

# REVUE DES ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES

TOME LVII

2019

N<sup>os</sup> 1–4, Janvier–Décembre

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**REVIVING THE PAST**

**IMAGES AND DISCOURSES IN EASTERN  
AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE**

**Edited by STELU ŞERBAN**

Proceedings of the Workshop *Uses of the Past in Eastern  
and South-Eastern Europe in Modern and Contemporary Period*  
(Bucharest, June 21, 2018), organized by the Institute for South-East  
European Studies of the Romanian Academy, the Institute of Ethnology and  
Folklore Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for  
Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences



## Introduction

The chapters of this volume are mostly written based on the papers presented at the workshop *Uses of the Past in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe in Modern and Contemporary Period* (Bucharest, June 21, 2018). The event has been jointly organized by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The wider framework of cooperation between the three institutions is taking the form of the bilateral inter-academic exchange projects *Ethnicity, People and Environment on the Danube*, implemented by the Institute for South-East European Studies and the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and *Ethnic Groups and National Minorities in Central- and South-Eastern Europe (17<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> c.)*, implemented by the Institute for South-East European Studies and the Institute for Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The cooperation between the three institutes goes a while back in time. After each international workshop collective volumes of papers presented in international workshops, like the one that took place in June 2018 in Bucharest, were published. While the themes of the previous events and publications dealt with classic aspects of ethnology and social anthropology<sup>1</sup>, this year's publication comes with a novel comparative approach for the east and south-east European region, that is, the ethnological recovery and presentation of the tangible and intangible past of the respective societies.

The interest in the mechanisms of recovery of the traumatizing past, such as the two World Wars and the Right and Left totalitarian regimes – the Nazi and the Communist periods –, along with their integration in a museographic discourse encompassing a long swathe of history is a relatively recent approach. The literature originating from these research programs is significant and continues to be written<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, under the influence of the themes generated by the traumatizing past, the “classic” museographic discourse, based on the gathering of objects, documents, written testimonies or images, photo and film collections tends

<sup>1</sup> P. Hristov, A. Kasabova, E. Troeva and D. Demski (eds.) *Contextualising changes: Shifting Borders, Migrations and Identities*, Sofia, 2015; D. Demski, A. Kassabova, I. Sz. Kristóf, L. Laineste, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *The Multi-Mediatized Other. The Construction of Reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980*, Budapest, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> D.J. Sherman and I. Rogoff (eds.), *Museum Culture: Histories Discourses Spectacles*, London, 1994; S.A.Crane (ed.), *Museums and Memory*, Stanford, 2000; P. Apor and O. Sarkisova (eds.), *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989*, Budapest, 2007.

to become self-reflexive, problematic and at the same time complex and refined. This tendency is illustrated, even if limited to the scale of a single country, by recent works from the space we are referring to, i.e. the eastern and south-eastern Europe.

It is within this bibliographical framework that the present volume proposes first and foremost a comparative approach. Second, it lays stress on the link between the recovery and exposure of the past in the classic and dedicated space of museums and the type of research this museographic discourse is based on. Putting ethnology research at the heart of this discourse offers alternative areas of recovering and exposing the past, a fact which is this volume's core argument and also the glue between its two parts.

The chapters of the first section focus on contexts and ways of preservation and re-signification of the historical heritage in museums. **Dagnosław Demski's** chapter, the first in the volume, deals contrastively with various kinds of museographic discourses, i.e. national – local, public – private, classic – postmodern, emphasizing the conceptual and ideological premises of each such discourse. The chapter draws on field research in Bulgarian, Latvian, Polish and Romanian museums carried out between 2015 and 2018 as well as a rich bibliography dealing with the theme. Demski's original idea is both interesting and provocative as the interest in the display of the past at least in Europe is linked to urban development, societal urbanisation, an early phenomenon that begun when the share of the urban population was still small. But if the first museums were created somehow naturally in cities, the emergence of the modern state complicated the process and multiplied the contexts of the museum discourse; this topic is treated distinctly in the first chapter. Equally significant is what Demski calls "unwanted past", that is, the traumatic experience of the world wars and totalitarianisms which is being assimilated in the post-modern museum discourse.

Mirroring Demski's chapter is **Maria Mateoni**'s contribution which reviews the premises in which in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the network of ethnographic museums expanded in the interwar Romania by the creation of four museums, i.e. the National Art Museum in Bucharest and the Astra Museum in Sibiu, both opened in the first decade of the 20th century, the Museum of Transylvania in Cluj and the Village Museum in Bucharest established in the interwar period. Beyond the political premises and connotations, Mateoni highlights the various sources of inspiration of these projects. On the one hand, the import of European ideas on the organization of museums such as the Skansen model or the Berlin "Kaiser Friedrich" Museum played an important role. On the other hand, the initiators of these museums were guided by distinct research conceptions like the history of traditional art, ethnography and human geography, or rural sociology.

**Dominika Czarnecka** discusses in her chapter the premises on which the discourse of military museums was built as well as their timeliness and usefulness in three countries – Bulgaria, Poland and Romania. The common trait is that they



were all founded in the interwar period thus reflecting a “national project” funded entirely by the state and featuring a unidimensional perspective of the historical past. Furthermore, Czarneka examines the museographic programs of the three museums in light of the hypothesis *lieux de mémoire* (Pierre Nora), and differences arise. Both Poland and Romania were among the winners of the First World War; the former regained its statehood, the latter almost doubled its territory and population, facts which led to a victorious and glittering portrayal of their historical past. For Bulgaria, however, the historical past is represented rather modestly due to the status of nation defeated in the First World War. As a matter of fact, the Military Museum in Sofia was established in the late interwar period. And the Bulgarian military museum discourse remained unchanged and somewhat outdated, untouched by recent innovations.

The chapter authored by **Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska** highlights an alternative representation of the military past, namely, the outdoor performances of different military events that took place during the Second World War in Poland. Unlike the museographic displays in the military museums described by Czarneka, these types of representation enjoyed an enthusiastic public success and rich attendance. Nonetheless, Baraniecka-Olszewska argues that even these spectacles are ideologically manipulated and represent a rewriting of the history through the reinterpretation of the past. Moreover, they are particularly integrated in targeted policies by the current ruling party in Poland, the ultraconservative, anti-European and nationalist Law and Justice Party.

The last chapter of the first section, written by **Stelu Șerban**, also deals with an alternative kind of museum discourse, the case of the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest reestablished in 1990. It appeared drawing on public success and emulation of the historical past, while from the very beginning the museum discourse overlapped the personality of Horia Bernea, the director of the museum. Bernea was a prominent painter and a member of the anticommunist elite. Following a complete departure from the communist regime, the supposedly antireligious or even atheist, he inaugurated a display pattern based on the Christian symbolism of the cross as present in the peasant art. A portion of the museum items belonging to the former museum of national art, actually peasant art founded by Alexandru Tzigara Samurçaș in the 1900s, was thus placed in a novel symbolic paradigm, with its share of ideological influences of interwar national extremism and the idealization of the peasant world. In the early 2000s, however, without giving up the initial displays, there appeared alternative exhibitions based on more recent ethnology and social anthropology research.

The chapters in the volume’s second half change the relation museum – ethnology/anthropology research. If the narrative in the first section starts from museums, museum discourses, their premises and relation with a certain conceptual paradigm, the starting point here is the ethnology and anthropology field research and it continues with possible paths of museographic models.

The first two chapters deal with the identity of the migrants from Bulgaria and Greece and the way in which the historical past helps a new collective identity coalesce in the host society at the same time maintaining the link with its native places. **Maria Markova**'s chapter draws on recent field research (mid-2010s) in southern Bulgaria within communities built by the Bulgarian-speaking population migrated from the nowadays northern Greece beginning from the end of the Balkan Wars throughout the entire interwar timeframe. These communities' historical narrative differs from the official discourse with well-defined contexts of some events being re-signified in a plastic and expressive manner in the locals' accounts. Markova highlights the fact that we are dealing with a live history meant to strengthen the relationship between generations and to convey orally an own type of history differing from the official narrative. Such narrative is extremely emotional and nostalgic towards the native places in nowadays Greece.

The chapter written by **Sebastian Ștefănuță** treats the reconstruction of the collective identity of the Balkan migrants through images and representations of the historical past. The author's report is underpinned by field research carried out in northern Greece in the mid 2010s in geographically close communities but whose populations originating from different areas of Asia Minor were colonized in Greece after the First World War. Ștefănuță adds some ethnographical observations based on research in the areas from where the Greek-speaking populations came (the southern shore of the Black Sea and the continental area of Asia Minor). Drawing on this field experience, the author recognizes a sui-generis collective identity based both on the glorious Hellenic past (present in documentaries) as well as on a Christian conception contrasting the Muslim ethos from the place of origin (exemplified by the burning-of-Judah ritual performed in the Holy Week both in northern Greece and native Turkey).

**Evgenia Troeva** describes in her chapter the museographic treatment of the archaeological findings of Pliska, the first capital of the Bulgarian state. The treatment was begun in the interwar years and went on in the communist era up to the present time. The theoretical frame of analysis is historical ethnology, to which various contemporary sources, fieldtrips, mass-media, internet, are added. The process of constructing ideas about the first Bulgarian capital depends on the political context and passes through various stages. While in the national narrative Pliska is mainly associated with the formation of the Bulgarian state, on a local level, initiatives and public space shaping in the last decade have been focusing on Knyaz Boris the First and the adoption of Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet. On the national level, such considerations have led to the initiative of rebuilding the Grand Basilica. It reflects the trend of rebuilding a number of historical sites, motivated both by a desire to develop cultural and religious tourism and by increasing nationalist tendencies.

While the previous chapters feature a nuanced analysis of the ideological and influential premises of the portrayal of the historical past, the final two chapters deal with the mechanism of ideological censorship administered by the state in two

periods of time, namely, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire, and the 1970s in communist Bulgaria. The chapter authored by **Virginia Blânda** refers to the former timeframe and focuses on the written press control and censorship laws. Although they are geographically and historically close, the comparison of the two cases brings forth the strongly formative outcomes of the emergence and development, even if in its early stages, of mass culture. Initially being favorable to this type of culture, emerged at the same time with the modernizing ideologies and programs both states took on in this period, the political authorities grew rapidly suspicious as they saw in the texts and images spread through press channels and mass literature subversion to the social order. Hence the emergence of a special and highly restrictive legislation meant to hold in check such phenomenon.

**Milena Marinova**'s chapter is based on the analysis of two "family" comedies produced in 1976 and 1978 in Bulgaria. Despite the neutral topic, namely, the forming of young families, accompanied by all the formal and informal happenings the newlyweds go through, Marinova highlights the fact that throughout the period of socialism the state undertook a number of measures to control all aspects of the population's life. The family, which at that time is looked upon as "a major cell of society", is to shape the future generations in keeping with the ideology of the communist party. The family is kept under control ever since the start of its formation. A great number of regulations and restrictions are drawn concerning marriage contraction age, its form (e.g., "comsomol-style" marriage) and the family's reproductive function. The report highlights the depiction of those aspects of state policy in feature films from the "mature socialism" period.

*Stelu Șerban*



## ANOTHER PAST, ANOTHER CONTEXT. REFLECTIONS ON MODERN EUROPEAN DISPLAY

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The aim of this article is to present various ways of presenting in museums located in Eastern European countries, such as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Latvia. A common motive for the selected museums was the past. Exhibiting ways took different methods depending on factors such as the approach of highlighting the aesthetics of objects or knowledge about them, or choosing the content of the curator about the object's history and its original context more authentic than the origin of the object itself. On the other hand, it seems to depend on the roles of a museum, recognized as a national, regional or private museum. It brings general insights into how modern museums visited in 2016–2018 answer questions that matter the most: who exhibits, what is exhibited, where and for whom.

**Keywords:** exhibiting, idea of display, objects versus context, museums, state, regional, private, Eastern Europe.

Questions on urban space generally<sup>1</sup> involve a wide scope of issues: architecture, technologies, achievements, variety of mediatization of modernity, each of which may, on the one hand, be considered as a separate story, on the other, however, belonging to the same cluster of the modernity channel in the form of the urban space. One should not forget to take this perspective into consideration. Among these, diverse other mediums of modernity developed, such as electrification, new urban architecture, trams, hygiene (the International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden in 1911<sup>2</sup>), new forms of communication, photography, theatre, museums, cinema, color press, and radio. In the urban environment, the idea of exhibiting was born, in this trend of Western tradition, museums emerged, and then became part of the metropolitan landscape of the whole Europe, and later also of the world.

I seek to investigate how the idea of display is currently implemented in various ways. I am interested in the relationship between the object and the context in which it arose and evolved. Following this train of thought, I draw attention to the diversity of presentation, and I draw conclusions based on the comparison of

<sup>1</sup> A.C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> E. Reichardt, *Health, 'Race' and Empire: Popular-Scientific Spectacles and National Identity in Imperial Germany, 1871–1914*, Lulu.com, Milton Keynes, 2008.

expositions visited in both metropolises as well as small towns in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Latvia. Their common denominator is to present the past, but with what intent, how, and where affects the final result available to the viewer. A general question arises as to whether museums serve as the agencies of governance, by means of which they represent and construct imagined communities (Sherman 1994; Bennett 1995; 1998); or the focus is rather on the political work of museums; or they represent local regional or minority groups to the broader national audience (Karp, Lavine, and Kreamer 1992; Macdonald and Fyfe 1996; Simpson 1996; Sandell 2002; Kreps 2003, Peers and Brown 2003, Witcomb 2003), or presented from the tourism perspective (Crouch 2008). Perhaps, from the analysis of these expositions, a different picture of the modern museum reality in the Eastern part of Europe will emerge.

The article is based on research conducted in 2015–2018, on ethnographic interviews, participatory observations, informal conversations with the museum staff, visitors and local tourist guides.

Before I go into the source material, I present the background on which contemporary museum practices have evolved. The development of the idea of display has found its new expression in connection to the development of cities in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, it should be noted that the history of museums is much older and dates back to the distant past<sup>3</sup>, although most of the renowned museums were created in the eighteenth century<sup>4</sup>. The oldest museums of Eastern Europe<sup>5</sup> probably stem from the same century.

Interest in distant countries and cultures dates back to at least the middle of the nineteenth century in Poland, and in practice a much earlier period. A new kind of public museum appeared after the French Revolution<sup>6</sup> along with social changes emphasizing equality. This social trend has led to many changes, such as emancipation of other groups of society and granting them civil rights. If we look at well-known modern museums, a large part of them was created in the nineteenth century, which can be considered a period of establishing new museums<sup>7</sup> in cities that underwent transformation, often going themselves beyond the old walls and expanding to open out. The process of urbanization was accompanied by industrialization, the creation of modern infrastructure, as well as space for the latest achievements of technology and culture.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the Vatican Museum was founded in 1506.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg was founded in 1717, and officially opened in 1727; the British Museum in London was founded in 1753 and opened to public in 1759; the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg was founded in 1764 by Catherine the Great, and opened to public in 1852; the Belvedere Palace of the Habsburg Monarchs in Vienna was opened in 1781.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu – the first collection was completed in 1790, and the museum was opened to public in 1817; the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation was founded and opened to public in 1773, the same as the Himsel Museum.

<sup>6</sup> The Louvre Museum was founded in 1793.

<sup>7</sup> Art museums are not included here. It is worth mentioning, that the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1679), and the British Museum (1759) are among the oldest museums in the world.

The oldest museums in Poland were founded in 1870s, for example, the Czartoryski Museum (*Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich*) was opened in 1876, after moving the collection from Puławy<sup>8</sup>, the National Museum in Krakow was established in 1878 and in 1911 the Ethnographic Museum was created. In 1870, the Lubomirski Museum (*Muzeum Książąt Lubomirskich*) was opened for public use in Lwów, which is now part of Ossoliński Institute (*Zakładu im. Ossolińskich*). In the following years, the Industrial Museum (1874) and the Historical Museum of the City of Lwów (*Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Lwowa*) (1892) were established. In 1907, the National Gallery was opened, and a year later the National Museum named after King Jan III Sobieski. Under the Russian Partition, in 1860 the collections of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Warsaw were made available to the general public. During this period, the Museum of Industry (1875) and the Museum of Fine Arts (*Towarzystwa Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych*) (1862) were also established in Warsaw, later renamed the National Museum. As we can see, the museums were founded on the basis of collections that were created earlier at the royal or aristocratic courts, at the ecclesiastical centers or by wealthy bourgeoisie.

Regaining independence in 1918 in Poland – and in Central and Eastern European countries – brought structural changes to the museums<sup>9</sup>. Old collections were transformed, or new collections were founded, and they gained a more national and Polish character. For example, museums were founded in Poznań in 1919, among them the Greater Poland Museum (*Wielkopolskie Muzeum*, later transformed into national) and Greater Poland Military Museum (*Wielkopolskie Muzeum Wojskowe*). However, some institutions, such as the Archaeological Museum in Poznań had been established as early as 1857.

The interest in the past meant exposing not only national themes but, more broadly, archeology, prehistory and ethnography. In a broader sense the first ethnographic institutions in Poland are the Anthropological Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Anthropological Department dating back to 1902 and later transformed into the Anthropological Section of the Warsaw Scientific Society, as well as the Folklore Society in Lviv, where the Institute of Ethnology was founded in 1910. Specialist magazines “*Wisła. Miesięcznik Etnograficzno-Geograficzny*” (1888) and “*Lud*” (1895) were also published.

The above examples prove that interest in the past, or – in a sense – otherness, determined by time or space, was widespread and growing. This is also evidenced by the increasing number of institutions whose function was to gather knowledge and present it to the public. The exhibitions were undoubtedly an instrument of conveying knowledge about ‘the other’, a first lesson of world science open to the broader audience. Objects from the past or distant reality were

<sup>8</sup> The museum dates back to 1801 and was based on the collection of Princess Izabela Czartoryska.

<sup>9</sup> Similar changes can be observed in other countries that appeared on the map of Europe after World War I.

available and existed in the collective imagination. As demonstrated above the idea of collecting past objects, artifacts, elements of old beliefs, songs and behaviors was well-known. Excursions and trips outside of the city were not rare, and overseas expeditions were covered by the press.

#### **IDEA OF DISPLAY, AND DEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE OBJECT AND THE CONTEXT IN WHICH IT WAS CREATED AND DEVELOPED**

Rooted in a changing urban environment, modernity has brought a new look at reality. On the one hand, colonial expansion widened the contact with the rest of the world and its diversity, and on the other – goods brought from all over the world and stored in cities could be shown to the public. The materials became a testimony to the existence of a world previously unknown to the public. This world had to be shown.

This activity – showing – took on a new meaning in the urban environment. Materials and objects became “witnesses” of another era, a distant culture. These were not copies or images, only elements brought directly from another reality. Collecting material and non-material artifacts slowly gathered importance in various circles. Fragments abstracted from distant realities<sup>10</sup> stimulated imagination and fueled curiosity. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett an ethnographic object is created by the fact of having been abstracted from its context. It becomes a replica of a distant culture, a part of a story about a foreign culture. All of these materials were transported to the context of a middle-sized European city. On the one hand, they were abstracted from their context, through which they became an ethnographic ‘fragment’, however, on the other hand their presence introduced an additional dimension of the ‘physical encounter’<sup>11</sup>.

Peter Burke encouraged us to be aware of the context of images seen today in museums – “the image [...] needs to be imagined in its original position in a church or palace”<sup>12</sup>. In the urban environment new displaying conventions developed, in which the object was uprooted from its former context. In the context of this analysis, a “museum object” should be understood as an object of special scientific, historical, artistic or cultural value, stored and displayed in museums for educational or commemorative purposes.

Summing up the topic of the display, I want to emphasize that interest in the world in the 19th century caused the creation of specific institutions in European cities, that is, places for presenting things, representing reality unknown directly to the inhabitants. The museum space was a new kind of modern space in which

<sup>10</sup> B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> P. Burke, “Interrogating the Eyewitness”, *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 7(4), 2001, p. 440.



objects were presented and representations of the old world were created, which faded into oblivion, or a world too distant to have direct access to it. The exhibiting place as interaction space, was a field in which different forces were operating, and they were filled with specific unusual foreign content. Space became manipulated more often, transforming the first forms of encounters with the objects of the unknown world into forms of 'contact', i.e., a kind of interaction between the audience's expectations and the visitors' repertoire. The exposition as an organized exhibition, presentation of a subject or a given group of objects, carried out mainly in art galleries, museums, etc., is characterized by a thoughtful composition, planned lighting points and appropriately selected background, which aims to highlight the features of the exhibited objects.

The first museums were expositions of objects unknown to the everyday life of the city's inhabitants at that time, however, the idea of display developed in general, successively placing larger objects under the open sky, etc. Interactions between exhibition and the visitors occurred in a number of ways. For example, museum objects influenced the visitors themselves or as part of the museum's narrative<sup>13</sup>. In case of a museal display of the object, even when representing the character, it was seen in a perspective, and from a distance, with the interest focused mainly on the features of the object and eventually on the story. The objects were judged through the prism of 'telling' the whole story, and the character was perceived as detached from the context of the performed story. An object can be evoking a sense, spirit, time, emotions, in various ways, in the form of a museum arrangement, and outside the museum it becomes an element of action, in order to go from object to theatricalization.

