замечен в злоупотреблении алкогольными напитками и всегда, до самого конца каждого дипломатического приема оставался трезвым и хорошо владел собой. Однако объяснение феномена не пьянеющего Сталина вряд следует искать

⁴² Александр Голованов, *Дальняя бомбардировочная. Воспоминания Главного Маршала авиации. 1941-1945* [Long-bomber aviation. Memories of Chief Marshal of aviation. 1941-1945s], М., Дельта НБ, 2004, с. 235.

⁴³ Владимир Невежин, *op. cit.*, с. 345.

⁴⁴ *The Wicked Wit of Winston Churchill*, p. 113.

в том, что он послушно исполнял рекомендации врачей относительно потребления алкоголя. Просто в отличие от некоторых своих соратников и иностранных гостей, «налегавших» на крепкие спиртные напитки (водку или коньяк), Сталин пил (притом, умеренно) вино или шампанское. А. Гарриман отмечал, что на банкете 1 октября 1941 г. И. В. Сталин после провозглашения первого тоста пригубил немного перцовки, а затем пил красное вино из небольшой рюмки, объем в glass pony⁴⁵, т.е. примерно 140 мл. Таким же образом действовал Сталин и на приеме 14 августа 1942 г.⁴⁶

В годы Второй мировой войны представители союзных держав, присутствовавшие на банкетах в Кремле, испытывали определенное неудобство и даже внутренний протест по поводу того изобилия яств и алкогольных напитков, которые предлагались им на дипломатических приемах в Кремле⁴⁷. Столы в Кремле ломались от различных деликатесов, в то время как народ голодал. Гарриман находил данное обстоятельство просто отравительным⁴⁸.

Позднее В. М. Бережков в своих мемуарах попытался объяснить эту отличительную особенность дипломатических приемов, являвшихся одной из форм репрезентации сталинской власти: «Красная и черная икра, сёмга и лососина, форель и стерлядь, жареные поросята, барашки и козлята, фаршированные индейки, горы овощей и фруктов, целые батареи крепких напитков и всевозможных вин, торты из мороженого – все это, по мысли Сталина, должно было убедить западных гостей, что дела у нас не так уж плохи»⁴⁹.

Заключение

Яства и алкогольные напитки, которые подавались на дипломатических приемах в Кремле в период Второй мировой войны являлись знаковыми символами невербальной коммуникации между советскими участниками этих банкетов и важными официальными лицами, представлявшими иностранные государства. Зарубежных гостей поражала сервировка столов, которые накрывались в Екатерининском зале

⁴⁵ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99; Anthony Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 301-302.

⁴⁸ Averell Harriman, Elie Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴⁹ Валентин Бережков, *Как я стал переводчиком Сталина* [How I became a translator of Stalin], М., ДЭМ, 1993, с. 235-236.

Большого Кремлевского дворца. Их обслуживали квалифицированные официанты, приглашавшихся из лучших московских ресторанов.

Общее восторженное впечатление дополняло знакомство с меню кремлевских обедов, сочетавшее изысканные блюда французской, русской и кавказской кухни. Наряду с подачей экзотических кушаний участникам этих банкетов предлагались высококачественные сорта водки и вина, а также шампанского.

В конечном счете, роскошные дипломатические приемы, проводившиеся во время Второй мировой войны в Екатерининском зале, одном из красивейших парадных залов Большого Кремлевского дворца, где накрывались богатые яствами и алкогольными напитками столы, были призваны доказать иностранным гостям величие и стабильность существовавшего политического режима.

**A TYPOLOGY OF DOCUMENTS AND FILES CREATED
BY SECURITATE* BETWEEN 1948 – 1964**

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Rezumat: Tipologia documentelor și dosarelor create de Securitate în anii 1948-1964

Lucrarea analizează modul în care s-a constituit arhiva și evidențele centrale și locale de securitate, odată cu clasarea primelor dosare. Sunt descrise fondurile (operativ, rețea, anchetă, corespondență, neoperativ și documentar) ce formau arhiva Securității, ce categorii de dosare îi corespundeau, precum și tipurile de documente găsite în aceste forme de evidență.

Abstract: *The paper analyses the way archive and central and local records of Securitate were established, along with the classification of the first files. There are described the funds (operative, network, inquiry, correspondence, inoperative and documentary) that formed the Securitate's archive, which categories of files were corresponding to it, and also the types of documents found in these forms of records.*

Résumé: Typologie des documents et des fichiers créés par la Sécurité pendant les années 1948-1964.

Cet article examine comment les archives et les registres centraux et locaux de la Securitate ont été constitués avec la classification des premiers cas. Ils sont décrit les fonds (opérationnel, le réseau, enquête, messagerie, inopérante et documentaire) qui ont formés les Archives de la Securitate, quels types de fichiers ils correspondent et les types de documents trouvés dans ces formes de registres.

Keywords. *Securitate, secret agency, informer, record files, archive.*

Introduction

This paper aims to bring to the reader's attention the tracking system that

* The Securitate (Romanian for Security), was the popular term for the Department of State Security, the secret police agency of Communist Romania, which founded on August 30, 1948.

was available to the Securitate and how the archive of this institution was founded. We brought to light the categories of documents found in different type of files, prepared by the communist political police, as well as the funds (operational, network, investigation, mail, inoperative and documentary) that formed the Archive of Securitate. The information in this paper was obtained by direct analysis of the files of the National Council Archive for Study of Securitate's Archives (A.C.N.S.A.S.), first as adviser of the Department of Investigation, and secondly, as credited researcher. This paper attempts to outline a typology of documents that formed various files produced by Securitate.

The communist regime meant, beyond the class struggle, the control over all the activities, the creation of mechanisms meant to create submissive attitudes and to guarantee that the discontent of the citizens could by no means change into organized opposition. On August 30, 1948 the text of the Decree No. 221 was published in "The Official Monitor" on the establishment and the organization, within the framework of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of the General Direction of the People's Security (D.G.P.S.).

At first, it started with the personnel and the structure of the General Direction of the State Security, but, shortly after, the leadership imposed by N.K.D.V. (Alexandru Nikolski, Gheorghe Pintilie and Vladimir Mazuru) made the reorganization and enlarged the new department. Half a year later, based on the Decree No. 25, on January 23, 1949, the General Direction of Militia was founded and on February 7, 1949, the County Police was dissolved, being replaced by troops of Securitate. Even though the Securitate suffered lots of changes in its structure since 1948 till 1989 (being reorganized in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1956, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1978), all rearrangements had in common the following functional model.¹

The Directions (as a part of the central institution) were in line with the Securitate work, each of them having a unique structure at the national level (eq.: Direction I – internal information, Direction III – counter information). Each of them applied and coordinated at the national level the specific work of Securitate, managing and controlling the similar offices of all territorial units. The central units were structured in Departments, according to the different specific aspects of the general type of work of the unit (matters, units). A special case among the central units was that of the foreign intelligence, which had the

¹ Sorin D. Ivănescu, *Terrorist Practices in the activity of the Securitate machinery 1948-1965*, in Alexandru Zub, Flavius Solomon, *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Iași, Trinitas Publishing House, 2005, *passim*.

following evolution: 1951-1963=Direction I; 1963-1972=EIGD or MU 0123/1; 1972-1973=EIGD or MU 0626; 1973-1978=EID or MU 0920; 1978-1989=EIC or MU 0544.²

The territorial units were made up according to the existing administrative-territorial structures. Each territorial unit was, in fact, a small Securitate. Thus, if the Securitate has Directions coordinating a line of work, a territorial unit is made up of Departments, coordinating in their territory a line of work (e.g. Dept. I – internal information, Dept. III – counter information etc.). Every department of the territorial unit has a double relationship, of subordination to the leadership of that unit, and of cooperation with the specific Direction. To the specific Direction there is an indirect subordination too, controlling the activity of the specific departments of all the territorial units (but according to the organization chart, such departments are subordinated to the specific territorial unit). In the case of the territorial units too, the foreign intelligence departments were a special case. Until 1963 they belonged to the Department I of each territorial unit, afterwards that department was renamed after the specific central unit. Thus, there was in every territorial unit a department (MU) 920 (or (MU) 0544, in other periods of time) subjected to the same criteria of subordination like the other departments (among the territorial units there can be included the municipality of Bucharest too, being mentioned in documents in the course of time as: The Securitate of the Capital, the Dept. of Securitate Bucharest, the Securitate of the municipality of Bucharest, the Inspectorate of Securitate of the municipality of Bucharest etc.).³

Out of the aforementioned periods, the Securitate was a military structure, being made up of military units (MU***), and that is why on the documents in the archives most of the units of Securitate are found with two equivalent descriptors: MU***, with the explicit name (eq. Direction III, DIS Iassi, etc.). The Securitate made files both for the people who belonged to the secret service (the informative spy network), namely the personal Files, but also for the tailed ones (Files of verification, General Informative Surveillance, File of informative tailing, Files of matters, or personal files).

1. THE PERSONAL FILE

Having as a model the Soviet record system, for all categories in the spying

² *Idem, Securitatea în perioada 1948-1958. Organizare, metode, obiective* [Securitatea during the period 1948-1958. Organization, methods, objectives], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2009, p. 64.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

network, the Securitate officers prepared personal files and records. The personal file included, on distinct chapters, all previous documents related to the recruiting of an informer, and also those obtained about him during his activity. The informer was shaped in time, starting with his scoring and adding new pieces meant to sustain his utility and qualities, including the result of his tests.

Such a file included:

- Acquainting materials (the biography of the candidate when recruited, information on his close relatives, friends and connections);
- Checking materials (informer notes about the candidate, the results of checking in the central records, home and job investigations, correspondence tapping, wire tapping);
- The records of acquaintance, which could be done either directly, or under cover by the Securitate officer (they mostly used to be introduced as working in the Militia or in the Passport Office), and which outlines the qualities of the proposed candidate;
- The records on the recruiting proposal, approved by the leader of the person who prepared the document, mentioning the data about the identification of the proposed recruited and the proposed alias, the qualities of the informative work, the target, and the recruiting grounds (patriotic feelings, compromising material etc.);
- The account on the manner of recruiting, mentioning the event that led to it, the established way of contacting, the manner and the place of meeting the officer having him in his informative network;
- The pledge (one of the basic pieces of the personal file). During the 50's it contained the mention that, in case of betrayal, the person was to bear the consequences of the written and unwritten laws of the Popular Republic of Romania; and during the 80's the more neutral formula that "he will strictly keep the confidentiality of the relations established with the state organizations". The document contained the data identifying the informer, information on the "patriotism and sincerity" of the delivered data, and in most cases the alias of the one providing the informative notes;
- Copies of the informative notes (the genuine informative notes, that is the ones with holograph writing, were organized in most cases into an extra folder with a classified destination). Copies of the informative notes delivered by the informer come up in the tapping file of the informer;
- Accounts of periodic analysis, at least annual, about the informative contribution of the recruited, mentioning the methods used and the means to verify the loyalty of the informer, his efficiency etc.;

- The chart containing the officers (page 1) having the informer in contact with, and those who checked the file (in this case, the date, the whole name and signature, and in some cases the indicative of the officer, made up of three figures);

- Record files “type I”. Just after recruitment, the Securitate officers were compelled to make that type of file in double copies, one for the record files of the district it belonged to, and the other one for the card index of the general record (Service “C”). The files “Model I” include the following headings: on the front page, surname, name, name of the father, name of the mother, place and date of birth, nationality, citizenship, political adherence, studies, profession, foreign languages, the place and the rank at his job, address, and alias, the date and the rank of the recruiter, the category, personal file No..., archive No... (the last two were filled in when the file was sent to the archive for filing), approved, different mentions;

- The last item of the file was the report about ceasing activity, approved by the higher ranked officer of the one who approved network recruitment, and which had to contain the motif of the decision (the person was no longer of interest with the delivered information, died or had been disclosed).⁴

The file cover was filled in containing mention on the recruiting section, the record number and the date. The personal files were kept locked by operative officers for as long as the connection was active, being afterwards classified in the network archive. It was considered important to also keep the personal files of the people who were asked to become informers but refused (the fact that there is a personal file with the name of a person does not practically mean that they collaborated with the political police).

The annex file included all the informative notes in holograph writing given by the informer. They were recorded in a register in chronological order, dated, whom they were about, and where they came from. On the initial informative note the officer mentioned: top on the left, the date, the meeting place (with the alias), the linking officer, his indicative, top on the right, the alias of the informer (quality-source, informative collaborator), and at the bottom there were notes about the files of the Securitate on the mentioned people in the material (in front of these lines the initials N.B appear – the note of the bureau). After the classification in the archive, the annex file had a special regime, it could not be consulted, and after 5 years it was destroyed based on a report. That order was not always put into practice, the archives of the new Secret police

⁴ Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (A.C.N.S.A.S.) [the National Council Archive for Study of Securitate’s Archives], file 80, book IV, file 81, book I, book II.

keeping such files as well.⁵

The informative network (the secret agency) was the main system by which the Securitate collected and verified information. The work with the agency consisted in recruiting, instructing, organizing and directing the informative network by the Securitate officers. Between 1948-1964 the main object of activity was the repression, a thing proved by the way it was used by the secret agency.

The network was made up of:

a. *collaborators*, who were people occasionally used, mainly to verify some information. The contacts with the liaison officers were scarce, linked with the cases in work. For that there were recruited those employees who could offer data to the Securitate, and those from post and phone offices, receptionists in hotels and waiters (the last ones were used to plant the operative technique on the tables), and those who worked in the personnel offices of the enterprises. They were rewarded with money or objects and had a special training.⁶

b. *unqualified informers*, used occasionally by the Securitate; their training being more reduced, in their cases they had no written pledge. Those who acquired meaning results of interest could be later moved to the qualified informers' category.⁷

c. *qualified informers*, people recruited especially for special problems and who had a minute training, were more often contacted by the liaison officers, being counselled on conduct with the target and dialogue technique. When recruited, the qualified informers received the alias, they were trained about cover stories, signed the pledge, were fixed the passwords to contact the officers of liaison (who recommended themselves by their alias too). Depending on the case, the qualified informers could be given to other officers of the informative structures, if it was needed.⁸

d. *residents*, recruited from the qualified informers who proved their qualities in the work with the Securitate organisms and to whom the officers allotted a group of 4 to 8 unqualified informers or collaborators.⁹

e. *the host of the appointment house* was that person who, consciously and secretly gave to the Securitate some rooms or dwellings to assure the appointments with the agency (to be sure of the total discretion of the contact officer-informer, the appointments did not take place at the headquarters of

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Sorin D. Ivănescu, *Securitatea în perioada...*, p. 138.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 136.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 137.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

the informative organisms or in public). The host of the appointment houses was recruited by respecting the rule of studying and checking him, then the host and the officer agreed to establish the covering (the justification, especially to the neighbours, of the visits when the host was absent). There were especially recruited people without families or who, because of their jobs, were longer absent from homes. The appointments with the agency were previously announced to the host. No more than five-six informers were brought to the appointment houses, and in case of somebody's betrayal, the place was abandoned.¹⁰

The host had a personal file, including the pledge, the plan of the house, neighbours, cover story, the evidence of the rewards given and of the introduced agents.

The recruiting of agents (informers, collaborators, and hosts) is a process considered very important for a secret service, they could not be replaced by the other means of collecting information, that is the technical ones. The Securitate tried to create a mass agency, taking into account its role of political police. Having in view the aim, recruiting started with choosing and studying more candidates, later they studied the archive materials and continued with intercepting correspondence and phone calls, surveillance and investigations. Personal acquaint of the recruiting officer with the potential candidate was considered probative, thus complementing the information coming from the previous survey and providing data on the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate, leading to the conclusions that allowed the gradual transition of the candidate to the next stage of collaboration (at this stage the candidate would receive some easy tasks). If recruiting failed, the officer had to have prepared the option of retreating, which should have let to the candidate the impression that the reasons of the discussions were not of recruiting him as an agent. If recruiting was successful, after having the pledge there started the activity of instructing. The informer was verified always during collaboration.¹¹

The rewarding of the agents was used for stimulating the informers and was differently done, varying with the personality, motivation and the possible risk. It was done either in money, presents, or support in solving personal problems. Money was given with a receipt, signed by the agent with his alias in order to be deducted by the officer.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 141.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

2. MATTERS (AREA) AND UNIT FILES

They were opened only by approval of the highest official of the Securitate and were organized by special criteria, in order to include as many people as possible, who, by their activity, could jeopardize the interests of the communist regime. Specialized tapping was used in matters of the former members of the legionary movement, of the historical parties, the discharged officers from police and Security, of the former convicts for “counter-revolution activities”. There existed files of matters in fields like education-youth, religion, foreign students, media etc., too. In the 80’s there appeared the so-called file of environment, which included the general surveillance of the groups with similar education, no matter whether they had political records or not. The people tailed like that had files of informative verification, which were filed in the archive when it was considered that their activity was not dangerous for the regime. The information found in their files came from the file of matters. If it was established that the person had “hostile activities”, was recorded into a more complex way, that is, informative surveillance (directing of informers, recruiting others in his environment, surveillance, tapping).

Paper case of informative surveillance were worked out in matters related to former political convicts after being released, in order to know their behaviour.

The unit files included the general surveillance of all the people inside an enterprise or institution. They were grouped into groups of officers, depending on the structure (for example, Chemical industry, foreign trade, heavy industry plant etc.).

Varying with the situation, somebody could become the object of surveillance in such a file, if it was of interest for the Securitate.

The files of matters and unit files both included some distinct chapters:

- The decision to open such a file;
- The list of the existing informers;
- The list of people with political records (before and after August 23rd, 1944) or criminal ones;
- The list with people to be protected for different reasons;
- The vulnerable points of the target;
- The list of people in contact with foreigners or having relatives abroad;
- Officials able to be contacted (leadership of the institution, members of the Communist Party);
- The address of the headquarters, of the departments and branches;

- Synthesis-notes of periodical analysis on the evolution of the informative-operative situation;
- The plan of actions to improve knowledge;
- Plans of searching for information.

Depending on the contents of the accumulated information, further information was ordered to be gathered, and the files were transmitted to a higher level (ex. File of Informative Surveillance – F.I.S.).

The files of matters and unit files were included in the category of general basic work (practically, a general record). The people who were to become the object of a qualified type of surveillance inside G.I.S. were selected among the people mentioned in these files (General Informative Surveillance), V.F. (Verifying File) or F.I.S. (File of Informative Surveillance).¹²

3. GENERAL INFORMATIVE SURVEILLANCE (G.I.S.)

An inferior type of activity of the Securitate included those people of higher rank or importance in the historical parties, or who had been imprisoned (for “counter-revolutionary activities”), and also those who criticized the regime. They were subject to area or unit agents. Varying with the contents of the accumulated materials, some people could be passed to a higher type of verification.

4. THE FILE OF VERIFICATION (F.V.)

There was an organized type of surveillance of the people who, by their activities or political record, meant a danger for the communist regime. That type of activity was limited to a period of six months, during which, by the means undertaken, the existing suspicions were revealed. They were put under surveillance using the file of existing verified persons or who were formerly subject of a verification made by G.I.S. The file of verification included the plan of means to be used and the terms of achieving it, the names of the designated officers, the way the secret agency was directed, and the specific technical means (tapping, surveillance etc.).

The closing of the file of verification could be done either as a result of the denying of the initial existing materials, as “positive influence” (a method used by secret services to make a person act the way they intended, the Securitate using the family members of the one surveyed, his friends, chiefs, in order to change his attitude), or the *warning* (a method by which it was drawn attention

¹² A.C.N.S.A.S., fond Informativ [Information fund], file 31. 400, *passim*.

to a person that, if he continues to maintain a certain attitude, he will suffer tougher consequences). That mostly happened at the Securitate headquarters, after approving a report synthesizing the existing information about the pursued person. The warning ended with an official report stating that the person should restrain from doing comments or activities “which could jeopardize the socialist society”). There was also the *unravelling* (it was done on an approved plan, starting by weakening the leader’s influence. They used the influence through the agency or family, compromising by creating suspicions about a possible collaboration of the person with the Securitate, blackmailing, intimidating or even dislocation from the home town).¹³

Varying with the result, at the end of the term the surveillance could continue at a higher level, from F.I.S. respectively.

5. FILE OF INFORMATIVE SURVEILLANCE (F.I.S.)

It was the highest type of activity made by the Securitate. The ground of starting surveillance could be the political record of a person, but mainly his activities, which could endanger the security of the communist regime. It is important that, in order to make such files, the chronological principle was not important, starting with the premise that they had to respond mainly to the informative-operative activity, being grouped on the principle of adherence (informative notes, investigation reports, surveillance etc.), so that investigation of such a file became very difficult. A file of informative surveillance included items like:

- A report with the officer’s suggestion of a case to make an F.I.S., approved by the higher chief;
- Informative materials which made the ground of starting the activity (informative notes);
 - The biography of the pursued, close relatives, people around;
 - A plan of action including the means and methods to be used, final terms, officers responsible;
 - Reports of periodical analysis, made by the responsible officers together with their superiors, elaborated ways of solving the case (when analysed, they could be corrected from the initial plan).
- Informative notes given by the person who was the object of the informative pursuit;
- Investigation reports;

¹³ *Idem*, fond Documentar [Documentary fund], file 12.560 *passim*.

- Surveillance reports (with mentions about when it started, when he was questioned), radio news;
- Reports resulted from the informative pursuit (a means by which different persons were investigated, without involving the legal organisms);
- Reports in regard with the result of the secret house searches (for that the officer made a report where he presented the reason, the way it would happen, the plan of the flat, the neighbours and their programme, the alternative of a withdrawal in case of failure and the story used). The approvals were of the competence of the commanding officers;
- Reports resulted from the use of the operative technique (it was a matter of G.D.O.T. – The General Direction of Operative Technique, including in it Department T – responsible with the insertion of listening technique and rendering the interceptions; Department S – interception or restraint of letters, getting samples of handwriting; Department R – listening and intercepting of radio transmissions);
- Official reports of interrogation;
- A report suggesting the end of the activity of informative pursuit (the document was approved by the higher ranked to the one who approved its starting). In this document there were briefly exposed the reasons of starting the proceedings, the specific activities and the final results. At the end of the report it was mentioned whether the pursued person remained or not in the view of the Securitate. The operative decision of ending the pursuit was taken when it was concluded that the mentioned person was “taken into account” by mistake, when his deeds were not important for the security of the state or when he died. In the case that the decision was to keep in view (in most cases), the workers of the Department “C” made notes on the file of recording, where beside the biographical data there were mentioned the date of starting and closing the file, the indicative of the centre and the officer, the resume of the information and then the possible altering (changing of the job, of the address of the pursued etc.) and mention was made on the number of the operative stock in the archive where the file could be found.¹⁴

6. THE FILE OF INVESTIGATION

It was done on central plan, firstly by the Direction V, and later, based on a Decision of the Council of Ministers, No 1361 on July 11, 1956, by the Direction

¹⁴ *Ibidem.*

VII investigations, and in the territory by the corresponding Services, for the cases of offence against the state, stated like that in the criminal law.¹⁵

7. THE MAKING OF THE ARCHIVE OF THE SECURITATE

The archive, the central and the local records of the Securitate, was made at the beginning of the 50's, starting with the classification of the first files (Decree No 50 on March 30, 1951 which reorganized the General Direction of the Securitate of the people and made up six new services, among them appearing the Service of investigation).

The archive was organized on the record system, to each of them corresponding a certain type of files.

a. *The operative records.* Here the files of informative activities were classified (unit files, files of matters, the files of verification, of informative surveillance), materials which constituted the base of work in the general record of the general evidence, and the materials brought from the processing of the archives initially found in the former organisms of investigation and security (The Service of Intelligence of the Army, Section II of the State Headquarters of the Army, the Special Service of Investigation, the Police Force, the operative services from the General Direction of Security Police, the Council of Ministers, the Special Service of the Romanian Railroads). There were separately classified materials coming from O.T. (operational technique), which had the same code with the file of informative action.¹⁶

b. *The network stock* includes the personal files of the former agents (informers, residents, the hosts of appointment houses) and of those who refused collaboration with the Securitate.¹⁷

c. *The stock of criminal inquiry* was made up of the completed files of pursuit and criminal inquiry, the files of criminal investigation of the people publicly unmasked (files of the military tribunals), penitentiary files, colonies of working, dislocation and obligatory residence, paper cases of records of the prisoners' goods (having the same code with the map of criminal investigation).¹⁸

d. *The non-operative stock* was made up of the files of officers, non-commissioned officers in reserve, civilian employees, the correspondence between the units of Securitate, payrolls, documents of the administrative departments and secretary's offices.¹⁹

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file 3.718, book I, *passim*.

¹⁶ Sorin D. Ivănescu, *Securitatea în perioada...*, p. 288.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

e. *At the documentary stock* there were materials obtained by the processing of the archives taken over by the former organisms of intelligence, which were not of operative interest, but had a historical documentary value (they were organized on types, generally comprising problems the Romanian intelligence services were confronted with between the Wars and during the Second World War, less those about the socialist and communist movement, which were selected and given to the Archive of the Central Committee the Romanian Communist Party).²⁰

The account of the files which were kept in the archive was recorded in inventory registers for each separate stock, being controlled every three years at least.

The account of security included information about "homeland traitors", people convicted for committing offences against the state security; the members of the legionary movement and of other fascist organizations; the members of the former "bourgeois-landlords" parties and of their youth organizations; the members of the former nationalist-chauvinist organizations, high officials, members of the Parliament, prefects and sub-prefects of the "bourgeois-landlords state"; the former industrialists, bankers, landlords and great tradesmen; the leadership and the former operative employees of the "repressive bourgeois staff", of the secret service of intelligence and that of the military counter-intelligence, of the penitentiaries and camps of political prisoners, and those who collaborated with them, the officers and non-commissioned officers of the former bourgeois army known to have an "anti-democrat attitude"; the military of the German fascist troops; the people of the church and sects had activities against the state security; other people about whom there was information to have had activities against state security. The system of general records was organized by the Service "C", and at the district quarters of Securitate there was organized a specific system of records for the people living in their area.

After 1968 in Romania the documents of the Securitate begin to be microfilmed, the activity being continued by the present Secret Service until 1997, when it was stated to be finished (on the cover of the file it had to appear the number of the Military Unit which made the microfilms and the date). After 1990 the Romanian Intelligence Service gave the documents of the Securitate, after protocols, to the Ministry of Justice (Government Decision No 1134/1990), about 400,000 volumes of criminal stock, and 80,000 volumes of the same stock to the Public Ministry. During 1992/1993 there were given to the Ministry of Internal Affairs 2,000 meters of archive of the non-operative stock (protocol No 167 on June 18, 1992) and 1,500 meters of materials of historical documentary interest to the National Archives. Starting with 2001, the Romanian Service of Intelligence started to give files to the National Council of Study of the Archives of the Securitate (N.C.S.A.S.).

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

The taking-over of the archive of the Securitate, in all, by the specialized institutions of the state (N.C.S.A.S.), would offer to the historians, but not only to them, a rich documentary material about the Romanian communist society.

Conclusions

All those data obtained by the Securitate were stored in archive files kept in the political police Archives. The registration and archiving system changed considerably after 1945, when they gave up the logistics that ensured full conspiracy regarding both agents and operative employees of the secret service, and also people considered targets under tracking or monitoring surveillance. It was for that reason that the records of the Securitate can be more easily traced than those belonging to the inter-war secret service intelligence.

From 1948 until 1971, recording, folding and keeping documents became the responsibility of the Service "C", which coordinated the activities of the central registration and archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the corresponding sections of the regional directorates. The archives and the central records of the Securitate were founded in the first years of the 5th decade, once with the classification of the first files. The archives were organized based on funds system: operative system (later renamed information system, it comprised tracking and surveillance records), network (filling the ex-agents files, and of those who refused to cooperate or those who did not receive the approval to be recruited, being considered improper), inquest (comprising the prosecution and criminal investigation files, those of military tribunals, the prison portfolios and labour colonies), mail (comprising letters between the units of Securitate or between them and other institutions outside the Ministry of Internal Affairs), inoperative (filling the personnel records of officers, NCOs, military supervisors and civil personnel after they were put in reserve or retired, as well as the documents drawn up by the administrative services and secretariats), documentary (comprising the materials provided by processing the records from the former informative organs and security police in which they were not interested from the operative point of view).

ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ СОВЕТСКИХ ТИТУЛЬНЫХ НАЦИЙ (1918-1938 ГГ.)

BUILDING OF THE SOVIET TITULAR NATIONS (1918-1938)

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Rezumat: Formarea națiunilor sovietice titulare (1918-1938)

Articolul analizează statutul națiunilor „formate” în cadrul unor regiuni administrativ-teritoriale naționale și în republicile Uniunii Sovietice. Campania de korenizare (însemnând „indigenizare”), împreună cu fixarea oficială a originii etnice a fiecărui cetățean și a relației sale cu propria națiune, în ansamblu, au caracterizat fenomenul de politizare a etniei. Această tendință a constituit esența politicii etnice a Kremlinului, menită să creeze o dependență completă a populației multinaționale față de stat.

Abstract. The article examines the status of titular nations “built” in the national administrative-territorial regions and republics of the Soviet Union. Korenization (meaning “indigenization”) campaign along with the official fixation of every citizen’s ethnic origin and his relationship to the titular nation overall determined the course on the politicization of ethnicity. This course formed the essence of the national policy of the Kremlin aimed at the establishment of complete dependence of the multinational population from the state.

Résumé : La formation des nations soviétiques titulaires (1918-1938)

L'article ci-joint analyse l'état des nations formées dans les régions administratives territoriales nationales et dans les républiques de l'Union Soviétique. La campagne de korénisation (signifiant “indigénisation”), avec l'établissement officiel de l'origine ethnique de chaque citoyen et la relation avec sa propre nation, en ensemble, déterminèrent la manière de politiser l'ethnie. Voilà l'essence de la politique nationale de Kremlin, conçue à créer une complète dépendance de la population multinationale envers l'Etat.

Keywords: the politicization of ethnicity, the titular nation, nationality registration, korenization (indigenization)

Вступление

Со Второй мировой войны и до конституционной реформы М. Горбачёва советский строй оставался таким, каким сложился в первые два десятилетия ленинско-сталинских преобразований (1918-1938). Поэтому столь важно разобраться в сущности этих преобразований. Глубина их воздействия на мировую историю в немалой степени определялась тем, что сущность советского строя была противоположной его внешним формам по основным параметрам – политическим, социально-экономическим и национальным.

Действительно, советская власть в первом приближении была рабоче-крестьянской. На деле, однако, она вырождалась в олигархическую диктатуру. Социально-экономические преобразования приводили, как утверждалось, к переходу частной собственности на средства производства в руки общества. Фактически же общество оказывалось экспроприированным, а частная собственность под видом общенародной переходила в руки олигархов, которые завладели государством. Наконец, СССР выглядел как содружество равноправных республик, а фактически был сверх централизованным унитарным государством.

Титульной называют нацию, которая дала имя государству. Поскольку в СССР оказалось немало титульных наций, уже одно это заставляет не ограничиться столь простым определением. Определить статус советских наций можно лишь при условии выяснения отношений между государством и его многонациональным обществом. Начинать нужно с выяснения природы государства, созданного вождями большевиков.

Марксизм-ленинизм о сущности коммунистического государства

В «Манифесте Коммунистической партии» К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс так определяли действия рабочего класса после победы пролетарской революции: «Пролетариат использует свое политическое господство для того, чтобы вырвать у буржуазии шаг за шагом весь капитал, централизовать все орудия производства в руках государства, т.е. пролетариата, организованного как господствующий класс, и возможно более быстро увеличить сумму производительных сил».¹ Здесь поражает определение: «государство, т.е. пролетариат, организованный как

¹ Карл Маркс, Фридрих Энгельс, *Сочинения* [Works], том 4, Москва, 1955, с. 446.

