

Noël GOLVERS and Efthymios NICOLAIDIS (Eds), *Ferdinand Verbiest and Jesuit Science in 17th Century China. An annotated edition and translation of the Constantinople manuscript (1676)*, Athens-Leuven, 2009, 382 pages

The discovery in 1991 of a long forgotten Verbiest manuscript in the Collection of the Constantinople Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre brought a most valuable and unexpected contribution to the history of the spreading of Western science in China, in Russia, and also among the Greek-speaking scholars of South-Eastern Europe. It was E. Nicolaidis who, since then, on several occasions, has made known this oldest version of the *Astronomia Europaea*, and now, with the support of a Belgian foundation – the Ferdinand Verbiest Institute –, he is publishing the two texts *Compendium historicum* and *Mechanica*: a carefully corrected transcription of the Latin original and its translation into English, with philological and historical notes.

Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) was a Flemish Jesuit who worked in Beijing since 1660. He had been appointed head of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau and a mandarin of the second order. In 1676 he met the envoy of the Russian tsar, the Moldavian Nicholas Spathar (wrongly called Milescu), who had come to establish diplomatic and commercial relationships with China. As an interpreter from Chinese and Manchu into Latin, the Jesuit was the indispensable contact for Nicholas Spathar. He intended to use this opportunity for obtaining the tsar's favour for himself and for the other Catholic missionaries. Therefore, he sent through "Milescu" his writings that might impress on the Russian government consideration for his scientific achievements. This attempt to open to the Jesuits the Siberian route failed, because there was nobody in Moscow, except Spathar alone, to be interested in the Western updated researches in astronomy. When in 1692 Chrysanthos Notaras arrived in Moscow, sent by his uncle Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, for founding a Greek printing house and for other schemes of their anti-Ottoman policy, he found Nicholas Spathar still active. On his advice, the visitor put to work strenuous translators in order to collect Greek versions of the three books by "Milescu" on China – the *Opisanie*, the *Spisok*, and the *Itinerary from Tobolsk to China's border*. Chrysanthos wished to have also Peter Godunov's *Description of China* and Fedor Bajkov's *Journey into China*: the authors were former travellers to China. Later, Chrysanthos will adapt Spathar's *Little Book on the Tatars* for compiling his own *Κίττια δουλεουσα*. Among these trophies gathered in Moscow was Verbiest's manuscript. The copy was made in Moscow in 1693. The passages which should have been received with interest by the Russian readers were certainly those concerning guns, bombards and balls. Notaras, instead, was evidently thinking above all of optics and physics. However, in Constantinople, as in Moscow, the texts carried out of China by the tsar's ambassador did not find readers.

Our colleague Zamfira Mihail, some years ago, has insisted on the importance of bilingual editions of ancient texts (see her collection of essays *Nicolas le Spathaire Milescu à travers ses manuscrits*, Bucarest, 2009, pp. 111–116). We are dealing here with a model of such a work. It is particularly relevant for the reception of modern science in the post-Byzantine world (for the reception *and for its limitations*).

Andrei Pippidi

Ilia HATZIPANAIOTIS-SANGMEISTER, Ο τεκτονισμός στην ελληνική κοινωνία και γραμματεία του 18^{ου} αιώνα. Οι γερμανόφωνες μαρτυρίες (Freemasonry in the 18th century Greek society and literature. The German sources), Periplous Editions, Athens 2010.

Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister's monograph is a timely contribution on an under-researched topic in the South-Eastern European area, i.e. freemasonry. The fact is due mainly, as far as the Greek and Romanian realities are concerned, to the difficulty of the sources which would lie in their unknown and scattered locations and to their multilingualism. This is why most of the previous contributions include a great deal of guesswork or suppositions turned into assertions.

The contribution under review relies on archive sources and the reader will soon be aware that it is going to stimulate more researches of the sort. A critical bibliography on the history of Greek membership in various freemasonry lodges is provided in the introduction. The one certain fact about the early beginnings is a text of a first grade freemason statute written in Greek in 1751. An interesting point from which Hatzipanaiotis's book derived is the exile after the French Revolution of many Greek-speaking freemasons out of Habsburg territories because within the boundaries of the Empire they were regarded as suspicious.

A clear sign of a particular linguistic sensitivity, the second chapter recalls all the coinages of the 18th Greek century which are telling on new social realities. Such are the terms for "fashion", "novel", "culture", etc. Among them ranks "freemasonry". Nothing in fact is told about the first occurrence of such terms for "freemason" as τέκτον or μασόνος. Apparently, freemasons were first (in the mid 18th century) called in Greek ελεύθερος κονιάτης or μουρατόρος, but much information is given on φαρμασόνας (first occurrence 1755–57) which ended by meaning "malicious". According to Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister's opinion, it was coined in the 18th century and survived till late in the 20th century. If we were to compare it to the Romanian linguistic reality, let us mention that the word *francmason* for "freemason" existed at least since 1787 and a corrupted/popular (comprising a most normal metathesis of the *r*) form of it, *farmazon* "1. adj. devious, slick 2.n. witch" with a feminine *farmazoancă* existed all through the 19th century. The Greek φαρμασόνας and the Romanian *farmazon* apparently identical in form must be related.