I am interested in the relationship between the object and the context in which it arose and evolved. After a short introduction, I will present my reflections on a dozen or so museum exhibitions that I visited in 2015–2018. These exhibitions were organized in various museal institutions, which: 1) were located in such countries as Poland, Latvia, Romania, and Bulgaria; 2) on the one hand, these were museums located in metropolises, on the other hand in small towns; 3) in terms of their location in the organizational structure, they were managed by both state authorities as well as private legal and physical entities. From the comparison of goals, material possibilities, exhibition forms, as well as the museum measures used, and finally from the contexts in which exhibitions and museums operate, I will try to present, in my opinion, the main subjects, elements of composition, and accents related to the creation of museum representations organized in a similar way and period in various countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Ultimately,

<sup>13</sup> Firstly, in case of live performance, among characters performing a certain story. Secondly, between the audience and the fictitious characters and their world, thirdly, between the actors and the audience. In the case of shows of "exotic people" initially the interactions happened between story characters and the audience, while the actors were perceived as the story of the chief's family, or the princess, or the brave or cruel warriors. This is how particular displays were understood. The boundary between exhibition as a museum or stage and the place for the audience was distinctive.

I want to formulate some of the emerging comparisons between the object and the context in which the object is presented. I realize that I am drawing conclusions based on field material collected in selected countries, so they may not be of a universal nature.

As I have already mentioned, the common denominator of selected museum exhibitions is the dependence of an object on the context of displaying. Therefore, a number of questions arise. Object or context, which is superior? There is no single answer to this question. Anyway, an exhibition has to be regarded as a medium of and setting for representation, and as a vehicle for the display of objects or a space for telling a story<sup>14</sup>.

What then determines the message that the viewer receives, what matters? A mode of installation, messages through design, arrangement, and assemblage? That is for sure. Who controls the means of representing, struggles for control over objects and the modes of exhibiting them? We as researchers are aware that museums moved from neutrality to instrumentality, if they were ever neutral at all. Historically, the museums have been instruments for articulating national identity, education and experience.

Such questions arose while visiting the next museums and exhibitions. Most of the exhibitions left me with the conviction that display not only shows and speaks, it also does<sup>15</sup>, i.e. it affects the viewer's beliefs. It is therefore important to consider representational intentions of the makers when analyzing the exhibition.

### EXHIBITIONS REPRESENTING IDENTITY

Museums have long been understood as sites of politics and culture, where studies addressed the process of nation building, constructing imagined communities on state or regional level. Probably we will also find some examples showing that some exhibitions or museum institutions may represent other interests than state and official ones. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett „exhibitions represent identity, either directly, through assertion, or indirectly, by implication. When cultural ‘others’ are implicated, exhibitions tell us who we are and, perhaps, most significant, who we are not. Exhibitions are privileged arenas for presenting images of self and ‘other’.<sup>16</sup> The collective identity is built on the level of state, region or minority. To capture the dependencies between an object and the context in which it is exposed, I compare exhibitions belonging to different orders. If you presume this assumption, questions such as the following arise: who is exhibiting? (state/private, regional, centre versus border area); what is exhibited? (local history, unwanted past, military

<sup>14</sup> B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

occupation, favorite past or great past, recent victims or other meaningful events); where the exhibition is held? (museum, dark place, commemorating place); who is a target, ours or foreign? The adoption of these categories is crucial to my analysis and serves to organize the material, and the attitude to the past and reaction to the unacceptable parts of our past. Do reactions at the state level always coincide with reactions at lower levels; whether the process of identity forming works at any level, and maybe not always.

By presenting exhibitions from several selected museums, operating in different countries and belonging to various institutions, I try to answer two basic questions. First of all, do they always focus on telling stories? And secondly, to what extent objects become representations, where the thin boundary between the object remaining and the constructed representation lies? What kinds of exposure causes the transformation of objects into representations?

Our past is presented both in national, historical and other museums, both in metropolises as well as in regional cities. The exhibitions present the point of view of state central authorities as well as local communities. Such a difference was seen, among others, in expositions devoted to World War I.<sup>17</sup> I do not present the exhibitions in chronological or geographical terms, and my choice does not exhaust the richness of possibilities.

#### OUR PAST – STATE CONTEXT

Our past can be presented in a state context. An example is the temporary exposition dedicated to the First World War National Museum of Romanian History in Bucharest. I omit here the permanent exhibition, in which objects and columns from Roman times are presented. It makes a huge impression – focusing on the objects that represent this very era – showing the size of the Roman civilization as well as its connections with territory of today's Romania.

For the viewer, it contains an interesting factual part and can arouse the curiosity of visitors interested in the theme of war, I must admit that the set of information on the course of fighting in Romania was exhaustive. The exhibition was created on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the war, hence the wealth of information. The narrative focuses on telling about the participation of Romanians in military operations, accentuating various manifestations of war, images of heroism and the courage of the Romanian army, and war victims are noticed, not only the killed enemy soldiers or the own soldiers, but also the civilian casualties.

<sup>17</sup> About WWI in Polish context, see D. Czarnecka, "World War I «Cartographies»: Mapping the Polish Landscape of Forgetting in Legnica", *Traditiones*, vol. 47, n° 1, 2018, p. 135–151; D. Demski "Dispersed World, Dispersed Legacy. Photographic Narratives of the First World War on the Basis of Polish «Archives»", *Traditiones*, vol. 47, n° 1, 2018, p. 153–165. I visited exhibitions on WWI also during field research in 2017 in Bucharest and Riga.

There are objects, in not very large numbers, accompanied by photographs, maps, texts explaining individual episodes. In a separate room on the floor, a mock-up of the battlefield is constructed. There are mostly photographs and maps, which in their entirety create an interesting story about the first war activities in the region of **present**-day Romania. The museum objects have been woven and are clearly part of the story here, they serve the narrative more than they interact with each other. Certainly, the reception of the story depends on the knowledge and perception abilities of the viewer, in this case, the viewer leaves the exhibition more with the memorized history than with the memory of individual objects.

National museums accept the tasks of promoting culture and presenting the past of the community in which they function. This aspect to promote relationships between museums and source communities, where the source communities were positioned as authoritative and often controlling agents (Clifford 1997; Ames 2000; Kreps 2003; Peers and Brown 2003) is emphasized in literature about museums.

State Museum context can be a part of identity forming, presenting a great past state context in Sofia. The exhibition entitled “Treasures of Thracia” was opened in this museum in Sofia. The discovered treasures of Thracian culture present themselves as extraordinary examples of a refined culture, visible in the richness of artefacts, evoking admiration among contemporary viewers. On the one hand, gold products, richly decorated jewelry, testify to the extraordinary past of this land (Thrace), on the other hand, they themselves constitute a source of delight. The exhibition presents extraordinary objects belonging to the distant past, and refers to the outlines of the reconstruction of the life of residents belonging to the Thracian culture. There are no direct references to the connections of this community with the modern inhabitants of Bulgaria. However, in the discussions of scientists, as well as in the press, the topic of certain connections of Bulgarians not only to the nomadic Bulgarians who came to these lands in the seventh-eighth century, but also cultural heritage with existing sedentary peoples is suggested. The story and the level of the Thracian culture offered by the museum has caused discussions about contemporary identities. The discussion takes place at the elite level, creating the image from the state’s position<sup>18</sup>.

In the case of the exhibition of the treasures of the Thracian culture, the past has been exposed and, as a result, transformed into a presentation of unusual artefacts. In this case, the objects themselves were in the foreground. The culture to which they refer is so distant that it does not create many associations, but the objects themselves remain in the memory. The way objects are arranged in the context focuses more on the objects’ details, than on their wider cultural background.

<sup>18</sup> E. Troeva, “Representations of the Medieval Past in Socialist Bulgaria”, in D. Demski, A. Kassabova, I. Sz. Kristof, L. Laineste, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *The Multi-mediatized Other. The construction of reality in East-Central Europe, 1945–1980*, Budapest, 2017, p. 556–569.

Another case is exposition in The National History Museum of Latvia in Riga entitled “Exhibition of «ethnographical exhibition» in Riga 1896 (1–31 August)”. It was an ethnographic exhibition, but for the Latvians the exhibition also has national connotations. It tells the story of the preparation of the first anthropological and ethnographic exhibition in Riga. On the one hand, it shows the interests of the city’s inhabitants at that time, and thus the level of civilization and craftsmanship, and on the other, the ethnographic exhibition presenting the Latvian culture, songs, and artefacts referring to the national awakening of Latvians who did not have their own country at the time.

Objects collected at the exhibition, such as clothes from that period, newspapers, announcements, posters, objects from housing equipment, etc., were just as important as the story told. Narration created a way of arranging objects, but also mock-ups, notes explaining what individual objects are, and what they meant in the context at the time. In my opinion, objects and stories about the past were equivalent.

The museums described here are located in capital cities and represent the part of the discourse at the state level. Even though the past is also presented in smaller towns and villages, I present only one example that belongs to this category.

An example of a past and regional context was the museum in Cēsis, in which the castle, tower and castle ruins were also included. There is no chronology in individual rooms, and exhibitions in the style of 19th century cabinets of curiosities have been set up. They tell separate local stories, for example in a room about blowing up a castle so that it would not fall into the hands of Ivan the Terrible, 300 people killed, but also the story of a woman and two children who hid under the basement that buried them. Skeletons were found, they have been reconstructed, which is innovative, and at the same time marks the place. The organizers put a lot of imagination in creating the exhibition, which should be considered a modern approach to the display, so that during the visit the viewer could use different senses. This is confirmed by various small elements – for example a lamp with a candle at the descent to the underground. Among other threads, you can find the history of the Latvian national flag, contemporary and old times appear together, as well as the proprietor’s office and library.

History breaks through, as do the threads of struggle and sacrifice. For the Latvian viewer, the individual scattered episodes create a whole, and in this sense, they might play a role in building a sense of nationality, social cohesion, and improved citizenship (Message 2006; Newman and Selwood 2008). On the regional scale, an example of which is the museum in Cēsis, one gets the impression that these local stories, broken up into more or less detached fragments, make up the Latvian puzzle. For the viewer from outside of this culture the exhibition and objects remain more kaleidoscopic images than concise history lectures. In my opinion, in this way, they creatively combine local and state perspectives.

### UNWANTED PAST – STATE OR REGIONAL CONTEXT

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it, “museums perform knowledge they create”<sup>19</sup>. What, however, is created when the past is not treated as a basis of pride? Moreover, if the past is unwanted, then for whom is it unwanted? We try to forget about it, marginalize it, but in any case we face a dilemma how to refer to this fragment of our past. Many museums face such a problem.

The Krustpils Castle and Jēkabpils History Museum in Latvia in Krustpils (former castle and then headquarter of Soviet Army) is an example of the collision of two pasts, its own Latvian history related to the cultural predominance of the Baltic barons in most Latvian territories. The palaces have been renovated and are now part of the cultural heritage of Latvia. At the same time, in the area of the estate, in the surrounding buildings, there are barracks of the Soviet Army, and in the castle at one time also the headquarters of the Army staff and the headquarters of the local KGB (the Committee of State Security). As part of the exhibition, one room is being kept in the original Soviet style, the rest are devoted to the family of the past long-time castle owners. The “Soviet epoch” belongs for the Latvians to the unwanted past, which adequate formula is still being sought for in Latvia. In the latest approaches to the period of being part of the Soviet Union (1944–1993), it is considered as an invented Soviet tradition. The period of the Soviet Union is presented as unwanted past also in the regional context. According to Ilze Boldāne-Zeļenkova, the Soviet legacy<sup>20</sup> – either material or intangible – has been perceived by most members of society as a burden, as something that society has to learn to deal with and that has negative associations: pollution, unwanted neighbours, changes in Latvian landscape, and unimpressive architecture.

The main exposed building is the castle building, which has survived and is being restored. Rooms do not have many objects, large space is striking. This space and the building itself testify to a difficult past. One can see overlapping clearances of two realities, a layer from before World War II (palace, remnants of objects), and a post-war layer with a room that housed the staff of the Soviet Army (1944–1993). In the Staff Room there are numerous objects preserved from this period, a desk, wardrobes, chairs, flags, and paintings. The space of the headquarters of the KGB staff filled with objects from the period contrasts with the almost empty halls of the palace from the previous era. This contrast tells the story of the place. Destroyed, stripped of old details, but the renewed building of the palace with the emptiness inside on one hand, and the fullness of the KGB room on the other hand becomes a representation of history. Objects testify to the passage of time and tell about the difficult, tragic turn of the city’s history.

<sup>19</sup> B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, “Mārciena – between legacy and nostalgia”, *Folklore*, vol. 71, 2017, p. 149–170.

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, 21), considering the issues of heritage, claimed that heritage is dissonant because the messages, values, and meanings that different people create about heritage and the pasts it represents are always going to be interpreted and understood differently by individuals and groups with different backgrounds, experiences, interests, and agendas<sup>21</sup>. There are many such places in Central and Eastern Europe.

Another example unwanted is Karosta Prison Museum and former Navy port (Karosta) in Liepāja/Latvia<sup>22</sup>. The port was built at the end of the 19th century by Tsar Alexander III as the main military port on the non-freezing part of the Baltic Sea. But it was also used by the Soviet Army. It is a tourist attraction, not fully developed, just because or only in this part of the building erected in the period before the Soviet. Here is a similar situation as in Krustpils, where the objects built before the Soviet times are treated as heritage, and those created after World War II are left to themselves.

An example of an unwanted past is the local museum in the former naval prison, founded in the tsarist years, but it also functioned during the Soviet period. These focus on telling stories. The former military port, a closed space until recently, is located in a large area overgrown with forest, with a residential part, like barracks, a strictly military part, fortified buildings along the shore. Among the remnants of the buildings, those built in the time of Tsarist Russia, the Orthodox church of Alexander Nevsky, the ruins of the barracks, and finally the building of the prison for sailors deserve attention. This is a museum that tells the story of prisoners, both seafarers from before the First World War and soldiers from the period of the Soviet Army stationing here. There are not many objects in the prison, rather empty cells and the prison director's office with maps, wardrobes, and portraits of Soviet leaders, which are building a story in a climate of horror.

This is a specific selective approach to the material past. The Soviet military objects built in Latvia during the years of the communist regime do not have any cultural-historical value in the eyes of the Latvian state. They are not classified as state-protected historical monuments<sup>23</sup>.

## UNWANTED PAST AND SUBJECTIVE CONTEXT

I will not describe here the cases of city museums, which emphasize other than state values. I am going to turn to the last category of presentations of the

<sup>21</sup> J.E. Tunbridge, G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a resource in Conflict*, London, 1996, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Military facilities that were built before the Soviet occupation and represented architecture of other epochs had higher status in the independent Latvian state. I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, "Mārciena – between legacy and nostalgia", *Folklore*, vol. 71, 2017, p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> A different situation involves the Daugavgrīvas fortress, the Daugavpils fortress, Liepājas Karosta ('War Port'), and other complexes used by the Soviet army, which were built during previous historical periods: when Latvia was a part of the Russian Empire, and during the twentieth century inter-war period. I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

unwanted past in the subjective context – and therefore different, if often not opposed to, the official state context.

A separate category are places related to the presence and activity of the Soviet Army in Latvia – in several Central and Eastern European countries – the former Soviet military bases (nuclear missile launchers). Most of these places are not protected, and they are deteriorating. They are an attraction for tourists who find them through private contacts. I would call this category an unwanted past and subjective context because it has no institutional form. There are no official guides, no programs, no marked places on the map. They exist only in pictures in private albums, and nowadays also in tourism advertisements on the Internet.

There are no objects, you can see only the traces left by rockets with nuclear warheads. There is only open space, the forest separating the place from the city and the village, the various quarters of the forest have preserved the remnants of the former military infrastructure, mainly in ruins. The lack of objects tells a remarkable and dangerous tale, and its horror is marked by the ruins.

The question remains whether in this case the facilities have an agency on us. There is no institution, there is no framework for visiting these places, no written information and guides, that is, there is no museum context, and yet presence in such places – sometimes without in-depth information – evoke emotions in us, scare us, surprise us. Who creates knowledge? Does this also indicate the need to go beyond the usual experience of looking at objects and matters offered by museum frames? Perhaps we are able to open ourselves to other meanings than those usually offered in museums by display. In this case, the sole materiality of places or landscapes – ruins or object traces, for instance missile storage facilities rather than missiles themselves – leads to associations, feelings and interpretations. The museum context leads and is not open for ambiguity.

These objects in a sense remained in place, they were not removed out of their context in order to be shown. These type of remnants of the past that do not have the status of museums, but which enjoy a certain interest of tourists, still cause Latvia more problems than buildings from the Tsarist period. The notion “legacy” is a proper term and discursive practice referring to the remnants of the Soviet past. However, in the view of Latvian researchers, the difficulty is expressed by another definition used by Boldāne-Zeļenkova,<sup>24</sup> who says that “legacy is what you keep on life support because you can’t afford to kill it off”.<sup>25</sup>

The same unwanted past can be portrayed from subjective perspectives. An example of this is a private museum located in the garage, where you can find exhibits from the Nazi Army (1933–1945) and Soviet Army (1945–1993). The owner’s approach is purely subjective and focused on the expectations of tourists, including Poles and Germans.

<sup>24</sup> Dorothy Noyes (2016: 388) as cited by I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, 2017, *op.cit.*, p. 149–170.

<sup>25</sup> I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, *op. cit.*, p. 152.



The owner arrived in Borne Sulinowo shortly after the previously restricted area reopened to the general public. Responding to the demand of the tourism industry, he came up with the idea of opening a private museum chamber after the year 2000, which became the first place of that kind in Borne Sulinowo. Most post-German military exhibits were retrieved from the neighboring forests and the remnants of the Red Army collected from the abandoned buildings of the former military base. This quasi-museum offers military-style excursions and shares his own narratives of the place's past, which do not always adhere to historical facts. We had a chance to experience this while visiting the museum and having a conversation with its owner, who plays the role of a guide there. What appears most important in this quasi-museum, though, are the artefacts themselves and how powerfully they affect the visitors, and not the actual history ascribed to them<sup>26</sup>.

The local subjective context is also represented in the exposition of the local state museum in Międzyrzecz (Muzeum Ziemi Międzyrzeckiej). There are examples of archeology, references to Slavs partly from the position of the current state narrative, but also pictures from the period of German occupation and the interwar period (the city belonged to Germany). It is an attempt to show the history of the city including the unwanted or uncomfortable past.

Some expositions or even museums focus on telling stories, while others present objects, either ordered in chronological or in thematic terms. An example is a private museum in Borne Sulinowo. As a result, it is difficult to say what focuses the viewer's attention, the viewer is not guided by anyone (hints, logic), so is he guided by his own logic, his own attitude? Objects become representations, however, without the story told, they interact only depending on the knowledge and imagination of the viewers. A large part of objects is not associated with anything specific except generalizations that belong to a given era. Where lies the thin line between the object remaining and the object that is not objects? In this case, the viewers themselves enliven the objects by searching for stories in their memory.

New forms of performances appear and are discussed in the literature devoted to museums. There is a trend to go beyond governmentality, and museums emerge not as discursive, but rather affective in character. Whether private museum in Borne Sulinowo can be included in this type of category, it is difficult to say, certainly it is in the perspective of research on tourism.

## CONCLUSIONS

Putting culture into display. What does it mean to us today? The examples of exhibitions that I give you are only a fragment of the multitude, certainly worth a visit. Due to the lack of space, I did not include here the analysis of the expositions

<sup>26</sup> D. Demski, D. Czarnecka, "A Site Shaped by Discontinuity: The Practices of Place-Making in a Post-Soviet Military Base in Poland", *Suomen Antropologi*, 2018.

of the city museums, in which metropolitan aspects appear, referring to values other **than** the state ones.

Setting up museums belongs to the category of practices of displaying the past. My attention was drawn to the aspect of the contemporary exhibiting politics of museums. Presented case studies are a contribution to the discussion to understanding and challenging ideas about the interrelationships between display and politics. Museums are a kind of resonant places, and in them, as in a lens, the image of current reality is focused, corresponding to the objectives of the institution, its class, belonging, and “the other” depends on the location, the city, employees and the public who visits these centers.

Perhaps museums in small towns present the regional point of view, but you can also talk about ‘sense of place’. The metropolitanism of the big cities is expressed in the display the great past; the nation, the state, and the contents become objects selected from the position of the state. Small towns present their own point of view. A sense of place in the case of small towns focuses more on specifics than in forms<sup>27</sup>. They do not have urban or metropolitan rules, where the form should correspond to the form of civilization, modernity. The term “senses of place” herein is understood as products of the creative imagination of the individual and of the society. Different people at different times and for different reasons create different narratives of belonging; thus heritage is as much about forgetting as about remembering the past (Ashword & Graham 2005: 3), about the potential and the missed opportunities.

As we have seen, the practice of display is different. Showing this diversity based on the selected subjectively material also reveals various practices of achieving the purpose of the exhibition. The viewer is confronted with examples of exciting imagination, unusual stories important for the nation, serving identity projects, as well as individual extraordinary stories. The viewer is unable to determine what has not been said, what has not been exposed, and what remains the invisibilized parts of the visited community and place. Not to mention why and by whom.

As to the question about what is important – the object or the context, what is superior – there is no unambiguous answer. As we can see, the possibilities to answer this are many. The choice between the object and the context depends on one’s intentions. And yet the examples given here confirm that the object may have more meaning than the presented context, sometimes equivalent, and in the case of anniversaries or the presentation of specific events, the object may become part of the narrative.