господствующий класс». Выходит, что основоположники марксизма смешивали общности с иерархической структурой (армия, партия, государство) с бесструктурными (класс, общество, нация). Смешивание принципиально различающихся общностей приводило к тому, что рекомендации революционного марксизма повисали в воздухе. В том числе и та рекомендация, реализация которой означала появление коммунизма. «Коммунисты, – говорили они, – могут выразить свою теорию одним положением: уничтожение частной собственности».²

«Манифест Коммунистической партии» появился за несколько недель до начала революций 1848 г. Всем известна его первая строка: «Призрак бродит по Европе – призрак коммунизма». После этих революций призрак коммунизма в Западной Европе исчез, но в 1917 г. появился в Восточной Европе под влиянием объективных обстоятельств. К ним следует отнести остроту отношений между царским государством и обществом, крестьянами и помещиками, пролетариатом и буржуазией, а также ситуацию мировой войны. Миллионы разобращенных условиями производства и политически неорганизованных крестьян были мобилизованы в армию, т.е. превратились в структурированную и вооруженную общность, способную противостоять самодержавно-помещичьему строю. Советы солдатских и рабочих депутатов являлись самой мощной силой в Российской революции. Именно они сыграли решающую роль в свержении самодержавия. Революция была общенародной, но и в феврале, и в октябре 1917 г. она оказалась в первую очередь советской. Большевики завоевали власть только потому, что отказались на время от коммунистических лозунгов и взяли на вооружение советские.

Призрак коммунизма появился в России еще весной 1917 г. В «Апрельских тезисах» В. Ленин сформулировал для большевиков на период после взятия власти четыре задания: переименовать партию в коммунистическую; принять коммунистическую партийную программу; объединить родственные партии других стран в Коммунистический интернационал; создать государство-коммуну.

Большевистские теоретики разделили Российскую революцию на Февральскую буржуазно-демократическую и Октябрьскую социалистическую, после чего объединили октябрьский переворот со своей коммунистической революцией. На деле, однако, Российская революция началась в феврале 1917 г. и угасла с разгоном Учредительного собрания в январе 1918 г. Призрак коммунизма начал насыщаться плотью и кровью с весны

² *Ibid.*, p. 438.

1918 г. Ленину понадобился год, чтобы повернуть страну, которая не ведала, что с ней делают, на путь строительства коммунизма.

Коммунистическое строительство осуществлялось традиционным для России методом «революции сверху». Царское правительство достигало желаемого результата в модернизации страны путем подражания апробированным на Западе образцам. Вожди большевиков стремились провести модернизацию иным путем. Их теоретический арсенал укладывался в идею К. Маркса о двухфазном коммунизме. Первая фаза, которую основоположники марксизма назвали социализмом, отличалась от полного коммунизма способом *распределения* материальных благ: при социализме – по труду, при коммунизме – по потребностям. По способу *производства* материальных благ они не усматривали различий между социализмом и коммунизмом. Социализм в их представлении был обществом, лишенным частной собственности и товарно-денежных отношений. Такое представление о социализме разделяли вожди большевиков вплоть до 1933 г. Лишь натолкнувшись на глубокий кризис, И. Сталин прекратил попытки заменить товарооборот продуктообменом и отодвинул ликвидацию товарно-денежных отношений на вторую, утопическую фазу коммунизма.

От теории к практике

Сказанное выше является фоном при рассмотрении национальной политики Кремля, в центре которой находился концепт титульной нации. Для вождей большевизма национальная политика всегда оставалась на втором плане, ибо они взяли на себя неподъемную тяжесть реализации коммунистической утопии. Натолкнувшись на коллапс, В. Ленин отступил к новой экономической политике, и лишь потом замаскировал свою предыдущую политику концептом военного коммунизма, т.е. коммунизма, навязанного войной. Натолкнувшись на такой же коллапс, И. Сталин объявил социализмом те преобразования, которые оказались осуществимыми.

Коммунистическое государство К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс отождествляли с «пролетариатом, организованным как господствующий класс». В. Ленин определял его как государство-коммуну, или государство коммуны.³ Сразу же после приезда из эмиграции он сформулировал лозунг «Вся власть – Советам!» Свою диктатуру вождь большевиков намеревался облечь в форму

³ Владимир Ленин, *Полное собрание сочинений* [Complete works], том 31, Москва, 1969, с. 116; том 36, Москва, 1974, с. 264.

советского рабоче-крестьянского государства, ибо знал, как совместить стихийный экстремизм народных низов с доктринальным экстремизмом революционного марксизма.

В. Ленин называл пролетариат «классом в себе», который может в собственной среде выработать только тред-юнионистское сознание. Превратить рабочих в «класс для себя» должна была организация революционеров, руководимая интеллигенцией. Такой организацией была, как он считал, только его партия. Он называл ее «партией нового типа», и был прав: эта партия функционировала, в отличие от всех других, по принципу «демократического централизма»: партийная масса должна была, безусловно, подчиняться своим руководителям разных уровней, а руководители – вождям.

Место своей партии и советов в системе государственной власти Ленин впервые определил в ноябре 1905 г. Он заявил тогда, что считает «нецелесообразным требовать от Совета рабочих депутатов (речь шла о Петербургском совете – авт.) принятия социал-демократической программы и вступления в Российскую социал-демократическую рабочую партию».⁴ Зная нацеленность большевистского вождя на власть, трудно представить себе, что он хотел отстранить свою партию от Петербургского совета, который готовился стать революционным правительством. Советы он рассматривал как управленческую структуру, неразрывно связанную с собственной диктатурой. Каким образом достигалась искомая неразрывность?

Во-первых, надо было организационно отделить советы от партии большевиков. Во-вторых, требовалось обеспечить безраздельный контроль над советами со стороны этой партии. Иными словами, большевики должны были вытеснить из советов конкурентные партии и наполнить их собой, а также сочувствующими им беспартийными депутатами. Следовательно, эта партия начинала существовать в двух формах: как политическая партия, которая осуществляла под вывеской диктатуры пролетариата собственную диктатуру, а точнее – диктатуру своих вождей; как советы, которые формировались путем регулируемых парткомами выборов и имели весомые управленческие функции. Диктатура вождей опиралась на власть, прораставшую из народной толщи, но независимую от народа.

Термином «государство-коммуна» Ленин воспользовался лишь дважды. Компартийно-советский тандем стали именовать Советской

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 63.

властью (вопреки орфографии – с большой буквы). Сомневаться в ее народности было невозможно: свои кадры она брала из народных низов. Рабоче-крестьянское происхождение стало знаком высшего социального качества, подобно тому, как ранее таким знаком было дворянское происхождение.

Система власти окончательно сложилась в ходе сталинских преобразований. Общественные организации горизонтального типа, на базе которых формируется гражданское общество, были либо уничтожены, либо вертикализированы, т.е. перестроены по принципу «демократического централизма». Партийная и советская вертикали власти укоренялись в народной толще при помощи «приводных ремней» – разветвленной сети советов, комсомола, профсоюзов, множества общественных организаций. Партия большевиков тоже превратилась в «приводной ремень», когда из нее выделилась внутренняя партия начальников – номенклатура. Вертикаль госбезопасности укоренялась в обществе миллионами секретных сотрудников (сексотов). Советское общество получило внутренний скелет, вследствие чего стало вести себя как иерархизированная структура типа партии или армии. В отличие от государств традиционного, тоталитарного или демократического типа, которые были отделены от своих обществ по определению, государство коммунистического типа погружалось в собственное общество всеми институтами. Это придавало ему колоссальную силу.

Национально-государственное строительство

Ленинский штурм сопровождался гражданской войной, и большевики постарались, чтобы эта война приобрела самые острые формы. Но они не были готовы одновременно противостоять национально-освободительному движению. Наоборот, они стремились взять угнетенные народы себе в союзники, чтобы одолеть сопротивление крупных собственников.

Успех в восстановлении распавшейся империи обеспечивался двойственной природой советской государственности – симбиозом управленческой власти советов, которая определялась конституциями, с диктатурой парткомов, которая в конституциях не фигурировала. Устанавливая советскую власть в национальных окраинах, вожди большевиков были готовы предоставить им даже статус независимых государств. Ведь каждое советское государство по партийной линии подчинялось единому центру.

В. Ленин знал, что его стратегия более эффективна, нежели примитивный силовой курс белогвардейских генералов на восстановление «единой и неделимой» России. Выступая перед военными моряками в декабре 1917 г. он подчеркнул: «Нам говорят, что Россия раздробится, распадется на отдельные республики, но нам нечего бояться этого. Сколько бы ни было самостоятельных республик, мы этого страшиться не станем. Для нас важно не то, где проходит государственная граница, а то, чтобы сохранялся союз между трудящимися всех наций для борьбы с буржуазией каких угодно наций».⁵

Создаваемые в национальных регионах советы владели той же полнотой управленческой власти, как и советы в центральной России. Если организация власти по социальному признаку базировалась у большевиков на принципе «демократического централизма», то систему управления в национальных регионах следовало дополнить чем-то другим, чтобы исключить возникавшую для центра угрозу отторжения. Чем-то другим стал принцип политизации этничности, положенный в основу административно-территориального деления страны.

Ленинский Совнарком создавал в нероссийских губерниях национальные административные единицы. Они получали, за исключением районного уровня, название той национальности, которая составляла в них большинство населения. Желая казаться сторонниками радикального решения национального вопроса, вожди большевиков объявляли титульными все этносы, которые были этим большинством. Образовалась иерархия этносов, определяемая административно-территориальным делением. Во главе иерархии оказались русские. Титульные нации второго порядка образовали союзные республики, третьего – автономные республики, четвертого – национальные округа, пятого порядка – национальные районы. В Украине титульными нациями были украинцы (в границах УССР), молдаване (в границах Молдавской автономии), а также представители шести других национальностей – в границах национальных районов (русские, греки, болгары, поляки, немцы и евреи). Люди одной и той же национальности считались представителями титульной нации в границах собственных административных образований и представителями национального меньшинства – вне этих границ. Статус русских в Украине был двойным. Официально они считались национальным меньшинством в пределах республики. Неофициально вожди большевиков считали русских

⁵ *Ibid.*, том 35, Москва, 1974, с. 115.

титульной нацией общесоюзного масштаба.

Великорусский шовинизм долгое время рассматривался как главная опасность в национальном вопросе. Однако в ходе острого кризиса 1932-1933 гг. руководители партии стали считать главной опасностью национализм, снабдив его приличествующим прилагательным – «буржуазный». На приеме высших руководителей партии и государства в Кремле 2 мая 1933 г. И. Сталин встал на свой стул (тогда микрофонов не было) и произнес тост, в котором прозвучала такая фраза: «Русские – это основная национальность мира, она первая подняла флаг Советов против всего мира».⁶ Эти слова произносились тогда, когда достигла пика смертность крестьянского населения в трех хлебопроизводящих регионах страны, вызванная карательной конфискацией всего продовольствия, причем гибли от голода не только украинцы в своей республике и на Кубани, не только немцы в своей поволжской республике, но и миллионы русских крестьян.

Об этом следует помнить, когда мы пытаемся определить реальную значимость наивысшего статуса представителей русской национальности в иерархии советских титульных наций. Советские граждане независимо от национальности, социального положения и занимаемой должности, вплоть до должности члена политбюро ЦК ВКП(б), были одинаково бесправными перед дьявольским изобретением В. Ленина – государством-коммуной.

Опытным полигоном в формировании национальной политики для Кремля всегда была Украина. Рассмотрев в декабре 1919 г. вопрос «О Советской власти на Украине», VIII Всероссийская конференция РКП(б) записала в своей резолюции: «Члены РКП(б) на территории Украины должны на деле проводить право трудящихся масс учиться и разговаривать во всех советских учреждениях на родном языке».⁷

Народы, которым руководители РКП(б) позволили жить в формально независимых республиках, а после образования СССР получить формальное право на выход из федерации, были титульными нациями с государственным статусом. Центробежные настроения подавлялись у них партийными комитетами, которые были проводниками диктатуры вождей. Другие титульные нации удовлетворялись принципом «учиться и разговаривать на родном языке». Разница между титульными нациями

⁶ Российский государственный архив социально-политической истории [Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History], фонд 558, оп. 11, дело 1117, лист 10, // <http://sovdoc.rusarchives.ru>

⁷ В. И. Ленин про Украину [Lenin about Ukraine], 2nd part, Киев, 1969, с. 359.

союзных республик и всеми другими состояла в том, что первым препятствовала стать полноценными нациями партийная диктатура, а все прочие являлись этнонациями даже по официальному статусу. Украинцы в Советском Союзе имели на начало 30-х гг. три разных статуса: представителей титульной нации в УССР, претендентов на титульную нацию в случае объединения с УССР половины уже украинизированных районов Северного Кавказа, и национального меньшинства – во всех прочих регионах.

Кумулятивный эффект от совмещения принципов «демократического централизма» и политизации этничности превращал Советский Союз из федерации равноправных республик в страну имперского типа с наивысшей степенью централизации власти. Политический режим не зависел ни от партии, которую он подмял под себя, ни от общества, которому оставалось безропотно выбирать в советские органы власти кандидатов от «блока коммунистов и беспартийных». Не зависел он в сталинские времена и от номенклатуры, которую постоянно тасовали ротациями или репрессиями, чтобы она не пускала корни в населении, стремясь к меньшей зависимости от высших инстанций.

Наличие многих титульных наций не подрывало привилегированного положения русских, которые не считали себя национальным меньшинством в любом регионе СССР. Не нужно, однако, переоценивать привилегий русских в вертикализированном обществе, которое было поглощено государством-коммуной. Следует признать, что олигархический центр отражал, прежде всего, русские национальные интересы. Об этом свидетельствовали безуспешные попытки правительства Украины увеличить территорию республики за счет прилегавших российских земель с преобладавшим украинским населением. С другой стороны, Российской Федерации не позволили создать в Москве или Ленинграде партийно-советский центр, равновеликий тем, который имели другие союзные республики.

Политика коренизации

Наличие нескольких титульных наций в каждой союзной республике с вертикализированной системой встроженных в массу населения государственных структур препятствовало формированию политической нации. Как известно, политической нации в другой системе координат соответствует гражданское общество, т. е. совокупность созданных самими

гражданами организаций, которые объединялись по горизонтали и не зависели экономически и политически от государства. В СССР гражданское общество не могло возникнуть в силу того, что у населения почти полностью отсутствовала частная собственность на средства производства. Жалкие остатки частной собственности под другими названиями оставались только у сельских товаропроизводителей.

Концепт титульной нации требовал осуществлять кампанию коренизации, т.е. укоренения советской власти в границах национальной административно-территориальной единицы. Эта кампания способствовала развитию культуры титульных наций, хотя вожди рассчитывали лишь на укоренение своей власти. Формула коренизации власти была изложена И. Сталиным в докладе на XII съезде РКП(б) в апреле 1923 г.: «Для того, чтобы Советская власть стала и для инонационального крестьянства родной, – необходимо, чтобы она была понятна для него, чтобы она функционировала на родном языке, чтобы школы и органы власти строились из людей местных, знающих язык, права, обычаи, быт нерусских национальностей».⁸

Кампания коренизации власти развернулась практически одновременно с образованием Советского Союза. Оказалось, однако, что коренизация была двуликим Янусом. С одной стороны, она содействовала укоренению советской власти в национальных регионах. С другой стороны, она способствовала подъему национального самосознания нерусских народов, которые получили статус титульных наций. Этот подъем стимулировался элементарной дерусификацией, производившей глубокое впечатление на «местных людей» (как выражался Сталин). Достаточно упомянуть своеобразный культ, окружающий в украинской историографии личность одного из основателей большевизма Николая Скрыпника. Другим примером перекоса в оценке коренизации является идея «империи положительной деятельности» Терри Мартина.⁹

Подъем национального самосознания народов проявлялся в их стремлении превратить декларативную советскую федерацию в нечто реальное. Это вызывало глухое, а с начала 30-х гг. – открытое противодействие со стороны власти. Руководитель КП(б)У, немец по происхождению Эммануил Квириг находился в Украине так долго, что смог убедиться, насколько эффективно принцип «учиться и разговаривать на родном языке» вдохновлял «местных людей» на сопротивление

⁸ Иосиф Сталин, *Сочинения* [Works], том 5, Москва, 1947, с. 240-241.

⁹ Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Itaka and London, 2001.

имперскому центру. Еще в начале июня 1923 г. он обозначил потенциальную угрозу, которую несла с собой национальная политика Кремля: способность коммунистической украинизации перерасти в петлюровскую. Именно «петлюровская» украинизация способствовала национальному возрождению, т.е. действовала вразрез с намерениями режима вернуть титульные нации в состояние этноса. Постановление ЦК ВКП(б) «О ходе хлебозаготовок на Украине, Северном Кавказе и в Западной области» от 14 декабря 1932 г. прекращало «легкомысленную, не вытекающую из культурных интересов населения, не большевистскую «украинизацию» почти половины районов Севкавказ». ¹⁰ В этом постановлении украинизация уже официально расщеплялась на «большевистскую» и «петлюровскую». Прекращение активно поддержанной населением кампании украинизации ликвидировало перспективу возникновения на половине территории Северо-Кавказского края второй в границах СССР Украины. Объединение двух Украин было явно нежелательным для Кремля.

Третьим компонентом принципа политизации этничности, наряду с концептом титульной нации и кампанией коренизации власти, была государственная фиксация национальной принадлежности человека, т.е. «пятая графа» советских анкет. Во внутренних паспортах, которые вводились для населения городов и новостроек с 1933 г., эта графа оказалась уже на четвертом месте, после фамилии, имени и отчества. Чтобы удерживать общество под жестким контролем, государству полагалось знать две основные характеристики своих граждан: социальное происхождение и национальность.

Различение граждан по признаку национальности было важным не само по себе, а только в соединении с принадлежностью к титульной нации. Преследуемые в Украине за «буржуазный национализм», украинцы часто спасались в России, где переставали быть представителями титульной нации, т. е. утрачивали свой политический статус. Опасными для власти были только украинцы со статусом титульной нации.

Государство сумело ликвидацией горизонтальных связей между людьми и глубоким проникновением в толщу общества партийной, советской и чекистской вертикалями власти исключить возникновение любых неконтролируемых организаций. Имея миллионы глаз и ушей в обществе, оно знало о действительных настроениях граждан и реагировало на них созданием фантомных организаций из

¹⁰ *Голод 1932-1933 років на Україні: очима істориків, мовою документів* [The Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine: historians views, Documents testimonies], Київ, 1990, с. 292.

инакомыслящих с последующим их репрессированием. Однако украинцы и без всяких организационных связей осознавали себя нацией, а не этносом. Социальный взрыв первой половины 1930 г., который заставил Сталина на полгода прекратить коллективизацию, был стихийным, но на территории Украины в нем постоянно звучали лозунги национальной революции 1917-1920 гг. Новый социальный взрыв в республике, который назревал в 1931-1932 гг. на фоне общесоюзного голода, был предотвращен генсеком созданием ситуации абсолютного голодания.

Репрессивные действия против украинской титульной нации центральная власть маскировала подчеркнутой украинофилией. Сталинский наместник в УССР П. Постышев преследовал национальную интеллигенцию, одетую в украинскую вышитую сорочку. Когда местные аппаратчики истолковали репрессии 1933 г. как прекращение кампании украинизации, он немедленно пресек попытки ограничить права титульной нации. Очередной демонстрацией показательной украинофилии был перевод в 1934 г. республиканских органов власти из Харькова в национальную столицу украинского народа – Киев.

Пребывание в эпицентре сталинских репрессий отразилось на способности украинского народа противостоять государству. На переломе 80-х и 90-х гг., когда системный кризис советского строя достиг апогея, не Украина, а Россия оказалась той республикой, которая разрушила псевдофедеративный государственный строй СССР.

**NATIONHOOD UNDER THE EASTERN BLOC:
ROMANIAN COMMUNIST MODE OF ETHNO-POLITICAL
CONSTRUCTION AS RESPONSE TO THE “ELDER BROTHER” (LATE 60^S
- 70^S) (ANALYSTS’ ASSESSMENTS AND HISTORIANS’ VIEWS)***

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Rezumat: Națiune în blocul estic: maniera comunistă românească de construcție etnico-politică ca răspuns la politica “Fratelui celui mare” (sfârșitul anilor ‘60-’70) (evaluarea analiștilor și viziunea istoricilor)

Articolul explorează evoluția așa-numitului național-comunism din timpul regimului Ceaușescu, de la sfârșitul anilor '60 și începutul anilor '70. Autorul acestei cercetări a accentuat câteva dintre aspectele principale ale procesului care a durat aproximativ un deceniu de la venirea la putere a lui N. Ceaușescu și preluarea controlului asupra afacerilor interne, cu scopul de a asigura dominația de necontestat asupra statului și societății. Ideologia național-comunismului, cu accente etnice puternic dezvoltate, a fost motivată de concepte învechite și s-a întemeiat pe un set de doctrine istorice, concepute pentru a servi interesele vitale ale dictaturii comuniste și ale conducerii sale. Pe măsură ce situația din România anilor 60-70 genera rezultate din ce în ce mai evidente, deopotrivă în domeniile politicii interne și externe, experții și istoricii străini ai vremii au analizat legătura strânsă dintre ideologie, interpretarea istoriei naționale și politica regimului Ceaușescu.

Abstract. *The article explores evolution of so-called Communist Nationhood under the Ceaușescu regime in late 60es – early 70es. The author of this research has accentuated several main points of the process, which lasted approximately a decade since N. Ceaușescu has come to power and tightens his grip on domestic affairs in view to secure unchallengeable domination over state and society. Ideology of Communist Nationhood with strongly developed ethnic accents has been worked out on the grounds of obsolete concepts and based on the set of historical doctrines designed to serve vital interests of the Communist dictatorship and its head. As the situation in Romania was being developed to more obvious results both in domestic and foreign policy areas during 60-es - 70es, foreign*

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experts and historians of the time were analysing tight connection between ideology, interpretation of national history and politics of the Ceaușescu regime.

Résumé: Le devenir de la nation sous le Bloc d'Est: la manière communiste roumaine de construction ethno-politique comme réponse au "frère aîné" (la fin des années '60 – les '70) (Evaluations des analystes et opinions des historiens)

L'article ci-joint analyse l'évolution du devenir de l'ainsi nommée Nation Communiste sous le régime Ceaușescu vers la fin des années '60 et le début des '70. L'auteur de cette courte étude accentua plusieurs aspects de ce processus, qui dura approximativement une décennie dès l'avènement de N. Ceaușescu au pouvoir et jusqu'au mélange de plus en plus prononcé dans les affaires quotidiennes afin d'assurer le contrôle total sur l'Etat et la société. On développa l'idéologie de la Nation Communiste qui reçut des accents ethniques sur les bases des concepts retro et sur quelques doctrines historiques conçues à servir les intérêts fondamentaux du dictateur Communiste et de son entourage. Comme la situation de la Roumanie évolua vers des résultats évidents dans le domaine de la politique interne, mais aussi externe durant les années '60-'70, les spécialistes étrangers de cette période-là, ainsi que les historiens contemporains analysèrent les étroites connexions existant entre l'idéologie, l'interprétation de l'histoire nationale et la politique du régime Ceaușescu.

Keywords: *Nicolae Ceaușescu, Bessarabian issue, protochronists, Communist Romanian Nationhood*

Introduction

As the distance between our times and those when the Communist regimes of East-Central Europe, Balkan countries and the USSR existed, is widening, then more evidences and sources of recent history come to light and fall into disposal of researchers. It makes possible to restore trustful picture of both national and international Communism. Special cases in this field represent those of the Communist countries that being officially included into so-called Socialist camp had their own "agenda" within the Eastern Bloc. Since the early 60s of the 20th century Communist Romania has demonstrated that sort of policy and consequently hastily drifted in this direction having the USSR scared of possible cleavage and making her allies at the Warsaw Pact to recall recent Albanian affair in a moment of growing Soviet-Chinese conflict. Ideology has been one of the most significant tools in the armoury of the Communist regimes and their chiefs who sought to use it in view of strengthening their legitimacy in both inside and outside governed countries. The ideology of national Communism was strengthened in most Communist states with a help of sets of ideas and doctrines

when history of the nation and state were frequently brushed up with colourful ethnicity of exaggerated ancientness. The aggrandizement of glorious past based in many ways on consciously and deliberately constructed ethnic history and it was designed to serve political goals of the Communist regime. The latter tried to stress its character as original preserver of eternal nationhood, sovereignty, and to pretend vigilant and vigorous “beefeater” of ethnicity.

The historiography of the Romanian Communism has proved universal correctness of conclusion on Soviet historiography made by well-known Russian historian Yu. Afanasyev, and which generally applicable to whole historiography of each Communist state. He wrote on Soviet historiography as of “distinct scientific-political phenomenon inextricably embedded into system of totalitarian state and adjusted to it to serve its ideological political demands”¹. In Romanian case as it was noted by modern Romanian historian A. Lupșor, in the early 60s national historiography has come to so-called second stage, characterized as the period of “recovery of national values” and after 1971 it was getting the form of “Ceaușist, national-Communist” mode².

The beginnings of deviation of the Romanian historiography from the 'internationalist' reflection rules, concerning the Romanian past

The first signs of the “fluctuations” in the Romanian Communist historiography have been manifested in 1959 when the centenary celebration of the Union of Danubian Principalities (meaning Moldavia and Wallachia) received strong official support which has sharply conflicted with the earlier imposed by the Communist authorities ban even on simple mention of the event in view of possible dissatisfactions of the Soviets. Next serious step on this path did not deserve any long waiting. During Plenary session of the CC of the Romanian Workers' Party held on November 30 – December 5, 1961 the ideas of national valour were demonstrated further. The intra-party feud when so-called former exiles in the leadership of the RWP had been expelled from it ranks and so-called

¹ Ю. Н. Афанасьев, *Феномен советской историографии* [Phenomenon of Soviet Historiography], in *Советская историография. Серия: Россия XX век* [Soviet Historiography. Series: Russia XX Century], 2, Москва, Издательство Российского государственного гуманитарного университета, 1996, с. 37.

² A. Lupșor, *Istoriografia comunistă: de la glorificarea slavilor la dacomanie* [Communist Historiography: from the Glorification of the Slavs to Dacian-mania], in *Historia.ro*, 16 octombrie 2011. http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/istoriografia-comunista-glorificarea-slavilor-dacomanie.

indigenous members with the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej on the top established their superiority³, new interpretation of events of August 23, 1944 gained special meaning. Henceforth, contrary to former official statements, the fall of the Marshal Ion Antonescu' dictatorship was merely a result of activity of the Romanian Communists and it was not exclusively Soviet involvement into imbroglions Romanian affairs and decisiveness of Romanian King Michael I and his collaborators to topple down dictator. By this version of events called "Revolution of August, 23" the victorious Party fraction demonstrated its adherence to the idea of superior significance of Romanian domestic political force, i. e. the RWP, in establishing new political system. It was more important at the moment when the Kremlin has taken course of de-Stalinization which seriously scared the Party leaderships in many Communist countries. By this connotation to the events of August 23, 1944 Romanian Communist leaders with Gheorghiu-Dej on the top have pointed out their own decisive tribute to the cause of national independence and sought to strengthen role of Romania in international relations. Just one year later the official mouthpiece of the Institute of History of Party to the Central Committee of the RCP the journal "Analele Institutului de Istorie a Partidului de pe lângă CC al PCR"⁴ has published unusual and unexpected due its sharpness to domestic and foreign audience review of the book written by Soviet historian V. B. Ushakov under the title "Foreign Policy of Hitlerist Germany". It was published by Soviet "nomenclature" publishing house called "International relations"⁵. The reviewers of the book have harshly criticized it for not mentioning the role of the Romanian CP in making Romania breaking alliance with Germany. They have stressed the fact of mass Communist activity inside Romania already on the eve of August 23, 1944 and its leading role in overthrow of I. Antonescu dictatorship, including organizing stubborn resistance to German troops. This development has been noticed both in Yugoslavia, one of the "dissent" Communist state, and in analytical circles in the West⁶.

³ On the details of events during the session: Elis Neagoe-Pleșa, Liviu Pleșa (Eds.), *Dosarul Ana Pauker: Plenara Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc Român din 30 noiembrie - 5 decembrie 1961* [Ana Pauker file: Plenary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party, November 30 to December 5, 1961], București, 2006. Vol. 1-2.

⁴ *Analele Institutului de Istorie a Partidului de pe lângă CC al PCR*, [Annals of the Institute of the Communist Party History attached to the CC of the PCR], București, 1962, no. 8.

⁵ В. Б. Ушаков, *Внешняя политика гитлеровской Германии* [Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany], Москва, ИМО, 1961.

⁶ "Soviet Historian Scored in Romanian Publication", 18 December 1962. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-6933; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research

In the spring of 1963 Romanian Communist authorities took up more energetic to promote ideas of Romania's non-Axis position during World War Two and German occupation of her in 1940-1941. To prove the latest thesis the documentary materials have been elicited from American archives in particularly the US State Department analysis on the Romanian affairs during the war in which Romania was characterized as occupied nation. The meaning of undertaken steps combined three important aspects of the problem. One of them was to renounce previously influenced by the Soviet "elder brother's" version of Romania's alignment with Axis States from the very beginning of the WW2.⁷ By rejecting this assessment of the Romanian role in Axis Bucharest sleeked to provide Romania with special statute in international relations in post-war period. Second aspect of the taken policy with reference to unnamed "foreign historians" was decisiveness to demonstrate Soviets that Romanian side will pursue its own way in interpreting the subject of the greatest political and ideological importance to the Kremlin masters of the Eastern Bloc. Finally, Bucharest seriously challenged Moscow leaving her no room to deprecate since the argument put forward to prove this position has been based on the official documents of the USA, which played one of leading roles in the anti-Axis Alliance. The concomitant process of contriving new version of Romanian history that has started in 1960 with publicizing of the first book from four volumes publication (last one has come to light in 1964 and then publication stopped) of the "History of Romania" ("Istorie a României") demonstrated the RCP proclivity to come to more close ethnic grounds in construing Communist nationhood⁸. In this connection, the abovementioned Romanian historian A. Lupșor noticed that "the Roman conquest has been favourably presented, there has been acknowledged that the Romanian language is of Latin origin despite the fact that Slavic vocabulary played an important role in the formation of the Romanian language. According to that work, the Romanians [as a population] have been formed in VII-V centu-

Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:23160a68-b96f-4bc5-b93d-dfe68a79fcc5> [10.09.2013].

⁷ "Foreign' (Eastern) Historians Irritate Romanians", 14 March 1963. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-9646; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:63bfb7dd-3747-4f36-b4da-1bf4cf81dba7> [08.09.2013]

⁸ More details on the question: Victor Neumann, Armin Heinen (Eds.), *Key Concepts of Romanian History. Alternative Approaches to Socio-Political Languages*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2013.

ries and that process completed with the arrival of the Slavs. The medieval period has been presented without putting special emphasis on the role of Russia. The real surprise occurred as the third volume has come to light, where the problem of Bessarabia was mentioned⁹. As was said, according to Treaty of Lutsk, Peter I had promised to return Moldova territories conquered by the Turks, particularly Budjak. Volume IV focuses on the nineteenth century and brought some critics of Russia, especially in the light of the Organic Statute. The fifth volume devoted to the period of [king] Carol rule, which had been to come, was not released due political reasons”¹⁰.

The Soviet response to the new emphases of the Romanian historians

The Soviets closely scrutinized new Romanian approaches to history with inaccurate hidden dissatisfaction and with strong feelings that the worst is yet to come. Simultaneously, they were not interested in wreaking politicized historical dispute in public. In order to appease Romanian side they resorted to so-called pluralistic assessments of the events of August 23, 1944 by publicizing the article written by E. D. Karpeshchenko under the title “The Victory of Socialism in the Rumanian People's Republic” in spring 1963 issue of journal “New and Newest History”. As soon as this material had come to foreign analysts, they stated that “the magazine is aptly named because, after all, it is largely concerned with rewriting history in the light of the Kremlin's latest requirements, and a reader of Karpeshchenko's contribution tends to feel that this is some of the newest history he has ever read... it may have considerable influence among some of the Soviet officials directly concerned with the E.[ast] European countries, and Karpeshchenko appears to shed some light on the present murky state of Soviet-Rumanian relations”¹¹. Karpeshchenko was characterized as “a straight Khrushchevian” contrary to Ushakov who they considered was “a neo-Stalinist type of historian”. Now the new Soviet version of events sounded as follow “As a

⁹ For more details on evolution of historiography on the issue see: Wilhelmus Petrus van Meurs, *Chestiunea Basarabiei în istoriografia comunistă* [The Question of Bessarabia in Communist Historiography], Chişinău, 1996.

¹⁰ A. Lupşor, *op. cit.*, http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/istoriografia-comu-nista-glorificarea-slavilor-dacomanie.