The next chapter provides a brief account of what were the main characteristics of the Enlightenment seen from a freemasonry perspective i.e. social equality, religious tolerance, moral education and perfection of the human being. It looks at the freemasonic phenomenon in what the author rightly calls "the Greek familiar space" instead of the traditional formulas "our east" or "the Greek east". Thus the first lodges on Greek territory are re-examined. The lodge of Constantinople was founded in 1747 and as early as 1749 it was already banned by an order of the Ottoman Porte and by the agency of some Catholic monks. The lodge of Smyrna had been founded in 1744–1745 by O. Drummond, the British consul in Aleppo. Some texts show the interest that existed in Cyprus for freemasonry. Not much can be added about the presumed first lodge in the Heptanese, dated 1740, but a great deal of invaluable information was gleaned from a Danish diary. Thus it became clear that Xarvouris, a professor in chemistry of the University of Padua, was technically responsible in 1784 for the relationship between the Italian lodges and those of the Heptanese. Freemasonry shared with philhellenism some ideas about the nature of society, therefore some members made use of the available nets for setting up philhellenic associations. As far as Moldavia is concerned, Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister thinks the local lodges could be older than 1776, the known date of birth of the lodge which was banned one year later by prince Grigore Ghica III. Her argument is the neighbourhood with Transylvania, where lodges functioned in both Sibiu (Hermannstadt) and Brasov (Kronstadt). Several personalities who spent time in the area, such as J.L. Carra, a secretary to Grigore Ghica, or Franz Joseph Sulzer were freemasons. Sulzer became a grand master of the lodge "Zu den drei Säulen" based in Braşov. One of the book's illustrations reproduces a text originating in Braşov which is a dialogue between a freemason and a Christian, actually one of the anti-freemasonry texts which had quite a circulation in the region.

The author has traced a number of merchants and educated people who became members of lodges outside the Habsburg territory. For Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister, Mourouzi seems of special importance, as his case was misinterpreted as an argument for the introduction of the French Enlightenment ideas into South-Eastern Europe. He was mistaken either for Alexander Mavrocordato Firaris or for Alexander Mourouzi, but he was a different person in his own right, a brother of the prince of Moldavia Constantine Mourouzi. Catherine II would have thought to involve him in the Orlof project, but he was afraid of canons (sic!). He was admitted in 1776 to the lodge "St Andreas zu den drei Seeblättern" in Sibiu, where he had a quick ascent as the lodge had become independent. He also founded in 1782 a lodge of himself in Pest, "St Alexander zu den drei silbern Ankern" with the mere aim to make money. One year later, the other lodges put an end to the activity of Mourouzi's creation. That curious character went on living in Russia until 1790.

The concentration of more Greeks in the Leipzig lodges in the 1790ies at the same time when admissions in the Austrian lodges ceased is making sense in Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister's opinion when set in connection to the reaction against the French Revolution. That wave of conservatism had as a result in the Greek language a quite well-known piece of literature written in verse, the *Dialogue of the Dead* by Polyzois Kondou, published in Vienna in 1793. It has been interpreted only as a reaction against the French Enlightenment, while actually it also signifies a reaction against the German Illuminanten, a secret sect who attempted to impose a kind of radical and active Enlightenment and which met an end in 1785–1786. The same kind of spirit pervaded the Ephimeris of the Markides Poulios brothers, where a work under the same title, written by Moritz Flavius Trenck von Tonder, was published in translation.

The examination of the incentives of the Greek freemasons shows that heir joining the lodges in Leipzig and Berlin was not a random choice, it was systematic and lasting in time. It was as good as a way of integration into the socially correlated groups of the region.

Then the author focuses on the effects of freemasonry. Anything but a closed body for secret encounters, it openly worked as an active organization which induced imitation and cultivated ethical values such as friendship and solidarity.

One effect of the integration in foreign lodges was the creation of similar associations lodges on the Greek territory. The well-known travel account of Jakob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy mentions a lodge in 1803 in the then busy town of leather tanners, Ambelakia.

From a Romania point of view, he sequence of Constantine Caradja's life and the new details in connection with Silvestru Fillitti are bringing information of great historical interest.

The book has an annex and appendices. The annex contains the biography of Alexander Mourouzi, while in the appendices we find a list of all the identified Greek-speaking freemasons. Other very useful working tools are a catalogue of the lodges, the encyclical letter of Theocharis Kefalas and a reproduction of the engravings which make up the Bernigeroth collection. The last of these bear the title *Les coutumes des franc-maçons dans leurs assablées principalement pour la réception des apprentifs et des maîtres*.

As this is a book written in Greek it was issued without a précis in a widely circulated European language. It may be hoped that a translation in such a language will soon follow. It is also the place to observe that the only Romanian name in the whole book goes back to the form with which Nicolae Iorga signed his German works. Therefore the historian's name is here given as Nikolaus (!) Iorga.

Despite Hatzipanaiotis-Sangmeister's limiting the geographical boundaries of her contribution, it went beyond the examination of just one social and historical phenomenon, turning into an investigation of the large and multifaceted subject of the Enlightenment. It is in fact a new way of reading the Enlightenment of Greek expression through what was called its "low-voiced version".

The author has the right to think that the discussion she is starting and the new data her research provides are inspiring. We would add unhesitatingly that the book's impact comes also from her research manner, clear and considerate, as well as from her persuasive style.

Lia Brad-Chisacof

Angela JIANU, *Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840–1859*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2011, 382 p.

The Balkan Studies Library of Brill has included among its books this general account of what happened to the people who had led the 1848 revolution in Wallachia after they were banished and how they managed to return as winners.

The first part, a prelude to the revolutionary events, is focussed on the activities of Romanian students in Paris, where they met Michelet and formed around him a group of admirers, succeeding to determine his profound commitment to their cause. Thus, the French historian became in the end an