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<sup>27</sup> Gorodok continues to exist in the memories of Mārciena residents as a symbol of a certain space of time. I. Boldāne-Zeļenkova, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

LES MUSÉES « ETHNOGRAPHIQUES » DE ROUMANIE  
DANS LA PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU 20<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE.  
DES MOMENTS FONDATEURS AUX PROGRAMMES  
MUSÉOGRAPHIQUES

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Cet article porte sur la façon dont les plus importants musées « ethnographiques » de Roumanie sont apparus et développés dans la première moitié du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne rappelant qu'en passant les moments survenus à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ou après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Il s'agit de la période d'affirmation maximale des valeurs nationales, qui affectera également la mission des musées et leur mode de fonctionnement, les programmes de collection et l'exposition d'objets. Au-delà de la tendance centralisatrice et uniformisante du nouvel État national, se remarque pourtant une relative diversité des initiatives muséographiques. Ce sont des actes fondateurs appartenant aux certains intellectuels fortement ancrés dans l'environnement culturel et politique de l'époque, préparés dans les plus prestigieuses institutions occidentales.

**Mots-clés:** musées, collections, culture populaire, ethnographie.

### INTRODUCTION

Nous avons choisi le terme de musée « ethnographique » pour désigner les institutions ayant pour mission la préservation et la représentation du milieu paysan traditionnel, soumis aux transformations inhérentes de la modernisation. Le choix a été dicté par la nécessité d'un terme générique qui nous aide à délimiter les musées paysans des autres institutions muséales, le terme « ethnographique » s'avérant, finalement, extrêmement pauvre pour englober la diversité relative des initiatives muséales.

Il est pertinent de noter que même ce terme d'« ethnographique » apparaît parfois même à la désignation de certains musées qui valorisent les artefacts paysans, mais il est habituellement accompagné de termes tels que « national », « de l'art national », « social » ou « social du village ». Cela nous a montré, depuis le début, que nous avons affaire à une diversité de façons de comprendre le rôle de ces musées dans le programme d'affirmation nationale, mais aussi de la perception du cadre de référence qu'est le monde paysan, du rôle assigné au paysan et au village roumain.

À une première analyse, on peut distinguer deux types de musées, les musées de pavillon et les musées de plein air. Parmi les musées de pavillon figurent le Musée de « l'Association » à Sibiu, fondé par l'Association ASTRA en 1905, le Musée ethnographique d'art national, d'art décoratif et industriel à Bucarest, fondé en 1906 par Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș, qui sera nommé plus tard le Musée d'art national et le Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie à Cluj, fondé par Romulus Vuia en 1923. Dans la deuxième catégorie, de musées de plein air, se trouvent le Parc ethnographique à Hoia, Cluj, créé à l'origine par le même Romulus Vuia en 1929 et le Musée du village de Bucarest, fondé en 1936, par Dimitrie Gusti, dans le parc « Carol II » de Herăstrău.

Nous allons donc essayer de détailler la manière dont ces musées apparaissent et se développent dans l'espace public, la ressemblance et la différenciation de leurs programmes muséographiques, le rôle des fondateurs dans les courants de pensée de l'époque. Parmi les aspects particuliers, il y a la relation entre les musées nationaux et ceux régionaux, la relation des fondateurs avec les plus hautes autorités de l'État, la prépondérance des stratégies créatives individuelles au détriment des stratégies collectives.

Le contexte politique et culturel de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

À la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale, la Roumanie élargissait considérablement son territoire en rejoignant le territoire de la Transylvanie, la Bucovine du Nord et la Bessarabie. La proclamation de l'État roumain, unitaire et indépendant, par le biais du rassemblement populaire d'Alba Iulia, le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1918, constituait la réalisation de toute une série de réalisations politiques: l'unification des Principautés roumaines, de Valachie et de la Moldavie en 1859, la sécularisation des domaines monastiques en 1863, l'émancipation des paysans par la réforme agraire de 1864, l'obtention de l'indépendance nationale en 1877, la proclamation de la Roumanie comme royaume en 1881.

Les réalisations politiques s'accompagnent également d'une relative prospérité économique, mais surtout d'une élévation du niveau culturel à l'appui de l'affirmation nationale. Le mouvement national d'affirmation engloba tous les domaines culturels, de la littérature, la philosophie aux créations artistiques et architecturales.

Dans cette tourmente culturelle plus large, est née l'idée d'un musée national en tant que lieu de préservation et de représentation des valeurs matérielles spécifiques. Les musées « ethnographiques » semblent incarner ces valeurs, apparaissant des contacts des intellectuels roumains avec les milieux universitaires et culturels occidentaux.

Alors qu'en France et en Angleterre, vers la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, s'affirment les musées d'objets d'art de « l'ancien régime », ainsi que les musées d'antiquités ou ceux qui valorisent l'art des populations dites primitives, des futures colonies<sup>1</sup>, en Allemagne, les musées des antiquités et de l'art populaire seraient l'aboutissement de la valorisation de la culture propre et de la recherche d'origines ancestrales (Volkskunde).

<sup>1</sup> Voir F. Choay, *L'allégorie du patrimoine*, Paris, 1992.

Le domaine de la culture populaire est apparu avant les musées, comme une préoccupation constante de la recherche de « l'âme » du « peuple allemand », en rassemblant et en capitalisant les diverses manifestations culturelles, des chants et danses aux traditions et coutumes spécifiques<sup>2</sup>. Ce domaine évolue d'une vision herderienne romantique de l'environnement paysan, avec une attention accrue portée à la nature et au naturel, à la mythologie folklorique et au paysage pittoresque de la campagne, vers une vision organique et évolutive de la société, contenant également l'approche positiviste de la préservation et de la muséification d'objets de l'art populaire (Volkskunst)<sup>3</sup>. Il existe, à partir de la fin du XIXe siècle, une tendance à « l'objectivation matérielle » de ce que l'on n'avait jusqu'alors affirmé que sous la forme immatérielle de contes et de chansons folkloriques.<sup>4</sup>

À une époque où les peuples étaient majoritairement représentés par des paysans, la culture populaire se réfère exclusivement à cette catégorie, perçue comme étant la porteuse de valeurs ancestrales.

En Roumanie, où la population rurale était majoritaire (plus de 80% de la population vivait dans des villages), le champ de la culture populaire s'imposerait à lui seul comme fondement de l'idée nationale.

Pour l'intelligentsia roumaine, qui crée le discours national, le paysan apparaîtra comme « l'autre » à l'intérieur<sup>5</sup>, le gardien de l'archaïsme et de l'authenticité culturelle, et la communauté paysanne comme le noyau, l'unité fondamentale de la nation. Comme dans les pays germaniques, l'image archétypale du paysan sera tirée d'abord, en capitalisant, sur les créations folkloriques immatérielles, pour s'affirmer, plus tard, vers le début du 20e siècle, sous la forme de la collection d'objets et la création de musées.

### LES DEBUTS DE LA MUSÉOGRAPHIE « ETHNOGRAPHIQUE »

Les premiers musées roumains ne sont pas d'« ethnographie », mais d'antiquités et sciences naturelles. Le 25 novembre 1864, un décret princier signé par Alexandru Ioan Cuza a créé le Musée national des antiquités, situé au sein de l'Université, qui commencera progressivement à recueillir des objets ethnographiques, en plus des antiquités<sup>6</sup>.

Malheureusement, le Musée national des antiquités se maintiendra tard à l'image d'un cabinet de curiosités. Des objets de différentes époques et origines ont été exposés dans un désordre qui conduirait le jeune conservateur Alexandru

<sup>2</sup> I. Chiva, „Avant-propos” à Hermann Bausinger, *Volksunde ou l'ethnologie allemande. De la recherche sur l'antiquité à l'analyse culturelle*, Paris, 1993, p. XI.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bausinger, *Volksunde ou l'ethnologie allemande. De la recherche sur l'antiquité à l'analyse culturelle*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> O. Hedeşan, V. Mihăilescu, “The Making of the Peasant in Romanian Ethnology”, in *Martor*, 11, 2006, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> P. Popovăţ, *Muzeul de la Şosea*, supliment de *Martor*, 4, 1999, p. 18.

Tzigara-Samurçaș, fraîchement rentré d'études à l'étranger, à conclure dans un de ses premiers arguments que « la grande Babylone ne peut pas exister, ni un amalgame plus monstrueux. »<sup>7</sup>. Cela semble être le début de l'affirmation d'Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș dans l'espace public en tant que spécialiste de l'art et de la muséographie.

En 1893, Tzigara-Samurçaș obtint une bourse d'études qui lui permet d'effectuer son premier stage à l'étranger, à Munich, « dans le but de se spécialiser dans la partie technique des œuvres muséographiques »<sup>8</sup>. Cette bourse lui permettra de suivre les cours de Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl.<sup>9</sup>

Ces détails sont importants pour comprendre la vision sur la culture que Tzigara-Samurçaș embrassera. L'historien de l'art et directeur du musée national de Munich, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, est le fondateur de la culture populaire comme « conception organique de la société »<sup>10</sup>, corrélant les origines mythologiques de la nation avec la ferveur positiviste de la collection d'objets. L'idée nationale, telle qu'elle apparaît dans les écrits du professeur allemand, ne réside pas dans la recherche des abysses du passé, mais s'inscrit maintenant dans une structure de ce qu'il appelle la « personnalité du peuple »<sup>11</sup>.

Riehl est le premier à élever le champ de la culture populaire au rang de « science vécue », grâce à laquelle il sera possible d'examiner, « sous un angle différent et dans un contexte ecclésiastique, religieux, artistique, scientifique, la politique de la nation qui se réfléchit dans la tradition populaire même (Volkstum) »<sup>12</sup>. C'est la vision que Samurçaș partagera et que nous retrouverons partout dans ses écrits.

Après avoir suivi les cours des professeurs allemands, y compris ceux de Riehl, en 1896, Tzigara-Samurçaș est titulaire d'un doctorat en histoire de l'art de la même université à Munich. De retour dans son pays, le jeune Tzigara-Samurçaș ne peut manquer d'observer la dérive du Musée des antiquités nationales. Il saisit l'occasion de publier un plaidoyer en faveur d'un autre type de musée, organisé sur des critères scientifiques, qui mettra en valeur les connaissances acquises à l'étranger. Mais, en conflit ouvert avec le directeur du Musée national des antiquités, son chef hiérarchique, l'archéologue professeur G. Tocilescu, Tzigara-Samurçaș a choisi de quitter son poste dans le musée et de retourner à l'étranger, pour compléter sa formation.

Après des études en Italie et en France, il s'est installé, quelque temps, à Berlin, où il travaille comme volontaire dans les plus grands musées allemands, participant à la nouvelle organisation de leurs collections<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Muzeul nostru național”, *Convorbiri literare*, mai 1907, in *Scieri despre arta românească*, București, 1987, p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii*, vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>9</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Lupta pentru Muzeul Național”, in *Scieri despre arta românească*, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> H. Bausinger, *Volksunde ou l'ethnologie allemande. De la recherche sur l'antiquité à l'analyse culturelle*, p. 54–64

<sup>11</sup> W.H. Riehl, *Land und Leute (Pays et peuples)*, 1853, in H. Bausinger, *Volksunde ou l'ethnologie allemande. De la recherche sur l'antiquité à l'analyse culturelle*, p. 54–53.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Lupta pentru Muzeul Național”, in *Scieri despre arta românească*, p. 163–194.

À son retour dans le pays, Tzigara-Samurçaș sera professeur suppléant, d'abord de français, puis d'histoire de l'art et de l'esthétique à l'École des beaux-arts de Bucarest, qui était en tout état de cause inférieur à son niveau de formation. Cela ne l'empêchera pas d'afficher ses connaissances en publiant ses plaidoyers en faveur d'un renouveau artistique, notamment d'art populaire, et notamment en faveur de la création d'un musée national sur le modèle des musées étrangers, tout d'abord selon le modèle des musées allemands.

Il sera nommé, finalement, le directeur du Musée ethnographique, national, décoratif et industriel.

### MUSÉE D'ART NATIONAL

Ce musée a été créé, par décision du ministre des Affaires religieuses et de l'Instruction publique, le professeur Mihai Vlădescu, le 1er octobre 1906, dont le siège est dans le bâtiment de l'ancien État monétaire<sup>14</sup>. Par la suite, le nom du musée sera abrégé en musée d'art national, considérant que la qualification d'« art national » englobe toutes les autres<sup>15</sup>.

Peu de temps après la fondation, Samurçaș ouvre trois salles d'exposition, réservées à l'art paysan « que jusqu'à présent, personne n'a pensé à le collectionner »<sup>16</sup>, dit-il: une salle pour les œuvres artistiques en bois ayant pour pièce de résistance la maison paysanne Antonie Mogoș du village de Ceauru, dans le comté de Gorj, une salle en étoffes avec écorce, tapis, et costumes et une autre salle en céramique.

Les objets sont donc systématisés, en fonction du matériau dont ils sont constitués, provenant de différentes parties du royaume, mais aussi des autres provinces historiques roumaines situées hors des frontières de la Roumanie, notamment de Transylvanie et de Bessarabie. La grande surprise est l'exposition du public à la maison des Mogos, une construction intégrale, exposée dans un musée du pavillon. Pour ce type d'exposition, Samurçaș a pour modèle « l'exposition précieuse de tout l'autel de Pergame et des portes monumentales romaines et assyriennes du nouveau musée de Berlin »<sup>17</sup>. C'est le célèbre Musée « Kaiser-Friedrich » que Samurçaș a très bien connu lors de son stage à Berlin.

Selon les plans de Samurçaș, les trois salles déjà aménagées ne représentaient qu'une des sections du Musée d'art national, celle de la culture populaire, le musée devant « regrouper, en un même lieu, toutes les manifestations artistiques du peuple roumain »<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Monitorul Oficial, nr. 88, 18/31 iulie 1906, p. 3537; P. Popovăț, *Muzeul de la Șosea*, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Par le Décret royal n. 201, le 31 janvier 1915, il se décide le dénominatif de Musée d'art national „Carol I” ; voir Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Lupta pentru Muzeul Național”, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, p. 164.

<sup>16</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii*, vol. I, p. 225.

<sup>17</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Muzele în aer liber”, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, București, 1987, p. 324.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

L'effort de Samurçaș de collectionner et d'exposer est colossal en raison des difficultés financières et du manque de personnel employé dans le musée<sup>19</sup>. Nous ne le comprenons que si nous examinons les mesures prises pour acquérir la maison de Mogoș. La maison est démantelée et transportée avec des chariots jusqu'à la gare de Tg-Jiu, puis par train jusqu'à Bucarest, puis reconstruite dans le musée par le paysan artisan lui-même, qui l'avait possédée et construite de ses propres mains.

Au-delà des difficultés lors de l'achat d'objets, la construction d'un nouveau siège pour le Musée pose des difficultés encore plus grandes. Bien que les autorités, depuis la création du musée, aient pris conscience de la nécessité de construire un nouveau bâtiment, spécialement conçu à cet effet, désignant Nicolae Ghica-Budești avec l'exécution des plans architecturaux, les travaux ont été retardés.

En janvier 1908, Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș, dans l'un des plus beaux discours, intitulé d'une manière très suggestive, « Sommes-nous dignes d'un musée national? », attire l'attention sur la nécessité de construire un nouveau siège pour le musée d'art national, étant donné que des musées de sciences naturelles et de géologie avaient déjà été construits et que nos voisins hongrois et bulgares se vantaient déjà des musées d'art national<sup>20</sup>.

À la demande de Samurçaș, il faudra encore cinq ans avant que la construction du bâtiment commence. La première pierre du Musée sera le 17 juin 1912 à la présence des rois de Roumanie<sup>21</sup>. Sur la base des plans architecturaux de Ghica-Budești, le bâtiment devait être construit dans un style néo-roumain, rappelant l'architecture ecclésiastique byzantine. Le choix de ce style était en accord avec les objets exposés, ecclésiastiques et populaires.

Mais au moment de l'ouverture des travaux, personne n'aurait imaginé qu'ils ne seraient pas finis même après 40 ans. Le Musée naîtra difficilement, traversant de nombreuses synopes, son destin s'avérant symptomatique pour l'ensemble de l'histoire récente de la Roumanie.

Le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1930, cependant, le musée du corps sud a été ouvert au public, avec trois sections: céramique, tissus et bois, qui ne manquait pas de la célèbre maison des Mogoș. Les objets exposés sur une surface de 480 mètres carrés ne représentent que 4% de la collection existante, soit 14 000 objets.<sup>22</sup>

L'une des priorités de Samurçaș, au début, a été la collecte et l'acquisition d'objets. Pourtant, le succès de la collection d'objets paysans et la promotion de l'art populaire à l'extérieur du pays ne seront pas assez puissants pour convaincre les décideurs politiques de fournir les fonds nécessaires à l'achèvement des travaux de construction du Musée d'art national. Les raisons du retard de ces travaux sont diverses : des difficultés causées par l'engagement de la Roumanie aux guerres des

<sup>19</sup> P. Popovăț, *Muzeul de la Șosea*, p. 50–55.

<sup>20</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Suntem vrednici de un muzeu național?”, *Viața românească*, janvier 1908, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, p. 203–212.

<sup>21</sup> Petre Popovăț, *Muzeul de la Șosea*, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> Petre Popovăț, *Muzeul de la Șosea*, p. 73.



Balkans et à la Première Guerre mondiale à la personne controversée que devient Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș.

Descendant de boyards par la lignée paternelle et de la lignée maternelle, Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș est un germanophile, appartenant au groupe politique et culturel conservateur. Pendant l'occupation allemande, Tzigara-Samurçaș accepte la fonction de préfet de la police de la capitale. En dépit de son rôle actif dans le sauvetage du patrimoine de la capitale contre le vol et la destruction, cette fonction apportera, après la guerre, l'opposition et les critiques de ses opposants politiques<sup>23</sup>.

Malgré les accusations de collaborationnisme, Samurçaș n'abandonne pas au poste de directeur du Musée d'art national. Le prix payé correspond au retard *sine-die* des travaux de construction. Il est difficile de croire, cependant, que la situation aurait été différente s'il avait démissionné de son poste de directeur, si la construction du musée avait été terminée, ou au contraire s'il avait été abandonné, quoi que ce soit un projet d'ériger un musée d'art national.

La destinée du musée national d'art est symptomatique des conflits et des malentendus entre les élites roumaines de l'entre-deux-guerres, des polémiques virulentes qui ont caractérisé l'appartenance non seulement à différents courants de pensée, mais aussi à des groupes de pouvoir opposés.

Sinon, les choses semblaient être différentes au-delà des Carpates, en Transylvanie, comme l'avait remarqué même Tzigara-Samurçaș<sup>24</sup>.

### MUSÉE DE L'« ASSOCIATION »

Le premier musée roumain d'ethnographie n'a pas été celui de Bucarest, inauguré en 1906, mais le musée de Sibiu qui a ouvert ses portes le 19 août 1905. Initiative de l'association « Astra » – l'Association de littérature roumaine et de la culture populaire roumaine, il restera dans l'histoire sous le nom abrégé du Musée de l'« Association ».

Fondée le 23 octobre 1861, l'association « Astra » est l'organisation la plus active des Roumains en Transylvanie, qui était à cette époque sous domination austro-hongroise. Les actions qu'il a organisées sont parmi les plus diverses, allant d'encourager l'éducation en roumain et les traditions, en organisant des expositions et des fêtes, et en passant par les revendications politiques sur la reconnaissance des Roumains de Transylvanie. Le musée apparaît comme le couronnement de ces actions, ayant pour modèle les musées déjà établis de Saxons et de Hongrois<sup>25</sup>.

La proposition de créer un musée de l'Association se tiendra lors d'une assemblée générale tenue à Medias en 1897. Le projet consistait à créer une

<sup>23</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii*, vol. III, p. 31–117.

<sup>24</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Cultul trecutului și muzeele provinciale”, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, p. 315

<sup>25</sup> Ana Grama, *Etnomuseografie transilvană. Muzeul „Asociațiunii”, 1905–1950*, Sfântul Gheorghe, 2010, p. 51–55; Delia Voinea, „Astra și activitatea muzeografică”, in *Cibinium*, 2011, p. 74–80.

« Maison nationale » comprenant « un musée historique », « un musée ethnographique », une bibliothèque, les bureaux de l'Association, une salle des fêtes et 6 autres salles pour les autres besoins de l'Association. Des dons rapides seront faits pour construire le bâtiment et acheter des objets.

Il convient de noter la rapidité avec laquelle le musée est construit. Le 9 février 1903, le concours de conception architecturale est ouvert. Le projet de l'architecte Iosif Schuschnigg et Gustav Maetz est choisi. À l'automne 1904, le nouveau bâtiment abrite déjà les bureaux et la bibliothèque.<sup>26</sup>

La manière dont les travaux pour la construction du musée de Sibiu se sont déroulés a été à l'opposé de la situation des travaux pour le Musée d'art national de Bucarest, une différence que même Alexandru Tzigara-Samurçaș aurait remarquée. Remarquable est la rapidité avec laquelle le bâtiment du musée a été construit, mais pas aussi remarquable, du point de vue de l'historien de l'art Samurçaș, l'action de rassembler et d'exposer des objets<sup>27</sup>.