¹¹ “Moscow's Revised Version of Romania's Recent History”, 4 April 1963. [Electronic record]. HU OSA 300-8-3-5590; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest, p. 1. <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:1bcef8c4-c45b-4418-b011-d7a461d4a98a> [10.09.2013].

result of the rout of the German-fascist forces at Kishinev and Yassi and of the victorious offensive of the Soviet Army, a favourable atmosphere (underlined in the text of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty document – Ar. Ulunyan) was created in Rumania for the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship. The patriotic forces of the Romanian people, headed by the Communists (underlined in the text of Radio Free Europe document – Ar. Ulunyan), rose in arms on 23rd August 1944 and overthrew the hated government of Antonescu, thereby starting the people's revolution..."¹² Noteworthy that E. D. Karpeshchenko, the author of the article in the "New and Newest History", was the employee responsible for Romanian "direction" in the Department of relations with Communist and Workers' parties of the Socialist countries of the CC of the CPSU on the top with its head Yu. Andropov¹³. The Soviets demonstrated their concern over possible further Romanian "deviationism" in usage of history in pursue their goals and Moscow resorted to publishing a rich number of works on Romanian modern and contemporary history¹⁴. The group of high-level officials of the RWP who voiced in favour of a new course designed to distance from still existed close relations with the Kremlin consisted of several influential party figures with Gheorghiu-Dej at the helm. Modern Romanian researcher L. Țăranu

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ After Andropov's ascendance to Chairmanship of the KGB, Yevgeniy Dmitriyevich Karpeshchenko (Евгений Дмитриевич Карпещенко) was personally transferred by Andropov from the CC of the CPSU' Department of Relations with Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries to the KGB administration. Later on, when Andropov took on Politburo, Karpeshchenko was appointed head of the Secretariat of the KGB in February 1979 where he served until April 1984 and finally promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

¹⁴ See several of them as the pattern: В. Н. Виноградов, *Россия и объединение румынских княжеств* [Russia and Unification of Romanian Principalities], Москва, Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1961; Н. И. Лебедев, *Румыния в годы Второй мировой войны. Внешнеполитическая и внутриполитическая история Румынии в 1938-1945 гг.* [Romania during the Second World War. Foreign and Domestic Policy of Romania in 1938-1945], Москва, МО, 1961; М. Г. Сажина, *Борьба румынского народа за установление и укрепление народно-демократического строя: 1944-1947* [Struggle of the Romanian People for the Establishment and Strengthening of People's Democracy: 1944-1947], Москва, 1963; А. А. Язькова, *Румыния накануне Второй мировой войны 1934-1939 гг.* [Romania before the Second World War 1934-1939], Москва, 1963; В. Виноградов, Е. Карпещенко, Н. Лебедев, А. Язькова, *История Румынии нового и новейшего времени* [A. Modern and Contemporary History of Romania], Москва, 1964; Н. И. Лебедев, Е. Д. Карпещенко, *История Румынской Народной Республики: Краткий очерк* [History of Romanian People's Republic: A Brief Essay], Издательство Международные Отношения, 1964; Н. И. Лебедев (ред.), *История Румынии: 1918-1970* [History of Romania: 1918-1970], Москва, 1971.

who works in the National Council for Study of Securitate Archives (Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității) wrote that “Gheorghiu-Dej was labelled in many ways by those close to him, by analysts and historians as ‘Carpathian fox’ or ‘Machiavelli of the Balkans’ and his methods of governance were ‘Byzantinism’, ‘diplomatic skills’, ‘cruel’ or ‘cunning’”¹⁵.

1964: The year of the assault against the Soviet perspective on the Romanians past

Three very significant events have happened in 1964 and their coincidence left no room for doubts. Their importance from political point of view consisted of apparent desire of the Romanian Communist leadership to resort to historical arguments with strong ethnic essence in view to produce new ethno-political construction designed to legitimize their domestic and foreign policy in more then ever independent of Moscow manner. First of them was so-called “Declaration of Independence of Romania” adopted at the plenary session of the CC of the RWP convened on April 15-22, 1964. As the Romanian historians L. Banu and F. Banu definitely noted, it had been “apogee of distancing policies pursued by Dej in relations with Moscow”¹⁶ and it openly ushered in a new stage by declaring sovereign right of the Romanian state to carry out its own policy by rejecting the very existence of any lawful “centre” (unambiguous hint on the USSR) which could give any orders to Bucharest. Second event closely linked to adoption of “April Declaration” and generally embedded into a new ethno-political construction while being its consistent part found its way in December 1964 with publication the book by K. Marx “Notes about Romanians” in the Romanian language and in the amount of 20.5 thousand copies, which was quite symptomatic phenomenon in itself¹⁷. In complete accordance with the traditions

¹⁵ L. Țăranu, *Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej în istoriografia actuală. Ce i se impută, ce i se recunoaște* [Gheorghiu-Dej in Current Historiography. What is being held, what is recognized], in “Dosarele Istoriei” [History Files], 2005, no. 7, p. 20.

¹⁶ L. Banu, F. Banu, *Alexandru Drăghici la ora naționalismului – popularizarea “Declarației din aprilie 1964” în structurile MAI* [Alexandru Draghici at Nationalism Hour - popularizing the “Declaration of April 1964” in the MHA Structures], in “Caietele CNSAS. Revistă semestrială editată de Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității” [CNSAS Notebooks. Semestrial Journal edited by the National Council for the Study of the Security Archives], 2009, no. 1(3), București, 2010, p. 15.

¹⁷ K. Marx, *Însemnări despre români* [Notes on Romanians], unpublished manuscripts edited by Acad. Prof. A. Oțetea and Prof. S. Schwanin, București, Romanian Popular Academy Publishing House, 1964.

of Communist disputes, Romania's Communist leadership used an appeal to so-called historical heritage of "classics of Marxism-Leninism". In this work canonical Communist classic characterized in rather tough and extremely negative form politics of tsarist Russia in Bessarabia and in the Romanian principalities in the XVIII-XIX centuries, including the actions of the army under the command of Alexander Suvorov and the Russian troops in the region later. To certain extent, it was a reflection of the process of "de-Sovietisation started after 1963, and represented the mechanism of survival of the Romanian Communist elite that have adopted and manipulating patriotic symbols"¹⁸. Later on one of the eyewitnesses of the time who was a young University student in those years reminded after the fall of Communism in Romania that "in those months of 1964 nobody who were sitting and reading in the library did not pay attention to shiny brown volume with golden band with inscription «Karl Marx. Notes about Romanians». I was so stuffed with Marxism that nothing incited to have me wanted to hear anything of Marx! We have not even put a question, what could be Marx's notes about Romanians, we have known that he lived so far away from her and died in 1883!?! Volumes were standing for a long time on the shelf of district bookshop until one day, when a certain foreigner who seemed to come especially seeking for Marx and said bookseller that he wants all volumes. Surprised with requirements and hastiness of the foreign buyer the bookseller being caught with curiosity said that 'more two left'. The stranger did not comment, paid, took them and disappeared with a car. For the first time, the bookseller has opened the volume and started reading. He quickly realized that it was Marx who the Romanians had never heard of and had never read earlier"¹⁹. The third event that has been noticed by the specialists and analysts who closely followed developments in Romania took a very peculiar form. They have found that in the new second edition of the third volume of "History of Romania" published in 1964 some previous statements in favour of the Russian foreign policy concerning Moldova and Walachia disappeared and in some cases they were replaced with new and more pro-Romanian thesis.

Soviet reaction on publishing of Marx's notes has been noticed by foreign analysts. They wrote that "Soviet sensitivity concerning the publication of the

¹⁸ *Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România. Raport Final* [Prezidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. Final report], București, 2006. p. 11.

¹⁹ C. Florea, *Karl Marx – însemnări despre români* [Karl Marx – Notes on Romanians], (Februarie 2002) – <http://ioncoja.ro/textele-altora/karl-marx-insemnari-despre-romani/> [10.09.2013]

latest work by Karl Marx to appear in E.[ast] Europe seems to be reflected in a Moscow broadcast to Rumania on 24th January. The Marxian book is called «Notes about Romanians», edited by A. Oțetea, of the Rumanian Academy of Sciences. It quotes Marx as having supported Rumanian rights to Bessarabia and as saying that the Russians wrongly supported Hungary in 1848 when Moscow sided with the Hungarians in the suppression of a revolt in Transylvania". Special attention of the observers attracted statement of Radio Moscow, which was the mouthpiece of Soviet propaganda abroad. It stated in broadcast in Romanian that "Russia and France alone had pursued a policy aimed at reunifying Moldavia and Muntenia... Thanks largely to Russian efforts, ... the Austrian and Turkish armies were evacuated, there making reunion possible". As the analysts stated this "argument seems to imply that in Moscow's eyes, even if the USSR has occupied Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, Rumania still has reason to be grateful to Big Brother for her national existence"²⁰.

An indirect appeal to Bessarabian, i. e. territorial, problem was the natural continuation of the course laid forth in April 1964 and considered to increase degree of Romanian independence within the ranks of the Eastern Bloc. Therefore both in the Soviet propaganda and diplomacy when the Kremlin addressed to Bucharest, "Bessarabian problem" was not interpreted as territorial but solely as historical one in the context of the formal recognition of the Soviet version of "objectively positive Russia's role in the Balkans"²¹, and the "liberation mission of the Soviet Union" in 1939-1945 in the region.

Crystallization of the 'national' approach in the Romanian historiography, simultaneously with installation of Ceaușescu regime

After the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in 1965 who was the long-time leader of the RWP and Romania with consequent ascendance to power of the new leader Nicolae Ceaușescu formerly chosen course aimed at reconsidering of national history and build up a new ethno-political construction has been continued. This time main emphasis have been made on history of the Romanian Communist party since in Communist tradition admitted earlier by the Soviets and repeatedly used in all Communist states it was history of Communist Party that embodied a gist of national history being its part and parcel. Therefore the

²⁰ *Did Russia Reunify Rumania?* [Foreign Relations Series: Eastern Europe], 4 February 1965, p. 1, HU OSA 300-8-3:109-1-126 - <http://fa.osaarchivum.org/background-reportscol=8&id=45331> [10.09.2013].

²¹ *Ibid.*

decision to write history of the RWP adopted in its IXth Congress in July 1965 seemed to be consequential and logical from the point of view of existed agenda. Western analysts viewed the situation as follow "...new Party leaders have finally decided, after the death of Gheorghiu-Dej, to proceed with a house-cleaning in order to absolve the party of past mistakes and to adjust the tenets of Rumanian Communist ideology to the present nationalistic policy, designed to rally the whole people behind the Party. The latter is to be presented as continuing revolutionary and progressive Rumanian traditions"²². They paid special attention to peculiar aspects of Romanian national history in conjunction with connections between Romanian Communist Party (as it was called since 1965) and the USSR when they wrote "to mention another case where the past Party decisions do not fit in easily with current policy, it may be recalled that the Fourth Congress of the RCP, held in 1928, strongly supported the view that Bessarabia had to be returned to the Soviet Union. Although the recent Soviet-Rumanian communiqué (of September 11) referred to the "inviolability of frontiers in Europe," it is clear that it would be difficult for the Party to pursue a more nationalistic policy without at the same time venturing to tackle a new interpretation of such a controversial past decisions of its own"²³. The results of chosen course were not long to wait. As soon as the book by well-known specialist on Romanian literature E. M. Dvoychenko-Markova under the title "Romanian-Russian literary connections in the first half of the 19th century"²⁴, has come in 1966 to light in Moscow publishing house "Nauka" it was subjected to critical review in Romanian scientific magazine "Secolul XX" ("Age XX"). The dispute has been unfolded around the person of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, the prominent Romanian intellectuals of Bessarabian descent and his belonging to Romanian literature while the author of the book wrote of him as Russian writer²⁵.

²² "Commission Set Up to Prepare New Romanian Party History", 5 November 1965, p. 1, [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-5636; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.- <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:c337c285-9a77-462d-b7cc-65e90b2b0cce> [10.09.2013].

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁴ Е. М. Двойченко-Маркова, *Русско-румынские литературные связи в первой половине XIX века* [Russian-Romanian literary connections in the first half of the XIX century], Издательство "Наука", 1966.

²⁵ This fact has found its reflection in: "Situation Report: Romania, 15 June 1966", 15 June 1966, p. 3. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-47-179-4; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Situation Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.-

The seriousness of the plans contrived by the chiefs of the Romanian Communist regime and their strivings to pursue policy of indigenization of national history in view to mobilize population in the interests of the Communist authorities inside the country together with strengthening their positions abroad have found a way in further explorations in Romanian national history. The idea was to emphasize durable character of the Romanian state, its important role in the international relations in the past and to legalize continuation of the national tradition in modern times. Foreign observers noticed in spring of 1967 that “the current rewriting of Rumanian history meets with difficulties in keeping pace with the rapid evolution of political thinking in Rumania and the ever increasing emphasis on national values and sovereignty”²⁶. That conclusion was made after the events that had great importance for understanding of mechanism used to mould a new ethno-political construction of Romanian Communist nationhood. In his speech, called “The Romanian Communist Party – Continuator of the Romanian People’s Revolutionary and Democratic Struggle, of the Traditions of the Working-Class and Socialist Movement in Romania” and delivered on May 7, 1966, N. Ceaușescu actually developed in strict and plain manner the basic thesis which explained that the national priorities dominated and policy of “international centre” as the Communist International, converted by the Soviets into their tool, was rejected. The very reference to that theme has presented a serious challenge to Moscow. Furthermore, during expressly aggrandized solemnly opening of the Museum of History of the Party and revolutionary movement in Romania, established in the building of the former Museum “Lenin-Stalin”, ancient and modern history were demonstratively united into one entire and indivisible glorious pattern. The appearance in June 1966 issue of official propagandist party magazine “Lupta de clasă” (“Class struggle”) of the material written by such a person as its editor in chief Ștefan Voicu who has been a member of the Central Committee of the RCP did not passed off unnoticed abroad including the USSR. In his article Șt. Voicu actually strongly condemned cession of Bessarabia [to the USSR] on June 28, 1940²⁷. In late September 1966,

<http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:b965efce-13be-4dd0-92a4-719776b46391>
[10.09.2013].

²⁶ “De-Russification of Romanian History Continues”, 24 May 1967, p. 1. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-14731; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.– <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:47278bde-1fc5-469b-9793-df41068dfd> [10.09.2013].

²⁷ Ș. Voicu, *Pagini de luptă a PCR împotriva fascismului pentru independență și*

during specially convened session of the Romanian Academy of Sciences devoted to celebration of its centenary N. Ceaușescu pointed out, that “in the second half of the nineteenth century, the intensification of the struggle for social progress, to achieve national unity and to conquest of Independence, with profound implications for social life, has given a strong impetus to scientific and cultural activity in the country”²⁸.

On setting to mould national historical conception the Romanian leadership could not avoid contradictions and even sharp disputes with the Soviets. The latter on their part sought to eschew open confrontation and usually addressed to the pattern of “bourgeois” academicians who were allegedly distorting history in the nationalist interests. By referring to Western authors simultaneously Soviet side criticized indirectly Romanians for their reconsidering of national history. Western observers although analysing particular Soviet publications, made conclusions that could be applied to entire Soviet position. Thus, one of them Fritz W. Ermarth, who worked at the time at the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute and occupied later high-level positions both in the US security community and presidential administrations, while writing of one Soviet publication on Romanian national history has justly pointed out that “on the whole, the aim of the article²⁹ is clear enough it is not to correct ‘bourgeois’ conceptions but to refute the conviction shared widely by Rumanians in the West and, what is no doubt more important, by people in Rumania that, as a result (underlined in the text – Ar. U.) of the 1940 ultimatum by which Moscow reacquired Bessarabia, Rumania had no choice but to join Hitler against the USSR. The author attempts to show, with detailed references to Western and Rumanian sources, that Rumania had, for all practical purposes, joined the Axis camp well before the ultimatum, which itself only brought an outstanding dispute to a just settlement. At the root of Rumania's

suveranitate națională (1934-1940) [Fighting Pages of PCR against Fascism and for Independence and National Sovereignty (1934-1940)], in “Lupta de clasă” [Class Fight], no. 6, 1966, p. 59-80.

²⁸ *Cuvînt de salut la sesiunea solemnă consacrată sărbătoririi centenarului Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 26 septembrie 1966* [Greeting Speech at the Solemn Session dedicated to the Celebration of the Centenary of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. 26th September 1966], in Ceaușescu N., *România pe drumul desăvârșirii construcției socialiste* [Romania on the Way of Building the Socialist Multilateral Developed Society, vol. 2, București, Politics Publishing House, 1966, p. 23.

²⁹ Н. И. Лебедев, *Некоторые вопросы внешнеполитической истории Румынии в свете буржуазной историографии* [Some Questions of Foreign Policy of Romania in the Light of Bourgeois Historiography], in “Новая и новейшая история”, 1967, № 3.

seduction by Germany lay 'class hatred' of the USSR felt by Rumania's ruling class, the 'fascist nature' of Rumanian politics, and the 'perfidy' of the European democracies"³⁰. Escalation of the polemics has affected a delay in producing of a new version of the RCP history that early planned to come to light by late 1967. An official strivings to formulate basic principles and to shape "socialist nationhood with ethnic face" have called into being the definite aspirations among Romanian intellectuals, and channelled their feelings into socially and ethnically coloured bucolic traditionalism. The appearance at the fall of 1967 of the 2nd volume of the novel "Moromeții" ("The Moromete Family"), which volume 1 was published in 1955, written by well-known Romanian author and translator Marin Preda, has been not only event in literary life but above all the political one. Western analysts pointed out that "Preda's novel is an artistic presentation of the new history of the Rumanian Communist Party, according to which the 'Moscow group' in the Party leadership is to blame for all the failures of the regime. The novel contains many anti-Soviet hints, while the nation and the ancestral wisdom of the peasantry – which was exposed to all the misfortunes that have occurred in Rumanian history – are continually praised... Though from, an artistic point of view the novel has certain qualities, from an ideological and political point of view it lags behind other recent Rumanian works on the same topic"³¹.

The Romanian fierce and strong protests against the Soviet led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 seriously influenced not only international positions of N. Ceaușescu both in East and West but also assisted him to consolidate society and to extol him personally in national public opinion to the level of national hero. Moreover, Bucharest was waiting possible active Soviet reaction to Romanian stance including military measures against Romania³². The

³⁰ "Soviet Historian on Romania's Pre-war Foreign Policy", 17 July 1967, p. 2, [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-7465; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.– <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:b5b146cd-5b01-4745-95aa-f0aa2fdb5456> [10.09.2013].

³¹ "Marin Preda and the Artistic Presentation of Party History", 6 November 1967, p. 1, [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-5666; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.– <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:8a1a1213-57cd-4bbd-b6e3-41fbb7aaa2e1> [10.09.2013].

³² See for more: Ар. А. Улуян, *Балканский «щит социализма». Оборонная политика Албании, Болгарии, Румынии и Югославии (середина 50-х гг. – 1980 г.)* [The Balkan "Shield of Socialism." Defense policy of Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia (mid 50s. - 1980)], Москва, Издательство "Университет Дмитрия Пожарского", 2013.

ideas of national sovereignty and historically determined territorial integrity of the Romanian state, an important political and cultural role of Romania both in regional and entire European history in durable pace of time, all of these was getting a more appropriate ground for new stage in moulding of Romanian “socialist” nationhood in a certain mode of ethno-political construction.

So-called liberalization process in Communist Romania that has been imitated by the authorities with the purpose to consolidate society and to achieve more independence from the USSR in the international relations lasted quite short period from the days of N. Ceaușescu’s ascendance to power in 1965 and until early 70’es. It allowed ruling faction to constitute general principals of ethno-political construction of Romanian nationhood. Its characteristic features were eternal historical continuation of Romanian political and ethnic nationhood; justness of Romanian international positions during the years when the country used to be really independent; integrity of Rumanian national territory despite the existence of some Romanian lands outside contemporary state borders of Romania and integrity of the Romanian nation regardless existed state entities under other names then Romania (such as represented by Moldavian SSR), and, at last, foreign influence in Romanian history has been portrayed as playing predominantly negative role. Each element of this construction was painted with certain Communist ideological exegesis on the principals of class struggle, progressiveness of the revolutionary traditions and freedom-lusting aspirations of the Romanian people, who cherished the dream to see their Motherland unified. In that scheme history and other several social sciences had to play important role. At the same time, to tighten ideological grip on them the Communist authorities resorted to administrative steps and on March 1970 Academy of Political and Social Studies came to life as new scientific structure with its own organization separated from National Academy of Sciences and with a dozen institutions earlier attached to National Academy³³.

In early 70’es ethnic question has expanded its presence in official discourse of the Communist Romania to the extent that seriously strained relations with the Soviets. The latter continued, however, to labour with unwearied assiduity on the one hand to avoid open polemics with Bucharest but on the other hand, to rebuff Romanian statements on Bessarabian problem and Romanian subliminal rejection of distinct Moldovan identity, which legitimized

³³ *Decret nr. 121/18 martie 1970 pentru înființarea Academiei de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România* [Decree no 121/18th March 1970 for establishing The Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Romania], in “Buletinul Oficial” [Official Bulletin], VI, 22, I, 18th of March 1970.

the very existence of the Moldovan SSR³⁴. The Kremlin has resorted to help of local historians and politicians in the Moldovan SSR to address Romanian side on those problems and to express its dissatisfaction with Romanian stance on them.

In his turn, the head of the Communist regime N. Ceaușescu showed growing concern regarding possible weakening of his personal power. The reason of his anxiety rooted in the fear of either possible pro-Soviet conspiracy against him³⁵ or dangerous openness to West demonstrated by Romania in the late 60'es. The policy of national sovereignty of Romania actively forwarded by Ceaușescu has received more space in official ideology and was being cultivated on the basis of Communist doctrine. Even in propaganda among children of junior age in the school manuals and books designed for compulsory reading in view to indoctrinate people from very nascent years of their life there were openly asserted ideological coined terms like "Party, Ceausescu, Romania!" ("Partidul, Ceaușescu, România!"), "besieged fortress" ("cetății asediate"), "Heartful thanks to Party!" ("Mulțumim din inimă Partidului!"), "The great friend and mentor of the younger generation - Nicolae Ceausescu" ("Un mare prieten și îndrumător al tinerei generații - Nicolae Ceaușescu"), "There can be no two histories, a history of the people and the history of the Party" ("Nu pot exista două istorii, o istorie a poporului și o istorie a partidului"), "Do not forget, Stephan, that our law is to protect the earth of ancestor!" ("Să nu uiți, Ștefăniță, că legea noastră e apărarea pământului străbun!")³⁶. The latter one had a deep meaning in that address to young reader, since contains the name "Stephan" and implied connotation of prominent glorious rulers Stefan Voda Younger (Ștefăniță Vodă cel Tânăr) and Stephan Lupu (Ștefăniță Lupu).

Painstaking efforts have been undertaken by the authorities to bind Romanian reality with "classic Marxism" and therefore special references were made to the "fathers-founders" of Marxism, i. e. K. Marx and F. Engels. As several Romanian researchers and students of history (that is noteworthy to refer to) pointed out now touching upon Ceaușescu's thinking, the latter "reconstructed through his argumentation the Stalinist explanation of the Leninist self-

³⁴ For details see: V. Burlacu, *Politica culturală din RSS Moldovenească: între discursul identitar românesc și promovarea "moldovenismului"* [Cultural Policy from the Moldavian RSS: between the Romanian Identity Discourse and the Promotion of "Moldovenism"], in "Academos", 2013, 1(28).

³⁵ Ar. A. Ulunyan, *op. cit.*

³⁶ The detailed analysis of the phenomenon of "children indoctrination" in Ceaușescu's Romania see: Simona Hohotă, *Literatura istorică pentru copii în România comunistă* [The Historic Literature for Children in Communist Romania], Rezumatul tezei de doctorat [Abstract of Ph.D. thesis], University of București, Faculty of History, 2011.

determination right, in order to avoid any ideological rebuttal from Moscow”³⁷. Thus, stressing the correctness of chosen course, Ceaușescu pointed out that “it is known that progressive and revolutionary movement in Romania had connections with Marx and Engels, Marx and Engels have paid special attention to our history, social and national struggles of the Romanian people, that in their writings reflected this concern, sympathy for the way in which the Romanian people knew how to fight to defend their right of living free and independent”³⁸.

But the stake on ideology of national unity was fraught with hidden menace to regime, since “the thesis of national unity had already produced effects that were threatening to become more difficult to control ideologically and politically. It had made possible the emergence of several methodological approaches within framework of one profession and even in several directions of thought, which, without denying the Marxist-Leninist, could no longer complain constantly against it. There was hard to imagine a personal dictatorship in this liberalized atmosphere”³⁹. This fact was obvious to the Romanian ruler who considered it necessary to limit the risks.

Profiling the national-communist approach of the past

The constituency of “socialist nationhood” in its ethno-political construction could not be explained without special reference to N. Ceaușescu’s visit to Far Eastern and Asian Communist countries such as China, Vietnam, North Korea and Mongolia. It was there where the head of the RCP learned more of the methods of totalitarian “reforming” of the society and of mechanism of ideological indoctrination. Soon after his arrival back to Romania he delivered the speech on July 6, 1971 before the session of Executive Committee of the RCP.

³⁷ B. C. Gavrilă, *The Political Discourse of National-Communism 1971-1979*, The Department of Nationalism Studies Central European University, 2004, Budapest, Hungary, Coordinator: Professor Sorin Antohi. In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts, Budapest, 2004. p. 38.

³⁸ *Cuvînt la solemnitatea dezvelirii busturilor lui Karl Marx și Friederich Engels. 27 mai 1971* [Speech at the Solemn Encovering of the Karl Marx and Friederich Engels Busts. 27th May 1971], in N. Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate* [Romania on the Way of Building the Socialist Multilateral Developed Society], vol. 6, București, 1972, p. 35.

³⁹ M. Martin, *Cultura româna între comunism și nationalism (III)* [Romanian Culture between Communism and Nationalism], in “Revista 22” [Journal 22]. 11.11.2002–<http://www.revista22.ro/cultura-romana-intre-comunism-si-nationalism-iii-252.html> [10.09.2013].

The speech called “Proposed measures for the improvement of political-ideological activity, of the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, of all working people”⁴⁰ contained 17 points and has come into history of the Communist regime in Romania as the “July theses” (“Tezele din iulie”). It fixed the main guidelines for further strengthening of Communist system in the country and imposition of ideological control over the society. In some ways “it seems that it took into account the possibility to import indoctrination methods used during Mao's Cultural Revolution. This was not just a matter of personal preference: Ceaușescu was attempting to stem the movement of liberalization in Romania, to limit turmoil within the ranks of intellectuals and to prevent students to follow their fellow rebels from other Communist countries. He tried also to consolidate personal power and to get rid of those members of the apparatus who could dream of “socialism with a human face”. Therefore, in July 1971 he published a “proposal to improve ideological work,” which was a monument of Zhdanov’s obscurantism”⁴¹.

All of that have happened in the moment of worsening relations between Romania and the USSR since the Soviets looked at Romania’s flirt with Communist China with spleenful eye. In its turn, Romanian side propagated the policy which essence was formulated in the terms “Romania is pursuing an independent policy of deepening sovereign friendly relations with all the socialist countries, developing friendly relations with all the socialist countries, developing relations with the countries in the world, regardless of their socio-political orientation”, and does not accept pressure and will not yield to anyone who is going to change its policy and interfere in her internal affairs⁴².

⁴⁰ *Propuneri de măsuri pentru îmbunătățirea activității politico-ideologice, de educare marxist-leninistă a membrilor de partid, a tuturor oamenilor muncii. 6 iulie 1971* [Proposed Measures for the Improvement of Political-Ideological Activity, of the Marxist-Leninist Education of Party members, of all working people], in N. Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate* [Romania on the Way of Building the Socialist Multilateral Developed Society], vol. 6, București, 1972, p. 185-195.

⁴¹ *Comisia Prezidențială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România. Raport final* [Pre-zidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. Final Report], București, 2006, p. 109.

⁴² 30 iulie 1971, Moscova. Telegramă a secretarului I al Ambasadei României în URSS, Ilie Georgescu, către Direcția I Relații referitoare la informațiile parvenite Departamentului de Stat al SUA privind convocarea unei consfătuiri speciale a țărilor membre ale Tratatului de la Varșovia în problemele securității europene; relațiile dintre statele din Balcani; vizita delegației de partid și guvernamentale române în RP Chineză [Telegram of the First Secretary of the Romanian Embassy in the URSS, Ilie

In October 1971, the British military attaché in Bucharest reported to London that he learned from a reliable source of N. Ceaușescu's order to strengthen control of the security services over the army due to existed in military circles discontent with "eastern policy" (pro-Chinese as they considered) it carried out by the head of the RCP⁴³. On November 3, 1971 the "July theses" have been adopted as official document of the Plenum of the RCP under the title "Exposition regarding the PCR programme for improving ideological activity, raising the general level of knowledge and the socialist education of the masses, in order to arrange relations in our society on the basis of the principles of socialist and Communist ethics and equity"⁴⁴.

Deterioration of the Soviet-Romanian relations in late summer-early fall 1971 had put Bessarabian question again on the front-line and Soviets started publishing archival materials of the pre-war period to legitimize their possession of this territory⁴⁵ and to unearth stance taken by the Romanian authorities. In fact the latter have denounced a support rendered on the side of the RCP to the Comintern in 1940. As the Romanian researchers pointed out in their resent studies "until 1971-1972 Nicolae Ceaușescu had used the various occasions that

Georgescu, to the First Direction Relations regarding the Information arrived at the State Department of the USA regarding the Assembly of a Special Meeting of the States Members of the Warsaw Treaty in the Matters of the European Security, Balkan State Relations, the Visit of the Party and Governmental Delegation in the PR of China]. Ambasada Republicii Socialiste România [Embassy of the Romanian Socialist Republic]. Telegramă Moscova, nr. 0272. Direcția I Relații. Secret. 30 iulie 1971. Nota de convorbire, in *Documente Diplomatice Române* [Diplomatic Romanian Documents], series no. 3, p. 326.

⁴³ M. Retegan, *Chinezii doreau o Românie suverană* [The Chinese wanted a Sovereign Romania], in "Jurnalul Național" [National Journal], 10.1.2005.

⁴⁴ *Expunere cu privire la Programul P.C.R. pentru îmbunătățirea activității ideologice, ridicarea nivelului general al cunoașterii și educația socialistă a maselor, pentru așezarea relațiilor din societatea noastră pe baza principiilor eticii și echității socialiste și comuniste, 3 noiembrie 1971* [Exposition regarding the PCR Programme for Improving Ideological Activity, raising the General Level of Knowledge and the Socialist Education of the Masses, in order to arrange Relations in our Society on the Basis of the Principles of Socialist and Communist Ethics and Equity, 3rd November 1971], in Ceaușescu N., *România pe drumul construirii societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate* [Romania on the Way of Building the Socialist Multilateral Developed Society], vol. 6, București, 1972, p. 620-687.

⁴⁵ "Moldavian Daily Raises Bessarabian Issue Again", 24 September 1971. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-8207; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.- <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:f1244e9c-872b-43d5-8f83-65d9417c9f21> [10.09.2013].

appeared to attack subtly the presence of the Soviets or of the Russians in the national history"⁴⁶. Special attention in growing numbers of publications the Romanian writers paid to fact of indigenous, autochthonous character of Romanians and alien character of the Slavs as new settlers in the region.

To serve the ends of producing complete ethno-political construction ideologically formulated and painted with national colours the Romanian authorities have made next step in January 1970. By joint decision of the highest RCP' and governmental bodies the Museum of Romanian History has been established. On May 8, 1972 it's solemnly opening ceremony demonstrated importance which the regime attached to that fact. Besides revolutionary and Communist history themes exhibited in the Museum, the problems of ancient history, struggle for unification of the Romanian state and its independence occupied significant place and got special stressing on "glorious past of the Motherland". Foreign analysts have noticed in that connection the importance, which the Romanian authorities attached to that event and pointed out their message at the opening ceremony. In late May 1972 new statement found in analytical report issued by the Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute that high Romanian officials accentuated the theme of re-establishing historical truth and necessity to "avoid all distortions of historical reality" when they extolled the fact of ancient presence of Romanians in the territory they now occupy including region of Transylvania disputable with Hungarians. Moreover, special significance in that scheme was assigned to Bessarabia as an integral part in historical evolution of Romanian statehood⁴⁷. An absence among presented exposition any reference to period since 1918 till August 23, 1944 has raised the question of the analysts, but in fact, it demonstrated wish of the Romanian authorities to avoid grooving of negative feelings at home and to stir up Soviet reaction to new Romanian assessments regarding territorial and political questions of the inter-war period.

Started in early 70'es with prominent historian and archaeologist C. Daicoviciu's publications the conception of proto-Romanians took an enlarging

⁴⁶ G. Moisa, *Absence from the map. The problem of Bessarabia in the historiographical imaginary of Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime*, in "Revista Română de Geografie Politică" [Romanian Journal of Political Geography], 2011, May, XIII, 1, p. 76.

⁴⁷ "Situation Report: Romania, 26 May 1972", 26 May 1972. p. 8. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-47-190-18; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Situation Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest. – <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:9cf5757c-2fb2-4127-8514-025cafd3dd18> [08.09.2013].

form in ideological schemes of new ethno-political construction. The paradox of the situation demonstrated the fact that during the earliest years of the Communist regime the historians of older generation who supported ideas like those were sharply criticized by authorities from ideological and political point of view⁴⁸. The ideology of “Ceaușism” demanded its ethno-historical justification in view of creating Romanian model of nationhood convenient to the system that Ceaușescu was constructing along his own interests. As the modern researchers noted, concept of “socialist nation” in its new form defined by the regime was quite contradictory and combined, on the one hand, classical Marxist approach to the definition of nation, and, on the other hand, it included ideological element which was assigned to identify domestic and external enemies “who had multiple and changing identities are assigned: first, the USSR, then Hungary, the imperialists or at once all together”⁴⁹.

Actually, the turnover to retro-concepts of ethnogenesis of Romanians started in early 70'es has revived and elucidated old discussion that existed in public-intellectual and political discourse of Romania since late 19th till first third of the 20th century. In simplified form the gist of the dispute unleashed in those years could be described as intransigent rivalry, on the one side, between the adherents of ideas of positive influence (although with some problems) of political, cultural and intellectual contacts between Western Europe and Romania for the latter, and those, on the other side, who defended the thesis of prevailing Romanian historical heritage over European one and were passionate to extol idealization of its ancient past pointing out its uniqueness. Confrontations between two opponent groups only at first sight bore intellectual and philosophical character but in fact, from the very nascent years of its appearance in public and political discourse it had political dimension. It called to life the definitions for the former and the latter proponents as “synchronists”

⁴⁸ More details in: A. Măgureanu, *Dezbateri privind etnogeneza Românilor în anii '50. De la manualul lui Roller la Tratatul de Istorie* [Debates regarding the Romanian Ethnogenesis in the 50's. From Roller's Manual to the History Treaty], in “Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie” [Studies and Research on Ancient History and Archaeology], 2007, 58 (1-2), p. 289-319.

⁴⁹ A. T. Pavelescu, *Le Conducator, le Parti et le Peuple Le discours nationaliste comme discours de légitimation dans la Roumanie de Ceausescu (1965-1989)*, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, ECOLE DOCTORALE DE SCIENCES PO. Programme doctoral Europe CERI. Doctorat le science politique. Convention le cotutelle avec l'Université le Bucarest). Thèse en cotutelle dirigée par M. Dominique COLAS, professeur des universités et M. Dinu C. GIURESCU, professeur des universités. Soutenue le 10 février 2009, Paris, 2009, p. 192.

and “protochronysts” correspondingly. To Ceaușescu from political point of view it was important that “protochronysts” insisted on exclusiveness of Romanian historical path and questioned the viability of the European model in Romanian case. This fact was evident to many intellectuals in Romania, who considered that in reality protochronism, “a cultural symptom that, by departing from an inferiority complex, almost always ends in a denial of Europe”⁵⁰.

Under new conditions the ideas formerly popular among a certain segment of Romanian intellectuals in late 19th – early 20th have been renovated. New impact received the idea of promoting the theses of the Dacian ancestry of the Romanians with large territorial extension of their settlement allegedly stretched over the huge space of Europe and Asia, and special important place, which the Thracian civilization occupied in constituency of Romanian identity⁵¹. Propaganda of ancient ancestry found its way in so-called historical movies and gave birth to distinct direction in Romanian movie industry⁵². The reasons of abrupt turn to archaic, as the modern Romanian historians noted, had twofold goal and “artificial resurrection of autochthonism was the turn of official policy what we call Dacianism, the course that, at the time, was the expression of a deeply anti-Western sentiment, but equally anti-Soviet by promoting theory of indigenous [character of the Romanians]”⁵³. Actually, as present Romanian researchers characterized what happened in Ceaușescu’s Romania it was “forced marriage of theory of Romanian protochronism and doctrine of national communism supported by several groups of pseudointellectuals concomitant with megalomania of the ‘Golden Age’”⁵⁴.

The Romanian Communist regime addressed to ancient in view to complete the ethno-political construction of nationhood in its ultimate form⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ D. Deletant, *Ceaușescu and the Securitate: Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-1989*, M.E. Sharpe: London, 1995, p. 198.

⁵¹ About forgery of artefacts such as the Sinaia lead plates see: A. Bucurescu, *Tainele tăblițelor de la Sinaia* [The Secrets of the Sinaia Plates], București, Arhetip Publishing House, 2005; A. Pețan, *A possible Dacian royal archive on lead plates*, in “Antiquity”, 2005, Vol. 79, 303.

⁵² A. Tieanu, *Discursul politic în filmul istoric românesc (anii '60-'70)* [The political Discourse in the Romanian Historical Film (the 60’s and 70’s)], in “Bibliorev”, no. 17.

⁵³ C. Borangic, *Fenomenul dacoman: promotori și aderenți* [Dacoroman Phenomenon: Promoters and Adherents], in “Buletinul cercurilor științifice studențești. Arheologie - istorie - muzeologie” [Bulletin of the Scientific Students Groups. Archaeology - History - Muzeology], Alba Iulia, 2008, 14, p. 122.

⁵⁴ G. Cormos, *Edgar Papu – de la filosofia culturii la critica literară* [Edgar Papu – from the Cultural Philosophy to Literary Critics], Rezumatul tezei de doctorat [Abstract of Ph.D. thesis], Oradea University Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p. 16, 17.

⁵⁵ On the role of historical myths in constructing Romanian national consciousness see:

Final replacement of the existed system with totalitarian one with N. Ceaușescu on the top has received impetus through establishing a new political institution of Presidency in April, 1974. The “enthronement” of Ceaușescu by awarding him with symbolic sceptre should have present in the latter’s opinion that his personal legitimacy as significant person of historical importance makes him a prominent statesman and creator of new Romanian state with deep roots in glorious ancient national history. It should have been an explanation of peculiar historical path of Romanians and their state which differed from Western (European) model, since it was allegedly more ancient than those. At the same time, the figure of Nicolae Ceaușescu should have symbolized some sort of “reincarnation” of the ancient king Burebista who was known as the ruler of “the first centralized and independent state under the leadership of Burebista” who united the Geatae and Dacians between 82-44 BC. It was not by accident when Communist authorities have turned their eyes to history but there is a long-term tradition in the Balkan states, neither excluded Romanian, that history constitutes an important part of national consciousness. In some ways, it demonstrated trustiness of classical pattern of employment of the results of archaeological studies and ancient history research in the interests of political (nationalist) propaganda. Next step has been made to justify ideologically subliminal but quite transparent this plan in July 1974. The literary critic and specialist on literary theory Edgar Papu has published a small but with serious pretension to attach it fundamental and guiding character article under the title “Romanian Protochronism”⁵⁶. In its essence, that material contained all features of political manifesto not by chance appealing to protochronism at such pertinent moment when its real stone-corner was the idea of prevailed role of proto-Romanian or Dacian and Thracian heritage over the rest European traditions and which could justify “peculiar Romanian path” in politics. Actually, that publication in semi-official review “Secolul 20” marked very important step towards completion of the nationhood under Romanian Communism which employed history to legitimize “distinctive path”, but in practice to veil personal

L. Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* [History and Myth in Romanian Conscience], Humanitas Publishing House, București, 1997.

⁵⁶ E. Papu, *Protocronismul românesc* [Romanian Protocronism], in “Secolul 20” [The 20th Century], 1974, 5-6 (July), p.8-11. For details of that phenomenon in Romanian public, political and academic life see: A. Tomiță, *O istorie “glorioasă”. Dosarul protocronismului românesc* [A Glorious History. The File of the Romanian Protocronism], București, Cartea Românească Publishing House, 2007; K. Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu’s Romania*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1995.

dictatorship. In reality “his [Edgar Papu’s] theory has been, however, stimulated, amplified, distorted, malformed and, finally, totally enclosed to tacky patriotism promoted by the Romanian Communist Party ideology, since [RCP] saw in it the only chance of survival for socially, politically and economically bankrupt system”⁵⁷. The paradox of what had happened showed inconsistent position of those among the followers of protochronistic world view who considered that “protochronism proposed no ‘direction’ namely simply because its advocates were less concerned with critic of time-being and bind themselves up with literary history”⁵⁸.

At the XIth congress of the RCP that took place on November 25-28, 1974 “newly-elected” president and the head of the Communist party N. Ceaușescu openly referred to the problem in terms which left no doubts and sounded as follows “In generalizing existing experience one should learn also everything which is valuable and progressive in international scale! Let’s implement experience of other nations with our revolutionary spirit, with our conception of the world, giving birth to a new culture, taking into account historical, social and national peculiarity of our people, its spirit of justice, its desire to build up a new life – a Communist society – to raise the level of civilization of our nation, the decision to contribute to the progressive transformation of human society, and to build up a better world on the whole planet! Ideological work in economics, philosophy, sociology, history is needed to be brought to close attention of our party, and carried out on the basis of one unitary concept. It demands from the Central Committee, its corresponding bodies to provide leadership and guidance in view to direct all activities in ideological, theoretical, the entire political and cultural-educational work. We must put an end to anarchic, petty-bourgeois belief, that the problems of history, of other different social sciences are the only such as the narrowly specialized issues. These are the problems of theory and Communist ideology, and with them cannot deal others than those who recognize and apply Communist ideology and world outlook”⁵⁹. The “unitary

⁵⁷ G. Cormos, *op. cit.*, p.10.

⁵⁸ A. Terian, *Metodologie și ideologie în critica românească din perioada național-comunismului (1965-1989). Câteva considerații generale* [Methodology and Ideology in the Romanian Critics from the National Communism Age (1965-1989)], in *Comunicare, context, interdisciplinaritate* [Communication, Context, Interdisciplinarity], coordinated by Iulian Boldea, “Petru Maior” University Publishing House, Târgu-Mureș, 2010, p. 161.

⁵⁹ N. Ceaușescu, *Raportul Comitetului Central cu privire la activitatea Partidului Comunist Român în perioada dintre Congresul al X-lea și Congresul al XI-lea și sarcinile de viitor ale partidului – 25 noiembrie 1974* [The Central Comity Report regarding the Activity

approach” to social sciences and their role in so-called political education implied constructing of new conscience, which included such an element as semi-mythical and in some ways deliberately distorted historical facts and scientific knowledge. In practice, it witnessed phenomenon of Dacomania/Thracomania based in many ways on protochronistic conceptions of the late 19th – early 20th centuries thoroughly “copied” and innovated to define “special role” of Romania in history. Noteworthy that the authorities attached huge importance to archaeology that assigned to procure politically motivated conception⁶⁰. It has been pointed out an ancient character of Romanians, when from “stateless population” with rich glorious tradition through the years of bitter sufferings on the way to liberation, independence and unification they have achieved their goals in the “Golden Age” under the “Genius of Carpathians”, i. e. Nicolae Ceaușescu. In its essence that theory included several basic statements according to which “Romania is a key country internationally, led by a genius (the ‘Danubian thinking’ was just one of metaphors which has been used by Ceaușescu for its characteristics); national history was dominated by outstanding personalities such as Burebista, Decebal, Traian, Mircea the Elder, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, A. I Cuza and, evidently, ending the list with Ceaușescu”⁶¹.

The offensive stance taken up by N. Ceaușescu in relations with the Soviets on several items of Romanian national history of disputable nature testified his decisiveness to play the role of implacable national leader. Thus in his speech on March 28, 1975 (the date was symbolic because the day is considered in Romanian tradition as the unification-day with Bessarabia) in strict accordance with earlier voiced warnings to fight against falsification of Romanian history Ceaușescu sharply criticized in public the work of one of the Soviet authors from Soviet Moldavia. The atmosphere of “national reviving” and a call for re-establishing of historical truth gave an impetus to certain feelings among Romanian intellectuals. Marin Preda was one of them. He published the book “The Delirium” (“Delirul”) which unequivocally focused on place of Bessarabian issue in Romanian foreign policy on the eve and during WW2 and fatalistically

of the Romanian Communist Party between the 10th and 11th Congresses and the Future Tasks of the Party], București, Politics Publishing House, p. 93, 94.

⁶⁰ G. A. Niculescu, *Nationalism and the Representation of Society in Romanian Archaeology*, in *Nation and National Ideology. Past, Present and Prospects*. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the New Europe College, Bucharest, April 6-7, 2001, New Europe Collège, Bucharest, 2002.

⁶¹ C.-A. Simion, *Bibliografia naționalismului comunist din România perioadei ceaușiste* [The bibliography of the Communist Nationalism from the Ceausist Age Romania], in “TERRA SEBVS. ACTA MVSEI SABESIENSIS”, Sebeș, 2009, 1, p. 357.

characterized Ion Antonescu's person in the book. It was quite unexpectedly if to take into account the very assessment of that political figure in Communist Romania. Foreign analysts came to conclusion that "Preda's view of history, his views on the role of the individual leader as opposed to determinism, undoubtedly represent a reaction to the excessively mechanical foundation on which dogmatic Communist historiography has always been based...It should not go unmentioned that this view of history, with its strong emphasis on consciousness as inherent in the process of socialist development (greatly enhanced in Rumania since the so-called 'mini-cultural revolution' of 1971) is in accord with the excessive importance attributed to RCP leader Ceaușescu, by himself and others, in all areas of activity — an importance that has given rise to what amounts to a personality cult"⁶². Next year in Milano the book by certain Petre Moldoveanu has been published under the title "How to falsify history?" and aimed against Soviet interpretations of Romanian history. Real name of the author was Constantin G. Guirescu who was one of the leading Romanian historians of the time⁶³.

At the same time, it has become obvious that the more socio-economic situation in Communist Romania was meeting with hardships and increased toll of political repressions then stronger the regime was making emphasis on historic component of mass indoctrination. The accuracy of that conclusion could be proven if to remind the events of August 1-3, 1977 in the Jiu Valley region where the coal-miners have risen and when N. Ceaușescu had to visit personally with fear and to deliver speech to quell protesters emotions with lures and hypocrisy.

The situation has reached its climax on August 5, 1977 during negotiations between the head of the CPSU L. Brezhnev and his interlocutor head of the RCP and Romanian President N. Ceaușescu. In a long-running and durable conversation the problems of history of Russo-Romanian and Soviet-Romanian relations have been touched upon in hush and critical form at a moment when Brezhnev complained against writings of the Romanian historians and authors

⁶² "Marin Preda's 'The Delirium': Historical Novel or Novelistic History?", 6 June 1975, p. 3, 4. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-5836; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.– <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:1a579882-abd2-4ab5-b75d-f4245bdcc84d> [11.09.2013].

⁶³ G. Moisa, *Chestiunea Basarabiei, în discursul istoriografic comunist* [The Bessarabian question in the communist historiographical discourse], in "Historia.ro" – http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/chestiunea-basarabiei-discursul-istoriografic-comunist [13.11.2013].

although simultaneously he praised the fact that the head of Romania “took right stance” and had no territorial claims against the USSR. Ceaușescu on his turn openly declared his dissent on exoneration of positive role of Russian Empire in the Balkans and particularly her policy towards the Bessarabian question, he expressed doubts about existence of distinct Moldovan nation and language, and outraged by ascribing of the Romanian writers to Moldavian literature. Although both sides have agreed the settlement of the problem to be handed over the chiefs of the departments of corresponding Central Committees, the Soviet functionaries who has been discussing the subject with N. Ceaușescu noticed his good knowledge of the issues and made conclusion either of his involvement in preparing conceptions or his personal participation in working out historical doctrines⁶⁴. Actually it indirectly implied the head of Romania has been standing behind constructing not only historical conception as such but in more wider sense inspired formation of basic principles of Romanian nationhood in its new and adjusted to the regime interests’ form. The Romanian authorities’ attraction of history became the reason of serious concern on the Soviet part and the latter was not ready this question to be left to fend to itself. In view of that she seemed to use her close allies in the Eastern Bloc to vent Moscow’s spleen. This time as the Western analysts have noted, the Polish friends sought to put the Romanians “in tact” when well-known infamous Władysław Machejek who was one of the Polish literary functionaries wrote after his trip to Romania that “When the millennial history of the territories which today make up the Rumanian Socialist Republic is being debated, and it is just now being discussed in connection with the most topical contemporary events, we often come across an aggressive kind of rhetoric. This is due both to the fact that the spiritually mighty in those Danubian lands were never wont to use pedestrian tones, drawing their authorization in this respect from the Ovids and the Trajans, and secondly, that a vocabulary which does not mince words is often insupportable”⁶⁵. Independence

⁶⁴ Records of conversation: G. Negru, *Disputa dintre URSS și RSR privind tratarea istoriei relațiilor ruso- și sovieto-române* [The Dispute between USSR and SRofR regarding the History of the Russian-Soviet-Romanian Relations], in “Destin Românesc” [Romanian Destiny], 2010, 3–4, p. 182-187. The whole story of bilateral confrontation see in collection of documents: *Confruntări sovieto-române pe frontul ideologic din RSSM 1968-1979* [Soviet-Romanian Confrontations on the Ideological Front from RSSM 1968-1979], Gheorghe E. Cojocaru (Editor), Iași, Tipografia Moldova Publishing House, 2011.

⁶⁵ “History, Romanian Style”, 20 September 1976, p. 2. [Electronic record] HU OSA 300-8-3-15078; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central

as important component of ethno-political construction meticulously constituted by the Romanian leader also did not pass off the foreign analysts' attention when they referred in 1976 regarding official preparations undertaken by the regime to celebrate centennial of the Romanian independence in 1977/ The wrote that "Romania has been stressing national independence as a basic element in its policy"⁶⁶. Inside Romania itself, there were explicit hostility towards any hint on compromise on official history's interpretation and especially on the themes of independence and unity of Romanian nation. Independence as important component of ethno-political construction meticulously constituted by the Romanian leader also did not pass off the foreign analysts' attention when they referred in 1976 regarding official preparations undertaken by the regime to celebrate centennial of the Romanian independence in 1977. They wrote, "Romania has been stressing national independence as a basic element in its policy"⁶⁷. Furthermore as the well-known essayist, journalist, writer and long-time employer of the RL/RFE George Ciorănescu noted in his analysis referring to exaggeration of medieval Wallachian ruler Vlad the Impaler and celebration of his 500th death the events "make it clear that, the ideals for which this medieval prince fought often correspond to those promoted by the RCP: internal discipline, concentration of all forces to attain specific large goals, and struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of the Romanian people"⁶⁸. References to ancient history assisted to appearance the thesis of "great small country" which has been formulated by the same Edgar Papu and was within the mainstream of official ideology. As the modern Romanian historians pointed out

European University, Budapest.- <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:1ac2881c-0989-474d-8e9b-c4dc8b89942d> [10.09.2013].

⁶⁶ "Situation Report: Romania, 22 October 1976", 22 October 1976, p. 9 [Electronic record].HU OSA 300-8-47-198-11; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Situation Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.- <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:e09ba69f-b103-4a4a-bb71-0902d0295763> [10.09.2013].

⁶⁷ "Situation Report: Romania, 18 February 1977", 18 February 1977, p.8-12, [Electronic record].HU OSA 300-8-47-199-6; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Situation Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest.- <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:8063a70b-7f8f-49fd-83dd-1dbbb96848ca> [12.09.2013].

⁶⁸ "Vlad the Impaler - Current Parallels with a Medieval Romanian Prince", 31 January 1977, p.1, [Electronic record].HU OSA 300-8-3-5872; Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute: Publications Department: Background Reports; Open Society Archives at Central European University, Budapest. - <http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:0af561b5-e46f-4b37-868d-108452162ad9> [10.11.2013].

“Edgar Papu had been thinking over time the idea of “titanic small countries”, which is nothing else than the recognition of the rights of nations that seem are of no matter in given historical moment” and compared king Manuel I of Portugal and reign of Stephen the Great in Moldova⁶⁹.

As the Soviet-Romanian relations were worsening then more expectations of possible Soviet military actions were being discussed attracting attention of members of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization. Several of them, particularly British government, has already come to conclusion in 1978 that “the Romanians had always had strong views on the importance of their national sovereignty, and it was possible that they were now ready to put ever, greater emphasis on their independence. It was difficult to assess the significance of this development, though the picture might become clearer as a result of a public speech which President Ceaușescu due to make that day. How the Soviet Union would respond was uncertain: there were signs that they were reviewing their world-wide position generally and their policy towards the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. He was keeping the situation under close watch and would be discussing it at the Council of Ministers and in the margins of the meeting of the North Atlantic Council the following week. It was possible that the Russians might take steps against Romania which would require co-ordinated responses both by the Community and by the Alliance”⁷⁰.

Conclusions

Thus by the second half of the 70es the Romanian Communist mode of ethno-political construction has been completely shaped in form of politicized historical doctrine transformed into some sort of “official religion”. Its core was the set of ideas. There were continuous evolutions of the Romanians from ancient time as the descendants of the Dacians till modern time; their distinct valiant contribution to World and European history and civilization as the most ancient inhabitants of subcontinent; long and persistent struggle of the Romanians for their national state and unification of their land; harmful and hostile role of Great Empires in history of the Romanians; dangerous and pernicious attempts on the side of the foreigners to establish the alien to Romanian traditions political and social institutions; an existence of permanent

⁶⁹ G. Cormos, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷⁰ CM (78) 41st Conclusions. 2. Foreign Affairs – Romania. 30 November 1978, p. 5.– The National Archives, Kew. CAB 128/64/21.

threat to Romanian sovereignty and independence from abroad; a support of complex of “national insult” to the Romanians brought by those who has captured their national territories and ascribe themselves Romanian national history; an extolment of personality of incumbent “National leader” (i. e. N. Ceaușescu) as the saviour and defender of the nation with strong national colours; the establishment of “Socialist nationhood” under Ceaușescu’s guidance according to its “creator” has been developing in the new epoch, called later in early 80es as “Golden Age” (“Epoca de Aur”). Bizarre combination of different elements archaically looking but in modernized politically motivated form was to serve ideological basis of the Communist regime and the latter sought to legitimize itself both in domestic and foreign affairs by addressing to historical myths.

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ЭМИГРАЦИОННОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ВТОРОЙ РЕЧИ
ПОСПОЛИТОЙ В ПОЛЬСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ ВТОРОЙ
ПОЛОВИНЫ XX – НАЧАЛА XXI ВЕКОВ

THE STUDY OF THE EMIGRATION POLICY OF THE SECOND
RZECZPOSPOLITA REPRESENTED IN THE POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY
OF THE SECOND PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY – AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Rezumat: *Studiul politicii emigraționiste a celei de-a doua Republici Polone în istoriografia poloneză din a doua jumătate a secolului XX și începutul secolului XXI.*

În articol sunt analizate tiparele de cercetare a emigrației și a politicii emigraționiste a celei de-a doua Republici Polone de către istoriografia poloneză modernă. Accentul este pus pe identificarea tendințelor existente în domeniul investigării proceselor migraționiste care ne permit identificarea caracteristicilor de bază ale formării principiilor politicii emigraționiste polone și a mecanismelor de realizare a acestora. Obiectul analizei noastre l-au constituit studiile care permit identificarea diversilor factori care influențează procesul de articulare a politicii statului în domeniul emigrației: factorii socio-economici și politici interni, conjunctura economică mondială, politica imigraționistă a statelor spre care era direcționată emigrarea polonezilor, atitudinea variatelor grupuri sociale, politice sau civice față de emigrație etc. Expozeul istoriografic se întemeiază pe principiul cronologico-problematic, asociat cu analiza evoluției tendințelor și metodelor de abordare a temei studiate. Pentru a putea stabili eficacitatea politicii emigraționiste realizate în perioada examinată, au fost analizate lucrările dedicate reflectării situației diasporei poloneze în diferite țări ale lumii.

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the research traditions in the studies of emigration and emigration policy of the Second Rzeczpospolita reflected in modern Polish historiography. The main attention has been paid to the existing trends in the studies of emigration processes in order to find out the basic features of the Polish emigration policy formation and the mechanisms of its realization. The object of our research is the documents containing the materials that enabled us to find out different factors that*

influenced the formation of the state emigration policy: internal social economic and political causes, world economic situation, immigration policy of the countries where the Polish emigration was heading to, attitude of various public, political and social groups towards emigration etc. The given historiographic review has been done on the chronological problematic principle with the emphasis being made on the evolution of tendencies and approaches to the topic under consideration. In order to find out the effectiveness of the implementing emigration policy there have been studied the articles devoted to the state of the Polish diaspora in different countries.

Résumé : L'étude de la politique de l'émigration de la Deuxième Rzeczpospolita dans l'historiographie polonaise de la seconde moitié du XX-début du XXI siècles.

Dans cet article on a reproduit les traditions de recherches scientifiques concernant des problèmes de l'émigration et de la politique de l'émigration de la Deuxième Rzeczpospolita dans l'historiographie polonaise contemporaine. On a attiré l'attention au témoignage des tendances réelles de la recherche des processus de l'émigration qui permettront d'observer des particularités de la formation de la base de la politique de l'émigration polonaise et des mécanismes de sa réalisation. L'objet de cette analyse sont des travaux qui permettront de découvrir des facteurs différents de l'influence sur la formation de la politique d'Etat de l'émigration, comme les facteurs intérieurs socio-économiques et politiques, la conjoncture économique mondiale, la politique de l'immigration des pays où s'est dirigée l'émigration polonaise, l'attitude envers des groupes sociaux et politiques, etc. Cette revue historiographique est effectuée d'après le principe chronologico-problématique en prenant en considération l'évolution des tendances et des approches envers le sujet étudié. Pour le témoignage de l'effectivité de la politique appliquée de l'émigration on a analysé aussi des travaux dans lesquels on a décrit la situation des diasporas polonaises dans de différents pays du monde.

Keywords: *emigration, Polish emigration policy, colonial policy, immigration policy, streams of emigration.*

Введение

Важной составляющей социально-экономического уклада межвоенной Польши была эмиграция населения, обусловленная сложившимися эмиграционными традициями в довоенный период и объективными трудностями становления национальной экономики. После окончания Первой мировой войны эмиграционное движение быстро восстанавливалось. Его активизации способствовали не только инициативы самого населения, но и всяческое содействие со стороны государства, а также различных общественных и политических структур. Достаточно красноречивыми и показательными, для преобладающих в то время взглядов,

были слова известного польского исследователя эмиграционной проблематики, государственного деятеля Ю. Околовича. Еще в декабре 1917 г. он писал: «Нет никакого сомнения, что освобожденная Польша будет охвачена эмиграционным движением до тех пор, пока не исчезнут причины, которые его порождают; до тех пор, пока развитие промышленности не поднимется до такого уровня, чтобы превысить темпы натурального прироста населения, пока польское село, перенаселенное малоземельным и безземельным пролетариатом, будет составлять огромный резерв рабочих рук, не имеющих соответствующего спроса на внутреннем рынке; и наконец, пока заработки польских рабочих будут отличаться от заработков в соседних государствах, до тех пор вопрос эмиграции будет актуальным для Польского государства»¹. Задача польской эмиграционной политики, по его мнению, должна была сводиться к стремлению скорректировать эмиграционное движение до приемлемых пределов, выгодных для государства и общества².

В польской общественно-политической мысли этого периода утверждается восприятие эмиграции как важной составляющей социально-экономической жизни и своеобразного, по утверждению М. Шавлеского, «вентиля растущего общественного недомогания»³. «Вентилем безопасности» считал эмиграцию С. Гломбинский⁴.

Результатом массового эмиграционного движения конца XIX – середины XX в. стало образование многочисленной польской диаспоры в мире. Именно интерес поляков к своим соотечественникам за рубежом и тесные контакты с ними стали толчком к исследованию процесса ее формирования и положения.

В послевоенный период научный интерес к теме межвоенной эмиграции среди историков возвращается в 1960–1970-х гг. и до сегодня является предметом различного рода исследований. Несмотря на то, что в целом эмиграционная проблематика в польской историографии разработана достаточно хорошо и представлена значительным научным

¹ Okołowicz J., *Zadania polskiej polityki emigracyjnej* [Tasks of the Polish emigration], Warszawa, Nakładem wydziału Rejestracji strat wojennych przy Radzie Głównej Opiekuńczej, 1918, s. 5.

² Tamże, s. 9.

³ Szawleski M., *Kwestia emigracji w Polsce* [Emigration problems in Poland], Warszawa, Nakładem Polskiego Towarzystwa Emigracyjnego, 1927, s. 3.

⁴ Głąbiński S., *Emigracja i jej rola w gospodarstwie narodowym* [Emigration and its role in national economy], in *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu Emigracyjnego i Kolonialnego oraz Przegląd emigracyjny*, 1930, № 3, 4, s. 14.

достоянием, тема эмиграционной политики, как отдельного предмета исследования, ранее по существу не рассматривалось. Задачей данной статьи является выявление среди существующих работ посвященных различным аспектам эмиграционной проблематики наработок, которые позволяют проследить принципы и механизмы эмиграционной политики польских властей очерченного периода, а также ее эволюцию; влияние иммиграционной политики других стран на направления и характер эмиграции из Польши; региональные, социально-демографические и национальные аспекты эмиграционной политики; результативность эмиграционной политики.

Для отслеживания исследовательских традиций и направлений эмиграционной проблематики в современной польской историографии рассмотрим ее по хронологически-проблемному принципу, акцентируя внимание на аспектах выше изложенных в задачах.

Становление историографии, посвященной анализу проблем эмиграции

Геополитические перемены в Европе и мире после Второй мировой войны привели к изменению политической системы в Польше, а также характера ее взаимоотношений с мировой экономикой. Новая ситуация кардинально повлияла на миграционные приоритеты новой власти. Эмиграция населения за пределы страны, которая до этого рассматривалась как важный инструмент решения внутренних социально-экономических и политических проблем, получила новую альтернативу в виде внутренних переселений на новоприсоединенные и обезлюдненные в результате депортаций немцев территории на западе страны. Значительные возможности для внутренних миграций появились и в результате депортации украинского населения из восточных воеводств. Поэтому актуальные вопросы межвоенной эмиграционной политики отошли в прошлое и долгое время не интересовали исследователей.

В первые послевоенные годы вопрос межвоенной эмиграции в научных кругах не поднимался. По сути, во второй половине 1940–1950 гг. не появилось ни одной предметной публикации на эту тему. Внимания заслуживают лишь несколько стоящих исследований по экономической истории, существенно облегчающих задачу освещения экономических мотивов эмиграционной политики Второй Речи Посполитой. Заметное влияние на преобладание исследований экономических процессов межвоенного периода и раскрытие сущности механизмов эмиграционных

движений как составляющей глобальной экономики имело появление в 1957 г. (написанной в 1939 г.) работы Л. Ландау «Мировая экономика. Производство и общественный доход в расчетах»⁵. В последующие годы эта тема нашла свое продолжение в исследованиях З. Ландау и Е. Томашевского⁶. Ценной, учитывая исследования экономических причинно-следственных связей польской эмиграции во Францию, является и работа Ч. Бетелхейма «Экономика Франции 1919–1954 гг.»⁷.

Ситуация изменилась в последующие десятилетия. В значительной степени это связано с появлением научных центров, призванных исследовать зарубежную полонию. В середине 1960 г. создается Комиссия зарубежной колонии при Польской академии наук, которая начала выпускать с этого же года ежегодник под названием «Проблемы зарубежной колонии». Научные интересы этого издания касались широкого спектра вопросов истории и состояния польской диаспоры, при этом теоретические аспекты эмиграционных процессов и их протекания оставались и дальше без внимания. Рост интереса к польским соотечественникам за рубежом проявился в значительном количестве статей, однако комплексных научных исследований эмиграции в целом или определенных ее аспектов было немного. В основном они посвящены положению колонии во Франции, США и Германии. Лишь незначительная часть этих работ рассматривала отдельные аспекты предмета нашего исследования.