La muséographie « ethnographique » de Transylvanie sera pleinement affirmée, scientifiquement, après l'union de la Transylvanie avec la Roumanie, passant des revendications nationales à la professionnalisation de la collection, de la recherche et de l'exposition.

#### LE MUSÉE ETHNOGRAPHIQUE DE TRANSYLVANIE ET LE PARC ETHNOGRAPHIQUE DE HOIA

Le 1er janvier 1923, le premier musée ethnographique de Roumanie, a été créé à Cluj par Romulus Vuia, à partir d'un ensemble d'objets et d'un programme de recherche scientifique sur le terrain. Né dans un village du Banat, fils de professeur et créateur de manuels scolaires roumains, Romulus Vuia suit des études à Orăștie, Timișoara et Budapest et se spécialise plus tard en ethnographie et en anthropologie à Berlin, où il suivit les cours du professeur Felix von Luschan en 1910. Il devint l'assistant du géographe George Vâlsan et titulaire d'un doctorat en géographie à Cluj, en 1924<sup>28</sup>.

Il sera influencé par le géographe Emmanuel Marton qui l'a accompagné sur le terrain au printemps 1921, en s'attachant en particulier à la collection d'objets pour la création d'un musée ethnographique. Cela aura lieu en 1923, avec le soutien de la Fondation culturelle du prince Carol<sup>29</sup>. Vuia crée un fonds documentaire, tout en développant un système scientifique de preuves scientifiques sans précédent en Roumanie pour ces années.

<sup>26</sup> Ana Grama, *Etnomuseografie transilvană. Muzeul „Asociațiunii”, 1905–1950*, p. 110–111.

<sup>27</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș. „Cultul trecutului și muzeele provinciale”, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, București, 1987, p. 315.

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.pressalert.ro/2016/03/timisoara-uitata-romulus-vuia-banateanul-care-intemeiat-primul-muzeu-etnografic-din-romania-foto/>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*.

Contrairement à Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, qui met l'accent sur les valences artistiques des objets, la nécessité de rassembler rapidement les artefacts les plus précieux, Romulus Vuia met l'accent sur la recherche sur le terrain en termes de préservation des traditions, l'ethnographie se transformant à partir d'une discipline auxiliaire de la philosophie et de la géographie, une discipline indépendante.

Le 1er juin 1929, Romulus Vuia fonda le premier musée de plein air au cadre du Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie. Le Parc ethnographique est projeté sur une superficie de 75 ha avec des ménages qui, du moins en partie, sont habités par des paysans formés aux activités économiques rurales. Entre 1929 et 1940, une maison de Vitra (montagnes Apuseni), une bergerie avec son berger et 75 moutons, un calvaire de Lupșa et une ferme de Telciu (Bistrita) ont été transportés vers le Parc ethnographique, ainsi qu'une église et une grange hongroise de Stana. Le restaurant du musée *Gaudeamus* a été également ouvert<sup>30</sup>.

Le modèle d'organisation du parc est fourni par les musées scandinaves en plein air, qui étaient largement à la mode à cette époque. Le musée Skansen de Stockholm, fondé en 1891 par Arthur Hazelius, était le musée en plein air le plus populaire depuis.

Désireux d'attirer l'attention sur la culture populaire menacée par la modernité, Romulus Vuia embrasse cette tendance extrêmement populaire que Tzigara-Samurçaș n'hésite pas à renier.

À propos de Skansen, Tzigara-Samurçaș affirme qu'« il s'agit du produit caractéristique du romantisme de la fin du siècle dernier, aujourd'hui submergé par toutes ses nombreuses manifestations »<sup>31</sup>. « Autant que l'ethnographie, estime Samurçaș, est vivante pour le peuple roumain, nous n'avons pas besoin de la parodier officiellement. Nous ne perpétons pas l'opéra pastoral de la romance expirée! »<sup>32</sup>

Les tendances folkloriques qui commencent à inclure le domaine de la muséographie seront également démantelées par Dimitrie Gusti, qui construira le « Musée du village » à Bucarest.

### LE MUSÉE DU VILLAGE À BUCAREST

Le 10 mai 1936, le « Musée du village » a été inauguré en présence du roi Carol II de Roumanie. Ce musée apparaît comme un résultat naturel des recherches menées depuis 1925 par « l'École de sociologie de Bucarest », dirigée par Dimitrie Gusti.

La révolte des paysans de 1907 mettra les décideurs de l'État face au besoin de réformes fondamentales en matière de l'«émancipation des villages». La sociologie en tant que « science de la nation », telle que définie par Dimitrie Gusti,

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.muzeul-etnografic.ro/ro/parcul-etnografic-national-romulus-vuia/istoric>.

<sup>31</sup> Al. Tzigara-Samurçaș, „Muzeele în aer liber”, in *Scrieri despre arta românească*, p. 322.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328.

aura pour rôle de radiographier la situation actuelle des villages<sup>33</sup>. La méthode monographique, appliquée par des équipes pluridisciplinaires, contenait plusieurs aspects de la vie, parmi lesquels : «la fragmentation de la propriété, le budget des ménages paysans pauvres, moyenne et riche, inventaire des morts et des vivants, mortalité infantile, nombre de naissances, nutrition, hygiène du domicile, sciences du livre, collégiens et lycéens, lecture pour adultes. »<sup>34</sup>

En 1928, les équipiers installent leur premier musée dans le village de Fundul Moldovei, dans une salle de classe<sup>35</sup>. À son retour à Bucarest, ils organisent le premier musée ouvert au public, avec des collections des villages de Nerej et du Fundul Moldovei. Les objets seront utilisés ultérieurement sur le stand roumain de Barcelone, où la Roumanie a obtenu, comme nous l'avons vu, un nombre impressionnant de distinctions.

Après la campagne de recherche de 1929 à Drăguș, l'équipe de l'« École sociologique » organise une chambre de Drăguș (*casa dragușană*), au siège du Séminaire de sociologie, qui sera ultérieurement réaménagé lors de l'exposition internationale de Drezda. D'autres objets seront envoyés en 1931 à l'exposition de Tokyo et, en 1934, se tiendra la première « exposition sur le travail des équipes d'étudiants ». À cette occasion, Dimitrie Gusti réalise l'importance d'un musée à ciel ouvert pour préserver « l'intérêt du public pour le village ».<sup>36</sup>

Cela créerait le musée du village, avec le soutien de la Fondation culturelle du prince Carol. Comme dans le cas du Musée d'art national ou du Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie, le musée du village apparaît à l'initiative d'une personnalité bien connue, bénéficiant du soutien direct de la dynastie des Hohenzollern en Roumanie.

Le musée est créé en un temps record de deux mois seulement, dans le désir d'être inauguré à l'occasion de la célébration du 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la fondation de la dynastie royale en Roumanie. Les 30 maisons, précédemment élues selon le critère de représentativité, ont été démantelées et transportées à Bucarest dans 56 wagons de train. Pour les travaux de démantèlement et de reconstruction, 130 artisans paysans étaient nécessaires<sup>37</sup>.

Le musée a été conçu par Gusti comme un musée social et non comme un musée ethnographique, les ménages étant sélectionnés non seulement sur la base du critère de la représentativité zonale, mais également en fonction des conditions sociales des anciens propriétaires.

Le nouveau musée du village était censé être une véritable synthèse de tous les villages de Roumanie, « pour profiter non seulement de l'œil, mais aussi pour

<sup>33</sup> Voir, pour la compréhension du rôle de l'École sociologique de Bucarest, les revues *Transilvania*, Sibiu, n. 11–12, 2012, n. 1, 2014 et *Secolul 21*, n. 1, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> D. Gusti, „Starea de azi a satului românesc. Întâiele concluzii ale cercetărilor întreprinse în 1938 de echipele regale studențești”, in *Sociologie românească*, anul III, nr. 10–12, oct. – dec. 1938, p. 431.

<sup>35</sup> D. Gusti, „Paralelismul sociologic”, *Opere*, vol. I, Bucarest, 1968, p. 223.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 220.

<sup>37</sup> <https://muzeul-satului.ro/en/istoric/>.

présenter de vraies choses »<sup>38</sup>. Il n'avait rien à voir avec les musées nordiques de plein air comme ceux de Skansen, Bigdo et Lillehammer qui ont été considéré par Gusti comme trop romantiques et ethnographiques.

Le Musée devait « refléter, mieux que tout autre chose, la richesse et la diversité de la vie paysanne, les idées de tant de profondeurs, le style architectural paysan, la grande science de l'adaptation à l'environnement et au traitement de l'environnement, l'originalité dans la décoration et la sécurité instinctive, ou l'utilisation judicieuse d'un plus grand espace pour les humains, le bétail et les choses ... »<sup>39</sup>.

Le musée doit en particulier remplir une fonction éducative, étant « une leçon de vie permanente et intuitive destinée à attirer l'opinion publique et à mettre en circulation une série de réflexions, de problèmes et de clarifications sur notre vie sociale ».<sup>40</sup>

Malheureusement, cette vision sociale, basée sur l'étude empirique des villages, sera complètement abandonnée après 1948, le Musée du village se transformant en un musée ethnographique, complétant ainsi toute une série de musées ethnographiques qui paraîtront après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. D'où « cela devait être une école », il devient seulement « une série de maisons »<sup>41</sup>. Au lieu d'une présentation de la situation sociale du pays qui « change en permanence, pour avoir tout ce qui change en Roumanie, socialement », il n'y a que la présentation ethnographique de maisons anciennes<sup>42</sup>, perçues comme des preuves matérielles d'une persistance ancestrale.

Un destin plus tragique aura le Musée national d'art, qui deviendra le Musée d'art populaire et sera contraint de quitter son siège, là où est créé le musée « Lénine-Staline » (appelé plus tard Musée du parti communiste roumain). En 1978, le musée d'art populaire sera fusionné avec le musée du village, ce qui donnera naissance au Musée du village et d'art populaire.

Vers la fin de l'ère communiste, il s'agit d'une étape de démantèlement, ce Musée a été perçu par le gouvernement comme un lieu de représentation du retour, une chose sur laquelle non seulement qu'on ne pouvait pas être fier, mais qui devait être caché ou même détruit. Grâce aux interventions de certains spécialistes de la culture, la décision de l'abolir est retardée et le Musée échappe à la destruction.

En 1990, immédiatement après la chute du régime communiste, l'ancien Musée d'art national fut restauré sous le nom de Musée du paysan roumain (voir l'article signé par Stelu Șerban dans ce numéro). Le créateur de l'exposition permanente, le peintre Horia Bernea, poursuivra la vision culturelle et muséographique de ses prédécesseurs, Tzigara-Samurçaș, en matière de muséographie, Mircea Eliade, Lucian Blaga, Mircea Vulcănescu, Ernest Bernea, au niveau de la vision culturelle<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 223.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Stahl, Marian Constantin, *Meteri țărani români*, București, 2004, p. 169.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>43</sup> V. Mihăilescu, "The Romanian Peasant Museum and Authentic Man", *Martor*, n. 11, 2006; M. Gheorghiu, M. Mateoniu (eds.), *Museum of the Romanian Peasant. Guide to the Permanent Exhibiton*, Bucharest, 2012.

## EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

La muséographie « ethnographique », qui apparaît au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle mais qui est plénière dans l'entre-deux-guerres, s'avère plus variée qu'il n'y paraît à première vue. On distingue au moins quatre types de musées: le Musée national d'art, qui s'appuie principalement sur la beauté des objets paysans élevés au rang d'œuvres d'art, à valences nationale et universelle; Le Musée de l'« Association » comme moyen d'affirmer une identité ethnoculturelle; Le Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie avec le Parc en plein air de Hoia, en tant que repos d'une culture traditionnelle soumise au changement implacable de la modernité et de la modernisation; Le Musée du village, capitalisant la diversité des états sociaux, des cadres et des manifestations des villages.

Cette diversité relative est, sans aucun doute, générée par l'appartenance des créateurs de musées aux différentes disciplines, de l'histoire de l'art à l'ethnographie et à la sociologie, en passant par les contacts qu'ils établissent et entretiennent avec les milieux universitaires occidentaux.

Un dénominateur commun semble être à la base de trois des quatre musées mentionnés (à l'exception du musée de l'« Association » à Sibiu) – la notoriété de leurs fondateurs, l'implication personnelle de ceux-ci dans l'acte de construction, de la levée effective des murs à l'affirmation de leur propre muséographie. Cet esprit individuel sera complètement évacué après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, avec l'avènement du communisme, qui imposera le musée ethnographique comme seul moyen de représenter l'univers paysan. Un tel musée est limité, dans le cas des musées de plein air, à l'exposition des différents types de maisons différenciées exclusivement en fonction de certaines zones ethnographiques, et, dans le cas des musées à pavillon, à une présentation téléologique d'objets, obligatoire dans la vitrine, selon les époques historiques, avec indication des zones, des matériaux et des utilisations.

## WHAT ARE MILITARY MUSEUMS FOR? POLISH, ROMANIAN AND BULGARIAN CASE STUDIES

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The aim of the article is to present the results of the Polish – Romanian and the Polish – Bulgarian research projects (2016–2018). By examining and analyzing contemporary strategies of representing and (re)interpreting the past, manifested through the military museum exhibitions (permanent and temporary) and narratives developed around them, this paper is an attempt to answer the question: what are military museums for?

**Keywords:** exhibiting practices, military heritage, military museum, representation, site of memory.

Between 2016 and 2018 the team of ethnologists from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences directed by Prof. Dagnosław Demski conducted two consecutive research projects. The former, entitled “Uses of the Past. From Polish and Bulgarian perspectives”, was based on cooperation with researchers from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with the Ethnographic Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. The latter, entitled “Ethnic Groups and National Minorities in Central and South-Eastern Europe (17<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup>)”, was completed in cooperation with the Institute for South East European Studies of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest.

The Polish research team (of which I was a member) conducted their research in the Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian museums (national, municipal, ethnographic, military, among others). The aim of the study was to examine and analyze contemporary strategies of representing and (re)interpreting the past (both the “own” one and the “foreign”), manifested through the museum exhibitions (permanent and temporary) and narratives developed around them. The results of the Polish – Romanian and the Polish – Bulgarian research projects were presented in June 2018 in Bucharest during the international scientific conference entitled “Uses of the Past in Eastern and Southeastern Europe in Modern and Contemporary Period”.

Three-year long research generated extensive fieldwork material exceeding the scope of this article. Consequently, it will only examine a specific type of museum – namely, the military museum.<sup>1</sup> This limitation is an intentional choice of

<sup>1</sup> “Military museum” is a general term used to define a specific type of museums portraying the past from the perspective of military history. Their names include, among others, museums of military history,

the author, not caused by the sole fact that military museums function in all three states involved in the research. It is more related to the fact that these institutions were founded to portray a unique story of a particular nation, more importantly, however, during my research in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe<sup>2</sup>. I realized that a “military museum” has become a unifying brand in its own right. It is a standardized signifier which embodies a particular set of meanings, extending far beyond the literal presentation of the military history of a selected nation. In consequence, this analysis is intended to examine the “military museum” both as a specific form of memory (and forgetting) –a site of memory, and as a “mnemonic device”, which serves specific functions not as much in the context of the past but predominantly in the context of the present. Thus, this paper is an attempt to answer the following question: what are military museums for?

### THE MILITARY MUSEUMS: POLISH, BULGARIAN AND ROMANIAN CASE STUDIES

I will begin with a brief introduction of the three military museums included in this analysis. Their image presented below has been created by the museums’ authorities on their official websites, hence this vision corresponds with the policies of particular institutions and how they wish to be perceived by their audiences home and abroad (the websites of military museums in Warsaw and Sofia are available both in their national languages and in the English language version, the official website of the military museum in Bucharest is only available in Romanian).

The Polish Army Museum (*Muzeum Wojska Polskiego*) in Warsaw, located at Aleje Jerozolimskie in the center of the capital city (it was moved to this location at the turn of 1933 and 1934) was visited by me in 2017, together with a team of Bulgarian researchers. The museum, which is under the structural supervision of the Ministry of National Defense, occupies a multi-storey building with the surrounding plot of land, used as space for the open-air museum for military vehicles. The institution was founded in 1920 by executive order of the Marshall of Poland Józef Piłsudski. The first exhibition was organized in 1921 to commemorate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Napoleon’s death, while the permanent exhibition was opened in 1923. The Polish Army Museum currently constitutes one of the biggest museums in Poland – the collection holds more than 250 000 artifacts and is continually

army museums, national military museums. It is, however, worth emphasizing that exhibitions concerning the war and military artifacts may also be found in other types of museums, including national museums, e.g. the exhibition devoted to the First World War in the National Museum of Romanian History (*Muzeul Național de Istorie a României*) in Bucharest in 2017. Other examples include war museums such as the Museum of The Second World War in Gdańsk (Poland).

<sup>2</sup> Though the present analysis involves only the military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest, I had the opportunity to visit more institutions of this type in the course of my research in Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. the military museums in Riga and Belgrade.



expanded. According to the information published at the museum's official website, the permanent exhibition presents "an overview of Polish military history from the founding of the Polish state in the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the Second World War in 1945. The evolution of the military technology and armament of the various branches of the Polish armed forces across the ages is displayed in chronological order. The diversity of exhibits – weaponry and armament, uniforms, banners and colors, badges, medals and decorations, as well as archival documents and photographs – offers a broad insight into the traditions of Polish arms, while our rich collection of images illustrates the key battles of Polish history".<sup>3</sup> Besides the permanent exhibition, temporary exhibitions are also organized in the museum. The strategy pursued by the institution's management does not limit its functions to collecting, preservation, exhibition, search and acquisition of artifacts related to Polish military history. The museum is presented as a research center (specialist library and conservation studios), educational unit (offering paid classes, special museum classes, preparation for school history competitions and Olympiads) and an information and consultation center.

I visited the National Military History Museum in Sofia, located at Cherkovna Street, in 2016 and 2017, together with a team of Bulgarian researchers. Analogically as in the case of the Polish Army Museum, the military museum in Sofia occupies a multi-storey building around which an impressive outdoor exhibition of military artifacts has been organized (it includes, among others, aircrafts, tanks, artillery units and military vehicles). Even though the first steps suggesting the intention of museum establishment were undertaken by Tsar Ferdinand I in 1914, the very activities resulting in the assembly of the museum exhibition began in 1916. The first exhibition in the Main Military Museum was organized in 1937. In the course of the following decades the museum changed its name, location and organizational structure several times. The institution received its present name in 1968, along with the status of a national museum. Currently the National Military History Museum is supervised by the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense. The museum collection holds more than a million artifacts, with the permanent exhibition amounting to around 28,000 exhibits. The permanent exhibition is organized in a thematic and chronological order, presenting the history of Bulgarian Army development since 681 until modern times. Victories of the Bulgarian Army in the Balkan War between 1912 and 1913 have been particularly emphasized in the exhibition. Temporary exhibitions are also organized in the museum. The descriptions published at the institution's official website state that "It investigates, preserves, processes scientifically and popularizes cultural valuables connected with the national and European military history".<sup>4</sup> The museum advertises itself not

<sup>3</sup> Polish Army Museum – Muzeum Wojska Polskiego, <http://www.muzeumwp.pl/o-muzeum.php> (retrieved 15.02.2019).

<sup>4</sup> National Military History Museum, [http://www.militarymuseum.bg/Pages/For\\_us/For\\_us-en.html](http://www.militarymuseum.bg/Pages/For_us/For_us-en.html) (retrieved 15.02.2019).

only as an institution collecting, storing, preserving and exhibiting artifacts related to Bulgarian military history but also a research and educational center.

I visited the National Military Museum (*Muzeul Militar Național*) in Mircea Vulcănescu Street in Bucharest in 2017 (the museum has been located there since 1988). It was the only military museum where its authorities introduced a strict ban on taking any pictures, inside as well as outside the building. Similarly to the previous cases, an open-air museum was organized outside the main building. It featured technical military artifacts alongside with the elements of disassembled monuments of soldiers on pedestals. The museum was founded by king Ferdinand I in 1923 and is currently under the supervision of the Romanian Ministry of National Defense. The museum collection holds a total of 1 300 000 artifacts exhibited in a rotational manner. The permanent exhibition has been arranged chronologically, since the period of establishment of the Romanian statehood until the modern times, including all essential battles for Romanian independence. Temporary exhibitions are also organized in the museum.<sup>5</sup>

To sum up, each of the three military museums was founded before the outbreak of the Second World War and counts as a “national project” sponsored by the state central authorities and presenting a strictly uncentric perspective.

Moreover, it is worth noticing that the military museums in Warsaw and Sofia are located centrally in the capital cities while the military museum in Bucharest is placed outside the city center which accompanied by the lack of official website in English, makes it less accessible, especially for foreigners.

### THE MILITARY MUSEUMS AS SITES OF MEMORY

Pierre Nora acknowledged that *les lieux de mémoire* (Engl. sites of memory) are places “where memory crystallizes and secrets itself”<sup>6</sup>, while interest in them is linked to particular historical moments. When thinking about sites of memory and searching for their meanings we usually try to understand how a particular group, society or nation understand and commemorate historical events, based in their own experience and moving within strictly defined sociocultural, historical and political frameworks.