Дальнейший толчок для исследования польской диаспоры и эмиграционной тематики дало создание в середине 1970-х гг. при Ягеллонском университете Института полонийных исследований. Результатом его деятельности стало появление многочисленных статей междисциплинарной направленности, размещенных в научном журнале «Полонийное обозрение», издаваемом институтом.

Среди массива публикаций, посвященных истории и положению польской диаспоры в отдельных странах, исследователи все больше внимания уделяют освещению механизмов регулирования эмиграционного

⁵ Landau L., *Gospodarka światowa. Produkcja i dochód społeczny w liczbach. Wybór pism* [World Economy. Production and Social Income in Figures. Selection of Letters], Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957, 438 s.

⁶ Landau Z., Tomaszewski J., *Druga Rzeczpospolita : gospodarka, społeczeństwo, miejsce w świecie (sporne problemy badań)* [The Second Rzeczpospolita : production, society, and position in the world (debatable problems and studies)], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1977, 426 s.

⁷ Bettelheim Ch., *Ekonomika Francji 1919–1954* [Economy of France in 1919–1954], Warszawa, Polskie Wydawnictwo Gospodarcze, 1955, 384 s.

движения, в том числе и эмиграционной политике польских властей, а также иммиграционной политике стран поселения польских сезонных работников и переселенцев. Появляются достаточно основательные публикации, в которых комплексно раскрывается ход формирования польской диаспоры в тех или иных странах. Создается целый комплекс исследований, посвященных различным аспектам рассматриваемой нами темы. Сгруппируем их по тематическому принципу.

В 1960–1970-х гг. увеличивается количество основательных исследований социально-экономического развития Второй Речи Посполитой, благодаря которым мы имеем возможность рассмотреть эмиграцию как важный внутренний фактор эмиграционной политики. Рядом с комплексным исследованием экономических процессов рассматривается положение отдельных социальных групп и отраслей экономики. Неоспоримыми авторитетами среди исследователей этой тематики являются З. Ландау и Е. Томашевский⁸. Вопросы правового статуса рабочих сельхозпредприятий поднимает А. Айненкель⁹. Обстоятельный анализ экономического положения различных социальных и национальных групп совершил Е. Жарновский¹⁰. Важным источником исследования крестьянства этого периода является коллективная работа группы авторов под редакцией И. Ингола «История польских крестьян», третий том которой посвящен межвоенному периоду¹¹.

Появляется ряд публикаций, в которых экономические процессы во Второй Речи Посполитой рассматриваются в непосредственной связи с мировыми экономическими тенденциями, а эмиграция из Польши – как

⁸ Landau Z., Tomaszewski J., *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918-1939* [Description of the history of the Polish economy 1918–1939], Warszawa, 1962, 352 s.; Landau Z., Tomaszewski J., *Robotnicy przemysłowi w Polsce : Materialne warunki bytu. 1918-1939* [Industrial workers in Poland : material sides of being], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1971, 760 s.; Landau Z., Tomaszewski J., *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918-1939* [Description of the history of the Polish economy in 1918-1939], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1971, 321 s.

⁹ Ajnenkiel A., *Położenie prawne robotników rolnych w Polsce (1918-1939)* [Legal rights and position of peasants in Poland (1918–1939)], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1962, 464 s.

¹⁰ Żarnowski J., *Spółeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* [Territory of the Second Rzeczypospolita], Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973, 434 s.

¹¹ *Historia chłopów polskich. T. 3. Okres II Rzeczypospolitej okupacji hitlerowskiej / w oprac. wzięli udział J. Borkowski [et al.] ; oprac. zbiorowe pod red. Stefana Ingłota* [History of the Polish people. V. 3. Description of the occupation of the Second Rzeczypospolita by Hitler / studies done by J. Borkowski], Warszawa, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1980, 715 s.

неотъемлемая составляющая внутренней социально-экономической жизни и мирового миграционного движения¹².

Развитие исследований вопросов, связанных с эмиграционной политикой польских властей

Повышение научного интереса в 1960–1970-х гг. к теме польской диаспоры и деятельность призванных для ее исследования упомянутых двух научно-исследовательских центров обусловили появление многочисленных публикаций, посвященных полонии в Европе и Америке. Внимание к последней по количеству публикаций заметно преобладает.

Комплексные исследования истории и положения поляков на Американском континенте осуществили В. Вуйцик¹³, А. Брожек¹⁴, С. Добасевич¹⁵, М. Парадовский¹⁶. А. Пилх¹⁷ исследует общие закономерности

¹² Tomaszewski J., *Czynniki wpływające na migracje zewnętrzne ludności w Polsce 1918–1939* [Factors influencing the foreign work migration of people in Poland in 1918–1939], in *Mechanizmy polskich migracji zarobkowych*. Pod. red. C. Bobińskiej, Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1976, 214 s.; Żeglücki J. *Migracje zewnętrzne w latach 1918–1939* [Foreign migration in 1918–1939], in *Wiadomości Statystyczne*, 1969, № 7, s. 37–41; Hajduk B., *Z problematyki polskiej reemigracji i emigracji przez port gdański w latach 1919–1931* [Problems of reemigration and migration via the port of Gdansk in 1919–1931], in *Zapiski Historyczne*, 1975, №1, s. 53–80.; Pilch A., *Migracja zarobkowa z Galicji w XIX i XX wieku (do 1918 roku)* [Work migration in Galicia in the 19th–20th centuries (till 1918)], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1975, № 2, s. 5–15.; *Mechanizmy polskich migracji zarobkowych / Prace XI Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich. Toruń, 7.IX. 1974 r.* [Mechanisms of the Polish work migrations / Works of the participants of the XIth meeting of the Polish Historians. Toruń, 7.IX. 1974], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1976, 218 s.; Leonski J., *Zagadnienie migracji w polskiej myśli socjologicznej (do 1939 roku)* [Representation of the migration issues in the Polish sociology (till 1939)], Poznań, UAM w Poznaniu, Ser. Sociologia 7, 1979, 109 s.

¹³ Wójcik W., *Polacy w Brazylii. Argentynie i Urugwaju w XIX i XX wieku*, [The Poles in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay in the 19th and 20th century] in *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1972, Z. 2, s. 87–101.

¹⁴ Brożek A., *Polonia amerykańska 1854–1939* [The Poles in America 1854–1939], Warszawa, Interpress, 1977, 271 s.

¹⁵ Dobosiewicz Z., *Polonia w Ameryce Łacińskiej* [The Poles in Latin America], Lublin, 1977, 247 s.

¹⁶ Paradowska M., *Polacy w Ameryce Południowej* [The Poles in Southern America], Wrocław, 1977, 315 s.

¹⁷ Pilch A., *Ogólne prawidłowości emigracji z ziem polskich. Próba typologii i syntezy, in Stan i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi* [General justification of

польской эмиграции и делает попытку ее типологизации и обобщения. Среди исследователей эмиграции в Бразилию М. Лепецкий поднимает общие вопросы истории польской диаспоры в Паране¹⁸. М. Кула анализирует успехи и неудачи польских поселенцев в Бразилии¹⁹. Тему иммиграционной политики бразильских властей времен президента Варгаса поднимают А. Класа²⁰ и М. Красинский²¹. Отдельные публикации касаются польской эмиграции и в других странах Американского континента. О выходцах из Польши в Аргентине пишет А. Лукомский²², на Кубе – М. Кула²³, в Канаде – В. Турек²⁴, в США – М. Смола²⁵. Среди публикаций, которые позволяют глубже воссоздать особенности иммиграционной политики США, стоит отметить работу А. Святковского²⁶.

Не остается в стороне исследование истории колонии в Европе. Вопрос польской европейской эмиграции изучает К. Муржиновская²⁷. Х. Яновская

emigration from the Polish lands. An attempt of typology and synthesis], Wrocław, Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976, 671 s.

¹⁸ Lepecki M., *Parana i Polacy* [Parana and the Poles], Warszawa, 1962, 47 s.

¹⁹ Kula M., *Sukcesy i porażki osadników w Brazylii* [Successes and failures of the settlers in Brazil], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1977, Z. 2, s. 75–81.

²⁰ Klasa A., *Akcja nacionalizacyjna w Brazylii a sytuacja Polonii brazylijskiej w okresie poprzedzającym wybuch II wojny światowej* [Processes of nationalization in Brazil and the situation of the Brazilian Poles before the beginning of the second world war], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, Z. 1, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1975, s. 113–121.

²¹ Krasiński M., *Sytuacja zbiorowości polonijnych i innych grup imigranckich w Brazylii w dobie ustaw nacionalistycznych prezydenta Vargasa* [The situation of the Polish and other national communities of immigrants in Brazil at the times of nationalization held by president Vargasa], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, Wrocław-Warszawa, Wyd-wo PAN, 1979, Z. 1 (11), s. 41–52.

²² Łukomski A., *50 lat w Argentynie* [50 years in Argentina], in *Pamiętniki emigrantów : 1878–1958*, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1960. s. 786–787.

²³ Kula M., *Emigracja polska na Kubie w okresie międzywojennym* [The Polish emigration on Cuba at the period between the wars], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1975, Z. 2, s. 71–84.

²⁴ Turek W., *Emigracja polska w Kanadzie* [The Polish emigration in Canada], in *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, 1960, № 1, s. 51–94.

²⁵ Smoła M., Sarapata W., *Polska współczesna emigracja zarobkowa w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Wstępne opracowanie wyników badań empirycznych* [Modern Polish work emigration in the United States. Preliminary studies of the results of empirical researches], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1975, № 2, s. 131–145.

²⁶ Świątkowski A., *Amerykańska polityka społeczna wobec imigrantów* [American social policy and attitude towards immigrants], Kraków, Państw. Wydaw. Naukowe nakł. UJ, 1980, 206 s.

²⁷ Murzynowska K., *Polska emigracja europejska w latach 1870–1923* [European Polish emigration in 1870–1923], in *Stan i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi*, Wrocław-Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976, 671 s.

занимается исследованием межвоенной эмиграции в Бельгии²⁸ и Франции²⁹. Вопрос сезонной эмиграции на Западном Поморье поднимает А. Понятовская³⁰. Е. Милчарек исследует сезонную эмиграцию из Виленского воеводства³¹. Важными для понимания политического подтекста польско-немецких эмиграционных договоренностей является исследование польско-немецких отношений, осуществленные Е. Красуцким³².

Результатом научных работ послевоенной польской историографии стало появление в 1980-х гг. многочисленных фундаментальных обобщающих работ, посвященных довоенной эмиграции. Особого внимания заслуживают монографии Х. Яновской «Экономическая эмиграция из Польши в 1918–1939 гг.»³³ и Е. Колодзея «Батрацкая эмиграция из Польши в 1918–1939 гг.»³⁴. Авторы поднимают комплекс касающихся нашей темы вопросов, таких как факторы миграционной политики, функционирование миграционных механизмов, польская эмиграционная политика, иммиграционная политика западных стран, значение эмиграции для Польши и т. д.

Следует упомянуть авторитетные исследования межвоенной эмиграции и полонии в отдельных странах. Их авторы частично анализируют иммиграционную политику и законодательство других стран, польскую эмиграционную политику относительно этих стран, причины эмиграции и реэмиграции, положение работников и переселенцев и т. д. Тему польской диаспоры в Латинской Америке и Бразилии поднимает

²⁸ Janowska H., *Badania belgijskie nad emigracją polską* [Belgian studies of the Polish emigration], in *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, 1961, № 2, s. 236–237.

²⁹ Janowska H., *Polska emigracja zarobkowa we Francji 1919–1939* [Polish work emigration in France in 1919–1939], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1964, 320 s.

³⁰ Poniatowska A., *Polska emigracja sezonowa na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1919–1932* [Polish seasonal emigration on the Western Pomeranian], in *Problemy Polonii Zagranicznej*, 1964/65, № 4, s. 27–44.

³¹ Milczarek J., *Emigracja zarobkowa z Wieluńskiego (1918–1939)* [Work emigration from Wielńo province in (1918–1939)], in *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne*, 1977, №19, s. 5–30.

³² Krasuski J., *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie 1918–1932* [Polish-German relationship in 1918–1932], Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1975, 548 s.

³³ Janowska H., *Emigracja zarobkowa z Polski 1918–1939* [Work emigration from Poland in 1918–1939], Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981, 340 s.

³⁴ Kołodziej E., *Wychodnictwo zarobkowe z Polski 1918–1939* [Work emigrants from Poland in 1918–1939], Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1982, 291 s.

М. Кула³⁵ и М. Парадовский³⁶, в Канаде – А. Речинская³⁷, в США – М. Франциц³⁸. Активно заполняется историографическая ниша по исследованию межвоенной польской эмиграции в европейских странах. К теме польской эмиграции в Бельгии и Голландии обращается В. Эдер³⁹, в Дании – Б. Гайдук⁴⁰ и Е. Латер-Ходилова⁴¹, во Франции – В. Сладковский⁴².

Большое значение для развития исследований общих проблем эмиграционной тематики имеют основательные коллективные издания под редакцией А. Пилха⁴³, А. Томчака⁴⁴ и В. Вжесинского⁴⁵. Отдельно следует упомянуть публикации, авторы которых рассматривают польскую

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- ³⁵ Kula M., *Polonia brazylijska* [Brazilian Poles], Warszawa, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1981, 230 s.; *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej* [Poles activity in Latin America], red. M. Kula, Wrocław, 1983, 159 s.
- ³⁶ Paradowska M., *Podróżnicy i emigranci. Szkice z dziejów polskiego wychodźstwa w Ameryce Południowej* [Travellers and emigrants. An overview of the activity of the Polish emigrants in South America], Warszawa, 1984, 34 s.
- ³⁷ Reczyńska A., *Emigracja z Polski do Kanady w okresie międzywojennym* [Emigration from Poland to Canada during the time between the wars], Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź, Wydaw. Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1986, 223 s.
- ³⁸ Frančić M., *Emigracja z Polski do Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki od 1918 do lat siedemdziesiątych XX w.* [Emigration from Poland to the USA from 1918 till the 1970s], in *Polonia Amerykańska. Przeszłość i współczesność*. Pod redakcją Hieronima Kubiaka, Wrocław-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź, 1988, s. 46–91.
- ³⁹ Eder W., *Dzieje Polonii belgijskiej 1919–1980 : (w zarysie)* [The activity of the Belgian Poles in 1919–1980: an overview], Warszawa, Epoka, 1983, 205 s.; Eder W. *Wychodźstwo ludności polskiej do Holandii w latach 1908–1938* [Polish population emigration to Holland from 1908 to 1938], in *Przegląd Polonijny*, 1985, № 3, s. 43–55.
- ⁴⁰ Hajduk B., *Polskie wychodźstwo sezonowe do Danii i jego reemigracja w latach 1918–1931* [Polish seasonal emigrants to Denmark and their remigration in 1918–1931], in *Komunikaty Instytutu Bałtyckiego*, 1983, № 35, s. 117–143.
- ⁴¹ Later-Chodyłowa E., *Czynniki „przyciągające” w polskiej emigracji zarobkowej do Danii w latach 1893–1929* [Reasons of “attraction” for the Polish work emigration to Denmark in 1893–1929], in *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1985, № 4, s. 9–23.
- ⁴² Śladkowski W., *Polacy we Francji* [The Poles in France], Lublin, Wydawnictwo Polonia, 1985, 223 s.
- ⁴³ *Emigracja z ziem Polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)* [Emigration from the Polish lands in the XVIII–XX centuries], pod. red. A. Pilcha, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984, 537 s.
- ⁴⁴ *Polska – Francja = Pologne – France: dziesięć wieków związków politycznych, kulturalnych i gospodarczych = dix siècles de relations politiques, culturelles et économiques* [Poland – France = Pologne – France: centuries of the political, cultural and economic relationships], wstęp i red. nauk. A. Tomczak, Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1983, 629 s.
- ⁴⁵ *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Polaków w świecie* [Numbers and location of the Poles in the world], Cz. 2, pod red. Wojciecha Wrzesińskiego, Wrocław, Wydaw. UW, 1981, 585 s.

межвоенную эмиграцию в контексте миграционных традиций, глобальных процессов⁴⁶ и локальных движений⁴⁷. Иммиграционную политику стран польской батрацкой и поселенческой эмиграции анализирует А. Брожек⁴⁸.

Новые тенденции в изучении проблем польской диаспоры

Общественно-политические трансформации в Польше и Центрально-Восточной Европе конца 1980-х – начала 1990-х гг. усилили интерес к польской диаспоре и эмиграционной тематике. Прослеживается четкая тенденция эволюции исследовательской направленности и смена поколений исследователей. Если в 1990-е гг. доминировало исследование полонийной тематики, то в начале 2000-х гг. снова вызывают научный интерес исследования эмиграционного процесса и эмиграционной политики.

В начале 1990-х гг. исследование природы и механизмов межвоенного эмиграционного движения отходит на второй план. Исключением стал опубликованный в 1990 г. сборник «Польская эмиграция» под редакцией А. Пачковского и Б. Пушчевича⁴⁹, авторы которого скорее обобщают наработки предыдущих лет. Вопрос перспектив исследования еврейской эмиграции из Польши в Латинскую Америку поднимает Р. Чхнепф⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ Maryański A., *Migracje w świecie* [Migration in the world], Warszawa, Państw. Wydaw. Naukowe, 1984, 205 s.; Ichnatowicz I., *Migracje* [Migration], in *Spółeczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku*, Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1988, s. 431–438.; Stpiczyński T., *Migracje ludności w latach 1918-1987 w badaniach GUS* [Migration of the people in 1918-1987 in the studies of GUS], in *Wiadomości Statystyczne*, 1988, № 7, s. 22–26.

⁴⁷ Opas T. *Emigracja zarobkowa z powiatu tarnobrzeskiego w latach 1919–1939* [Work mi-gration from the Tarnobrzesk province in 1919–1939], in *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, 1981, № 42, s. 127–128.; Walaszek A., *Reemigracja ze Stanów Zjednoczonych do Polski po I wojnie światowej (1919-1924)* [Remigration from the United States to Poland after the end of the WWI (1919–1924)], in „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ” 655: *Prace Polonijne*, 1983, № 7, 182 s.; Pędzik B., *Emigracja sezonowa Kaszubów bytowskich w drugiej połowie XIX i pierwszej połowie XX w.* [Seasonal emigration of the Kashubs in the second half of the 19th century and first part of the 20th century], in *Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne* 25: 1983, (druk) 1986, s. 59–67.

⁴⁸ Brożek A., *Polityka imigracyjna w państwach docelowych emigracji polskiej (1850–1939)* [Immigration policy on the territories of Polish emigration (1850–1939)], in *Emigracja z ziem Polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)*, pod. red. A. Pilcha, Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984. s. 120–139.

⁴⁹ *Polska emigracja* [Polish emigration], Część I, praca zbiorowa pod redakcją A. Paszkowskiego, B. Puszczewicza, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Nauczylskiego Radiowo-Telewizyjnego, 1990, 91 s.

⁵⁰ Schnepf R., *Emigracja Żydów z Polski do Ameryki Łacińskiej 1918–1939. Uwagi wstępne*

Основной массив единоличных и коллективных публикаций 1990-х гг. посвящен истории и положению польской диаспоры. Большинство из них имеют для нашей темы исследования вспомогательный характер в вопросах иммиграционной политики, нормативно-правового урегулирования эмиграции и положения эмигрантов, отслеживания результатов польской эмиграционной политики, географии межвоенной эмиграции и т. д. Среди работ, в которых характеризирована польская диаспора в Европе в целом, следует отметить коллективный труд «Полония в Европе» под редакцией Б. Шидловской-Цегловой⁵¹ и справочник Дж. Бычковского⁵².

Продолжается дальнейшее исследование истории польской диаспоры в отдельно взятых странах. Положение выходцев из Польши в США исследует Т. Радзик⁵³, в Дании – Е. Ольшевский⁵⁴, в странах Латинской Америки – Т. Палечный⁵⁵. Свообразным промежуточным итогом полонийных наработок стало появление в 2001 г. еще одного сборника научных трудов под редакцией А. Валашека «Польская диаспора»⁵⁶. Среди его авторов В. Эдер, М. Кула, Е. Латер-Ходилова, А. Речинская, Т. Радзик и другие, которые представляют новые обобщения с ранее наработанной тематики.

Дальнейшее исследование полонии сопровождается значительным расширением источниковой научной базы и миграционной тематики. Этому, в первую очередь, способствовала основательная работа польских

do projektu badawczego [Jewish emigration from Poland to Latin America in 1918–1939. Introduction to the research project], in *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1990, №1, s. 55–65.

⁵¹ *Polonia w Europie* [Poland in Europe], praca zbiorowa, pod red. B. Szydłowskiej-Cegłowej, Poznań, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1992, 745 s.

⁵² Byczkowski J., *Polacy w Europie : informator o Polonii i Polakach w Europie w XX wieku* [The Poles in Europe : a reference book about Poland and the Poles in Europe in the 20th century], Opole, Wspólnota Polska, 1994, 168 s.

⁵³ Radzik T., *Polonia amerykańska wobec Polski: 1918–1939* [American Poles and the Poles: 1918–1939], Lublin, Polonia, 1990, 413 s.

⁵⁴ Olszewski E., *Emigracja polska w Danii 1893–1993* [Polish emigration in Denmark (1893–1993)], Warszawa-Lublin, Wydaw. Instytutu Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, "John and John", 1993, 658 s.

⁵⁵ *Emigracja, Polonia, Ameryka Łacińska : procesy emigracji i osadnictwa Polaków w Ameryce Łacińskiej i ich odzwierciedlenie w świadomości społecznej* [Poland, Latin America : emigration processes and the Polish settlements in Latin America and their reflection in the social consciousness], red. T. Paleczny, Warszawa, Centrum Studiów Latinoamerykańskich, Uniwersytet Warszawski, CESLA, 1996, 256 s.

⁵⁶ *Polska diaspora* [Polish diaspora], red. nauk. Adam Walaszek, Kraków, Wydaw. Literackie, 2001, 605 s.

исследователей в разных странах мира. Все чаще авторы поднимают вопрос политики Польши в отношении соотечественников и отношение к польским эмигрантам местной власти. Многие возвращаются и к предыдущему опыту, в том числе и к межвоенному.

По-новому посмотреть на опыт регулирования человеческих перемещений подтолкнули и активные эмиграционные процессы в Польше 1990–2000-х гг. Они дали мощный толчок для новых социологических, экономических, юридически-правовых, политологических, культурологических исследований этого явления. Значительные научно-методологические, междисциплинарные наработки и подходы позволили более полно и по-новому взглянуть и на межвоенные миграционную политику Польши и других стран. Как следствие в течение последнего десятилетия заметно новое оживление интересов межвоенной эмиграционной тематикой.

Основательную комплексную работу по анализу касающихся нашей темы проблем «Государство и эмиграция: отношение народных партий к эмиграции крестьян в страны Латинской Америки (до 1939 года)» написал Е. Мазурек⁵⁷. Он поднял вопрос причин и хода эмиграции в Латинскую Америку, общественно-политических настроений касательно эмиграции, польской эмиграционной политики, отношение к эмиграции крестьянских партий и народников. Эволюцию иммиграционной политики стран Латинской Америки отслеживает А. Каганец-Каменская⁵⁸. Детальный анализ политики Германии и Польши относительно сезонной эмиграции польских рабочих и ее правовых основ совершил В. Спаленяк⁵⁹. Механизмы

⁵⁷ Mazurek J., *Kraj a emigracja : ruch ludowy wobec wychodźstwa chłopskiego do krajów Ameryki Łacińskiej (do 1939 roku)* [The land and emigration : the people's movement towards rural emigrants to the lands of Latin America (till 1939)], Warszawa, Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2006, 479 s.

⁵⁸ Kaganiec-Kamieńska A., *Polityka imigracyjna wybranych państw Ameryki Łacińskiej na przełomie XIX i XX w.* [Immigration policy in some countries of Latin America at the end of the 19th century beginning of the 20th], in *Studia migracyjne, Przegląd Polonijny*, 2012, № 4, s. 5–14.

⁵⁹ Spaleniak W., *Prawno-polityczne aspekty emigracji sezonowej polskich robotników rolnych do Niemiec w latach 1919–1939* [Legal-political aspects of the seasonal emigration of the Polish agricultural workers to Germany in 1919–1939], in *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Lublin-Polonia. Sectio K.*, Vol. IX., 2002, s. 47–64; Spaleniak W., *Struktura społeczna wychodźstwa sezonowego polskich robotników rolnych do Niemiec w latach 1919–1938* [Social structure of the seasonal emigration of the Polish agricultural workers to the Germans in 1919–1938], in http://got26.internetdsl.tpnet.pl/public/attachments/1008_facta2.indd.pdf; Spaleniak W., *Emigracja sezonowa polskich robotników rolnych do Niemiec (1919–*

осуществления польской сезонной эмиграции в Германии исследовала Е. Кемпинская⁶⁰. Вопрос консульской и правовой опеки над эмигрантами поднимают Й. Сличевская-Гибасевич⁶¹ и П. Фиктус⁶².

Отдельного внимания заслуживает ряд последних публикаций, посвященных политологическим и правовым исследованиям эмиграционной политики Второй Речи Посполитой. В 2005 г. была опубликована работа А. Кицингер «Эмиграционная политика Второй Речи Посполитой»⁶³. Автор на основе существующих исторических исследований, научно-теоретических публикаций и нормативно-правовых документов межвоенного периода поднимает такие проблемы: факторы миграционной политики, цели и средства польской эмиграционной политики, международные эмиграционные соглашения, колониальная и колонизационная идея в польской эмиграционной политике, польская эмиграционная политика на фоне политики других стран. Несмотря на незначительный объем, обзорно-описательный характер существующих работ, а также отсутствие архивной источниковой базы, автор одним из первых рассматривает как отдельный предмет исследования эмиграционную политику Второй Речи Посполитой.

Значительный интерес исследователей разных областей знаний вызвала тема колониальной политики Второй Речи Посполитой, о которой большинство предыдущих исследователей вспоминало лишь косвенно и рассматривало ее как научно-теоретические наработки определенной, политически ангажированной среды, оторванной от реалий. Анализ эмиграционной политики межвоенной польской власти свидетельствует же об

1939) [Seasonal emigration of the Polish agricultural workers to Germany in 1919–1939], Zamość, Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Szymona Szymonowica, Wydawnictwo Officina Simonidis, 2010, 353 s..

⁶⁰ Kępińska E., *Migracje sezonowe z Polski do Niemiec. Mechanizmy rekrutacji, rola rodziny i zróżnicowanie według płci*, [Seasonal migration from Poland to Germany. Recruitment mechanisms, the role of the family and national differentiation], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008, 320 s.

⁶¹ Słyszewska-Gibasiewicz Jo., *Opieka Konsulatów RP nad emigrantami polskimi w latach 1918–1926* [The care of the Polish consulates over the Polish emigrants in 1918–1926], in *Studia Łskie*, 2011, № 13, s. 229–243.

⁶² Fiktus P., *Ochrona prawna emigrantów w latach 1918–1927 w II RP* [The legal protection of emigrants in 1918–1927 in II RP], in <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/29205/009.pdf>.

⁶³ Kicingier A., *Polityka emigracyjna II Rzeczypospolitej* [Emigration policy in Second Rzeczypospolita], in *Central European Forum for Migration Research. Working Paper*, Warszawa, CEFMR, 2005, № 4, 82 s.

последовательном воплощении колониальной идеи на практике. Подтверждением этого являются последние исследования М. А. Ковальского⁶⁴, М. Старчевского⁶⁵, Л. Заменцкого⁶⁶, П. Фиктуса⁶⁷.

Выводы

Несмотря на значительное внимание исследователей к теме польской эмиграции и диаспоры, тема эмиграционной политики Второй Речи Посполитой оставалась мало исследованной. Ближе всего к этой теме подошли Э. Колодзей и А. Кицингер. Все же мало исследован вопрос роли эмиграции в социально-экономическом укладе межвоенной Польши, отношения различных социальных групп и политических партий к эмиграции, основ и принципов межвоенной эмиграционной политики и механизмов ее реализации. Новых подходов и оценок требует

⁶⁴ Kowalski M. A., *Kolonie Rzeczypospolitej* [Colonies of Rzeczpospolita], Warszawa, Bellona, 2005, 368 s.; Kowalski M. A., *Siła Polski leży w koloniach* [The power of Poland is in its colonies], in *Fronda*, №39, 2006, s. 72–78; Kowalski M. A., *Polskie postulaty kolonialne na łamach „Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego”* [The Polish colonial postulates on the pages of the „Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego”], in http://cyfrowaetnografia.pl/Content/4651/Strony+od+antropolog_wobec_ost-21a-M.A.Kowalski.pdf

⁶⁵ Starczewski M., *Idea „Nowej Polski” w środowisku lwowskich narodowych demokratów. Racjonalna kolonizacja w duchu narodowym* [The Idea of „New Poland” in the vision of Lviv people’s democrats: rational colonization in the national spirit], in *Polskie Kresy Wschodnie i ludzie stamtąd. Materiały konferencyjne*, red. V. Dzianisava, P. Juszkiewicz, J. Staśkowiak, Warszawa, 2010, s. 249–256.

⁶⁶ Zamecki Ł., *Aspekt surowcowy polskich działań emigracyjno-kolonialnych w latach trzydziestych XX wieku* [Resource aspect in the Polish emigration colonial actions in the 1930s], in *Społeczeństwo i Polityka*, №2(23), 2010, s. 9–26.

⁶⁷ Fiktus P., *Liga Morska i Kolonialna wobec kwestii żydowskiej w latach 1938–1939* [Naval and colonial league and the Jewish question in 1938–1939], in <http://histmag.org/Liga-Morska-i-Kolonialna-wobec-kwestii-zydowskiej-w-latach-1938-1939-530>; Fiktus P., *„Nowa Polska” w polskiej myśli kolonialnej do 1939 r.* [„Nowa Polska” in the Polish colonial thought till 1939], in <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=40280&from=FBC>; Fiktus P., *Pojęcie „kolonii” oraz „kolonializmu” w dyskursie polityczno-prawnym Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej* [Definitions of „colony” and „colonialism” in the political legal discourse of the Naval and colonial league], in <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication?id=40674&from=&dirids=1&tab=1&lp=1&QI=F55F4B5E40D10F38536C55193715ADD8-18>; Fiktus P., *Myśl emigracyjno-kolonialna w poglądach Leopolda Caro w latach 1908–1914* [The idea of emigration and colonies in the views of Leopard Caro in 1908–1914], in <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=32193&from=PIONIER%20DLF>.

эмиграционная политика Второй Речи Посполитой в отношении национальных меньшинств, которая выступала действенным механизмом изменений социальной и национальной структуры населения, особенно в регионах компактного проживания национальных меньшинств. Более детального анализа требует исследование влияния эмиграционной политики на изменение численности и характера миграционных перемещений населения в восточных воеводствах.

Исследование данной темы имеет и практическое значение для государств, которые повторяют исторический опыт Второй Речи Посполитой. Освещение основ, инструментов и механизмов эмиграционной политики страны, которая проходила сложный процесс интеграции в глобальное экономическое и политическое пространство, опыт международно-правового урегулирования миграционного движения и защиты прав своих соотечественников за рубежом, реализация внешних национальных приоритетов заполняют пробел и в украинской исторической и общественно-политической мысли, а также распространяют опыт соседнего государства в решение актуальных для украинского общества и власти вопросов эмиграционной политики.

THE ETHNIC CONFLICT IN THE PREŠEVO VALLEY. THE ROLE OF THE ORTHODOX RELIGION IN THE CONFLICT

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Rezumat: Conflictul etnic din Valea Preševo. Rolul religiei ortodoxe în conflict.

Scopul acestei lucrări este să determine rolul creștinismului ortodox în conflictul inter-etnic sârbo-albanez din așa-numita Valea Preševo. Acest conflict între societățile divizate din punct de vedere etnic și religios, a escaladat către o fază militară la sfârșitul secolului XX. Datele referitoare la rolul creștinismului ortodox în acest conflict și perceperea caracteristicilor sale de către localnicii sârbi au fost dobândite prin cercetarea de teren efectuată în septembrie 2011. Lucrarea este împărțită în patru secțiuni. Prima dintre ele cuprinde o descriere generală a conflictului sârbo-albanez în așa-numita Valea Preševo; a doua parte constă într-un cadru teoretic asupra rolului religiei în conflictele inter-etnice; a treia secțiune conține metodologia cercetării de teren, iar a patra parte se referă la analiza datelor obținute pe teren. Analiza datelor dobândite a fost organizată în patru fluxuri tematice: (a) caracterul defensiv al religiei ortodoxe, (b) Biserica Ortodoxă Sârbă ca instituție națională și religioasă, (c) percepția musulmanilor localnici și nou-veniți, (d) perceperea rolului religiei și a altor factori în conflictul inter-etnic local. Concluzia desprinsă din acest articol este aceea potrivit căreia religia joacă un rol neglijabil în conflictul discutat, care a fost în mare parte influențat de factori economici și ideologici. Cu toate acestea, religia poate fi folosită, în mod ingenios, drept instrument într-un conflict. În plus, în discursul părții sârbe este vizibil gradul crescut al victimizării (iar sârbii sunt victimele), acesta conținând atât motive naționale, cât și religioase.

Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to determine the role of the Orthodox Christianity in the ethnic Serbian-Albanian conflict in the so-called Preševo Valley. This conflict between ethnically and religiously divided societies escalated to a military phase at the end of the 20th century. The data on the role of the Orthodox Christianity in the conflict and the perception of its characteristics by local Serbs was acquired through the field research conducted in September 2011. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section includes a general description of the Serbian-Albanian conflict in the so-called Preševo Valley; the second part consists of a theoretical framework of the role of religion in ethnic conflicts; the third section contains a field research methodology; and the fourth, main part consists of the analysis of the field data. The analysis of the acquired data was organised in four thematic streams: (a) the defensive character of the Orthodox religion, (b) the Serbian*

Orthodox Church as a national and religious institution, (c) the perception of local and newcomer Muslims, (d) the perception of the role of religion and other factors in the local ethnic conflict. The conclusion coming from this article is that the religion plays a negligible role in the discussed conflict which was mostly influenced by economic and ideological factors. However, religion can be cleverly instrumentalised in a conflict. Additionally, on the Serbian side, there is visible an increased victimisation discourse (where Serbs are the victims) containing both national and religious motives.

Résumé : Le conflit ethnique de la Vallée Preševo. Le rôle de la religion orthodoxe dans le conflit.

Le but de l'ouvrage ci-joint est celui de déterminer le rôle du christianisme orthodoxe dans le conflit inter-ethnique serbo-albanais de l'ainsi-nommée Vallée Preševo. Ce conflit entre les sociétés divisées du point de vue ethnique et religieux, escalada vers une phase militaire vers la fin du XX-ème siècle. On avait acquis les données faisant référence au rôle du christianisme orthodoxe en ce conflit et la perception de ses traits par les autochtones Serbes à l'intermédiaire des recherches de terrain effectuées en septembre 2011. L'ouvrage est divisé en quatre sections. La première de celles-ci comprend une description générale du conflit serbo-albanais de l'ainsi-nommée Vallée Preševo; la seconde partie consiste dans un cadre théorique sur le rôle de la religion dans les conflits inter-ethniques; la troisième section contient la méthodologie de la recherche de terrain, pendant que la quatrième fait référence à l'analyse des données y obtenues. On organisa l'analyse des données acquises en quatre flux thématiques: (a) le caractère défensif de la religion orthodoxe, (b), L'Eglise Orthodoxe Serbe en tant qu'institution nationale et religieuse, (c) la perception des musulmans autochtones et récemment arrivés, (d) la perception du rôle de la religion et des autres facteurs dans le conflit inter-ethnique local. On tira de l'article ci-joint la conclusion que la religion joue un rôle négligeable dans le conflit qu'on vient de discuter et que les facteurs économiques et idéologiques l'influencèrent. Malgré cela, on peut utiliser la religion, de manière ingénieuse, comme instrument dans un conflit. De plus, on peut apercevoir dans le discours de la partie serbe le degré élevé de la victimisation (les Serbes sont les victimes), contenant des motifs nationaux, mais aussi religieux.

Keywords: Preševo Valley, ethnic conflict, religion, Serbs, Albanians

Introduction

The ethnic conflict in the so-called Preševo Valley (it is not an official name as it being used mostly by Albanians) and the Medveđa (Медвеђа) municipality, contrary to the Kosovo conflict (especially during its military phase in 1999) or the civil war in Macedonia (2001), did not engage wider public attention. However, this was very much 'real' conflict, which despite its smaller scale, turned out to be an armed conflict. Because two parties engaged in the conflict

were constituted of two ethnic groups of different religious affiliations, during our field research conducted in 2011¹, we wanted to examine whether the Orthodox religion (we did not examine Islam – our interviewee group did not include Albanians) is a relevant independent variable explaining causes and the dynamics of the conflict. This issue is particularly interesting because of the common opinion that the most of Balkan conflicts has a clear religious aspect. This paper is divided into four parts. The first part refers to the general characteristics of the conflict, the second part includes theoretical discussion on the role of religion in ethnic conflicts, the third part consists of a brief methodology of the field research, and the last part is to discuss the field research results.

1. The Serbian-Albanian conflict in the so-called Preševo Valley – general characteristics.

The main point of the analysis included in this paper - the Serbian-Albanian ethnic conflict stretched over areas of the so-called Preševo Valley and the Medveđa – a town located to the North of the Valley. These are Serbian territories bordering with Kosovo and Macedonia (they are located in a ‘sack’ between Kosovo, Macedonia and Bulgaria) inhabited by a numerous Albanian population which constitutes a vast majority in Preševo itself. The focus of this article is on the ‘hottest period’ of the discussed conflict, which took place at the end of the 20th century. This paper presents the main preconditions and causes of the conflict together with the characteristics of its dynamics.

A. The causes and preconditions of the conflict

The Serbian-Albanian conflict needs to be analysed in a wider context of a line of wars fought from 1991, in the areas of former Yugoslavia. They were symbolically started by a (in)famous speech by Slobodan Milošević given to his compatriots in April 1987 in Kosovo. Responding to complaints regarding the abuse from the Albanians, he said: “*No one should dare to beat you again!*”². Since then the Serbian-Albanian conflict simmering since 70-ties entered a new phase. The main arena of the conflict was Kosovo; however, it also influenced greatly Albanians living in Macedonia and in the so-called Preševo Valley. Analysing the

¹ The research was conducted in order to fulfil aims of the Grant no. NN 116117639 (2010-2012) from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education: *The role and meaning of religion in ethnic conflicts in Balkans. The case of the Orthodox Church in the Serbian-Kosovian-Macedonian border territories.*

² K. Wydra, M. Żyła, *Hotel Prisztina*, in „Znak”, 2007, nr. 628, p. <http://www.miesiecznik.znak.com.pl/Tekst/pokaz/9571/3>).

development of the insurgency in Preševo, Medveđa and Bujanovac (Valley), it needs to be noted that despite the hostilities being an offshoot of the Kosovo conflict, it had also direct local preconditions and causes.

Firstly, the fact of discrimination of the Albanian population by the local and regional authorities (less likely by ordinary Serbs) in the public sphere seems undisputed. The manifestation of this was sacking Albanians from public administration jobs, education and cultural organisations and replacing them with Serbs (few years later this situation was reversed). For example, in 1989, 11 Albanian teachers were fired from their respective schools and were accused of supporting an irredenta and subversive actions.

In addition, functioning of Albanian political parties and social and cultural societies was severely obstructed. For example, in 1990 a candidate of the first Albanian party in the Valley – Ramadan Ahmeti from Bujanovac, was sacked from his workplace on the basis of his one day absence due to his political campaigning³.

Secondly, there was an issue of the regional authorities' politics regarding the public investment. Over a long period of time transport routes and other public infrastructure was modernised, but only in areas populated by Serbs, at the same time allowing for continuous degradation infrastructure in regions inhabited by Albanians. The same case was with locating new workplaces where mainly Serbs were employed⁴. The 'economic discrimination' seems to be very significant, if not the most important cause of the disused conflict. Despite of the extent of the 'economic discrimination', it needs to be noted that the area of the Preševo valley and Medveđa is affected by structural unemployment which at the beginning of the 21st century equalled about 40% (registered unemployment) compared to the national average of around 20%. An indicator of the economical deprivation in the discussed municipalities is GDP *per capita*. In 2004 in the Medveđa municipality it was €329, €546 in Bujanovac and €307 in Preševo compared to the national average for Serbia of €1553⁵.

³ M. Styrzczula, *Konflikt serbsko-albański w tzw. Dolinie Preszewa i Miedwiedzi* [Serbian-Albanian Conflict in the so called Preševo Valley and Medveđa], in R. Zenderowski (ed.), *My już jesteśmy zjedzeni... Rola i znaczenie prawosławia w konflikcie etnicznym w Dolinie Preszewa* [We Are Already Eaten... The Role and Significance of Orthodox Church in The Ethnic Conflict in Preševo Valley], Warszawa, 2012, p. 328; A. Berljajoli, *Albanci u Srbiji. Preševo, Bujanovac i Medveđa* [Albanians in Serbia. Preševo, Bujanovac i Medveđa], Fond za humanitarno pravo/ Sweedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, 2003, p. 13.

⁴ M. Styrzczula, *op. cit.*, p. 329; A. Berljajoli, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁵ M. Seroka, *Region tzw. Doliny Preszewa (Preszewo, Bujanowac) oraz Miedwiedzi* [Preševo Valley (Preševo, Bujanovac) and Medveđa Region], in R. Zenderowski (ed.), *My już jesteśmy zjedzeni... [We Are Already Eaten...]*, Warszawa, 2012, p. 317-320.

Thirdly, some role in stirring mutual, Serbian-Albanian antagonisms was played by the nationalistic discourse that was – it seems - initiated by the top political elites from Belgrade and Pristina. Both sides gradually escalated the rhetoric. This way, both - Serbs and Albanians, on the one hand profiled the image of the enemy (so the ethnic difference acquired the feeling not as much as strangeness but hostility), on the other hand Serbs and Albanians both showed their respective nations as victims (victimisation discourse).

Fourthly, there existed religious differences in the area, which, perhaps, were not a direct cause but a readily available 'supply' for the escalation of the conflict. The vast majority of Albanians inhabiting Kosovo, Macedonia or South Serbia, despite the presence of Christians and Muslim sects, are Sunni Muslims (contrary to Albanians from Albania who declare the faith in Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism together with a high percentage of atheists)⁶. Then Serbs, usually profess to be Orthodox Christians, even though sometimes they consider themselves non-believers (This case of non-believers is mostly explained by the heritage of the confessional communities in the Ottoman Empire (Millet system) where the declared faith de facto denoted the national identity). The religious aspect of the conflict was especially visible in a form of a deliberate destruction of places of worship and cemeteries. It was also expressed as fear of growing influence of a religion (in this case - of Islam) which resulted in a rising number of believers and building new churches treated as a demarcation line of the ethnical territory, as well as an increased presence of the religion in the socio-political life.

Fifthly, the factor determining the ethnic conflict is demographics, namely the changing ethnic ratio in the area. This refers to two processes: emigration and the population growth rate. Both processes indicated adverse changes for the Serbian ethnic group. Whilst Albanians periodically migrate for work to countries of Western Europe using the earned money to support their families in the home country, Serbs migrate usually to the North of the country – to Belgrade or other big cities. Mostly young and middle-aged people migrate leaving only elderly people. Also, the population growth among Serbs and Albanians varies widely. In 2006 in the Serb-dominated (about 70%) Medveda municipality, the population growth equalled -3.7, whilst in the Albanian-dominated (about 90%) Preševo municipality it equalled 9.8!⁷

⁶ M. Styrzcula, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

⁷ M. Seroka, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

B. The course of the conflict (phases)

The ethnic hostilities in 90s were generally a non-combat conflict, however there were individual incidents such as beatings or abductions. In 2000, it escalated to a combat conflict in a limited area, and it ended a year later. After that, there were noticed again individual disturbances such as beatings, abductions, planting of explosive devices (for example in the area of the railway station in Preševo) and shootings. Thus, it can be concluded that it was a typical simmering tension that could escalate to a military conflict in any time.

It is not the point of this paper to provide a detailed description of every incident or the development of the conflict. However, it is worth mentioning that the key moment is a creation in 1999 of the Liberation Army of Preševo, Medveđa and Bujanovac (*Ushtria Çlirimtare e Preshevës, Medvegjës dhe Bujanocit* - UÇPMB). It took an active role in the military conflict in 2000 attacking Serbian police and military forces. Villages of Veliki Trnovac, Lučane, Končulj and Dobrošin, Leopardice, Oraovica were main battlefields in 2000 and at the beginning of 2011. The aim of the insurgents was the access of the region called by them as 'Eastern Kosovo' to the newly created country with Pristina as its capital. Meanwhile in December 2000 during the military conflict, the Coordinating Body for Preševo, Medveđa and Bujanovac (Koordinaciono Telo za Preševo, Bujanovac i Medveđu) was created ad hoc on the Serbian initiative which was supposed to be a beginning of the collective administration of the region. The international community was actively engaged in the conflict resolution⁸.

The military phase of the conflict was ended in March 2001 by signing a Končulj Agreement (name deriving from a village where it took place)⁹. According to the Ministry of the Interior of Yugoslavia, in the period from June 1999 until August 2001, 10 civilians died and 45 were injured in the safety zone which was made of a few kilometres long demilitarized zone bordering Kosovo. Also, 24 policemen and servicemen were killed and 78 were injured. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that because of the fighting between 2000 and 2001, 14000 people fled from the South Serbia to Kosovo. The total number of casualties including insurgents does not exceed 100 people¹⁰.

⁸ M. Styrzcula, *op. cit.*, p. 329-333.

⁹ Z. Brozović, *Territorial and Border Demarcation Disputes in the Western Balkans Case study: Territorial and boundary disputes between Serbia and Kosovo*, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Belgrade, 2011, p. 7.

¹⁰ M. Styrzcula, *op. cit.*, p. 332; A. Berljajoli, *op. cit.*, p. 10, 28; B. Huszka, *The Presevo Valley of Southern Serbia alongside Kosovo: The Case for Decentralisation and Minority Protection*, CEPS Policy Briefs, Issue 1-12, p. 1. More on the subject of the conflict and

2. Religion in ethnic conflicts – theoretical framework

Ethnic conflict and religious conflict can be classified as a wide category, which is conflict of cultures. This means: “animosity, hostility or battle between adjoining groups characterised by dissimilar, culture-dictated ways of life”¹¹. Because these two conflicts – ethnic and religious often coexist together, a part of them can be called as ethnoreligious conflicts. Before describing the qualities of such conflict, it is important to discuss models of relations between ethnic and religious conflicts. Analysing conflict of cultures influenced by ethnic and religious factors, it is possible to distinguish 10 types of possible relationships: 3 models can be described as ethnoreligious conflict, another 3 as religious conflict without ethnic input, further 2 are ethnic conflicts without religious input and 2 last models describe conflict of cultures without ethnic and religious characteristics (see table below).

Table 1. **Religion and ethnos: models of relations in conflicts of culture**

1	E ₁ R _{1a}	E ₂ R _{2a}	Conflict : ethnoreligious between two ethnoeses representing different religions
2	E ₁ R _{1b}	E ₂ R _{2b}	Conflict : ethnoreligious between two ethnoeses representing the same religion but different denominations
3	E ₁ R ₁	E ₂ R ₀	Conflict : ethnoreligious between a ‘religious’ ethnos and a ‘religiously indifferent’ ethnos
4	E ₁ R ₁	E ₁ R ₂	Conflict: non-ethnic, religious (between two religions) in the same ethnos
5	E ₁ R _{1b}	E ₁ R _{1b}	Conflict: non-ethnic, religious in the same ethnos, between for example fundamentalists and the rest of the religious congregation
6	E ₁ R ₁	E ₁ R ₀	Conflict: non-ethnic, religious in the same ethnos, where the religious part wants to convert the atheist part of the ethnos
7	E ₁ R ₁	E ₂ R ₁	Conflict: ethnic, non-religious Between two ethnoeses where the same religion dominates

its consequences in M. Styrzula, *op. cit.* p. 325-347 (The publication is available free of charge in the electronic version from the Internet).

¹¹ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa* [Sociology. The Analysis of Society], Kraków, 2002, p. 254.

8	E ₁ R ₀	E ₂ R ₀	Conflict: ethnic, non-religious Between atheist or religiously indifferent ethnoses
9	E ₁ R _{1a}	E ₁ R _{1a}	Conflict: non-ethnic and non-religious (e.g. economic, ideological) in the same ethnos where one religion dominates
10	E ₁ R ₀	E ₁ R ₀	Conflict: non-ethnic and non-religious (e.g. economic, ideological) in the same religiously-indifferent ethnos

Source: Author's own.

The table shows that the notion of ethnoreligious conflict refers to 3 described cases. The key point of ethnoreligious conflict is a coexistence of the correlation between ethnos and religion 'ascribed' to this ethnos. In practice, it is difficult to distinguish between ethnic and religious conflicts. John R. Hall emphasises that religion is not a phenomenon, which could be precisely distinguished and distilled from any other social occurrences. There is not – he says – some kind of 'firewall' between religion and the rest of social processes and phenomena. Thus, very often people are under illusion that the cause of ethnic conflicts is religion, whilst in reality its source is elsewhere¹². In fact, there are no 'pure' religious or 'pure' ethnic conflicts. To prove this point, it is enough to consider thoroughly an issue disused earlier: is the mass destruction of Orthodox churches in Kosovo by local Albanians and incoming Muslims the result of religious or ethnic hostilities? It seems that both perspectives are correct, however opinions on the subject are divided even amongst academics interested in the subject¹³. Further, it needs to be noted that there is a possibility of sacralisation of ethnic conflicts as well as ethnicisation of religious conflicts.

Sacralisation of ethnic conflict that is based on the economy, class or politics is extremely dangerous as the conflict itself, which can turn to be extremely bloody and cruel, acquires the aura of sacral, Manicheistic confrontation between good and evil, which is accompanied by narratives justifying the worst cruelties towards the demonised enemy. It is possible to kill the enemy fulfilling the 'God's will' or fighting for 'saint cause'¹⁴. Generally, the (*quasi*)religious argumentation is the most

¹² J.R. Hall, *Religion and Violence: Social Processes in Comparative Perspective*, in M. Dillon (ed.), *Handbook for the Sociology of Religion*, Cambridge, 2001.

¹³ C. Marsh, *The Religious Dimension of Post-Communist "Ethnic" Conflict*, in "Nationalities Papers", 2007, nr. 5, p. 820; S. Rock, *Introduction: religion, prejudice and conflict in the modern world*, in "Patterns of Prejudice", 2004, nr. 2, p. 104.

¹⁴ C. Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 822; M. Juergenmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of*

effective motivation for sides of a conflict. An extreme sacrifice for the national cause including willingness to give up own life is possible nearly always only for the religious argumentation. A good example proving this point is Stalin's decision in 1941 to stop for a period any repressions towards the Orthodox Church. Further, Stalin hurried to bring army chaplains to the war front in order to motivate soldiers to defend the 'sacred' territory of Soviet Union. Stella Rock says that Stalin knew that: "(...) the power of religiously motivated nationalism is much bigger than motivated by the Marxist ideology". Fighting in the war under the slogan: "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" was rather ironic as there were mostly workers on the other side as well¹⁵. Another, historical example are crusades which are usually interpreted in religious categories as 'fighting with non-believers'. Meanwhile, here religion was a form of justification for the economical expansion and attempt to acquire wealth. It is obvious that crusades were mostly a solution to the demographic crisis (overpopulation) in Western Europe¹⁶. Of course another aspect was the fact that expansionist Islam was seen as a real danger in contemporary Europe.

Another facet of the problem – ethnicisation of religious conflict – is a situation where two religions within the same ethnos fight with each other for exclusivity in the nation to achieve cultural homogenisation. If it is not possible to 'convert' over a period of time fellow countrymen, usually a group begins a process of alienating itself and developing new ethnos. According to Filip Tesař, fights for ethnic-religious homogeneity, very often lead to genocide, imprisonment and/or radical social marginalisation¹⁷.

Religion as a factor influencing a course of ethnic conflict may be considered in three aspects as: **(a)** a strengthening (or even initiating) factor for ethnic conflict; **(b)** a weakening factor for ethnic conflict; **(c)** a neutral factor (or of negligible meaning). This distinction allows for the development of a matrix

Religious Violence, Berkeley, 2000, p. XI; J. Fox, *Is Ethnoreligious Conflict a Contagious Disease?*, in "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism", 2004, nr. 27, p. 89-106; Idem, *The Ethnic-Religious Nexus: The Impact of Religion on Ethnic Conflict*, in "Civil Wars", 2000, nr. 3, p. 6-7; Idem, *Are Religious Minorities More Militant than Other Ethnic Minorities?*, in "Alternatives", 2003, nr. 28, p. 91-114.

¹⁵ J. Fox, *Is Ethnoreligious Conflict a Contagious Disease?*, in "Studies in Conflict & Terrorism", 2004, nr. 27, p. 103.

¹⁶ P. Crépon, *Religie a wojna* [Religions and War], Gdańsk, 1994, p. 98-104.

¹⁷ F. Tesař, *Etnické konflikty* [Ethnic conflicts], Praha, 2007, p. 111-112; A. Świdlicki, *Walka o tron. Buddysta – tak, katolik – nie*, [The struggle for Throne. Buddhist – yes, Catholic – no], in "Decydent & Decision Maker", 2000, nr. 6 (http://www.decydent.pl/archiwum/wydanie_40/walka-o-tron_1064.html, 29.07.2011); B. Wilson, *Religion and the Affirmation of Identity*, in "Revista de antropologia social", 1994, nr. 3, p. 118.

illustrating 21 models/variations of relationships between religion and ethnic conflict (see table below).

Table 2. Religion in the ethnic conflict

Variations	The way of understanding religion as an element of the ethnic conflict		
	(a) Religious doctrine	(b) Clergy ⁽¹⁾	(c) Believers ⁽²⁾
I.	+	+	+
II.	+	+	—
III.	+	—	—
IV.	+	—	+
V.	—	—	—
VI.	—	—	+
VII.	—	+	+
VIII.	—	+	—
IX.	+	+	0
X.	+	0	0
XI.	+	0	+
XII.	—	—	0
XIII.	—	0	0
XIV.	—	0	—
XV.	0	0	0
XVI.	0	0	+
XVII.	0	+	+
XVIII.	0	+	0
XIX.	0	0	—
XX.	0	—	—
XXI.	0	—	0

Source: Author's own.

+ The support for the ethnic confrontation

0 The lack of support for the ethnic confrontation

— Weakening/solution of the ethnic conflicts

The attitude of the clergy can vary depending on the position in the church hierarchy. For example, the parish clergy may actively support their congregation in the ethnic conflicts, whilst the senior clergy may distance themselves from the nationalist groups or even openly criticise them, (see for

example the Croatian case study regarding the Yugoslav wars in 90s of the twentieth century) or ideological sympathies. This needs to be specified analysing every single example. 'Believers' are understood as both people who believe in a particular faith and attend church, as well as people who identify themselves with a particular religious congregation despite declaring themselves as atheists.

The above figure shows that '**religious conflict**' or '**ethnoreligious conflict**' is a situation occurring in seven variations (1/3 of potential cases). Assuming that the religious doctrine itself (contrary to its nationalistic interpretations) does not call for ethnic hostilities, it is rational to limit the notion of religious or ethnoreligious conflict to two variations (VII and XVII) or maximum to four variations (IV, VII, XVI, XVII) which makes 10-20% of all cases of group conflicts. Further, it needs to be remembered that very often there are ethnic conflicts between ethnos (nations), whose members declare the same religion or even the same denomination. These are conflicts where often a part of clergy/spiritual guides and parts of a society who identify with a somewhat nationalised religious group, engage directly or indirectly with one side of a conflict, however it would make it unclear to call this situation a 'religious conflict'. It needs to be emphasised the meaning of active engagement with one side of a conflict, because the fact of participating of two diverse ethnic groups representing different religions or denomination in a conflict, does not mean that it is an ethnoreligious conflict. The religious factor could be neutral, although this happens very rarely. A significant condition is proclaiming of religious issues (religious identity, promoting doctrine, defending faith) as relevant by at least one side of the conflict¹⁸. On the other hand, if to assume that main religious doctrines include an imperative of the need to respect every person's dignity and not to hurt people in any way, then the number of cases describing the peace-making role of religion varies from seven (cases: III, V, VI, VIII, XII, XIV, XX) to thirteen (cases: II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XIX, XX, XXI).

3. Methodology

Quantitative research methods are not completely sufficient whilst researching problems of ethnic and national groups, because the statistical analysis tends to reduce the research field eliminating facts and processes that do not fit into repetitive social and cultural patterns. At the same time, these discarded or neglected problems still could be researched using qualitative methods, which take into account the socio-cultural context and widen the

¹⁸ C. Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 817.

researcher's perspective giving more complex answers than survey results¹⁹. Much research on different aspects of ethnicity is based on quantitative methods, however some researchers also combine quantitative and qualitative research methods. Still, only minority results are produced by the use of the mixed approach, despite this being supported by Antonina Kłoskowska who said: "None of the social research can abstain from describing the character of examined subjects. Taking into consideration of the quality of social phenomena is at least suggested also when the main problem of the analysis is searching for the relationship of phenomena through the use quantitative analytical techniques"²⁰. Józef Chałasiński emphasised the value of the statistical analysis, however he warns that that despite its usefulness, the statistical analysis are not sufficient for explaining social mechanisms of the researched problem"²¹. Again, Agata Górny noticed that: „the use of qualitative techniques allows for a better understanding of the context and mechanisms playing leading roles in migration processes. It is a better aspect, especially important for researching migration issues when the researcher comes from a different culture than researched subjects"²².

The aim of this paper to present results of the research on the role of the Orthodox Christianity in the Serbian-Albanian conflict on the Serbian-Kosovian-Macedonian border, in so-called Preševo Valley (the area around Preševo and Bujanovac) and in Medveđa. The questions posed to respondents covered issues of the national-religious auto-identification and the perception of the role of religion in the ethnic conflict. The data was gathered between the 5th and the 13th of September 2011. There were conducted 20 in-depth interviews in Preševo, Bujanovac, Medveđa and Vranje. Interviewees were representatives of the local intellectual elite such as media, local administration, education system, cultural institutions as well as representatives of clergy and political parties. These results are a part of a wider research presented in the publication: "My już jesteśmy zjedzeni... Rola i znaczenie prawosławia w konflikcie etnicznym w Dolinie Preszewa"²³. Despite a limited basis for generalisation, the micro-level

¹⁹ A. Wyka, *Badacz społeczny wobec doświadczenia* [Social Researcher In Face of Experience], Warszawa, 1993, p. 14.

²⁰ A. Kłoskowska, *Jakościowa i ilościowa analiza kultury symbolicznej* [Qualitative and Quantative Analysis of Symbolic Culture], in "Kultura i Społeczeństwo", 1984, nr. 2, p. 39.

²¹ J. Chałasiński, *Wstęp* [Introduction to the] w tenże, *Młode pokolenie chłopów. Społeczne podłoże ruchów młodzieży wiejskiej w Polsce* [Young Generation of Peasants. Social Background of Rural Youth Movments in Poland], tom I, Warszawa, 1984, p. XXVII-XXXI.

²² A. Górny, *Wybrane zagadnienia podejścia jakościowego w badaniach nad migracjami międzynarodowymi* [Selected Issues of Qualitative Approach in The Studies of International Migration], in "Przegląd Polonijny", 2005, nr. 3, p. 164.

²³ R. Zenderowski (ed.), *My już jesteśmy zjedzeni... Rola i znaczenie prawosławia w*

analysis of the interviews with the local intellectual elite provides some insight into the factual state of hopes and expectations of locals that are not visible in official statistics.

4. Result of the field survey

This presentation of the acquired data will focus on four main threads, which came up from the analysis²⁴. They are: **(a)** emphasis of the defensive character of the orthodox religion; **(b)** perception of the Serbian Orthodox Church as a religious as well as national institution; **(c)** view of local and newcomers Muslims and **(d)** identification of the real causes of the conflict.

A. Defensive character of the Orthodox Church

The local Serbian Orthodox Church is characterised by its defensive character (contrary to the expansive Islam) and seems to have a besieged fortress syndrome. Most interviewees noticed the growing influence of Islam in the region, which makes them worried, frightened and sad. However, it does not generate aggression and does not encourage people to fight for the 'sacred Orthodox territory'. Defenders of the 'besieged tower' are aware that sooner or later will have to go away. They reconciled with the fact that the process of Albanisation of the region, especially Preševo and its surroundings, is inevitable. It is mostly an effect of the greater birth ratio of Albanians, than this of Serbs. For example: *I think personally that we are already eaten. I think that Islam is more populous. I don't think it's better or wiser but much more populous. More of them is being born and we are dying. We don't need face-to-face fighting because, demographically, we will die out one day. I have two kids and my Albanian friend from school has twelve. How am I supposed to win with her tomorrow? I can be whatever but she will 'eat' me eventually by a very simple, natural reproduction. (...) Islam is spread deliberately through this philosophy of reproduction, which is very strong and I am amazed by it. I am amazed by it but I feel sad about it that we haven't used it.* At the end, Serbs sadly reconciled with the fact that more Serbs choose to emigrate²⁵.

konflikcie etnicznym w Dolinie Preszewa [We Are Already Eaten... The Role and Significance of Orthodox Church in The Ethnic Conflict in Preševo Valley], Warszawa 2012.

²⁴ The detailed analysis of the research results is included in R. Zenderowski, R. Wiśniewski, M. Zarzecki, *Religia (prawosławna) w konflikcie etnicznym w tzw. Dolinie Preszewa i Miedwiedzi: wyniki badań terenowych* [Religion (Orthodox) in The Ethnic Conflict in Preševo Valley and Medveda: field study results], in R. Zenderowski (ed.), *My już jesteśmy zjedzeni... [We Are Already Eaten...]*, p. 349-436 (the publication is available free of charge in the electronic form from the Internet).

²⁵ R. Zenderowski, R. Wiśniewski, M. Zarzecki, *Religia (prawosławna) w konflikcie etnicznym w tzw. Dolinie Preszewa i Miedwiedzi: wyniki badań terenowych* [Religion

This feeling of helplessness contrasts strongly with the often-emphasised role of the Orthodox religion as a 'bulwark' of Europe. Interviewees relatively often described Serbia and Serbs as 'gate', 'barrier' or 'shield' protecting Europe and Christianity against the invasion of Turks and Islam in general. Interviewees seemed feeling regretful that European Christians do not appreciate enough Serbian engagement and heroism whilst fighting the progressing islamisation of Europe. For example, interviewees said: It is true-they [Serbs] defended their faith. Perhaps the faith was defended in some places, perhaps people exaggerated sometimes as well. Perhaps, it would have been better to let it go, so that storm would have passed, wind would have blown, retreat and then do the own work. /Martyrs, according to me, one nation of martyrs./(...) Serbia was in fact a gateway to Europe for Islam. / Serbs were like a shield to Europe a long time ago, so the whole territory was inhabited by Serbs – *Serbska Krajina and Dalmatia they were a shield to stop the march of the Ottoman Empire to West*²⁶.

B. Serbian Orthodox Church as a religious and national institution

The Orthodox Church is a spiritual asylum for the local Serbs. It is a place to strengthen their national identity, a symbol of national traditions. Family celebrations permanently connected with the religion are to strengthen the group closeness, social cohesion of local Serbs. Special role in this case is played by *Krsna Slava*²⁷.

It needs to be mentioned that the Orthodox Church is the only significant institution of social life in the area. This social role is strengthened even more because the regional is largely 'forgotten' by the administration far away in

(Orthodox) in The Ethnic Conflict in Preševó Valley and Medveda: field study results], in R. Zenderowski (ed.), *My już jesteśmy zjedzeni...* [We Are Already Eaten...], p. 436.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

²⁷ *Krsna slava* (Крсна Слава) is a compromise between paganism and Christianity. It is a cult of ancestors, celebrating the saint patron of a family. Saint patrons de facto are a substitute of a 'domestic idol, ancestor cult'. Every family has its own saint patron who once a year is paid homage to in a temple. It is accompanied by a set of religious and secular rituals. There is a famous saying amongst Serbs: *Gde je Slava, tu je Srbín* (where Slava is, there are Serbs), proving that this tradition is an indication of Serbness [D. Gil, *Prawosławie – Historia – Naród. Miejsce kultury duchowej w serbskiej tradycji i współczesności*, [Orthodox Church – History – Nation. The Place of Spiritual Culture in Serbian Tradition and Contemporary Culture] Kraków, 2005, p. 31]. Another way of manifesting Serbness is a tradition of wearing the brojanica. This is a prayer rope made of wool or a cord. Similar to the Muslim tasbeeh or tespih or the Catholic rosary, it has knots and it is worn on one hand. Wearing it is very popular both in Serbia and in other Orthodox countries of the region, and it is used not only for religious purposes but also for indicating the identification with the Serbian nation.