The fact that the military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest were founded in a clearly defined historical moment appears in no way random. All the institutions were founded briefly after the end of the First World War, and, in the case of Bulgaria – still during the conflict period. As a result of the First World War the state borders in Europe became modified (in December 1918 the so-called “Greater Romania” was proclaimed; Bulgaria lost some of its territory), new

<sup>5</sup> National Military Museum, <http://muzeumilitar.defense.ro/> (retrieved 19.02.2019).

<sup>6</sup> P. Nora, «Between Memory and History. *Les Lieux de Mémoire* », in V.R. Schwartz and J.M. Przybylski (eds), *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, New York – London, 2004, p. 235–237.

national states emerged (in 1918 Poland regained independence after 123 years under occupation), new political arenas were formed, fundamental values were redefined and the process of rewriting history began. These multidimensional transformations caused “a reordering of people’s entire meaningful worlds”.<sup>7</sup> In these circumstances the Romanian, Bulgarian and Polish authorities were bringing military museums to life. The processes of creating collections as well as exhibitions were conducted in an authoritarian manner, imposing the narrative of the past of the state and nation adherent to the guidelines of the central authorities. Consequently, the policy of military museums was based on selecting knowledge and presenting ideas manufactured by the government system which reproduced the values of the central authorities. Already in the interwar period military museums became political arenas at which, on the one hand, the process of defining and challenging identity happened internally – for national communities the museums were meant as places articulating national identity. On the other hand, military museums were supposed to emphasize the state vision of nation’s future manifested in the concept of the past which situated particular states and nations in the framework of the European civilization, thus legitimizing their place in Europe. As a result, the state performances of the time were defined by triangulation of its three distinct publics: a) their own citizens, b) European allies, c) enemies. The military museums were national projects appointed to propagate national ideology and reinforce the narrative founded on national myths, while, at the same time, they went beyond it as, in pursuit of reaching various audiences, they had to use two orders of symbolic codes in the process of building their message. Creating military museums meant creating performative spaces, through which even “foreign” audiences could become reassured about the nation’s place in Europe and its affiliation to the European community. Additionally, the European allies were “reminded” of the necessity to support sovereignty of particular states and their integration into the imaginative landscape of Europe. Similar assumptions underlie the activity of selected museums also these days.

### OBJECTS AND DISPLAYS IN MILITARY MUSEUMS

It is beyond any doubt that people who visit museums interpret exhibitions through their earlier experience, personal values or perceptive abilities, shaped as a consequence of belonging to a particular community. These factors, alongside with some additional ones, may result in the fact that some pieces of information are easily absorbed by the visitors and the others become “blocked”.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, it can

<sup>7</sup> See K. Verdy, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies. Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, New York, 1999.

<sup>8</sup> I. Karp, « Introduction: Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture », in I. Karp and Ch. Mullen Kreamer and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities. The Politics of Public Culture*, Washington – London, 1992, p. 1–17.

also be influenced by particular practices of the museums, formed significantly by their exhibits. These are exactly the objects, in this case understood broadly as “any physical, tangible thing that is part of the museum experience”,<sup>9</sup> with whom people can potentially interact and which play an essential role in the process of shaping their understanding of the “world”: “Objects serve as focal points for bringing ideas, thoughts, and meaning together in the same place: they aid in people’s ability to create meaning in the world”.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, “Objects can be touchstones for the resonances of memory, past history, present circumstances, and future aspirations”.<sup>11</sup> In military museums usually the role of the object is thought of “as part of the ‘text’ or ‘script’ of a museum exhibition that visitors might ‘read’. This view of objects and artifacts as text presumed that the object served as a specific representation of an idea, or expected a certain level of disciplinary knowledge”.<sup>12</sup>

Military museum is a distinct representational form. Two fundamental thematic elements shape the order and experience of a military museum, namely war and a clear distinction between the ally and the enemy, the winner and the defeated. In the case of three military museums analyzed in this article, exhibitions were constructed primarily for educational purposes and in order to create a specific narrative scheme. Thus, military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest do not constitute a form of memory experienced through the body, which is the case of museums of occupation, Holocaust or terror.<sup>13</sup> Military museums are closely linked to the portrayals of war and military artifacts. In essence, these are institutions which, through using and interpreting exhibits in a particular manner, create various interpretations of war. War can be presented both as a positive and a negative phenomenon, which depends on a variety of factors such as the selection of objects, how well preserved they are, which context they are presented in and what are the relations between the audiences and the objects.<sup>14</sup> When researching forms of conflict representation in military museums of Northern Ireland James Scott<sup>15</sup> identified three basic approaches in creating the representation of war: the celebratory approach, the sanitized approach and the realistic approach. The “celebratory” approach consists in building a very positive image of war through extolling achievements of armies and individual “heroes”. The “sanitary” approach creates a more neutral image of war as the exhibits are shown in alternative contexts. Finally, the “realistic” approach involves

<sup>9</sup> E.E. Wood and K.F. Latham, *The Objects of Experience: Transforming Visitor-Object Encounters in Museums*, Walnut Creek, CA, 2013, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Ch. Mullen Kreamer, « Defining Communities Through Exhibiting and Collecting», in I. Karp and Ch. Mullen Kreamer and S. D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities*, p. 367-381.

<sup>12</sup> E.E. Wood and K. F. Latham, *The Objects of Experience*, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> See N. Batiashvili, *What Are Sites of Memories For?*, a paper presented during the international conference “Sites of Memory of Socialism and Communism in Europe”, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> N. Saunders, *Matters of Conflict: Material Culture, Memory and the First World War*, Oxford, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> J. Scott, «Objects and the Representation of War in Military Museums», *Museum & Society*, 13, 4, 2015, p. 489–502.

portraying war in a way that is most realistic, with the aim of reminding the visitors of war horrors.<sup>16</sup> The presented approaches constitute an open-ended model which does not reflect the full package of options. All of them confirm, however, that representation is a classificatory act in and of itself.<sup>17</sup> These schemes are commonly used in museum practice, however, the boundaries between them are rarely clearly defined and their elements overlap. Therefore, different representations of armed conflicts can be found within a single museum space.

Each of the abovementioned approaches is realized through different methods of displaying the objects. Methods and objects may significantly influence emotions evoked in visitors such as the sense of pride or guilt, they may shape the understanding of war experience, affect the attitude towards particular armed conflicts and towards war in general. It should be borne in mind that, even though military museums are also visited by soldiers and veterans, a remarkable part of their audience consists of ordinary people (e.g. tourists, students) who have never experienced war. In consequence, their perspective on war is shaped by a combination of various media influences, including military museums, whose role is significant.

It is beyond any doubt that museums may significantly affect societies, particularly in the context of possibilities of demonstrating different points of view and different representations, serving the interests of all society members. Yet “Many communities would prefer celebrating their distant past than to examine their present circumstances. If exhibition makers are simple facilitators, they still have to decide which version of the past to articulate. If they take an active view of their role as mediators, then they are likely to present material and views other than those provided by the community that created the objects they may wish to exhibit. A solution of this problem will be found only if exhibitions turn from monologue to conversation”.<sup>18</sup> In theory efforts are undertaken to delineate policies which enable passing information on to the audiences at the local, national and international level. Moreover, it is generally assumed that history should be communicated effectively and represents the interests of those who belong to the museum environment and a given community as well as those who remain „outside”. In practice, none of the three military museums described in the present article successfully pursues such policy. Military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest use their official websites to announce their massive collections of military artifacts originating from different historical periods. These objects demonstrate different scale, value and degree of preservation, however, only a part of them has been used to create museum exhibitions, including representations of wars. Thousands of objects are not available for visitors, while the selection of those displayed (including their descriptions) is conducted in an authoritarian manner by the

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 490.

<sup>17</sup> N. Batiashvili, *What Are Sites of Memories For?*

<sup>18</sup> S.D. Lavine, « Audience, Ownership, and Authority: Designing Relations between Museums and Communities », in I. Karp and Ch. Mullen Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities*, p. 137–157; see also R. Sandell, *Museums, Society, Inequality*, London, 2003.

museum employees who, in the same way, create specific visions of the past. In each case the exhibited objects are subjected to musealization, consequently “When an object is musealized, it goes through a process of physical or conceptual extraction from its original, natural, or cultural environment, giving it museal status and transforming it into a museum object”.<sup>19</sup>

When portraying the past of a selected community from the military angle, each of the three military museums uses the “celebratory” approach in the process of creating representations and interpreting past military conflicts. This approach is not only frequently used but also clearly visible in the context of permanent exhibitions. Due to it, the visitors’ attention becomes directed towards past military victories and achievements of a given group, which, in turn, is linked to the process of commemorating the dead and creating national “heroes”. It appears that in the interwar period, when military museums were being established and national states found it extremely important to recruit new soldiers, such approach was not irrelevant to creating positive feelings towards the army and encouraging potential candidates to join it. The use of “celebratory” approach is based on incorporating national narratives presenting both a given nation and its army in a positive light. In this way a lopsided representation of war and particular armed conflicts is created. Such approach emphasizes, among others, medals and badges (usually in large amounts and simultaneously), dress uniforms, decorations or finely embellished weaponry. Interestingly, notwithstanding that, for instance, in Poland “Both the presence of foreign uniforms and Poles wearing foreign uniforms are historically common phenomena”,<sup>20</sup> “celebratory” approach does not involve exhibiting foreign uniforms or consider them elements of the military heritage. In such context “The Polish uniform emerged (...) as a symbol of a glorious past; it symbolizes sacrifice but it is also associated with hope for the future”.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the problem lies within the fact that objects removed from the context tend to aestheticize war or, when combined with a simplified interpretation of a conflict, even trivialize it. Such presentation manner may result in creating a falsified image of war by evoking the feeling of nostalgia for war and creating a seductive portrayal thereof.

Described military museums also feature various elements of the “sanitary” approach,<sup>22</sup> which is not meant to create a positive war image, but rather to demonstrate negative aspects of an armed conflict in a “secure” way, namely without using violent imagery or being realistically literal. The portrayal of war created in this manner comes out more neutral than the war reality. An example of objects exhibited using such approach often includes various types of weapons.

<sup>19</sup> E.E. Wood and K.F. Latham, *The Objects of Experience*, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> D. Demski, «Values, Substantiality, and Passage of Time: Representations and Reinterpretations of Military Heritage», *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 70, 2017, p. 171–192. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2017.70.demski>.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> A. Whitmarsh, «We Will Remember Them: Memory and Commemoration in War Museums», *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies*, 7, 2001, p. 11–15.

Despite the fact that at times of armed conflicts weapons are tools with which the process of destruction is performed, military museums rarely exhibit weapons in the context of victims and material damage and often present it in the framework of military technology advancement. Providing various technical details concerning selected types of weaponry and presenting it in the context of particular stages of military technology production development does not create a false image of war, however, it “disguises” the fact that this very weaponry was used to kill people or destroy cities.<sup>23</sup> As a result, this form of portrayal may lead to a certain idealization of the military technique and presenting military technology solely from the perspective of technological advancement, at the same time removing the questions of moral responsibility from the debate.

Furthermore, displaying innovative character of the technical solutions may appear not only as one of the aspects of modernity but also as an essential part of the process of symbolically emphasizing the power of a selected group, gaining advantage over the enemy and defensive skills. This manner of presenting military history may indicate which elements the members of a given community should be proud of. Weapons sometimes happen to be presented as decorative objects or even works of art, which may lead to their complete abstracting from real destination or past functions. At the era of development of historical reenactments,<sup>24</sup> the technical dimension of militarism is attracting an increasing number of audiences or even enthusiasts.

The “realistic” approach, whose aim is to demonstrate the cruelty and horror of war preserving complete realism, developed as a form of protest against two preceding approaches and the application of peculiar censorship by the majority of military museums.<sup>25</sup> One of the ways in which this approach manifests itself in museum exhibitions may be juxtaposing particular types of weapons and archival photos demonstrating the results of their practical use (e.g. photographs of victims’ bodies). Even though some examples of such approach appeared in the analyzed museums, for instance during the temporary exhibition in the National Military History Museum in Sofia in 2017, such practices count as exceptional rather than regular.

The use of the “sanitary” approach and, particularly, the “celebratory” approach by military museums contributes to creating representations of war which often overlook the suffering of victims and especially of those, who were the opponents in a given conflict. Moreover, the abovementioned approaches draw a fine line between the winners and the defeated, which is most often situated along national

<sup>23</sup> R. Raths, «From Technical Showroom to Full-Fledged Museum: The German Tank Museum Munster», in W. Muchitsch (ed.), *Does War Belongs to Museums*, Bielfield, 2013, p. 83–91.

<sup>24</sup> K. Baraniecka-Olszewska, *Reko-rekonesans: praktyka autentyczności. Antropologiczne studium odtwórstwa historycznego drugiej wojny światowej w Polsce*, Kęty, 2018.

<sup>25</sup> J. Scott, «Objects and the Representation of War in Military Museums», p. 495; J. Winter, «Museums and the Representation of War», in W. Muchitsch (ed.), *Does War Belongs to Museums*, Bielfield, 2013, p. 21–41.

borders. As a result, a simplified narrative is created which neglects questions, like the activity of the local perpetrators or traitors. In consequence, representations of war formulated on this basis may evoke negative emotions of the members of other nations or their objections against the “false” vision of the past, which does not facilitate the development of intercultural and intergenerational dialogue. Moreover, the choice of a particular approach does impact the educational practices as well.

### MILITARY MUSEUMS – MILITARY HERITAGE

According to the information provided on official websites of military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest all three institutions systematically collect and preserve historical artifacts. Therefore, these institutions may be treated as sources of historical knowledge accumulated by professional researchers. For visitors, the museums “can create a sense of kinship with the past. The disposition of men to seek continuity with their ancestors and with life in earlier times may find its fulfillment in museums”.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, military objects and narratives built around them may help recall the military past of a given nation and the impression that the members of a given group are the descendants of their ancestors, who survived due to their genius, resilience and sacrifice.

It is beyond any doubt that “A museum may be established in order to exhibit what is acknowledged as the local heritage to make the community aware of what it can be proud of”.<sup>27</sup> Military museums actively participate in the process of creating military heritage, which is not only a part of cultural heritage but also national heritage. Although there function numerous definitions of “heritage”, which in specialist literature should be distinguished from the definition of “legacy”, for the purpose of the present analysis I assume that “heritage is not only a product of the present time, but also of a long process of relating history, through which communities recognize themselves precisely as communities”,<sup>28</sup> whilst “History becomes heritage in various ways. Artifacts become appropriated by particular historical agendas, by particular ideologies of preservation, by specific versions of public history, and by particular values about exhibition, design, and display”.<sup>29</sup> Being a part of cultural heritage, military heritage is created by contemporary people through processes of selection and categorization. In the case of military museums the choices are made in authoritarian manner by people responsible for collecting, storing and exhibiting

<sup>26</sup> J.H. Ewing, « Military Museums and Collections», in J.E. Jessup and Jr. and R.W. Coakley (eds), *A Guide to the Study and Use of Military History*, Washington, 1988, p. 339–347.

<sup>27</sup> D. Demski and D. Czarna, «A Site Shaped by Discontinuity: the Practices of Place-Making in a Post-Soviet Military Base in Poland», *Suomen Antropologi. Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 43, 2, 2018, p. 30–52. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30676/jfas.v43i2.69843>.

<sup>28</sup> D. Demski, «Values, Substantiality, and Passage of Time», p. 176.

<sup>29</sup> A. Appadurai and C.A. Breckenridge, «Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India», in I. Karp and Ch. Mullen Kreamer and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities*, p. 34–55.



objects. Everything which becomes exhibited in military museums is presented as a part of the military heritage of a given nation or even a larger community, for example the European one.<sup>30</sup> In consequence, the role of the visitor in this case does not require wondering what qualifies as military heritage and what does not, because the choice had already been made by the authorities. Visitors should somewhat automatically assume that all the objects exhibited by the museum count as military heritage. As a result, the process of manufacturing military heritage by military museums is authoritarian and controlled by institutions' employees. Moreover, it is linked to economic<sup>31</sup> and political arguments, "Heritage, even when it is created in order to reconcile present with past, often becomes the object of political interest."<sup>32</sup> To sum up, in the context of military museums, heritage is created by specialized institutions, which is obviously related to political authority.

### CONCLUSION

The present article was an attempt to analyze ways of representing and (re)interpreting past in the present, and, consequently, answer the question: what are military museums for? Research conducted in three institutions – military museums in Warsaw, Sofia and Bucharest – demonstrated that, on the one hand, each of these museums intends to portray a unique story of a particular nation, thus serving significant functions in the context of "internal" needs of a given community. In this context, military museums appear as places in which identity is articulated. As a result, the aim of creating particular exhibitions consists in reinforcing the identity of a given nation, which is not irrelevant for educational practices undertaken by particular institutions.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, in a broader context, a "military museum" has become a unifying brand in its own right, appearing as a standardized signifier, which embodies particular meanings extending beyond literal presentations of military history of a given nation. The museums analyzed in this article demonstrate a number of similarities in the context of the functions they serve, place in organizational structure, ways of creating representations of war as well as constructing narrative schemes. All three institutions replicate similar solutions,

<sup>30</sup> National Military History Museum, [http://www.militarymuseum.bg/Pages/For\\_us/For\\_us-en.html](http://www.militarymuseum.bg/Pages/For_us/For_us-en.html) (retrieved 15.02.2019).

<sup>31</sup> T. Peil, «Estonian Heritage Connections-People, Past and Place: The Pakri Peninsula», *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11, 1, 2005, 53–65, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250500037021>.

<sup>32</sup> D. Demski and D. Czarnecka, «A Site Shaped by Discontinuity», p. 42; see also D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge, 1998.

<sup>33</sup> While in Warsaw and Bucharest educational practices consist mainly in special museum classes, the military museum in Sofia organized a special exhibition dedicated to children. It includes several "military style" rooms adjusted to children's perceptive capacity, where they can learn through playing (copies of military objects are used for this purpose).

which results in the fact that a visitor experiences comparable representation and interpretation schemes in different geographical locations. Since the visitor is reassured in the “accuracy” of the manner of representing military history replicated in different places, his expectations are gradually shaped on this basis and, as the time goes by, these expectations become somehow automatically referred to a “military museum” as a particular type of institution. Military museums appear to be authoritarian institutions which involve a process of paring down multiple voices and complex identities into relatively clear messages. Certain differences may also be observed between the three described institutions. The military museum in Bucharest, unlike the museums in Sofia and Warsaw, is located outside the city center and does not offer a website in English, which makes it less accessible. Moreover, during the visit in the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw crowds of visitors could be observed, while both in Sofia and in Bucharest few people were present at the institutions. It is difficult to clearly determine reasons for this situation (political situation, economic condition, location, lack of interest for the topic?).

In conclusion, bearing in mind the activity and ways of functioning of military museums, it is worth emphasizing that “Just as museums have the obligation to examine the consequences of their own exhibiting and educational practices, so communities have the responsibility to see that exhibitions about themselves are more than celebratory”.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> I. Karp, «On Civil Society and Social Identity», in I. Karp and Ch. Mullen Kreamer and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities*, p. 19–33.

## ON THE PERFORMATIVE POWER OF STEREOTYPES: WWII HISTORICAL REENACTMENT AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

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The article discusses how the WWII historical reenactments in Poland contribute to the construction of national identities. The current political situation, where Poland's ruling *Law and Justice* party supports specific interpretations of the past and intensively promotes these in the public space, the activities of historical reenactors are often read through the prism of the party's political activity. In a similar way, collective identity projects performed in historical reenactments are understood. In contemporary Polish social life WWII history constitutes a very strong political and symbolical capital. Representing war events, reenactments and reenactors place themselves in the very centre of debates on contemporary visions of the past and identities related to them. This article focuses primarily on describing how the stereotype attributed to the WWII historical reenactments influences the perception of this phenomenon by the audience and shapes their sense of national identity.

**Keywords:** historical reenactment, historical policy, national identity, performativity.

### THE CONTEXT OF RESEARCH ON WWII HISTORICAL REENACTMENT IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND

Historical reenactment is an exceedingly popular phenomenon in Poland, clearly visible in the public sphere. Reenactments of WWII events play a particular role within this phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> As the memory of the war is still alive – it can be described in terms of communicative memory as Jan Assmann<sup>2</sup> puts it – and politicians and the media use WWII symbols in their discourse, reenactment of this period serves a significant function in the debate on the wartime past. Historical reenactment interacts with other forms of representing and interpreting history in the public sphere. It draws from them, falls under their influence, but also modifies them and makes its mark. The reenactment of the past is not a purely receptive phenomenon, which would only reflect the attitude towards the past found in

<sup>1</sup> Research on the reception of historical reenactments is carried out under the National Science Center grant, Poland No. 2017/27/B/HS3/00990.

<sup>2</sup> J. Assman, « Communicative and Cultural Memory », in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds), *Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin – New York, 2008, p. 109–118.

culture; it is thoroughly performative, shaping perceptions of history, affecting cultural and social phenomena, including personal or national identity. In this text, however, the focus is primarily on a certain general image of national identity presented to the author by viewers of the WWII historical reenactments. From interviews with participants of historical reenactments, it appears that for a substantial part of them the basic value organizing the national identity is patriotism. Patriotism is rarely thoroughly analyzed by them, represented by slogans as “respect for the homeland” or “defense of the homeland,” often also embedded in the current policy, by categorizing who (and why) is patriotic and who is not. The aim of this article is not, however, to analyze thoroughly patriotism in its many forms, nor to present a detailed concept of national identity. However important, these concepts remain at the margins of the scope of this paper. The aim here is to show the situation where the performativity of historical reenactments does not derive from their content, form, intentions of creators, and what they show on the stage, but from the current public discourse and the stereotype that shapes the reception of reenactment. The intention is to show a special situation of the performance failure,<sup>3</sup> where neither its content, creativity of the performers, nor the script determine the perceived stage reality, but rather a deep social conviction about the politicization of the WWII historical reenactments.