Belgrade. The Orthodox Church is universally respected²⁸: *Because of the religion, the nation survived and preserved its identity during the Occupation [Turkish] and Communism. There has always been this opinion here that the Orthodox faith supported Serbs, I mean not only here but in whole Serbia and the Serbian Orthodox Church is older than the nation itself. Nations were gone, first, second, third and the Orthodox Church lasted and preserved all their achievements and all their values. I mean nation's valuables, state's valuables. And it was possible to find them also after the WWII, they were hidden in churches.* There are common views that the Orthodox Church supports Serbs in the everyday struggle not be displaced from their territory of origin: There is an opinion and it is widely spread that the Orthodox Church is an important factor for preserving Serbia and 'Serbness' in this region. / (...) I think that the Orthodox Church is a fundament for the existence of Serbs in this area. / The Orthodox endorses our culture, defends its existence. (...) It has an enormous role. / If those who hold power these days have ears and listen a bit to priest from the Serbian Orthodox Church, then everything would be different²⁹.

At the same time, it has to be noted that most of the interviewees clearly indicates 'tepidness' of Serbs with regards to their religious engagement. The image of religious observance of Serbs coming from the gathered data is unambiguous. There are four main issues: (a) the religious observance is infrequent, it tends to be limited to important Christian celebrations; (b) rare observance is declared by interviewees afraid for being taken as overzealous, regularly religious practice is attributed to priests; (c) the religious observance comes more from the Serbian tradition than from a real spiritual need; (d) atheists are suspected to be covert believers as if interviewees could not consider atheism to be possible in practice. It needs to be mentioned that the majority interviewees regards the Orthodox Christianity as a natural, proper faith for Serbs and attempts to convert to other religion is – to put it mildly-suspicious and ridiculous. However, the majority of respondents declare that theoretically it is possible for a Serb not to be an Orthodox Christian, at the same time arguing that it would not bring anything positive. Concerning the unbreakable link between the Orthodox religion and 'Serbness' interviewees claimed: *"A Serb is of the Orthodox faith, for me it is unacceptable to be Serbian and not of the Orthodox religion. / The Orthodox Church and the Serbian nation are together. It is not possible to look at this separately. / For me it's logical that a Serb should be Orthodox. / It is unbreakable, because not to be Orthodox and call yourself a Serb is irreconcilable. / The Orthodox Christianity is a centre of identity*

²⁸ R. Zenderowski, R. Wiśniewski, M. Zarzecki, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 409-410.

for Serbs.” Some interviewees even claimed that converting from the Orthodox faith to another religion equals changing the nationality: “It is not to be separated (...). To be Serbian it means to be Orthodox. To be Orthodox is does not always mean to be Serbian but Serbs and the Orthodox faith is unbreakable. This is one and the same thing. (...) Serbs changing their faith stop being Serbs. / Serbs who converted to Islam some time ago, today they don’t think of themselves as Serbs. They say they are Bosniaks. In the Communism some Serbs considered themselves atheists but afterwards they come back to the Orthodox Church. Serbs, who converted to Catholicism, today considers themselves Croatians. / We are born somewhat ‘pre-programmed’. I’m not guilty that I was born here, that I was raised in this way, you are not guilty either, but it is possible to understand that this is this essence in life, in families, in the nation. Perhaps it is characteristic for Serbs that there are no Serbs outside of the Orthodox Church. Through the conversion they stop being Serbs, because they describe themselves as Croatians, Bosniaks etc. (...) Perhaps, but it’s not comprehensible, because it’s the religion that kept this nation together. This is a unity. The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian nation go together. It’s impossible to look at it separately. Let’s say that amongst Roman Catholics there are Poles and Croatians who both are Catholics. Then, there is a Greek Orthodox Church for Greeks. The Serbian Orthodox Church is for Serbians. We coexist with this Orthodox Church, with this faith – this is what it’s all about³⁰.

C. Local and new-coming Muslims

The local, Albanian Islam is not considered as dangerous for Serbs or for the Orthodox Church what could result in appeals to defend the nation and the Orthodox Church. Serbs view the local Muslims as very moderate, liberal, open to Christianity and even sharing with Christians some practices. A custom of swapping seasonal greetings and generally wide religious tolerance was especially emphasised by interviewees³¹. For example, some said: “*Jihad is something different but I think that Albanians are not so connected with it. / I personally, when I think of Muslims I think of Turks but no one else. / With regards to modern dangers I wouldn’t say that the Orthodox Church is in danger from these Muslims. / These Muslims are more moderate. Because they live in a close proximity to the Orthodox Church. / (...) Recently, there was a month of fasting – Ramadan. OK. The month is very tough. I don’t know how much you know about it that they don’t take all day any water, or food or cigarettes. No. It’s been changing. They sit in cafés...the elderly explain themselves this way – ‘Well, I can’t. I have hypertension, high (low??) level of blood sugar’. This and that. Which means that*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 400, 406, 408.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

they don't fast (...) They say: 'I fast' and in reality they don't. We had an example like this: 'Hey! Please! Give me a glass of rakija!' despite the fast. It doesn't matter! / Ohh...catastrophe. They are even worse than us. (...) I went once in a field and a mosque was built in Rajnice. We were working in veterinary and regardless whose temple it was, we gave some donation. (...) I spoke to one hodja and he says: 'You know – it is a disaster. Do you know that only 10-15% people come to us? Nobody else wants. Why did we build it?' In the morning when I go out, there is a mosque opposite to mine; I can see no more than 20 people. Disaster (...) / It was that fast, this Ramadan of theirs. And now you can see they attitude to religion. How many people go to pray, how many people fast. And really, I haven't seen so few people as this year to fast. This year it is a disaster. They eat, drink... (...) Islam in Preševo never had a major role. / Young generation doesn't respect the tradition not to eat pork, I sometimes see young people when they sit [at the table] they'll eat. Youngsters reject the tradition of the older generations. / Albanians drink, despite it is forbidden in Islam. They had Ramadan now and they were hiding to drink, to have a smoke but when they are in a group then they pretend that they're fasting"³².

Despite of above views, it needs to be noted that some interviewees express concerns with regards to religious radicalisation of some Albanians: "They all started to fast, nobody knows whether they really fast or just say they do. Earlier, only elderly people fasted. Today everybody fasts. On Fridays at noon, they all go to mosque, leave work and go to mosque. This is a political demonstration. We never did such thing. For me, it's not OK, if somebody works in a factory and all of the sudden, leaves everything to go to mosque. / I don't know where they get the money from but every year there are more and more mosques".

The presence Wahhabis who appeared in the region recently gives some cause for concern. It is not an exceptional situation in Balkans. Similar concerns were voiced Bosniaks who are worried of Wahhabis trying to convert them to 'proper' Islam³³. Not only Serbs are afraid of the growing influence of Wahhabis – Arab-countries sponsored Islam missionaries promoting one type of orthodox, hostile to Christianity Islam. Even Albanians have a problem with it worried that they would be marginalised by the new political leaders: "(...) recently appeared, there are some Wahhabis in the neighbourhood, I don't know who sponsors them – some Islamist organisation and there is about thirty of them. Twenty near the lower mosque, ten here. They have been paid €300 a month. I live in Preševo and I hear for the first time that it's happening...I knew that they exist but even Albanians are afraid that Wahhabis will take over their mosques. Because they are

³² *Ibid.*, p. 413-414.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

ordering something different...It's not anymore that you're walking and bowing, they would do it for at least two minutes. Job done. They [Albanians] are afraid that they would get rid of hodjas and take over mosques. /In last 5-6 months Wahhabis arrived, they set up their offices here and I see that even Albanians have got a problem with them. (...) They are specifically clothed, wear these beards. There was even an argument with a local hodja, who didn't allow him to enter the mosque. I heard that they give money to people to enlist them, I don't know what it is, some kind of sect. / Wahhabis are visible in the town with beards and long pants. I don't know whether they can influence Albanians, old Muslims. / (...) they are afraid of Wahhabis and these stupidities"³⁴.

Local, Albanian, slightly superficial Islam is considered tamed and moderate contrary to 'other' Islam which may pose a mortal danger to Serbia and Europe. What is interesting, interviewees concerned about the dangerous Islam think that it will not come from the local Albanians but from outside – from Kosovo, Turkey or Western Europe where Islam is successfully settling in: *"I worry about Wahhabis but mostly because their financing. I don't know how much they get. Women [are given] €200, men some money too and they wear scarves on their faces, men wear long pants and beards but it may happen one day that they would be given a task to do something. And perhaps they will do it. / (...) if terrorism is in France, if it appears in Italy and my sister who lives in Italy says that they stubbornly try to promote [Islam] and behave aggressively. If it happens that they want to threaten, terrorist attacks and so on, then probably there are some intentions to use this 'fertile' climate here to spread out. / If you look at Kosovo and Metohija and what happened on 17th march 2004 only where Italians were stationed Serbian churches were saved. Americans, Germans, British, French – nobody nowhere. Whilst Italians put their lives at stake to...because they have faith and respect for what is important. What is the biggest Muslim city in the world? Paris. What else can I say?"³⁵*

D. Religion and real causes of the Serbian-Albanian conflict

Questions regarding the cause of the ethnic conflict aim to establish what the role of religion is in such conflict led to several interesting answers, which we divided, into five categories. What seems the most important considering the aim and the subject of the research, was the fact that the vast majority did regard religion as a very minor or completely negligible factor (determinant) of the local ethnic conflict. Far more significant were outside influences (from Kosovo, the West, Turkey and Arabic countries), political intrigues and what is worth

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 415-416.

emphasising – economic factors which to us are the most important determinant of the ethnic conflict in the region. Actually, some respondents were very surprised that we were asking about the ethnic conflict, whilst for them they were nothing more as incidents and squabbles³⁶.

The detailed analysis of the factors influencing of the conflict is included in the previously discussed publication: R. Zenderowski (ed.), *We Are Already Eaten... The Role and Significance of Orthodox Church in The Ethnic Conflict in Preševo Valley*. The most important issue here is a perceived role of religion in the local ethnic conflict.

It is obvious that according to the interviewees, religion is not regarded as a potential or real cause of the conflict. Even questions about the engagement of religion in various guises in the conflict were treated as completely surprising and incomprehensible. For example: *"The religion is neither the source of the problem nor an important cause, no. The religion didn't play here a leading role. Do you know why? I know one hodja who was beaten up in Skopje because he did not want to follow the political dictate of the UÇK leaders. So a man was battered. And he was a mufti (...). It was mostly political doing but it was pretending to be religious. / So I wouldn't agree that it is religion that influences us to attack one another. I wouldn't agree with this. (...) You know, right now I cannot tell at all whether it was a religious conflict or conflict of interests, I would say it was the latter. /There is no conflict between religions but there are arguments between 'insane heads' who misuse religion. (...) No. Muslims [orthodox Muslims- R.W, R.Z.] are not considered here to be good Muslims. (...) religion does not lead to a conflict but helps to calm things down. (...) With regards to Albanians, it's not about their faith but about the territory. They [Albanians] are used by others to use their [Albanians'] faith for their own purpose. /No, there is none. Generally, there is a lot of politics here. Here is a mixing point for the East and the West. Siptars [Albanians - R.W, R.Z.] suffer and Serbs suffer too. / There some political incidents but I don't know whether religion was involved. I believe that in this whole conflict in relations between Serbia-Albanians, Kosovo, faith had nothing to do with it, it's only about nationalism./ Perhaps in some way yes but I think that mostly not. The religion didn't force anybody to take a machine gun and kill others, I suppose. Neither Islam, nor the Orthodox Christianity. (...) I think this war had very little to do with religion"*³⁷.

"The religion is present in the conflict but afterwards as further cause, a justification. Yes, maybe there is a little bit of it, that's true. The national identity is the first cause of this fighting and religion is maybe too in a very small percent. / I

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 421-422.

think it's the ideology that counted. I think so. And religion is on the second place. First ideology, second religion – it's my personal feeling. / Of course, there were machinations to motivate the fighters by faith but I don't think they were deciding. / I believe, that there isn't, maybe just a little bit. Everybody wants to defend their faith, their religion. There were some political incidents but I don't know whether the religion mattered. I think that in this whole conflict in relations between Serbia-Albanians, Kosovo, here the faith did not matter but only nationalism”³⁸.

5. Conclusion

The discussed conflict is not of religious, but of political and economic nature. It does not mean that orthodox religion does not play any role in the conflict. But if it does, it is of secondary character and it does not refer to the participation of the Orthodox priests or believers in the conflict, but about the instrumentalisation of the religion.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

VAZELON (ST. JOHN) MONASTERY OF MAÇKA TREBIZOND

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Fascinație și punct de reper spiritual, aceștia sunt termenii care descriu modul în care Bizanțul în general și, în special, Trapezuntul au fost percepuți în istoria bătrânului continent.

Împărații de Trapezunt au știut să păstreze măreția, luxul, pompa de la curte, arătând capacitatea lor de a crea un mod de viață aparte. Prin abilitățile lor diplomatice și dragostea lor pentru ortodoxie, împărații bizantini au atras atenția vecinilor imperiului.

Există trei mănăstiri într-o zonă relativ restrânsă ca suprafață în zona Trapezunt - Turcia: Sumela, Hagia Sophia și Vazelon. În acest studiu ne-am oprit asupra uneia dintre aceste mănăstiri, mică dar foarte importantă.

Abstract: Fascination, spiritual landmark and seduction: these are the terms that describe how Byzantium was perceived in general, and mainly Trabzon, in the history of the old continent.

The Trabzon' sovereigns displayed in a brilliant manner the features that characterized the Byzantine Empire. They knew to preserve the greatness, the luxury, the pump at the court that showed their capacity to create a unique standard of living. Through their diplomatic ability and love for the Orthodoxy, the Byzantine emperors tried to draw the neighbours' attention to Trabzon and its surroundings.

There are three monasteries in a relatively small area near Trabzon city of Turkey: Sumela, Hagia Sophia and Vazelon. At this paper we worked on one of them, the smallest but the strongest once upon a time, that was called Vazelon Monastery.

Résumé: Le monastere Vazelon – St. Jean du Maçka Trebizond

Fascination, point de repère spirituel et de la séduction : ce sont les termes qui décrivent comment Byzance a été perçue en général, et principalement Trabzon, dans l'histoire du vieux continent.

La souverains Trabzon s'affiche de manière brillante les caractéristiques qui ont marqué l'Empire byzantin. Ils ont su préserver la grandeur, le luxe, la pompe à la cour qui a montré leur capacité à créer une norme unique de la vie. Grâce à leur capacité diplomatique et de l'amour pour l'orthodoxie, les empereurs byzantins ont essayé d'attirer l'attention des voisins à Trabzon et ses environs.

Il y a trois monastères dans une zone relativement petite ville près de Trabzon en Turquie – Sumela, Hagia Sophia et Vazelon. À ce papier, nous avons travaillé sur l'un d'eux, le plus petit mais le plus fort était une fois, qui a été appelé Monastère Vazelon.

Keywords: Vazelon Monastery, Maçka, monks, frescoes, Silkroad

Introduction

Trabzon is one of the most beautiful towns in the Near East and it was the capital of the Byzantine Empire for two and a half centuries. It is situated above the Black Sea – as it is mentioned in the documents – and it is an opulent area in consequence of the trade made with the interior of Asia. The same merchantry made it famous. Fascination, spiritual landmark and seduction: these are the terms that describe how Byzantium was perceived in general, and mainly Trabzon, in the history of the old continent. But this fascination was also given by the ecclesiastical monuments of the region. Among these monuments, the Vazelon Monastery has a special place, both from the point of view of its age and its rich history, and from the historical and theological messages of the frescoes that can still be seen. In the present study, we want to draw the attention upon some details regarding one chapel of this monastery, St. Elias, that preserves some fragments of frescoes, which are very important for the XI th –XII th centuries Byzantine iconography. In a forth coming study we will approach the cultural role played by the Vazelon Monastery in the history of the Byzantine Empire of Trabzon.

Through their diplomatic ability and through their love for Orthodoxy, theemperors knew to attract the attention of the neighbouring peoples, making themgravitate around Trabzon.

Trabzon on the historic Silk Road, is an important province of Turkey's Eastern Black Sea Region. This beautiful city is also at the cross road of trade between east and west. Historic records reveal that the city was dominated by the Miletians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines.

The monasteries, tombs, churches, museums, tombs, city walls surrounding Trabzon and the examples of civil architecture form the historic texture of the city.

Visited by many local and foreign travellers, this mysterious city of the east has won high praise throughout history.

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Though not having a certain date of foundation, Vazelon Monastery, which is located in Kiremitli residence, 14 km's to Maça District of Trabzon City, it is thought to have been built between 270-317s. It is narrated that Justinianus restored the monastery in 565. But we do not have any written source giving information regarding this era. In 644-702, the monastery underwent a good many repairs and restorations. The parts that still stand today dated to 14th and 19th centuries. The monastery which continued its missions until the 20th century was deserted in 1923. Vazelon Monastery faced same fate of Sumela at the end of 1922 which on January 30, Population Exchange Agreement signed between Turkey and Greece. According to this Agreement, all Muslims domiciled in Greece and all Orthodox Christians under Phanar Patriarchate living in Turkey except Western Thrace and Istanbul would be exchanged. The exchange proposal had been put forward by League of Nations' High Commissioner for Immigrants Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Greek PM Elefterios Venizelos and British Foreign Minister Lord Curzon.¹ This Agreement came into force at the very beginning of May, 1923 and together with Christian population of the region the monks of the Vazelon Monastery like the monks of Soumela left the building.

Differing from Sumela Monastery, limestone was not used in the building, the front façade is about 40 meters. The Monastery has been built in front of a huge granite rock block and wall stones had been cut from this rock. Due to this reason, the front part of the Monastery is not as shiny as Sumela. The place of the Monastery was an opening gate of trade routes once upon a time. About 200 south of the monastery there is a small tribute stream flowing into Degirmendere River. The Valley Vazelon Monastery built was a wealthy and fertile area², there were grape vines and rich villages around.

¹ Lozan Barış Konferansı, Tutanaklar-Belgeler [Lausanne Peace Conference. Minutes-Documents], translated by Seha L. Meray, V. I, 3. Ed., İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001. p. 118-19, 125; Levon Marashlian, *The Armenian Question from Sérvés to Lausanne, Economics and Morality in American and British Policies 1920-1923*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1992. p. 690; LCMD, *The Papers of Mark L. Bristol-V, War Diary*, May 30, 1923. p. 2; New York Times, "Turks Wants to Stay Greeks to Return", February 8, 1923. p. 2.

² *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi 1901* [Trabzon Province's Year Book], V. 19, Ed. Kudret Emiroğlu, Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı, Ankara,

Various sources indicate that the monastery was devoted to prophet Jashua. It is told that Vazelon Monastery was built before Sumela despite it is the smallest one of the three monasteries of region (three monasteries in the region are; Vazelon, Sumela and Kuştu Monasteries) but during the historical process Sumela became *prima inter pares* of these three Monasteries in the region.³

It is interesting to note that, despite the fact, Ottoman Tax Books and Annuals give some information about the Monastery of Sumela but they do not give any information regarding Vazelon Monastery. The ground floor's entrance, the windows and the doors of the monastery, which have an entrance in the west, are closed. As one climbs the stairs, she/he can see three rooms in each narrow corridor. There is a huge dining hall, kitchen and a large refectory. Next to these are three Byzantine basilicas and a vaulted cistern. In the ground floor of the monastery there are stairs marching up into a small hall. There are six rooms located in two sides of corridors. At the top of the Monastery there is church built in front of a cave. On old engravings of the Monastery it is possible to see the said bell tower of this church. Today the bell tower had gone down. There are Heaven, Dormition, Last Judgment Day and Hell paintings to the western wall of the church. There is another church chapel at the entrance of Monastery to the northern side of the building. The paintings of this chapel are mostly indistinguishable though the style of upper church and this chapel are different. The paintings of upper Church are older than the paintings of northern chapel at the entrance. When looked at the plan, it is clear that the Monastery has not been built in a definite period. The construction and enlargement process went on from the beginning until 1923. At the front, to the south of balconies there are cut stone stairs providing access into the Monastery. Similar to the Monastery of Soumela until late 19th centuries there were a hanging wooden ladder that was taken up at nights at the entrance. Like Sumela, cut stone steps have been built during the end of the 19th century. At the entrance, there was a long and narrow corridor and chambers had been situated at the both side of this corridor.

The area is so steep that, it is almost impossible to climb up to the church because accessing ladders had fallen down. The Monastery consists of four floors, the fourth one has a façade at the front, similar to the northern side of Soumela Monastery. The style of the façade and the balconies at the front side are similar to the monastery of Sumela. Both built after 19th century. The basic

2008. p. 397, 399; İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu, Maçka, Pencere Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004. p.46-47.

³ İsmail Köse, *The Monastery Hidden Above the Clouds-Soumela*, Akademi Kitabevi, Trabzon, 2010. p. 113.

difference between Sumela and Vazelon Monasteries' front, eastern side is the usage of stone. In Sumela the front side had been built by limestone though in Vazelon with cut granite stone. The rocks had been cut from the huge rock block where the Monastery built in front of. At the vicinity of Sumela and Vazelon Monasteries there is not any limestone quarry these inefficiency forced the founders to use ordinary stone yet in Sumela Limestone were carried by mules from Santa High Plateaus 12 km's to the Monastery.⁴

The first church of the monastery as it was told before had been built next to fourth floor at the rear where there is a small cave. It is narrated that, despite its appearance and easy accessibility when compared to Kustul and Sumela Monasteries, Vazelon was the strongest monastery of Maçka region and it was controlling all revenues and lands at the vicinity. Another specialty of the Monastery was its location on the Historical Silk Road. This feature had enriched and empowered the building but when the historical Silk Road started to collapse by the beginning to the last quarter of 19th century, Vazelon Monastery also gradually lost its traditional importance and richness. At present, Vazelon Monastery and her vicinity are a deserted area, the nearest settlement about 3 km's distance. From Trabzon city centre to the Monastery an average drive takes about one and half hour. The last 4 km's of the road is unpaved and requires careful drive. The visitor needs to walk about 15 minutes to arrive to Monastery. There are horn beam, pine trees and rhododendrons, wild hazelnuts both side of the path. To the right side of the monastery, there is a small chapel, built in later centuries. The frescoes of the chapel had been mostly destroyed.

However, a small chapel (5, 3 m length x 3,6 m width x 4,5m height) stands on the monastery terrace, about 30 m north of the central building. Chrysanthos⁵ identified the chapel, which Talbot Rice saw in 1929, with Topalides⁶ chapel of St. Elias (the Prophet Elijah. A place called St. Elias appears in Vazelon Acts⁷ of the thirteenth century - 1292. Another possible dedication is provided by what may be the earliest graffito in the chapel, scratched on the red border above the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ Chrysanthos Philippides, Metropolitan of Trebizond, *Η Εκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος* [The Church of Trebizond], in „Αρχαίου Πόντου”1933, p. 485.

⁶ Topalides, P. *Ιστορία τῆς ἱεράς βασιλικῆς πατριαρχικῆς καί σταυροπηγιακῆς μονῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου καί Βαπτίστου Ἰωάννου Ζαβουλονή ἢ Βαζελών* [History of the patriarchal church of the monastery St. John the Baptist of Vazelon], Trebizond, 1909, p. 84, 85.

⁷ Uspenskij. F. I., Benešević, V. V., *Actes de Vazélon: matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la propriété rurale et monastique à Byzance aux XIII-XVe siècles*, Leningrad, 1927, Acts 104, 115.

head of St. Nicholas. Stylistically, St. Elias has some affinities with the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond.⁸

But we are inclined to believe that this casual pilgrim graffito, which cannot be taken to be a formal dedication inscription, refers to the imperial refoundation of the church of the Prodomos in the monastery itself, while, insofar as there is a prominently placed figure in the iconography of the chapel, it is St. Elias and we are inclined to concur with Chrysanthos that this chapel (as well as the Skete above the monastery) was dedicated to the Prophet.

Architecture. A small barrel-vaulted chapel, with single projecting apse, semicircular on both the exterior and the interior, typical for this region. The apse has a window with three small lights; another small window is in the south wall. The single door, in the west wall, has a tympanum above the lintel. Except for its ashlar quoins, door, and window frames, the chapel is built of fairly large blocks in irregular courses. Little mortar is exposed; there are no signs of pulverized brick in it. The exterior was at one time whitewashed, but there is no indication that it was otherwise decorated. The only exceptional feature is a round hole about 25 cm in diameter which was intentionally cut in the north side of the vault and may originally have been covered by tiles. More recently, a hole has been broken in the south vault to serve as a chimney for fires. This has revealed the structure of the vault and roof. The vault is of mortared rubble, the roof is of large thin stone tiles at the eaves, overlaid by smaller narrower stones at the top (as at Sachnoe), the whole supported by a rib at the centre.

Decoration. The interior is entirely covered by a single layer of painting. The decoration is well preserved, apart from portions in the top and centre of the conch, most of the faces of the figures (which have been mutilated), and an area round the hole in the roof (which has been blackened with soot

The painting is on two layers of plaster. A lower lime-and straw plaster ground is of varying thickness, according to the surface of the masonry, but averages 2 cm. It is slightly yellow in colour, with abundant straw in quite large pieces. Plaster joins ran along vertical and horizontal red borders. A thin surface layer of plaster carries the painting. Basic colours are yellow, brown, green, brick red, black, white, haematite purple, blue, and (perhaps) olive green. The ground colours of backgrounds are yellow or brick red. Flesh is built up on a green ground. Halos have a broad haematite inner outline and a white outer outline, compass drawn, perhaps with a reed rather than a brush. The same device was used for St George's circular shield. Green garments have a green ground, dark green shadow lines, light green intermediate highlights and white highlights. Red

⁸ *L'art byzantin du XIII –e siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani*, Belgrad 1965.

garments a red ground, dark red shadow lines and white highlights. In the painted inscriptions, aspirates are angled hooks. "Alphas" sometimes have a diagonal bar and "deltas" stepped bar and pronounced serifs. The lettering is close to that found in St. John Theologos, Dikaisimon, assigned by Protassoff⁹ to the thirteenth century. An old description of this chapel remark a lot of scenes and figures.

Iconographically, the group of ascetic saints is appropriate to a monastery such as Vazelon and is paralleled for example in St. Sabbas, Trebizond. The group of military saints, led by St. Eugenios of Trebizond, whose official cult the Grand Komnenoi were at pains to promote, may be compared with a similar concern with military saints in the fourteenth-century Serbia. The painter of St. Elias had a feeling for scale and monumentality. The painter of St. Elias had a feeling for scale and monumentality.¹⁰ About fifty votive and other inscriptions are scratched on the wall paintings. Their style ranges from the careful, stilted open lettering of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through that with convoluted ligatures.¹¹ The best preserved are the following scenes:

West wall:

First register:

- **Sts. Constantine and Helena**, in lower register of west wall, north of door. Like that in the eastern chapel of St. Sabbas, and unlike that in Sarmaşikli Upper Church¹², the Vazelon composition shows Constantine on the left and Helena on the right. They are inscribed respectively *ὁ ἀγ(ιος) Κωνσταντινος* and *ἡ ἀγια Ἐλένη*. Their cross bears four capital *epsilons*. The jewelled robes of the Vazelon example are fussier in detail than those in the St. Sabbas chapel of 1411, but the composition is substantially more confident-looking than that in Sarmaşikli. Helena's imperial robe has a red ground, dark red shadow lines,

⁹ N. Protassoff, *Monuments de Dževizlyk*, in „Byzantion” IV, 1927 – 1928, pp. 418 - 425

¹⁰ Talbot Rice, D. *Notice on some religious buildings in the city and vilayet of Trebizond*, in “Byzantion”, 5, 1930, p. 79-81.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹² Sarmaşikli Geyikli Kilisesi it is about 1,5 km north of Maçka. There are three medieval churches in the area: Sarmaşikli, Upper Church, Sarmaşikli Middle Chapel, and Sarmaşikli Lower Chapel, the betoken at least a medieval settlement, topographically pointing to Zouza, Kapuköy, a thirteenth century primary *chorion* of Vazelon which was confirmed in 1386. Uspenskij. F. I., Benešević, V. V., *Actes de Vazélon : matériaux...* Act 79, 103. A. Bryer and D. Winfield *Nineteenth - century monuments in the city and vilayet of Trebizond: architectural and historical notes*, in “Αργεϊον Πόντου” 30, (1970) p. 259.

and white highlights; the artist has treated the kite shaped end of her *loros* convincingly, as if he knew how the garment was actually worn.

- **St. Makarios**, to the right, in lower register of west wall, is inscribed *ἀχ(ιος) Μακαριος* the head of this strikingly tall, hirsute, naked figure, has been obliterated. His right hand clutches a long wispy beard; his left is raised open. St. Makarios, pneumatophore of the *Skete*, is depicted as a conventional ascetic.

Second register:

- **Baptism**¹³, in middle register of west wall, south portion. The scene is inscribed, *Ἡ Βαπτῆσις* and Christ is identified with the symbols IC XC. The Prodomos places his right hand on the head of Christ; a dove descends from above; a sketchy grisaille personification of the Jordan with an urn crouches below Christ and the Prodomos; to the right stand three angels with yellow, green, and yellow halos.

- **Raising of Lazarus**¹⁴, in middle register of west wall, north portion; The scene is inscribed *Ἡ ἐγερσις τοῦ Λαζάρου*; to the right of Christ are the symbols IC XC. Four apostles follow him, but the arch above the door precludes the inclusion of Martha and Mary. One figure unwraps the cloth wound around Lazarus, another removes the marbled lid of his sarcophagus; the artist's treatment of six mourning Jews behind Lazarus is of some distinction.

Last register:

- **Koimesis of the Theotokos**¹⁵, in upper register of west wall. St. Peter in (possibly) green chiton and yellow himation; St. Paul in purple chiton and grey himation.

¹³ The iconography of the Baptism of Christ was fairly stable for about a thousand years, and even after that artists still stayed with more or less the same arrangement of figures. On the left we see a 6th-century image from Palestine with all the features that will be repeated in countless versions. Jesus stands naked in the River Jordan while John the Baptist extends his hand to pour water from a cup over his head. Angels stand on the opposite bank with clothing for him. Observers stand behind the Baptist. Above Jesus we see a dove and above that a representation of the Father, in this case a hand pointing to Jesus.

¹⁴ The *Raising of Lazarus* or the *Ressurrection Of Lazarus* is a miracle of Jesus, in which Jesus brings Lazarus back to life four days after his burial. John Clowes, *The Miracles of Jesus Christ* published by J. Gleave, Manchester, UK, 1817 page 274.

¹⁵ Κοίμησις Θεοτόκου is a Great Feast of the Ortodox Church and Catholic Churches which commemorates the "falling asleep" or death of Mary, the mother of Jesus (literally translated as *God-bearer*), and her bodily resurrection before being taken up into heaven. It is celebrated on August 15 as the *Feast of the Dormition* of the Mother of God. In Orthodoxy and Catholicism, in the language of the scripture, death is often

South wall:

First register:

- **St. Euthymios**¹⁶, in lower register of south wall, is inscribed but damaged. A companion of St. Sabbas, St. Euthymios is also found in the paintings of 1443 in the tower of the Hagia Sophia, Trebizond.¹⁷

- **St. Arsenios**, in lower register of south wall, is inscribed but damaged. St. Arsenios the Roman, fourth-century anchorite disciple of St. John the Small, is otherwise unrepresented in Pontic painting

- **Prophet Elijah (Elias)** in lower register is indistinct, save for his name

- **St. Gregory (of Nyssa)**¹⁸ in lower register of apse wall, is identified simply as *ὁ ἀχ(ιος) Γριγόρηος*. His white sticharion has greenish folds. The five lines of his scroll are taken from the opening of the first antiphon: *Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡ μῶν οὐ τό Κράτος ἀνείκατν καί ἡ δόξα*.