Importantly, this article presents an analysis of the phenomenon at a specific historical moment, when the right-wing conservative party *Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość)* rules in Poland. The *Law and Justice* political activities also include the area of historiography, the aim of which is to create a framework for the interpretation of Polish history, consistent with the ideological interpretation by the party. The *Law and Justice* politicians adopted a historical policy project proposed by the conservative historians over a decade ago.<sup>4</sup> This project is still being actively implemented, albeit with some modifications and certain shifts in focus.<sup>5</sup> To simplify the matter for the purpose of this article, the above-mentioned project assumes an affirmative approach to Polish history. In practice, this means building a positive symbolic capital around certain events and historical figures, mainly those from the period of WWII. Its implementation has caused the further development of a certain trend, noticeable even before – the increase in the society’s interest in history and its presence in the public sphere. It has also brought about a certain trend for historical shows, books, films and games.

The reenactors are acting today in this very political and social context. The interpretations of the past enacted by them interact with the historical policy

<sup>3</sup> L. Howe, « Risk, Ritual, Performance », *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 6, 1, 2000, p. 63–79; E. Schieffelin, « Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality », *American Ethnologist*, 12, 4, 1985, p. 707–724.

<sup>4</sup> R. Traba, « Polityka wobec historii: kontrowersje i perspektywy », *Teksty Drugie*, 1–2, 2010, p. 300–319.

<sup>5</sup> R. Traba, *Przeszłość w teraźniejszości. Polskie spory o historię na początku XXI wieku*, Poznań, 2009; R. Traba, « Polityka wobec historii: kontrowersje i perspektywy ».

present in the public sphere, and the performers themselves, consciously or not, hold a position in relation to the content and practices aimed at history proposed by the public discourse. Their actions do not take place in a vacuum, and therefore should be interpreted in relation to the specific social situation and to the vision of the past that prevails in the culture.

Some researchers attribute a critical potential to the historical reenactments, seeing them as a tool for discussion with other interpretations of the past that are present in the public discourse.<sup>6</sup> In this approach, historical reenactment appears as a grassroots voice of history formation, manifestation of its democratization,<sup>7</sup> as well as a way of adding complexity to the vision of the old times, seeking alternative interpretations to the mainstream ones. At the same time, however, other researchers note the strong politicization of historical reenactment,<sup>8</sup> and this phenomenon occurs in at least three different ways. Firstly, some of the performers openly support their vision of the past promoted by specific political groups. Secondly, politicians at various levels – from local authorities to state-level ones – invite reenactors to take part in commemorative celebrations, anniversaries of battles and state holidays, and the presence of reenactors in such events is interpreted as a politicized practice. Thirdly, the top-down historical policy, topics and historical events that gain a special place in public discourse influence the selection of the motifs reenacted by the circle of historical reenactors. Sometimes this happens because certain events from the past become fashionable and often recur in the media and sometimes because it is easier to get public funds to organize historical reenactment on a specific theme.

Historical reenactment as a cultural and social phenomenon has countless interactions not only with other forms of representation of the past, but also depends on the ways of institutionalization of representing the past in the public space and funding streams for events that take place in this space. A substantial number of people involved in the historical reenactment movement have the ambition and the will to organize battles or other past events in the public space. Only for a part of the reenactors it is sufficient to test their skills solely during private events, maneuvers created exclusively for the members of reenactment groups. Most of them decide to present their avocation to the audience, and this has specific consequences. The basic one is that the reenactors operating in the public space are subject to evaluation by the recipients – the onlookers, as well as those who write about historical reenactments, most often reported by the onlookers – the journalists.

<sup>6</sup> M. Daugbjerg, R. Syd Eisner, B. Timm Knudsen, « Reenacting the Past: Vivifying Heritage 'Again' », *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20, 7–8, 2014, p. 681–687.

<sup>7</sup> J. de Groot, *Consuming History. Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*, USA-Canada, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> B. West s.d., « Historical Re-enacting and Affective Authority: Performing the American Civil War », working paper, <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/spais/migrated/documents/west-06-12.pdf> (retrieved: 19.12.2016).

This fact is crucial for further considerations, because they encompass not only the opinions of the reenactors themselves or the spectators, about the historical reenactment, its strengths and weaknesses and the evaluation of commitment to promotion of specific visions of history, but also a certain stereotype about reenactment that is persistent in the media, and due to them – in the public discourse, as well. Regardless of the opinions of the performers, whether they consider their actions to be apolitical or not, a stigma of supporters of right-wing parties and promoters of the historical policy proposed by these parties is quite unequivocally attributed to them.<sup>9</sup> A part of the reenactment circle really falls under such a label, but a large group does not. For the external reception of historical reenactment, the internal diversity of the ideological attitudes of the performers is not, however, of great importance.

The recipients filter the actions of the reenactors through the prism of the values **related** to Polish history emphasized by the ruling *Law and Justice* party – to sum it up: patriotism, affirmative attitude towards the past, glorification of Polish heroism and a defensive attitude towards any attempts to discuss the uniquely positive image of Polishness. The details – justified by historical sources – that diversify the image, which the reenactors try to show during the reenacted battles – errors of commanders, brutal and disrespectful behavior of Polish soldiers, senselessness and deheroization of death – escape the attention of the viewers and the interpretation of the event is governed by the slogans drawn from the politicized public discourse. In such cases, the interpretation of seen reenactments often does not result only from the direct perception of the presented events, but from a particular historical habitus<sup>10</sup>, remaining in relation to the public discourse that the viewers of historical reenactments embody. For this reason, the critical aspect of reenactment has much greater impact on the performers themselves, it opens them the possibility of creating identity shaped, among others, by contesting the visions of the past that prevail in the public space.

The audience attending the historical reenactment rarely notices the nuances woven into the script of the event, and not always listens to the narrator telling about the details of the events being reenacted, indulging in the admiration of explosions, military equipment and the martial bustle and assessing the events according to the historical habitus.<sup>11</sup>

As mentioned, historical themes selected by reenactors often overlap with the themes present in conservative historical policy. This fact, however, is a trap for the reenactors, especially for those who deal with topics that are also embraced by historical policy, for example, show their other interpretations and introduce these

<sup>9</sup> C. Michalski, « Polityka śmierci » in *Żaloba*, Warszawa, 2010, p. 14–21.

<sup>10</sup> See J. Olick, « From Usable Past to the Return of Repressed », *The Hedgehog Review*, Summer, 2007, p. 19–31.

<sup>11</sup> K. Baraniecka-Olszewska, *Reko-rekonesans: praktyka autentyczności. Antropologiczne studium odtwórstwa historycznego drugiej wojny światowej w Polsce*, Kęty, 2018, p. 312.

alternative understandings into the historical debate. Their actions are often perceived through the prism of the historical reenactment politicization stereotype as such and its servility towards the ruling party. Interestingly, the stereotype influences the shaping of the recipients' historical identity. The conviction about the compatibility of the visions of the past presented by the performers with the interpretations of history supported by right-wing politicians makes the viewers perceive reenactment events as events promoting patriotic attitudes, which these politicians are pushing for. Here is an interesting situation, where the content of the event itself is often blurred and its critical character is omitted<sup>12</sup> and the reception of the event is ruled by the stereotype of the entire cultural phenomenon.

### WWII HISTORICAL REENACTMENTS RECEPTION THROUGH THE PRISM OF POLITICIZATION STEREOTYPE

Historical reenactment of WWII is, on the one hand, a grassroots initiative, a way towards individual interactions with the past. It is an avocation aimed at personal satisfaction. On the other hand, however, reenactment is used in local and national politics as an element of commemoration of the state holidays. Interestingly, in both these aspects reenactment becomes a form of expressing and also shaping national identities. As Joanna Kurczewska puts it, "historical reenactment is nothing but an indicator of norms, ones which are fundamental for perpetuating the matrix of collective identities, especially state and national ones."<sup>13</sup>

Although historical reenactment feeds on the past, in its performative nature it is distinctly oriented towards the present, and in a sense also towards what is to come, as it also projects national identity on the future, defining how it should look like under the influence of reenactment. Interestingly, reenactors' actions aimed at modifying identity are often conscious and planned. Many reenactors, but also the officials and politicians who seek their services openly declare their hopes that participation in a reenacted performance will have a positive impact on the perception of Polish history, reinforce a patriotic stance and enhance the feeling of pride in belonging to the Polish nation.

Not all reenactors support this goal or approve of open declarations of such aims of reenactment. And because they are aware of the stereotypical reception of historical reenactments as a field of activity for politicians, especially the right-wing ones, many fear being labelled as nationalists or radicals – as this is another association that reenactment has begun to evoke in the public. In Poland, WWII reenactment is most of all regarded as a movement, which supports the project of a

<sup>12</sup> Unlike the cases of historical reenactments described by R. Schneider (*Performing Remains. Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*, London – New York, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> J. Kurczewska, « Dwa spotkania międzykulturowe – przedstawienia i konteksty », *Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne. Seria Nowa*, 6, 2015, p. 38.

national identity grounded in affirmative patriotism, pride in one's history and an uncritical approach to one's past. As mentioned, this stereotype does not convey the full complexity of historical reenactment, since the phenomenon involves performing many types of national identity and many underlying sources of patriotism, from the affirmative to the critical.<sup>14</sup> It does, however, influence the reception of reenactment and its role in the public sphere, as the audience quite often seeks certain content and also expects the reenactors to present the glory of Polish history, which is a factor in evoking an uncritical approach to the past of the nation.

Owing to the influence of the historical policy of conservative parties, for over a decade now the public sphere has been full of depictions of the defensive war of 1939, the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 and the activities of the cursed soldiers (since the end of WWII to the mid-1950s); these motifs used to be decidedly rare. Museums devoted to these events have been opened, monuments founded, books and press articles published. The stories have made their way to school textbooks and to collective memory. The national identity is being built around them. In their mythologised form, these events indicate the features of Poles as a collective – perpetually fighting, heroic, willing to sacrifice everything for the sake of higher values such as freedom and the defence of their homeland. In many cases this is also the image that emerges from historical reenactment.

Although, in its very principle, the historical reenactment movement seeks to offer the most authentic representation of the past possible, or at least a version which would be closest to the existing sources,<sup>15</sup> it often turns into a depiction of a certain ethos currently attributed to historical figures, including WWII soldiers. Mythical figures appear in the discourse of historical events, around which a community sharing attitudes and beliefs is organized.<sup>16</sup> Historical reenactment is a kind of performance here that creates on stage a conventional reality suspended between the past and what has happened, and the present and its uses of this past. While the performers themselves are struggling to make their presentations of history as close as possible to the sources, rooted in the past,<sup>17</sup> the viewers come to

<sup>14</sup> See J.J. Lipski, *Dwie ojczyzny, dwa patriotyzmy. Uwagi o megalomanii narodowej i ksenofobii Polaków*, s.d., <http://otwarta.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/J-Lipski-Dwie-ojczyzny-dwa-patriotyzmy-lekkie3.pdf> (retrieved: 30.12.2016); B. Korzeniewski, « Transformacja pamięci – o nieliniowym charakterze przemian w pamięci Polaków », *Sensus Historiae*, 9, 4, 2012, p. 11–22.

<sup>15</sup> S.K. Decker, « Being Period: An Examination of Bridging Discourse in a Historical Reenactment Group », *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38, 3, 2010, p. 273–296; S. Gapps, « Mobile Monuments: A View of Historical Reenactment and Authenticity from inside the Costume Cupboard of History », *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 13, 3, 2009, p. 395–409; D. Radtchenko « Simulating the Past: Reenactment and the Quest for Truth in Russia », *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 10, 1, 2006, p. 127–148.

<sup>16</sup> See M. Maffesoli, *The time of the Tribes. The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi, 1996, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> This does not mean that they elude the present day or are not aware of its impact on the assessment of past history. However, they make the attempt to understand the past arise from its character, not the needs of contemporary users of historical discourse. See K. Baraniecka-Olszewska, *Rekonesans: praktyka autentyczności*.



historical shows with interpretations clearly emerging from the present. Thus, reenactment contributes to the project of shaping national identity through references to the features of Polishness emerging from the interpretation of the depicted historical events and very strongly this taken or embodied way of interpreting history affects the identity project seen in the reenactment.

According to the understanding of history proposed in conservative historical policy the defensive war fought in September 1939 is used to show the perseverance and heroism of the soldiers who faced overwhelming odds, especially after 17<sup>th</sup> September, when Poland was attacked by the USSR. The Warsaw Uprising, in turn, has become the symbol of grassroots initiatives in fighting for liberation undertaken by the entire society, with soldiers and civilians working hand in hand, from the youngest to the eldest. The cursed soldiers are the newest element in historical policy promoted by conservative parties. Their stories are to emphasise not only self-sacrifice or heroism, but most of all the ethos of fighting against communist ideology, since they were the people who did not lay down their arms after the war ended and kept fighting for an independent Poland, refusing to accept the country under communist rule as such.

These values are also shared by some of the reenactors. Some deliberately weave them into the content of the stories they reenact and this way these values often rise to the foreground in historical reenactment scenes, pushing adherence to sources further back. The scenes rarely leave room for critical reflection on the events presented or for showing them from different interpretative perspectives, although discussions around these WWII events are still ongoing, both in the academia and in journalism. These events fuel many controversies, especially if they are interpreted as unequivocally positive national symbols.

#### **PERFORMING IDENTITIES AND BONDING TEMPORARY COMMUNITIES**

Although not all reenactors, and not all recipients of historical staging, agree with the clarification of the interpretation of history proposed by the conservative discourse, the performers quite in solidarity underline a certain convergence of the postulates introduced by the historical policy discussed here with their views on the dissemination of history. They appreciate that the interest of the *Law and Justice* party in the past has increased the presence of the representation of history in the public discourse. In addition, the WWII reenactors, in principle without exception, confirm that patriotism is an attitude important to them. And although they implement it in many different ways, often contrary to affirmative patriotism proposed by the conservative historical policy, they admit that drawing the party's attention to the essence of patriotism in upbringing, in building a national identity, is to some extent convergent with their views. They see a higher sense in

promoting history and patriotism in general, which is why they decide to use the possibility of organizing historical performances in public space.

However, the audience who decides to attend the staging of the WWII events, often seeks for general patriotic values in the reenactment, identifying them with the content of public media and no longer looks at the details of the particular position promoted by the reenactors. Despite having some doubts regarding the manner of depicting events or seeing the ideology of conservative parties behind the representation of WWII events and the resulting criticism, many people identify with the image of the past presented by reenactors. The project of national identity performed through reenactment convinces them, and also remains in line with their own beliefs. For such people, reenactment is perceived positively, as an instrument of building identity and even more importantly promoting patriotism. These individuals are receptive to the influence of reenactment and experience such events intensely, responding emotionally to conveying certain values and the inclusion of certain symbols they regard as important. Reenactment engages them through creating a specific atmosphere around the event, the space between the actors and the audience.<sup>18</sup> In such cases reenactment gives rise to a community of experience, a feeling of mutual identification; to use Birgit Meyer's term, a kind of an aesthetic formation.<sup>19</sup>

Although Meyer uses this term mostly in the study of religion, she also sees aesthetic formations as similar to Benedict Anderson's imagined communities,<sup>20</sup> which means the category may be applied to the analysis of non-religious phenomena. According to Meyer, communities are built around aesthetic experiences, here – after Aristotle – understood as sensorial. As she writes: “indeed, in order to grasp the particular modes through which imaginations materialize through media and become manifest in public space, generating sensorial sensibilities and aptitudes that vest these imaginations with a sense of truth, we need to move into the broader sphere of what I call aesthetic formations.<sup>21</sup>” Historical reenactment appeals to the senses, it is a framework in which knowledge about the past is conveyed, but also experienced sensually,<sup>22</sup> and performed bodily.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the interpretation perceived in or imposed on historical staging gives a sense of truth, a sort of arrangement of knowledge about the world. The experiences evoked by participation in reenactment events bind reenactors and spectators into a type of community, sharing the sensorial contact with a given vision of history – an aesthetic formation.

<sup>18</sup> R. Schechner, *Between Theatre and Anthropology*, Philadelphia, 1985.

<sup>19</sup> B. Meyer, « From Imagined Communities to Aesthetic Formations: Religious Mediations, Sensational Forms, and Styles of Binding », in B. Meyer (ed.), *Aesthetic Formations. Media, Religion, and the Senses*, Basingstoke, 2009, p. 1–28.

<sup>20</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London – New York, 2006 [1983].

<sup>21</sup> B. Meyer 2009, « From Imagined Communities to Aesthetic Formations », p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> R. Schneider, *Performing Remains*.

<sup>23</sup> D. Taylor, « Performance and/as History », *TDR: The Drama Review*, 50, 1, 2006, p. 67–86.

This relation may be temporary, but accepts performed project of identity. In a similar vein Edward Schieffelin described ritual performances – as bequeathing permanent social meanings.<sup>24</sup> Identity communities formed around historical reenactments as being built around a specific experience are not permanent, they are not necessarily strong relationships, but the experience derived from that moment of community experience may leave a lasting trace, for example in accepting and recognizing identity projects that were perceived in reenactment. The members of this community then promote the project further in other aspects of social life.

Importantly, the creation of a community around sensual experiences resulting from the observation of embodied visions of the past does not mean the unanimity of this community or the unification of its patriotic attitude sought in historical reenactments. On the contrary, the heterogeneity of this community is its defining characteristic. What is being built here is the participation in engaging in a sensual and bodily event and the attitude to certain types of stimuli evoking the sense of national identity. This, in turn, means that not all viewers of reenactment will find themselves within the aesthetic community, because some of them contest the watched performance. Others, however, seek confirmation that their patriotic attitude is shared by more people, wanting to belong to a certain community.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, historical reenactment has some effect on the level of shaping national identity, which influences certain temporary community identities that bind aesthetic formations. At the same time, it shapes individual identities, especially those of the reenactors, although in a much more diverse way. Their identity as individuals, often directly linked with their national identity, is constantly asserted and created in performative acts,<sup>26</sup> through representation of a chosen ethos of the past and strong identification therewith, apparent not only during the events, but also in everyday life. Incidentally, the practice of historical reenactment has strong ties with individual identity, since it contributes to achieving personal satisfaction, a feeling of existential authenticity<sup>27</sup> – by doing something for, and in harmony with, oneself.

## CONCLUSIONS

Both reenactors and the general public associate reenactment with a considerable potential for influencing others. Although reenactment mainly affects the senses and engages the body, scholars recognise its influence not only on

<sup>24</sup> E. Schieffelin, « Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality », p. 721–722.

<sup>25</sup> See M. Maffesoli, *The Time of the Tribes*.

<sup>26</sup> See J. Butler, *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London – New York, 1990.

<sup>27</sup> C.J. Steiner, Y. Reisinger, « Understanding Existential Authenticity », *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33, 2, 2006, p. 299–318; N. Wang, « Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience », *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26, 2, 1999, p. 349–370.

individuals, but most of all on socio-cultural processes.<sup>28</sup> It must, however, be noted again that the direction of this influence does not always stem from the content presented by reenactors; it is often defined by the nature of a given event or commemorative celebration in which reenactors take part or by the historical reenactment stereotype described above.

Therefore, scholars analysing the phenomenon focus not on individual identities performed through the practice of reenactment, but on the collective identity, be it national or local, associated with a specific place or region.<sup>29</sup> The 'boom for history' has resulted not only in greater susceptibility to absorb themes invoked by the historical policy of the current ruling party in Poland, but also in a generally increased interest in the past. As noted some time ago by Rosenzweig and Thelen, people take to history to seek individual, local and national roots.<sup>30</sup> Many reenactment groups concentrate on presenting not only the national history of Poland, searching for models and founding values for modern Polish identity, but also on the study of the local history of their city or region, in order to shape the local identity and cause the regional ethos to re-emerge from the past. The effectiveness of historical reenactment in this regard is visible in the public sphere. Several cities in Poland are now home to groups who focus predominantly on the history of the given locus. They popularise the memory of WWII events, which took place in these cities through references to specific historical figures and their actions. At the level of practice, identity projects created by their actions (not necessarily the reenactments of historical events themselves, also public speeches, lectures, exhibitions, tending to the cemeteries and monuments) are diverse, rooted in different interpretations of the past. However, in the public discourse this diversification is blurred and the initiatives for local history are also filtered through the interpretive framework set by the conservative historical policy. This local identity often draws from the matrix of national identity (to use Joanna Kurczewska's term<sup>31</sup>), it refers to the same values and symbols and is based on an affirmative attitude towards the actions of the Polish during WWII, only this time the ethos is sought in local and not national history.

On both the local and the national scale the project of identity performed through historical reenactment is based on the idea of promoting patriotic attitudes. These may be different, from the critical to the affirmative, yet the public perception of historical reenactment often deprives it of its complexity. It is

<sup>28</sup> P.T. Kwiatkowski, *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie transformacji*, Warszawa, 2008; J. Kurczewska, « Dwa spotkania międzykulturowe – przedstawienia i konteksty »; T. Szlendak, « Wehrmacht nie macha. Rekonstrukcyjna codzienność jako sposób zanurzenia w kulturze », in T. Szlendak, J. Nowiński, K. Olechnicki, A. Karwacki, W.J. Burszta, *Dziedzictwo w akcji. Rekonstrukcja historyczna jako sposób uczestniczenia w kulturze*, Warszawa, 2012, p. 7–70.

<sup>29</sup> P.T. Kwiatkowski, *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego*; J. Kurczewska, « Dwa spotkania międzykulturowe – przedstawienia i konteksty ».

<sup>30</sup> R. Rozenzweig, D. Thelen, *Presence of the Past. Popular Uses of History in American Life*, New York, 1998.

<sup>31</sup> J. Kurczewska, « Dwa spotkania międzykulturowe – przedstawienia i konteksty ».

regarded as upholding the concept of patriotism that emerges from the historical policy of conservative parties. Consequently, the audience attending historical reenactment events usually shares a rather stereotypical view of reenactment and associates the phenomenon with affirmative patriotism and the same type of national identity, despite the fact that reenactors themselves are a very heterogeneous group and, as such, create different projects of national identity, based on varied visions of Polish history. In these cases, historical reenactment evokes a strongly politicised project of national identity, which is not always in line with the intentions of reenactors themselves.

Thus, we can talk about a certain performance failure in this case. In the case of historical reenactment, the performativity of the performance itself is dominated by the performativity of the historical discourse dominating in the public sphere, which creates the interpretive framework for past events. Sometimes we observe a certain harmony here, because the reenactors, while recreating the past, recall the values **promoted** by this discourse. However, many reenactors want to present a different interpretation of the past, less dependent or even undermining the understanding of the past expressed in it. In spite of their efforts, the critical aspect of historical reenactment, as well as the specific subversive potential included in performance as a tool for expressing the excluded, muted, resisting, or just expressing criticism,<sup>32</sup> fails. The entanglement of historical reenactments into public financial systems, the desire to exist in a public space dependent on the decision-makers, as well as the following certain fashions determined by conservative historical policy, causes the reception and influence of reenactment to become ruled by a stereotype born in relation to this historical policy.

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<sup>32</sup> D. Taylor, « Performance and/as History ».



## CROSSING THE BORDER IN THE MUSEOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE IDEOLOGY AND MARKETIZATION

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After the demise of the Communist regime, the painter Horia Bernea was appointed as head of the Romanian Peasant Museum. Bernea organized the museum's exhibitions striving to display the 'spirituality of the Romanian peasant' through the objects of the museum collections, but having at the heart the Orthodox Christian belief. The first exhibition, 'The Cross', was opened in 1994, being imprinted by his plastic imagination and the ideas about *rânduiala lucrurilor* (the organic order of the things). Thus, this first exhibition aimed to encapsulate the religious, intimate and organic traits of the way the objects are positioned in the world. After the beginning of the 2000s, steps towards an alternative usage of the museum's rooms and additional premises were made. It was then that various activities such as public conferences and debates, or fairs of 'traditional' material culture, were hosted in the museum. In addition, a subtle and new image of the 'Romanian peasant' is delivered to the public, an image that is quite different from that of the 1990s, but still much accurate with regard to the current everyday life in Romanian villages.

**Keywords:** peasant art, national identity, antidote museum, cultural market.

This chapter presents the reestablishment of the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest in the early 1990s, as well as its further evolution until the present time. The museum was originally founded as an art museum at the turn of the 20th century<sup>1</sup>. In the first part of the paper I will tackle the ideas that framed the museum's foundation and development up to the Communist period. Furthermore, I will try to highlight the endeavours the museum's team as well as other people (more or less sympathetic with it) undertook to legitimate the museum's reestablishment, by recovering and recomposing its original 'ideology'. In the final part, I will discuss the new exhibition conception, the wider museographic discourse, and the institution's more pronounced opening to the public space.

### EARLY TIMES

The foundation of an ethnographic museum in Romania was at its very beginning related to the national idea. Those who had been promoting it at the end

<sup>1</sup> The chapter is a slightly revised version of my article «Presichane na granitsata v muzeografskija diskurs: ideologija i marketizatsija», in Petko Hristov (sust.), *110 godini natsionalen etnografski muzei – minalo, nastojashte i perspektivi*, Sofija, 2018, p. 99–112.

of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were top personalities of the Romanian political and intellectual elites. In 1875, Titu Maiorescu, a conservative party leader, minister and prime minister several times, launched the idea of establishing a national museum based on ethnographic collections, i.e. on the “national dressing/port național”. A few decades earlier, in 1834, another representative of the elite, the boyar Mihalache Ghica came up with the idea of setting up a museum of antiquities and natural history. Ghica actually accomplished his idea a few years later with funding from his own pocket. Though without adding the word “national” to the formal name of the 1830s museum, the institution was still a “national museum” according to the title of its journal. In 1864, this museum became state property and it was divided into a Museum of Antiquities and a Museum of Natural History<sup>2</sup>. In the former museum the intention was to gather the ethnographic collection of the country, a plan that became a reality much later, at the beginning of the 1900s<sup>3</sup>.

In the first years after the turn of the 20th century, Alexandru Tzigara Samurcaș (1872–1952), a landlord from a boyar family of Wallachian with Albanian origins, started putting together various private collections of popular/peasant art. He was encouraged by Spiru Haret, the liberal education minister who relaunched the idea of a national museum, however in a more precise and pragmatic manner, namely, through allocating special funds, even if modest, to collect exhibits for museums. The collections originally brought together by Samurcaș were enriched with state support. Furthermore, the owners of these collections were members of the rich bourgeoisie, having very little to do with the peasant society, but still sharing a sincere admiration for their material and spiritual culture.

Samurcaș himself was schooled in German universities, where he was strongly impressed by the ideas of *Volkskunde*, meaning popular culture and folklore<sup>4</sup>. After being employed as a curator with the abovementioned Museum for Antiquities in Bucharest, in 1893 he obtained a three-year scholarship at the University of Munich where he studied art history and archaeology. In parallel, Samurcaș attended courses at the Polytechnic Institute in Munich, the University of Berlin and the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. At the Munich University Samurcaș defended in 1896 his doctoral thesis in art history and obtained his *magna cum laude* doctoral degree. In 1897 Samurcaș returned to Romania<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bădică, «National Museums in Romania», in Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius (eds), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010. Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28–30 April 2011. EuNaMus Report No 1.*, Linköping, 2013, p. 717, 721 ([http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp\\_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064)).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 718; A. Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Muzeografie românească*, București, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> I. Pohrib, «Tradition and Ethnographic Display: Defining the National Specificity at the National Art Museum in Romania (1906–1937)», in Dominique Poulot, Felicity Bodenstein and José María Lanzarote Guiral (eds), *Great Narratives of the Past. Traditions and Revisions in National Museums Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 29 June – 1 July & 25–26 November 2011. EuNaMus Report No 4*, Linköping, 2013 ([http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp\\_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=078)), p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> C.D. Zeletin, «Introducere», in A. Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Memorii III (1919–1930)*, București, 2003, p. 22.



From the very beginning the building of the future museum's collections was marked by puzzled and fragmented frames. There were emotional identifications with the peasant culture as well as an ideological admiration for the supposedly authentic peasant lifestyle. Samurcaș himself exalted the value of the Romanian peasant wooden architecture by comparing it with the Swiss and Tyrolese *blockhauses* and opposing it to the supposedly ugly urban architecture of the newly emerged Romanian towns and cities<sup>6</sup>. In fact Samurcaș's ideas were framed by a "a complex narrative that mixed antiquities with religious, folk and modern art in order to define a national specificity and support the idea of unity and continuity of the Romanian culture from prehistoric ages up to present"<sup>7</sup>. This perspective employed highly prevalent ideas and biases that spread then among the Romanian political and intellectual elites. At the end of a few decades of "westernization", the elites grew rather disappointed and took refuge in nationalist and peasantist ideologies<sup>8</sup>. The idea of national specificity was thus equated with the peasant culture, while indeed the majority of the Romanian population was rural and peasant. Furthermore, by canvassing the German theories of *Volkskunde*/folklore and *Volkerkunde*/anthropology, the elites of the time have succeeded to work out, not only in Romania but in many other Eastern and Southeastern European countries, ample programs for national ethnographic museums<sup>9</sup>. Through his endeavours to ideologically and materially build the first variant of a Romanian Peasant Museum, Samurcaș is only a case in this more general intellectual flow.

As I have stated above, the starting point of the museum was the private ethnographic collections that Samurcaș had succeeded to put together. At the very beginning, there were 607 items that Samurcaș had collected from 68 different individuals. On such base and helped by a government decree, the *Ethnographic Museum for National, Decorative and Industrial Arts* was founded on October 1st, 1906. Despite the small number of museum exhibits in the initial stage, after only two years, in 1908, the number of museum objects increased to 4,330<sup>10</sup>. In 1912, with the financial support of King Carol I, Samurcaș began to erect the museum building that has been hosting the museum's collections up to the present time. The building could not be completed until the late 1930s.

Before the First World War, the museum's name was changed to National Art Museum, but only in the interwar period this designation started being used more broadly<sup>11</sup>. Sometimes the name of King Carol I was added to the museum's name. It is important to outline here that in the interwar period this was the only museum whose designation included the word 'national'. But, even though it was self evident that this particle of the museum's name referred to the Romanian

<sup>6</sup> A. Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Arta în România. Studii critice*, București, 1909.

<sup>7</sup> I. Pohrib, «Tradition and Ethnographic Display», p. 318.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> C.N. Cotoi, «Closures and Museums. Is a Non-Alterity Anthropology Possible?», *Martor*, 11, 2006, p. 206.

<sup>10</sup> A. Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Muzeografie românească*.

<sup>11</sup> S. Bădică, «National Museums in Romania», p. 722.

nation, the official designation of the museum had not been changed into something like, say, the Romanian National Art Museum.

On the one hand, in the interwar period the museum's decision-makers tried to be openminded and took some items to international fairs and exhibitions, such as those in Barcelona, Paris, Berlin, or participated in international conferences like that organized in 1928 by the *Internationaler Verband von Museen*, in which the Romanian museum had been a member as early as 1907. In the country too the museum's managers were cooperating with the ethnographic museums of national minorities/nationalities, such as the National Szeklers' Museum<sup>12</sup>. In fact, according to Tzigara Samurçaș himself, national art museums should bring peoples closer by preserving and outlining their diversity and specificities, and, at the same time, alleviating conflicts through the universality of the aesthetic beauty<sup>13</sup>.

On the other hand, Tzigara Samurçaș as well as other representatives of the intellectual elite saw a distinction between the art in Romania in general, that is, the art production of all the populations that inhabited and still live on the territory of the Romanian state and the Romanian national art, meaning the art of the Romanian peasantry. The latter is genuine, native, expresses authenticity and has organic roots in the Romanian territory, thus deserving to be named *national*. This perspective took a clear shape around the year 1930 and holds a clear distance to the original mission of the museum, i.e. to encompass by the word 'national' all of the art production that the populations living in the Romanian state create<sup>14</sup>. Such vision was reinforced by the establishment in 1936 of the Village Museum in Bucharest, one of the first open air museums in Europe. The excellent echo of the Romanian participation at the 1937 Paris International Exhibition came thanks to the two institutions that structured the Romanian presence at this international exhibition, namely, The Village Museum and The National Art Museum. Both displayed through the peasant art and architecture an image of the Romanian nation based on rural traditions, its fusion with the religious element, organic life, and authenticity<sup>15</sup>.

### FADING AWAY IN THE COMMUNIST TIMES

After the Second World War and the coming to power of the Communist regime, the National Art Museum re-opened in 1946 with Tzigara Samurçaș as honorary director. However in 1949 the new regime marginalized Samurçaș by suspending his pension<sup>16</sup>. In 1952, after the death of Samurçaș, the museum's collections were forcibly moved to other another location in Bucharest while the original building was used to host the museum of history of the Communist Party.

<sup>12</sup> A. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii III (1919–1930)*, București, 2003, p. 285, 332.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 355.

<sup>14</sup> I. Pohrib, «Tradition and Ethnographic Display», p. 323.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 326.

<sup>16</sup> C.D. Zeletin, «Introducere», in A. Tzigara-Samurçaș, *Memorii III (1919-1930)*, București, 2003, p. 23.

As the communist ideology claimed to dissolve the peasantry, the name of the museum was changed into *Museum of Popular Art*. In 1978 the museum merged with the Village Museum into a single though highly dismembered entity<sup>17</sup>.

In the entire Communist period a hard state policy to collect the items of peasant/popular culture was followed. According to the official ideology the peasantry was doomed to disappear, so the saving and collection of as much as it was possible of their culture was one of the Communist regime's requirements. Ironically, the advantage of this policy was, firstly, that significant funds had been put aside and used to collect items of everyday peasant and village life. Secondly, this policy had been carried out throughout several decades and without any ideological underpinning. Thus, with regard to the Peasant Museum, it had in its warehouses at the end of the Communist period more than 60,000 items of peasant culture.

## REINVENTING TRADITION, PEASANT MUSEUM

### THE INSIDER VIEW

Immediately after the demise of the Communist regime, painter Horia Bernea, a top artist, was appointed as head of the museum. He organized the museum's exhibition striving to display the 'Romanian peasant spirituality'. Curiously enough, the work for the first exhibition started without any museographic conception. Bernea and his team only debated some general ideas such as that of the 'absent museum' or 'antidote museum', but there was no clearer or more structured approach about a detailed programme. And most probably it was because of this very intuitive commitment that the museum's first exhibition enjoyed a great public success and, at the same time, stirred up a host of controversies. Apparently, after forty years of Communist totalitarianism, the Romanian society needed a healing cure. And in a way the Romanian Peasant Museum covered this need<sup>18</sup>. But they did this in a provocative way, starting with the rooms of the museum's building where Orthodox priests were invited to celebrate religious services<sup>19</sup>.

In fact, this challenging attitude could be seen as the most enduring trace in the new history of the Romanian Peasant Museum. On the one hand, as Bernea himself put it in 2000, not long before his death, from the very beginning they attempted to create an 'antinomy museum' where the very origin of the objects would be withered and their pure materiality would be recreated in a new

<sup>17</sup> S. Bădică, *Curating Communism. A comparative history of museological practices in Post-war (1945–1989) and Post-Communist Romania*, PhD thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2013, p. 231–232.

<sup>18</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «The Romanian Peasant Museum and the Authentic Man», *Martor*, 11, 2006, p. 24ff.

<sup>19</sup> S. Bădică, *Curating Communism. A comparative history*, p. 234.

articulation with the space and other exhibited items<sup>20</sup>. Bernea rejected the display and ordering/*ordinea* of the objects in a museographic type of exhibition, in favour of which he called *rânduiala*, a quite difficult Romanian word to translate; it encapsulates the religious, intimate and organic traits of the way objects are positioned in the world<sup>21</sup>. In the same vein, Irina Nicolau, a close associate of Bernea's project, spoke about the 'absent museum', that is, a museum that imbricates in the social tissue by raising visitors' inquisitiveness about the local people and directing them to other local museums in order to find out as much as possible<sup>22</sup>. In short, this 'absent museum' is in fact only the way that direct visitors to the ramified map of the local history and social life. In this frame, Nicolau redefines the idea of healing through a more positive choice, that of 'antidote'. Thus the museums could be either full of information to educate visitors, as classical principles require, or with a 'revolutionary' potential, i.e. museums that convey to visitors through their museographic arrangements a feeling of social discomfort or even revolt<sup>23</sup>.

On the other hand, this sort of childish play with ideas and social meanings diverted the public attention, notwithstanding that sometimes this could be felt as a mockery. This is apparent from the very beginning, when the name of the museum was chosen. Although the museum's collections contain thousands of objects of popular culture belonging to various ethnic groups living in Romania, these groups were simply ignored, and the name of the museum was The Romanian Peasant Museum<sup>24</sup>. The story of choosing a name for the museum is instructive, but reminds of the history of the museum's foundation in the 1900s. The choosing of a name for the institution was fully entrusted to Bernea's team. His collaborators gathered during an entire day and made a brain storming session. A list with some twenty name options had emerged. Unfortunately, at the end of that day, the list was lost, and they were forced to resume the name debate. Eventually they proposed a name in tune with the mood of the times, i.e. The Romanian Peasant Museum. After a short while they tried to change the name or at least to add a subtitle to it, like 'a museum of crafts and traditions', but without much success<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> H. Bernea, I. Nicolau and C. Huluiță, *Dosar sentimental*, București, 2003, p. 15–16.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17, 25–26.

<sup>22</sup> I. Nicolau, « Moi et le musées du monde. L'histoire d'une expérience muséale dans un pays de l'est », in *New Europe College Yearbook 1994*, București, 1996, p. 25ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 38; S. Bădică, «Same exhibitions, different labels? Romanian national museums and the fall of communism», in S. Knell et alii (eds), *National Museums. New Studies from Around the World*, London, 2010, p. 274; S. Bădică, *Curating Communism. A comparative history*, p. 250.

<sup>24</sup> In the most commonplace situation the museum name became embarrassing. For instance, in 1996 when I was a curator in the museum, there was a field campaign intended to document ceramics craftsmen. In counties with a majority Hungarian population, after introducing us as the museum's curators, here and there people replied to us they were Hungarian peasants, not Romanian. And they asked us what we were doing there, in their Hungarian villages. This account reveals very simply the nationalist content of the project that framed then the museographic discourse of the museum.

<sup>25</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «The Romanian Peasant Museum», p. 15–16.

In the first decade after the year 1990, this kind of idea shifting, or string of inconclusive ideas, damaged to one's clearer perception of the museographic discourse, but also delineated the special place the museum occupied at least for the Romanian public. I will outline below some reasons for this positioning by reverting the angle of approach, from the external circumstances towards the internal ones.

## “THE CROSS”: THE FIRST EXHIBITION

### THE EXTERNAL VIEW

The first exhibition was called ‘The Cross’ and it was opened in 1994. In the wider concept of the exhibition, classical object arrangement criteria were not followed. According to the ideas mentioned above, the organizers attempted to display the items in such a way that the exhibition space be re-created and the visitors integrate more easily in the new space. The imprint of Bernea's plastic imagination was being felt in all corners of the pioneering exhibition. Bernea had divided the seven rooms of the exhibition according to the seven dimensions through which the Romanian peasants had supposedly understood and imagined the Christian Cross. In each room objects belonging to various categories, from dressing and household items to icons and liturgical tools, were scattered in order to suggest a distinct quality of the Cross (see photo 1)<sup>26</sup>. For instance, in the room called *Remembrance/Reculegere*, they placed along the walls chairs from an old wooden church, while in the centre stood a pillar from the porch of a common wooden house (see photo 2). The visitors were invited to sit in the chairs so as to rest by looking at the wooden pillar and at the same time to meditate about their relation with God, about their redemption or fate. In the room called *Relics/Moaște* one could see an entire wooden church whose basic structure intertwined with the pillars of the museum's building (see photo 3). The church displayed in the museum had been found abandoned by villagers in 1990 in Transylvania. The museum team recovered what had remained from the church and put together the pieces in this *Relics/Moaște* room<sup>27</sup>.

Still, beyond these speculative ideas, a quite rigid and exclusive ideology stood out. The thinking frame of all these museographic innovations is grounded in the idea of reviving the so-called authentic, that is, untouched by modernity, way of

<sup>26</sup> The Cross exhibition photos were provided by courtesy of the management of the Romanian Peasant Museum.

<sup>27</sup> It needs to be mentioned that there was no plan for guiding the visitors. In those days, as curator in the museum, I encountered many difficulties in guiding the visitors in the exhibition rooms, just for this reason. In fact, the idea was not to guide, on the contrary, to let free the visitors to imagine the possible meaning of the exhibited objects via intuitive identification.

the Romanian peasant life. Through this idea they got connected to the original time of the museum's founder, Tzigara-Samurçaș, but also retrieved his inheritance thus legitimizing the museographic project. Furthermore, the post-1990 founders of the museum claimed that the Romanian peasant preserved a sort of theological thought that, instead of being gathered in written forms, it was expressed in the objects of their art<sup>28</sup>.

Strangely enough, this nationalistic ideology was not a hindrance for the museum to receive in 1996 the Best European Museum Award. Furthermore, in Romania at least, the museum's exhibitions became fashionable among the intellectuals and larger public as well. Several factors catalyzed, if not directly influenced, this success. First, it was the unconventional style of arranging the exhibited objects, and here the imprint of Bernea's personality was undeniable. Although being a painter, and accustomed thus with two-dimension images, he attempted to create a third dimension in the exhibiting space, by mixing various objects, by varying the exhibiting frames in height and in depth (see photo 4). The visitor is invited to stroll in this space letting back the previously viewed objects while his/her eyes meet new and surprising objects. This style of exhibiting museum objects was recovered until today in further museum exhibitions, being a sort of vivid inheritance<sup>29</sup>. In this vein, and according to the ideas mentioned in the above section of this paper, it could be fully stated that Romanian Peasant Museum is an 'antidote museum'.