Second register:

- **Nativity and Presentation**, in upper register of south wall, west section. The two scenes, which are not separated by a red border, were so badly encrusted with soot that only when the surface was washed for photography purposes was it realized that they were actually two separate scenes. Despite the small scale of the work, all essential elements (including Joseph, the Magi, and the Bath of the Child, a single shepherd, and an angel) are included in the Nativity. Christ is identified with the symbols IC XC. The Presentation is inscribed *Ἡ Ὑπαπαντή*. Simeon bears the Christ Child beneath a canopy; the Theotokos holds out her veiled hands; Joseph carries two doves, and behind him

called a "sleeping" or "falling asleep" (Greek *κοίμησις*; whence *κοιμητήριον* -> *coemetērium* -> *cemetery*, a place of sleeping).

¹⁶ Saint Euthymius the Great (377 – 20 January 473) was an abbot in Palestine venerated in both Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. Because of his ascetic life and firm confession of the Orthodox Faith, St Euthymius is called "the Great." Wearied by contact with the world, the holy abba went for a time into the inner desert. After his return to the lavra some of the brethren saw that when he celebrated the Divine Liturgy, fire descended from Heaven and encircled the saint. St Euthymius himself revealed to several of the monks that often he saw an angel celebrating the Holy Liturgy with him. The saint had the gift of clairvoyance, and he could discern a person's thoughts and spiritual state from his outward appearance. When the monks received the Holy Mysteries, the saint knew who approached worthily, and who received unworthily.

¹⁷ D. Talbot Rice *The church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond*, Edinburg 1968, p. 120.

¹⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, also known as Gregory Nyssen c. 335 – 395, was bishop of Nyssa from 372 to 376 and from 378 until his death. He is venerated as a saint in Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism. Gregory, his brother Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus are collectively known as the Cappadocian Father.

is a figure which is presumably the prophetess Anna.

- **Annunciation**, in upper register of south wall, east section .The spirited angel of the Annunciation is divided from the Theotokos (who stands before an abbreviated architectural background) by the south window.

North wall:

First register – military saints:

- **St. Demetrios**¹⁹ begins a series of four standing military saints, which follow each other without any separation.

- **St. Theodore** has nothing to indicate which of the two saints bearing the same name is represented here

- **St. Eugenios of Trebizond**²⁰, in lower register of north wall. Despite damage to the face, this is perhaps the finest surviving wall painting of the patron of Trebizond. The figure is inscribed *ὁ ἀγιος Εὐγένιος ὁ Τραπεζοῦντ* . He holds a long white martyr's cross and wears a short red military tunic and blue

¹⁹ Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki - greek: *Άγιος Δημήτριος της Θεσσαλονίκης*) was a Christian martyr, who lived in the early 4th century. St. Demetrius was initially depicted in icons and mosaics as a young man in patterned robes with the distinctive *tablion* of the senatorial class across his chest. Miraculous military interventions were attributed to him during several attacks on Thessaloniki, and he gradually became thought of as a soldier: a Constantinopolitan ivory of the late 10th century shows him as an infantry soldier (Metropolitan Museum of Art). But an icon of the late 11th century in Sinai shows him as before, still a civilian. This may be due to iconic depiction customs on how saints are depicted. Eugenia Russell, *St Demetrius of Thessalonica; Cult and Devotion in the Middle Ages*, Peter Lang, Oxford, 2010; ames C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki: Civic Patron and Divine Protector 4th-7th Centuries CE*, Trinity Press International, 1999.

²⁰ Saint Eugeni or Eugene was martyred in the time of Diocletian (i.e. 284-305) and a cult devoted to him developed in Trebizond. His feast day is 21 January. Eugene along with the martyrs Saint Candidus, Valerian and Aquila was persecuted during the reign of Diocletian and Maximian (305-311). The four hid in the mountains above Trebizond, but were eventually found and brought before the regimental commander Lycius. They were flogged, tortured with fire and eventually beheaded. Eugenios is credited with the destruction of the image on the "gray hill" overlooking the city, later known as t the Mithratis. The Komnenian rulers of the Empire of trebizond adopted the saint as the patron of their country. His miracles include assisting Trebizond to repel the attacks of the Seljuk Turcs in 1224. His image appears frequently on Trapezuntine coins. The cult and pilgrimage around this saint never really developed beyond Trebizond's borders, although John Lazaropoulos, Metropolitan of Trebizond in the name Joseph, collected the miracles of St. Eugenios into one book in the 14th century. See J.O. Rosenquist, *The hagiographic Dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond*, in „Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia”, 5, Uppsala, 1996.

cloak edged with pearls. His kite-shaped shield is white, decorated with a pattern which might be described as *disintegrated Kufic* lettering in red.

- **St. George** is inscribed *ὁ ἀχ(ιος) Γεώργιος*. His red cloak is fastened over a convincing representation of chain mail. But the most striking feature of the figure is its brightly painted circular shield. Unlike St. Demetrios, St. George is relatively common in Pontic painting, and the Grand Komnenos George even substituted him for St. Eugenios on certain bronze coin types.

Next images of saints cannot be deciphered.

Second register:

- **Crucifixion**, in upper register of north wall west section, left. The scene is inscribed *Ἡ Σταύρωσις*. At the head of the cross is the label *Ὁ βασιλεύς τῆς δόξης* between the sigla IC XC. The Theotokos is identified as the *MHP ΘV* and St John as *Ὁ αγ(ιος) Ἰω(άννης) Ὁ Θεολόγος*. St. John wears a red chiton and a green himation, and Christ's loincloth is also green. These green garments are built up from a green ground and dark green shadow lines, to light green intermediate highlights, and white highlights. Christ has a red halo. The skull of Golgotha lies below the cross. Two plunging angels flank the top of the cross. The sun and moon are omitted. The twisted, etiolated figure of Christ is relatively, and unusually, smaller than those of St. John and the Theotokos.

- **Anastasis**, in upper register of north wall, west section, right, follows the Crucifixion without a red dividing border. The scene is named *Ἡ Ανάστασις* and Christ bears the sigla IC XC. The two Just Kings stand to the left in front of the Prodomos, who points to Christ. Christ has no mandorla and moves to the right without glancing back. The Gates of Hell lie apart, not across each other. Christ grasps the cross with his left hand and Adam's wrist with his right. Behind Adam is Eve, and behind her Abel awaits his turn. Pontic artists were usually unsure of the appearance of classical or Early Christian sarcophagi. Here the artist has given up the attempt altogether and has depicted tower-like structures, complete with windows, from which the figures emerge. Christ wears a green chiton and a yellow himation on which the highlighting is particularly neatly hatched. The Gates of Hell are yellow and the mouth of Hell itself is haematite purple. The heavily jewelled kings wear red and green tunics and green and red superhumeralis, respectively. St. John Prodomos is covered with a brown hairy cloak. Christ's hair is brown and his halo red with a jewelled cross. Adam's hair is grey, long, and his halo is green. The kings' and the Prodomos' halos are yellow; Eve and Abel have no halos. The "*sarcophagi*" are pink and the rocks in the background brownish.

- **Transfiguration** – the apostles who are visible one wears a red chiton and a yellow himation, and another a green himation.

Altar:

Register hierarch:

- **St. Athanasios** - is the first of six standing Father of the Church who are turned toward the centre of the apse, tree on either side in respect to the centre. Is identified as *Ο άγ(ιος) Αθανάσιος*

- **St. Gregory (of Nazianzus)**, in lower register of apse wall, is named *Ο άχιος Γριχόρηος*. The five lines of his scroll begin (but perhaps do not end) with the opening of the prayer of the second antiphon: *ό τάς κοι νάς ταύ τας και συμφώνος τῖς αιτα τάς αιτήσεις*. Graffiti of two bearded heads on the background to the right of St. Gregory's name should be noted in plate²¹.

- **St. Basil**, in lower register of apse wall, is identified by only four letters of his name. His scroll is destroyed and his face, like those of all the other Fathers, has been defaced.

- **St. John Chrysostom** - the first of the group of three Fathers turned to the left.

- **St. Gregory (of Nyssa)** in lower register of apse wall, is identified simply as *ό άχ(ιος) Γριγόρηος*. His white sticharion has greenish folds. The five lines of his scroll are taken from the opening of the first antiphon: *Κ ύριε ό Θεός ή μών ού τό Κράτος άνείκατν και ή δόξα .*

- **St. Nicholas**, in lower register of apse wall, is identified as *ό άχ(ιος) Νικόλαος* (an attempt has been made to prise out his name). His white sticharion has pinkish folds. The four lines of his scroll are badly damaged but appear to be taken from the opening of the ekphonesis of the second prayer of the faithful: *ό πως ύ πο του κράτους πάντοτε.*

Chapel vault:

- **Ascension** - in east vault Christ in red chiton and purple himation; four winged angels; other figures probably apostles

- **Pentecost** - 0 in badly damaged west vault. Apostle is in green chiton and red himation. The monastery was endowed by several emperors, particularly by the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349 - 1390)²².

²¹ F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I* Oxford 1896, p. 311 apud Anthony Bryer, David Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the PONTOS*, Washington D.C. 1985, p.291.

²² William Miller, *Trebizond: The last Greek Empire of the Byzantine Era: 1204-1461*, 1926 (Chicago: Argonaut, 1969), p. 46; Finlay,G. *The History of Greece and the Empire of Trebizond, (1204-1461)* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1851), p. 386.

Records of the region had been kept in the Vazelon Monastery for a long period. These records have been taken and brought to Russia during Russian occupation of Trabzon (1916-1917) and are in Sankt Petersburg Museum at present. Vazelon Acts and Baptism Records have vital information regarding demographic structure of Late Byzantine Period and Early Comnenus Kingdom of Trabzon. Rustam Shukurov, who worked on Vazelon Acts²³ and Baptism Records say that;

“The number of unidentified names in all available sources adds up more than 40 percent of the total number of nicknames and family names. This corresponds in general to the figures of A. Bryer who estimated standard Greek names of the Acts of Vazelon only to be 47.3 percent. The remaining 52.7 percent are unidentified names and those of their beginning, the major part of which is likely of non-Greek origin”.²⁴

This fact proves that, many of Turkish tribes who arrived to the administrative area of Vazelon Monastery had been Christianized during the Late Byzantine Period and Comnenus Kingdom. Vazelon Monastery in this point of view plays a crucial role on mirroring past events. Last monk, Dionysios Amarantidis, saved the icon of Saint John Prodromou, which he subsequently transported and guarded at the monastery of Agia Triada, located in Serres, Greece.

Therefore, the city has gained a rich cultural heritage, enriched by many ancient tales. We welcome everyone among us who amidst the historical and cultural values and unparalleled natural beauty of Trabzon,

Conclusions

The Trabzon' sovereigns displayed in a brilliant manner the features that characterized the Byzantine Empire. They knew to preserve the greatness, the luxury, the pomp at the court that showed their capacity to create a unique

²³ See, Ф. Успенский, В. Бенешевич, *Вазелонские акты. Материал для истории крестьянского и монастырского землевладения в Византии XIII-XV вв.* [The Acts of Vazelon: Materials for the history of rural and monastic property in the 13th -15th centuries Byzantium], Ленинград, 1927; Also see, F. Dölger, *Zur den Urkunden des Vazelonklosters bei Trapezunt*, in “Byzantinische Zeitschrift”, (1929/30) 29, p. 329-344.

²⁴ Rustem Shukurov, *Turkish-Speaking Byzantines of the Pontus*, in “Trabzon Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri 6-8 Kasım 1998”, Trabzon, 2nd ed., Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları: 81, Trabzon, 2000. p. 100.

standard of living. Through their diplomatic ability and love for the Orthodoxy, the Byzantine emperors tried to draw the neighbors' attention to Trabzon and its surroundings. In addition, their interest in maintaining the permanence of monasteries of that area led them, and especially Alexios III Megas Komnenos, to endow the Vazelon Monastery. After the Turkish conquest of Trabzon Empire, in 1461, the Vazelon Monastery persisted for many centuries. Nevertheless, during the the First World War, it was abandoned and destroyed by the treasure hunters. Today, the specialists in the history of Byzantium art could find a valuable information about the beauty and the greatness of the Byzantium iconography, and about what was once the Byzantium Empire of Trabzon, an empire of the Christian spirituality.

ATTEMPTS AT INTRODUCING COMMUNIST RITUALS IN THE FAMILY TRADITIONS AND HOLYDAYS: CASE STUDY ON MOLDAVIAN SSR

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Rezumat: Tentative de introducere a ritualurilor comuniste în tradițiile de familie și sărbători: studiu de caz despre Republica Socialistă Sovietică Moldova

Acest articol aduce în atenție politicile de stat menite să introducă ritualuri comuniste în familie și în tradițiile de nuntă în Uniunea Sovietică, în general, și, în special, în Moldova sovietică. Sărbătorile sovietice pot fi clasificate după cum urmează: festivaluri istorice și revoluționare, festivități dedicate diferitelor profesii sau sărbători ale profesiilor, sărbători calendaristice publice și aniversări și ritualuri de familie și cotidiene. Printre concluziile articolului se numără și aceea conform căreia, chiar dacă au fost luate toate măsurile în scopul introducerii de noi tradiții și obiceiuri în sfera familială în Moldova sovietică, ele, de regulă, nu au fost acceptate. În pofida tendinței regimului sovietic de a stabili un control strâns asupra societății, obiceiurile naționale, tradițiile, valorile culturale s-au păstrat datorită faptului că familia a rămas una dintre instituțiile sociale care nu a asimilat norme și obiceiuri improprii.

Abstract: This article focuses on the state policies to introduce Communist rituals in the family and wedding traditions in the Soviet Union in general and in Soviet Moldavia particularly. In general, Soviet holidays can be classified as follows: historical and revolutionary festivals, celebrations dedicated to various professions, that is, professional holidays, public holidays called dedication, calendar, and family and everyday celebrations and rituals. Among the conclusions of the article is that although all measures for the introduction of new traditions and customs in the family sphere of Soviet Moldavia have been made, they were as a rule in vain. Despite the tendency of the Soviet regime to establish the daily control on the society, after all the national customs, traditions, cultural values were preserved due to the fact that the family has remained one of those social institutions that hindered the process.

Résumé : Tentatives d'introduction des rituels communistes dans les traditions de famille et de fête : étude de cas sur la République Socialiste Soviétique Moldavie

L'article ci-joint met l'accent sur les politiques d'Etat conçues à introduire des rituels communistes dans la famille et dans les traditions de mariage, dans l'Union Soviétique, en général, et en spécial dans la Moldavie soviétique. On peut classer les fêtes soviétiques de la

manière suivante: festivals historiques et révolutionnaires, les festivités dédiées aux différentes professions ou fêtes des professions, fêtes du calendrier publiques et anniversaires et rituels de famille et quotidiens. On remarque des conclusions de l'article la suivante: même si on prit des mesures ayant le but d'introduire de nouvelles traditions et coutumes dans la sphère familiale dans la Moldavie soviétique, celles-ci furent, d'habitude, en vain. Malgré la tendance du régime soviétique d'établir un contrôle quotidien sur la société, toutes les coutumes nationales, traditions et valeurs culturelles résistèrent parce que la famille y resta une des institutions sociales inchangées.

Keywords: *Rituals, traditions, celebrations, propaganda, ideology, Communism, Soviet Moldavia, USSR*

According to the Communist vulgate, an important condition for the development of Soviet culture was the principle of party leadership in the cultural construction. One of the peculiarities of Soviet culture consisted in the creation of new traditions and rituals that would meet the principles of the new socialist society, and thus reflect the essence of the communist values.

Soviet culture was one of the mechanisms in moulding the community in such a way to meet the so-called communist ideal. The forms and methods of educating society were different and the nature of Soviet rituals developed on the basis of the priorities of the ideological work of the party. In general, Soviet holidays can be classified as follows: historical and revolutionary festivals, celebrations dedicated to various professions, that is, professional holidays, public holidays called dedication, calendar, and family and everyday celebrations and rituals.¹

In other words, the stages of formation and development of Soviet holidays and ceremonies coincide with major periods of so-called Cultural Revolution in the USSR.

The first phase of the Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia coincides with the so-called transition from capitalism to socialism (1928-1932),² according to the ideological phraseology, a period in which all the old festivals, traditions, rites were stigmatized as anti-revolutionary, thus supposedly contradicted the new socialist regime. Holidays, which are formed during this period, had historical and revolutionary character and stress the work values.

¹ В. Зеленчук, Ю. Попович, *Новые традиции и обряды* [New traditions and rituals], Кишинев, 1976, с. 3-4.

² Н. М. Закович, В. А. Зоц, *Праздники и обряды как элемент советской культуры* [Celebrations and rituals as elements of the Soviet culture], accessible at religio.rags.ru/journal/anthology1/a1_27.pdf

The second stage was called the final stage of the great Cultural Revolution (1934-1936). At this stage it was supposed that there were provided all the necessary conditions for the creation of the ideological and cultural “victory of communist ideas”.

The new holidays and traditions were included in the arsenal of propaganda and agitation section and were used in the fight against the so-called harmful traditions of the past as philistinism, the pernicious influence of the church on the society and so on.

In this article, we will make an attempt to analyze the formation of family holidays and ceremonies and effects of this policy in Soviet Moldavia, created as union republic in 1940 after the Soviet occupation of Romanian Bessarabia. Before moving to a case study – the Moldavian SSR – it is important to note that the very idea of new Soviet family holidays is the result of legislative reforms of the 1920s and 1930s in the USSR. In fact, the idea that the decree of December 20, 1917 recognizing the exclusive right to register marriages registry offices led to the development of the official non-church ceremony to legitimize the marriage. The new ceremony lasted about 20 minutes, emphasizing simplicity and low levels of civic significance of the rite.

Also in the 1920s, the Young Communist League and the Women's Section invited to practice the so-called “Red Wedding”, which had more social meaning than personal. The wedding ceremony took place at the factory or in the Soviet institutions, decorated with red flags and filled with crowds of colleagues, and the oath of the spouses was associated more with social objectives.

The formation of the Soviet traditions was influenced by the struggle with the church and religious beliefs. The process of the fight against traditions considered harmful to the regime and superstitions of the church had more success in the cities than in the villages. A characteristic feature of religion in the Soviet period was the fact that it was relegated to the private sphere of the family.³ And when one considers the fact that in the rural areas the big traditional family that included several generations was preserved, the process of introducing new rites was very problematic. The so-called religious vestiges of family traditions in Moldavia demanded a new approach to solving the problems posed in this mode in a national periphery of the Soviet state, since more than 77 % of the population of the Moldavian SSR lived in the villages.

The first attempts to introduce new family traditions have been taken in the 1950s, when in the MSSR were introduced new celebrations, such as the 'Komsomol weddings', 'Zvezdiny' or 'Oktyabriny'. The first Komsomol wedding

³ В. Зеленчук, Л. Д. Лоскутова, *Против вредных традиции прошлого* [Against the negative traditions of the past], Кишинев, 1962, с. 7.

was held in 1956 in the village Chobruchi, Slobozia district. This wedding was organized and in which participated the representatives of the District Committee of the Youth Communists (Komsomol), of the District Department of Culture, as well as representatives of the leadership of the local collective farm. The place of the ceremony was the local cultural house, its stage being decorated with flowers and flags as well as a portrait of Lenin and the slogans of congratulations, which were presented to the newly-weds. The main guests at the wedding were the heads of collective farm and the village council (rather than parents, relatives and friends of newly-weds as was usual in the traditional weddings), the secretary of the Komsomol committee, who took their places on stage, next to the newly-weds. The official part of the ceremony was opened with the introductory remarks by the chairman of the village council, who handed the marriage certificate to the newly-weds and congratulated the young couple on behalf of the farmers. The newly-weds received gifts from the collective farm, as well as the regional organization of the Young Communist League. It seems that it was because of the gifts that most of the young couples agreed to conduct such marriages. In this sense, D. Ivashchuk, a former secretary of the Komsomol committee, recalls that “in the village of Grigoriopol, Dubasari district, in 1958 there was a case that after the Komsomol wedding and giving the presents, I know that a week later get married and celebrated the traditional wedding according to the pattern inherited from their ancestors, and I had noticed that people at the time of the ceremony were serious, and I wanted to interrupt this silence and I have cried, «bitter [traditional way of saying that the weds should kiss each other, identical to the Russian “gor’ka!”]!» everyone looked at me with surprise, and someone asked «is this possible?»”.⁴

“Zvezdiny” or “Oktyabryny”⁵ were the celebrations which were organized in the honour of the birth as well as delivery of the birth certificates. For example, in Criuleni district, on the first Sunday of the month, it was used to celebrate the holiday of the birth of a child. The ceremony took place in the house of culture (*dom kultury*, in Russian or *casa de cultura*, in Romanian), which was attended by parents of infants and numerous guests, and in the Presidium were represented the representatives of the party and Komsomol leadership. There were also Young Leninists (*okteabreata*), pioneers, Komsomol and Communist on the stage. The newborn was passed from hand to hand symbolizing thus the path that must be made new (Soviet) citizen.

⁴ D. Ivașciuc, *Rămâne pentru totdeauna* [It is meant to be forever], in “Tinerimea Moldovei” [Youth of Moldavia], 1964, 22 October.

⁵ V. Moldovanu, *Să însușim noile tradiții și ritualuri* [Lets implement the new traditions and rituals], in “Tribuna” [Tribune], 1976, 4 July.

It should be noted that the above mentioned inventories of the ceremonies were conducted in different ways in different regions, towns, villages, insofar as there were no standard model for such ceremonies.

To solve this problem, i.e. the introduction of certain standards of conduct of such activities, on the August 28, 1969 the Communist Party of Moldavia (CPM), jointly with the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, adopted a decree "On the introduction of the new civil ceremonies in the life of the Soviet citizens of the republic." This decree recommended to all level of the administration – city and district committees of the CPM, the executive committees of local councils of people's deputies, including the Ministry of Culture of the MSSR, trade unions, Komsomol organizations – to implement in the life of the people the new holidays and communist civic ceremonies.

At the same time, there was created a Republican Interdepartmental Committee to develop a formal part of the ceremony, as the granting of passports, registration of marriages and births. The Committee was obliged to submit for approval by the CPM Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian all the customs and the rules for the new ceremony. On the other hand, the local executive committees were required to create a public commission for the implementation and monitoring of the new Soviet holidays.

The transformation of family traditions and rituals in the Moldavian SSR had three areas: the rejection of certain rituals and practices that do not meet with Communist principles; reorganization of a number of traditions and rituals in the spirit of communist ideals, the creation of 'quality' of new holidays and rituals.

It should be emphasized that as a whole the tentative to create and implement the Soviet-style family celebrations in Soviet Moldavia was a failure. The majority of the local population, especially the rural majority, continued to be loyal to traditional values and celebrations. This is evidenced by a survey of the population in the early 1970s about the nature of the desired forms of rituals. In this way, the survey provided the following results: 65% of the rural population preferred wedding in compliance with all or part of the national ritual, and only about 27% of the population voted for a simple wedding feast. More exactly, among the manual workers of different qualifications, the wedding in accordance with the full or partial national ritual was favoured by 72%. At the same time, the figure for the same among the civil servants, professionals and managers was much lower and accounted for only 57%. In favour of the simple feast among the same categories were 19.4%, and respectively 33.9%.⁶

⁶ Н. П. Лобачова, *Общесоветское и национально-специфическое в новой обрядности* [Soviet and national specificities in the new rituals], in *Традиционные и новые*

Based on this survey, one can make quite explicit and informed conclusions about what the creation of new family of Soviet holidays did not excluded – at least for a certain period of time – centuries-old national tradition, Romanian or Russian etc. As was very clear in the 1950s, it was close to impossible to exclude completely the national customs and traditions, especially in the rural areas.

There were organized theoretical and practical workshops on the implementation of new holidays and rituals. There were conducted also numerous regional and inter-district competitions: the most successful application of new rituals in practice, the most beautiful “happy room” etc.

The State Committee for the Television and Radio introduced new programs focusing on the new traditions and rituals. The Ministry of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Commerce in turn took the task of improving the supply to towns and villages goods associated with the introduction of new wedding and family traditions and rituals.

It should be noted that although attempts were made for the consolidation of new rituals and traditions, the expected results were not met. In spite of the August 28, 1969 Communist Party of Moldavia and MSSR Council of Ministers decree “On the introduction of new civil ceremonies in the life of Soviet citizens of the Republic”, decades later many people continued to practice traditional festivals and rituals. For example, in Bricheni district in 1978-1979, for 606 children there were organized “Zvezdiny” or “Oktyabriny”. At the same time 1.210 – that is, twice as many children – had been baptised in the church. A similar pattern was recorded in other areas. In Dondusheni district, 807 of newborns had been privy to new traditions. Meanwhile, there were baptised in the church almost twice as much – 1, 490 children.⁷ In 1986, in the Straseni district there born 2266 infants, out of them 1568 were baptised in the church. In addition, out of the 857 married couples, 382 were married in the church.⁸

In conclusion, it should be added that, although all measures for the introduction of new traditions and customs in the family sphere have been made, they were as a rule in vain. Despite the tendency of the Soviet regime to establish the daily control on the society, after all the national customs, traditions, cultural values, were preserved due to the fact that the family has remained one of those social institutions that hindered the process.

обряды в быту народов СССР [Traditional and new rituals in the life of the peoples of the Soviet Union], Москва, Издательство «Наука», 1981, с. 46.

⁷ “Literatura și arta” [Literature and Art], 1979, 24 May.

⁸ “Tribuna” [Tribune], 1988, 17 September.

THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY UPON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS¹

Undoubtedly, in terms of international relations analysis – including also the geopolitics, geostrategy, security studies etc. – the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century were, and still are dominated by the studies of the American scholars, who did pioneering work, created schools and opened new research directions in these areas. The works of Robert D. Kaplan, author of 15 books on foreign affairs and travel, chief geopolitical analyst at the famous Stratfor and senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington, confirms this rule (www.RobertDKaplan.com).

Starting with the *Preface*, suggestively entitled *Frontiers*, the author exploits a series of truths, blurred or overlooked by the general euphoria after the collapse of USSR (1991), but perennial geographically and geopolitically: the role of mountains as a "conservative force" (p. xiv)², the meaning and role of peoples and civilizations developed organically, yet separated by state borders (p. xvi, e.g. Afghanistan and Pakistan)³, the clear distinction between "frontiers" (actually, the frontier regions) and "boundaries" created by man (pp. xviii-xix), initiated by the Anglo-Saxon geopoliticians and completed by Michel Foucher, the creator of the term *horogenèse* (describing the "*genesis of the frontiers*"). These historical, geographical and geopolitical parameters are not always stressed out by the decision makers in international relations.

Although the book's title refers only to geography, the avid reader will discover a fabulous analysis of the contemporary world, which provides a fundamental truth: the neglect of geography (and, implicitly, of history and geopolitics) draws to "revenge". The author gives us a fundamental message which is, basically, the key to understanding his work: "The only thing enduring is a people's position on the map. Thus, in times of upheaval, maps rise in

¹ Robert D. Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*, New York, Random House, 2012, 403 p.

² *Commonplace* at French geographers and geopolitical thinkers of the interwar period.

³ Favorite theme of the German geopoliticians of the same period.

importance. With the political ground shifting rapidly under one's feet, the map, though not determinative, is the beginning of discerning a historical logic about what might come next" (p. xviii).

The scientific approach of the author of the reviewed book is divided into 3 parts (Part I: *Visionaries*; Part II: *The early Twenty First century map*; Part III: *America's destiny*), which are also divided into 15 chapters.

The first part of the book contains 8 chapters (*From Bosnia to Bagdad; The revenge of geography; Herodotus and his successors; The Eurasian map; The Nazi distortion; The Rimland thesis; The allure of sea power; The "crisis of room"*), which capture a series of general principles of geography and geopolitics influence on the history and, in general, on the prospective international politics.

This section has a strong theoretical character, reviewing significant literature from Antiquity to the present day, dealing with the influence of geography on history and implicitly of geography on geopolitics and international relations. In this respect, brilliant pages on opinions expressed for this topic by Thucydides, Ibn Khaldun, Halford J. Mackinder, Nicholas John Spykman, Hans J. Morgenthau, William Hardy McNeill etc. are written. In our opinion, the author is strongly influenced by McNeill's famous ideas concerning the historical rise of the Western civilization. In the fifth chapter, exaggerations of Nazi geopolitics are discussed and condemned. The next two chapters are focused on profound ideas concerning Rimland (Nicholas John Spykman) and Sea Power (Alfred Thayer Mahan).

The author emphasizes idea that perennial considerations of the founder of USA's doctrine concerning naval supremacy (i.e. Mahan) are also good for this century, because the American naval supremacy will be challenged by China and India.

Generally, in the chapter called *The "crisis of room"* are analyzed and amplified Paul Bracken's ideas strongly expressed in *Fire in the East: The Rise of Asian Military Power and the Second Nuclear Age* (New York, HarperCollins, 1999). The basic idea of this chapter is that while the U.S. and Western Europe focuses on globalization, Eurasia focuses increasingly on nationalism and military power.

The second part of this work contains six chapters, representing a geopolitical analysis applied to the former and current major regional powers, or great powers of the world (*The Geography of European division; Russia and the independent heartland; The geography of Chinese power; India's geographical dilemma; The Iranian pivot; The former Ottoman Empire*).

This part could be considered as one of practical application of the theoretical principles presented in the first section. In the chapter concerning

Europe, the analysis is focused on the political and economic issues. Worthy of consideration is the geopolitical idea that the Mediterranean Sea will return to his old role of connecting the southern Europe with the northern Africa. Also, Robert D. Kaplan suggests a transfer of real power from Bruxelles to Berlin.

The chapter related to Russia contains a lot of geographical and historical data which try to suggest that the destiny of this huge country was, it is and will be strongly influenced by its geography. It is reinforced the idea that Russia, as a land power, constantly had feared invasions (actually, this idea appeared in the 17th century, our note). To keep away from these dangers, Russia always sought to expand its territory. From this text results undoubtedly that Russia is not considered as the main enemy for the United States.

In the chapter on China, idea that this country will become, economically and military, the main opponent of the USA is subtly suggested.

The chapter on India emphasizes geographical and historical connections between this country, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh. Also, the demographical, economic and military potential of this country is well analyzed.

Based on many data concerning geographical position, historical and cultural traditions of Iran, the author offers to the reader many pages on the role of geopolitical pivot played by this country.

Last but not least, the second part of the book ends with the chapter on the space of the former Ottoman Empire. Very interesting geopolitical data on Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Israel – which were parts of this Islamic empire – are offered.

The last part of the book involves only one chapter, entitled *Braudel, Mexico and grand strategy*, deals with the destiny of the only nowadays military superpower: USA.

Remarkable are here considerations made by Fernand Braudel (related to classical *longue durée*, *conjunctures* and *l'histoire événementielle*) Edward N. Luttwak (about the *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*) and Arnold J. Toynbee, used by Robert D. Kaplan as theoretical support of his demonstration.

The issue of possible threat of U.S. by Mexico is analyzed in a careful and balanced manner. The author shows, however, it would be possible that around 2050 a third of the U.S. population to be Spanish-speaking.

At the end of the book, it is shown that the United States should promote the unity of the Western Hemisphere, in order that it cannot be threaten by a power from the Eastern Hemisphere. Also, the USA must bring equilibrium in Eurasia and become a unifying force in North America.

It is hard to achieve perfection in a work with a lot of geopolitical aspects. A simple glance at the bibliography used shows that this book is mainly based on

Anglo-Saxon sources – great geopoliticians outside the U.S. and Great Britain being practically ignored.

Undoubtedly, the next edition of this remarkable scientific endeavour will be really fantastic if the works of some authors like Friedrich Ratzel, Karl Haushofer, Yves Lacoste, Michel Foucher, Aleksandr Dughin, Ezzatolah Ezzati, Mohammad Reza Hafeznia will be used.

The scientific notes, the bibliography and a useful general index complete this work, giving the measure of a fully formed author, with a deep knowledge of the operating mechanisms of the multi-polar world in which we live.

Overall, the book – that has already become a Best-Seller – is a great scientific success and an useful tool for students, experts and decision makers in international relations, geopoliticians, militaries, and all those who are interested in creating a more stable international environment and, implicitly, safer.

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