Still there were also other factors that contributed to the museum's success in the 1990s. Although someone could see these factors as more circumstantial, they are very important in making a museum. In Romania, immediately after the collapse of the communist power, a strong emotional search of the past had been widespread. The interwar period was thus identified as a Golden Age in Romania's history<sup>30</sup>. The works of interwar influential intellectuals such as Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran or Constantin Noica were published for the first time or reprinted. Curiously enough, just a few of them, for instance Mircea Eliade or Constantin Noica, were rehabilitated before the demise of Communism, in the 1980s. All of these authors and thinkers were active between the world wars, and were politically very close to the extreme right Legionary Movement that promoted one national image based on the Romanian Christian peasantry with its supposedly pure and authentic lifestyle.

The relationship between this political manifestation and the conception the museum was due in part to the fact that Horia Bernea's father, Ernest Bernea, was in the interwar period a member of the Legionary Movement. An excellent sociologist, Ernest Bernea survived the Communist period (he died in 1990), thus being a witness of the museum's reestablishment. Horia Bernea has borrowed from

<sup>28</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «The Romanian Peasant Museum», p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> See museum tour on <http://www.360.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro>

<sup>30</sup> D. Barbu, *Republica absentă*, București, 2004.

his father some core ideas and metaphors as, for instance, the idea of *rânduială*, that I have mentioned above<sup>31</sup>. In fact, in Bernea's museographic discourse there could be found many other ideas and concepts, such as 'real Christianity', 'authentic man', 'redemption'<sup>32</sup>, that are common to the Legionary ideology. A special place occupied the topic of 'death of the (authentic) peasant/man', in this case the creed of the Peasant Museum being to testify and keep alive his memory<sup>33</sup>.

The paradox of the influence of the legionary ideology upon a museographic perspective that was seen rather experimental or even post-modern<sup>34</sup> is only apparent. In more recent approaches of extreme right movements in interwar Europe, scholars delineate an 'aesthetic' dimension or modernizing commitment rooted in creativity, spontaneity and revolt<sup>35</sup>. In this vein, the idea of 'revolution' conveys the quest for authenticity and community against 'common' modernizing political programs importing the mimicry of 'advanced democracies'. This frame illuminates the connection of the external view the Romanian Peasant Museum's museographic discourse with its 'inner' perspective and fully gives sense to some apparent paradoxes.

#### FROM IDEOLOGY TO 'MARKETIZATION'

After the beginning of the 2000s, steps towards an alternative usage of the museum's rooms and additional premises were made. It was then that various activities such as public conferences and debates, or fairs of 'traditional' material culture (food, clothes) or classes with primary school pupils started being organized. In the museum's building, however in an unconventional space, something between a pub and a restaurant, named The Club of the Peasant, was opened. Here conferences are delivered, books are launched and debates on ethnology and anthropology topics are held. Much appreciated was the fact that skilled craftsmen from various parts of the country came to these fairs to display and sell their objects. The former image of the 'authentic' and pure peasant grew strongly eroded in the eyes of at least Bucharesters because of the semi-manufactured production of this new peasant 'art'.

A new direction in the museum's practice of organizing exhibitions is the use of the outcomes from field research projects. One such project was aimed to revive local museums and connect them in a nationwide cooperation network. As the reputed anthropologist Vintilă Mihăilescu who became the director of the museum

<sup>31</sup> S. Bădică, *Curating Communism. A comparative history*, pp. 240–241.

<sup>32</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «The Romanian Peasant Museum».

<sup>33</sup> M. Gheorghiu, *Viaticum: un ghid intelectual al Muzeului Țăranului Român*, București, 2014, p. 240ff.

<sup>34</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «The Romanian Peasant Museum», p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> R. Griffin, «The Primacy of Culture: The Current Growth (Or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies», *Journal of Contemporary History*, 37, 1, 2002, pp. 21–43.

in 2005 put it, these museums are original by the fact that they add to the regional and national museums various forms of intimate identity. The objects collected and the different forms of museography present in these museums express certain ways of ‘collecting ourselves’<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, as the people who take charge of these museums are private persons, not state experts and/or bureaucrats, they have more freedom in choosing a more original and accurate museographic discourse rooted in their own local culture, and even in developing an articulate response to the globalization processes<sup>37</sup>. Thus there are not state ideological demands that shape the museum, but local, intimate, informal and vivid cultural networks. In this way these museums become a way ‘to quest for the present time/à la recherche du temps présent’ as was the witty comment of Maria Mateoni, one of the members of the museum project’s research team<sup>38</sup>. Various aspects of local peasant art are captured and conserved. One is the local market of peasant art objects as is the case of the well known Horezu region, one of the most important Romanian centers of ceramic arts. Here, the objects collected in the local museum rather exemplify styles of ceramic items that are sold in village art shops, than of ceramic collections like those of large ethnographic museums<sup>39</sup>. This looks more like a sort of market strategy, of course, but at the same time reflects the gap between the official ideology regarding peasant/popular art and what really happens with this art.

Another project that concluded with an exhibition unfolded few years ago and focused on the multiple ways of hay cultivation in rural areas. In this project worked Romanian museum researchers along with scholars from the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences’s Biodiversity Centre. Parallels between hay cultivation in Sweden and Romania were made. The project showed the commonalities and differences of the craft; a public policy report on the protection of biodiversity in areas of intensive hay cultivation was drawn up<sup>40</sup>. Some academic papers as well as a special issue of the Romanian Peasant Museum’s journal of social anthropology entitled *The Witness/Martor*<sup>41</sup> have also been published.

An important aim of the project was the opening of an exhibition simply called *The Hay*, with photos taken during the fieldwork. Objects that relate to hay

<sup>36</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «Local Museums? Village Collections in Recent Romania», *Martor*, 14, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> A.M. Pănoiu, «Pentru o muzeologie naivă: Maricica și muzeul de peste apă», *Revista Muzeelor*, 2, 2015, p. 26–42; M. Mateoni and Rodica Marinescu, «Doctor Kéri’s Museum of Galoșpetreu, Bihor County (Romania). An Attempt to Edify Proximity Heritage», *Martor*, 14, 2009, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup> M. Mateoni, «Les artisans de la campagne et les musées d’ethnographie de Roumanie», *Martor*, 13, 2008, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 105–107.

<sup>40</sup> A. Dahlström, A.M. Iuga, T. Lennartsson, «Managing biodiversity rich hay meadows in the EU: a comparison of Swedish and Romanian grasslands», *Environmental Conservation*, 40, 2, 2013, p. 194–205.

<sup>41</sup> *Martor. A Place for Hay. Flexibility and Continuity in Hay-Meadow Management*, 21, 2016.



cultivation were taken from the museum's deposits and placed between the photos on display (see photo 5). As in other cases of new exhibitions<sup>42</sup>, an attempt was made to follow the same presentation ideas as in the earliest exhibitions. The conception behind The Hay exhibition has been sustainable development. This traditional occupation that in Romania as well as in many other Eastern and Southeastern European countries is still alive, was seen as a model for reviving hay cultivation in Sweden, from where it disappeared a long time ago.

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At present, the museum's researchers and curators are closely connected through their ideas and projects to the museum's existence. In addition, a subtle and new image of the 'Romanian peasant' is delivered to the public, an image that is quite different from that of the 1990s, but still much accurate with regard to the current everyday life in Romanian villages. A multitude of challenging questions are being raised, such as: Is there still an authentic peasantry with an intense social life and strong collective identity? Or how are rural areas connected to and reflecting the wider global and national society, meaning a society globalized and national at the same time? The answers that the museum's exhibitions propose to the public are not as categorical as they were in the 1990s. The emphasis is now placed not on answers intended to inform and eventually educate the public, but on the questions themselves.<sup>43</sup> And it is my conviction that one of the reasons why the museum enjoys even today a great success is this provocative and, at the same time, dubitative way in which it presents the Romanian rural life.

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<sup>42</sup> S. Bădică and A. Iuga, «Making of an Exhibition: On the Clothesline. Romanian Dowry (Romanian Peasant Museum & Romanian Cultural Institute, London, September 2009)», *Martor*, 15, 2010, p. 205–208.

<sup>43</sup> See for instance, the 2018 volume of the museum journal. The volume focuses on the museography of social change (*Martor. Curating Change in the Museum*, 23, 2018).



*Photo 1.* The “Tree of Life” room.



*Photo 2.* The “Rememoration” room.



*Photo 3.* The “Relics” room.



*Photo 4.* The “Splendor” room.



*Photo 5. The room in the hay exhibition.*

## THE (AUTO)BIOGRAPHICAL STORIES OF THE BULGARIANS FROM WESTERN THRACE AND OF THEIR DESCENDANTS – THINKING OF THE HISTORY AND THE IDENTITY

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The topic is focused on the age and the generation of the informers and their connections with the historical events. The reflection of the changes in their lives and identity could be observed in them realizing that they have experienced dramatic historical events during the same period of time in their lives. The victimization/ heroization / mythologization of their ancestors, the pride to be a part of the grand historical events, the connection with the diaspora, the metropolia, the homeland and the issues which are connected with it – its understanding, experiencing and perception, are aspects that also have to be analyzed. These common moments create a part of the group consciousness of the respondents – their shared remembrance and values, but also show that people from various generations with a similar historical background develop common remembrance, values and beliefs even though they remember different historical processes.

**Keywords:** immigrants, Aegean (Western, Greek) Thrace, identity, relocation, memory.

The biographical direction in the social studies presents good opportunities for analyzing the relation personality-socium-history. In some particular researches the archive and terrain materials have been additionally combined – this is a method with priority for the historical ethnology; the researchers view it as an advantage<sup>1</sup> and as anecessity<sup>2</sup> with primal meaning<sup>3</sup>.

The need for this method emerged during my work on the topic ‘The migration of the Aegean Bulgarians in their family stories’ and in connection to my participation in the project ‘Cultures, remembrance, heritage in the region of the Southern Bulgarian border’ (2012–2015, financed by FSR, contract K01/0003). The (auto) biographical stories of the immigrants (my ancestors) from Aegean Thrace became the basis of my sources and here I have chosen them as a field of research. The majority of the memories are located in part of the archive documents from Funds

<sup>1</sup> Ст. Генчев, *Теренното етнографско изследване*. София, 1989, р. 103, 120, 179–180.

<sup>2</sup> Св. Ракшиева, “Какво ни предлага теренът днес и как да оптимизиране изследването на „народната“ култура”. В: Попов, Р., Й. Манкова (Съст.) *Стожери на народната традиция*. Враца, 2008, р. 28–30.

<sup>3</sup> М. Беновска-Събкова, “Размисли върху методите за проучване на традиционната култура в съвременността”. В: *Етнокултуролошки зборник*, кн. IX, 2004, Сврлиг, р. 29–34.

‘Individual memories’ and ‘Individual funds’ of the Municipal National Archive – Kardjali. They have been recorded between the 60s and the 90s by different colleagues-historians and more rarely – by people who were specially employed for doing the task<sup>4</sup>. During my work between 2012–2015 I have used around 70 archive units. Additionally, mainly in 2013, I conducted around 20 polystructural biographical interviews among the descendants of the immigrants. I have further collected information by observation, collection and analysis of photographical material – this was a dynamic process of accumulation, which generated different ideas.

In the exposition I will try to present my informers and will partially construct their profile through the relation age-generation and the connections between the story-teller and the historical events – the second relation is among the central problems in the biographical researches. Some authors implement in it the notions of generation and age, which they further relate to the modern temporalization of the social contacts and view them as structural categories such as class, gender and race (R. Kozlek). Here, I accept the view of A. Luleva that *‘the thing that makes an age group a generation is the belief of its members that they have experienced certain historical events in the same period of their lives. This differentiates them from the generations before and the generations after them’* and that the generations make their own groups with *‘shared memory’*<sup>5</sup>.

I also base the exposition on reflection and self-reflection. Even though I am a researcher (an outsider) for today’s members of the Thracian community in the city of Kardjali, I am also an insider – because of my origin which is identical to theirs and also because I have witnessed some of the processes in the group<sup>6</sup>. These facts, my empathy and my interest in this topic revitalized my informers, tore down their barriers and awakened their memories and their trust. They perceived me as ‘one of us’, ‘our girl’ who will tell their true stories and by that will ‘do something for us’.

I carefully witnessed their emotions, their (self) reflections, evaluations, the changes in their mood and behavior<sup>7</sup>. The way my informers treated me made my contact with them easier; it also facilitated the collection of information straight

<sup>4</sup> Until the beginning of the 80s the collection is under the initiative of the director from that time who was actively searching for materials on different topics. Later, in regards to the movement ‘The national remembrance tells a story’, the institution starts employing people for the task – this is how a part of the memories of the immigrants and of my ancestors have been collected.

<sup>5</sup> А. Лулева, „Но бяхме млади та не го чувствахме това толкоз“. Тематизиране на младостта в автобиографичните разкази. – В: Костов, А., Парушева, Д., Р. Прешленова (Съст.) *И настъпи време за промяна. Образование и възпитание в България XIX-XX в.*, Sofia, 2008, p. 186–203.

<sup>6</sup> When talking about the choice of type, areal and the manner of conduction TEI, St. Genchev says that: ‘it is even better if the first choice’ of the researcher ‘falls onto a settlement which he knows and where he is known. As a consequence he receives not only an ease when constructing the questionnaires but also contacts with story-tellers that are known beforehand whose help and partnership is expected’ (Ст. Генчев, *Теренното етнографско изследване*. Sofia, 1989, p. 103).

<sup>7</sup> This is why I will acknowledge the need for self-reflection which can identify the context of the communicative situation and the role of the scientist for creating the empiric material.

from their live memory and the reality which I saw and knew. All of this made me come to the conclusion that the topic of the research is present in the lives and thoughts of several generations.

### THE INFORMERS

Choosing the informers as ‘people with knowledge of the culture’ of the group (according to the definition of St. Genchev<sup>8</sup>) is a principle that the historians use when collecting memories – I used it while conducting the terrain interviews.

My respondents belong to different generations. A part of the archive stories have been recorded from people who have personally lived these events (1913, the 20s and the 40s) and another part are memories from the childhood of their descendants. The present informers are mainly the grandchildren and/or the children of the immigrants<sup>9</sup> who came to Bulgaria at the end of the 20s, but can be first generation immigrants from Greece from 1944–1945 as well. For the contemporaries the events until the end of the 20s are a part of the lives of their ancestors but the processes from the 40s onwards are part of their own memory.

During my research I came across some **key informers**<sup>10</sup> – well-known people in the community with knowledge of the events that they lived through or heard of when they were children. I worked with some of them for a longer period of time and analyzed their information from different points of view. Sometimes their data was not corresponding to the official historical data and in other instances it added important and unique details to it.

Main informers, for example, are two men with recollections that had been archived a long time ago – the stories are regarding the time when they were 18 and 13 years old respectively when they experienced the events of the late summer of 1913. The first respondent is from the village Sachanli. By using earlier events, he explains the violent behavior of the Turkish towards the Bulgarians. *‘In 1912 I was a shepherd in the village of Kardjali and saw how the Bulgarians from*

<sup>8</sup> The scientist needs to choose his informers while bearing in mind special criteria. They have to be ‘people with knowledge of the culture’ ‘in the limits of every group’ – this is a basic quality criteria in every choice of informers (Ст. Генчев, *Теренното етнографско изследване*, p. 124).

<sup>9</sup> St. Genchev marks that ‘the ethnographer will have to choose informers from all of the groups and to make sure that in every one of them there are informers of different ages. Fulfilling this requirement will allow him to realize the diachronical aspect of TEI’. The informers have to be in groups with age difference 8–10 years and every group has to have at least 3 people (Ст. Генчев, *Теренното етнографско изследване*, p. 123, 125). In order to complete the picture of the research I tried talking to younger people as well but in the majority of the cases they showed uncertainty and asked for the knowledge of their parents.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Among the informers are the individuals who the ethnographer chooses as main informers, as a kind of experts who he uses for evaluating the information received from others’ (Ст. Генчев, *Теренното етнографско изследване*, p. 59).

*Kaladjidere, Yasuk and Evrenkyoi did unspeakable things – they attacked the Turkish families, took the valuables from their homes, they violated their naked women and killed 16 people in one evening, most of who were young ones. In 1913 when the Bulgarian authorities left the Aegean, the bashibozuks came and with them the Turkish population rose and they did a terrible revenge towards the locals [...] Later, when the Greeks came, the Bulgarians who ran off to Bulgaria formed alliances and attacked the Greek barracks, killed the policemen, infuriated the Greek authorities towards the Bulgarians and they became the reason why a lot of Bulgarians were exiled at the islands and why the Bulgarian population was forced to run away in Bulgaria, naked and barefoot ...’* (ОДА-Кърджали, ф. ЛС, а.е. № 552, p. 3).

The second informer, from the village Golyam Dervent, Sofliya, describes how a lot of abandoned children were saved from the forests near the village Chernichino. *‘It became dark outside and my mother and I hid in a bush. In the morning there were Turkish everywhere [...] In the mountains there were a lot of young children, abandoned by their mothers, and lots of wounded people [...] My mother got up and went around the forest – she found berries for food. We found a couple of children crying in the forest. [...] There were twelve children. They started crying – some of hunger, some for their mothers. Some of them were really young – they could not say anything. My mother found a carpet that belonged to a person who had been killed and took it so that she could cover us with it’.* The Turkish commander saved the woman and the children and allocated them in an abandoned house in today’s village Malko Popsko – he also sent there other children he found. After the Bulgarian troops took the village, the Bulgarians *‘took all of the children, put them in baskets, which they put on top of the horses and brought them to Harmanli’* (ОДА-Кърджали, ф. ЛС, а. е. № 216, p. 4–7).

The terrain interviews also brought out main respondents. One of them is a man born in 1930 in the city of Xanthi. A friend of his called him ‘walking history’. He presented really valuable information about his birthplace during the 30s and the mid-40s, the relationships between Greeks, Bulgarians, Turkish, about the problem of identity (national and religious), the years under Bulgarian rule, the perception of the newly come Bulgarians, the events surrounding 9<sup>th</sup> September 1944, the arrival in Bulgaria and their life here as immigrants. For years he has been collecting photos and documents, he has been making descriptions of his family, drawing family trees and is constantly updating the map of his birthplace. He manifests a nostalgia towards Xanthi and a desire to often return to Greece. He is very emotional when talking about his birthplace including speaking of the time when he visited it for the first time since he left – in 1989.

A contemporary example is a woman born in Kardjali in 1935. In 1978 during a trip to Greece for about a week she was looking for her aunt who her family had been searching for about 50 years. The restored relationships with her family have been well maintained up until today. The informer is very interested in



the topic of the Thracians and she openly speaks about her connection to Captain Petko voyvoda. She has sorted out the relatives that she found in Bulgaria, Greece, USA and Australia (*'I have arranged 300 years of my lineage. I have nine generations'*) in two huge family trees which are about 4 metres long. The informers copies and further completes them with small maps and after that she sends them to her eldest relatives so that they could give them to their children and grandchildren. When I met her she maintained a constant connection to her relatives and had already organized two family reunions consisting of 50–70 people.

All of the respondents are equally connected to **the factor of age**. The people whose memories have been archived and which tell about their own experiences<sup>11</sup> were children or young adults during these events. The middle age of every one of these generations is between 12–13 (lower limit) and 20–28 years (upper limit).

The same correlation can be observed in the contemporary respondents – they have heard and memorized the stories of their parents and relatives until they reached the age of 20–25. The period from 1941 to 1944 is linked to their youth when the final big migration of the immigrants from their birthplaces in Aegean Thrace to Bulgaria occurred.

The age is constant factor with all of the informers even though they are from different generations<sup>12</sup>. The informers always connect their age to the historical context of their stories because their youth coincided with events that left a big mark on their lives and consciousness, which people have been thinking about and rationalizing through their own belief system for years. Here the position that A. Luleva takes is confirmed – in the autobiographical stories the accent is on the formative years, including when they coincide with turbulent times. In this instance they are *'told about within context and they are spoken about a lot'*. *'The case when the period of youth within the personal life coincides with a period of big political and social changes is of a great interest. According to sociologists and social psychologists, the power of the historical events to form in this instance is greater as they are perceived as particularly important during the latter life since they are associated with the formation of the personal identity and the perception of the social reality outside of oneself'*. A. Luleva marks that the story-tellers of biographies always have the consciousness that they have witnessed an age which has drastically changed the life course of most of them<sup>13</sup>. This relativity is heavily present in the materials that are explored here. In the archived memories this is the

<sup>11</sup> Actually these memories consist the main part of the archival materials regarding the migration of the Aegean Bulgarians until the end of the 20s.

<sup>12</sup> This way the reasoning of St. Genchev of the link between the good preservation of knowledge in the memory of a person during his formative years is confirmed: 'a fact that has been well documented in the research practice is that a person keeps a vivid memory of the events that he witnessed after the age of 10. If he has a good memory he can reproduce them fairly well' (Ст. Генчев, Теренното етнографско изследване. Sofia, 1989, p. 123–125).

<sup>13</sup> А. Лулева, „Но бяхме млади та не го чувствахме това толкоз“. Тематизиране на младостта в автобиографичните разкази. – В: Костов, А., Парушева, Д., Р. Прешленова (Съст.) *И настъпи време за промяна. Образование и възпитание в България XIX–XX в.* Sofia, 2008, p. 183–203.

time of the life in the motherland, of the arrival at the places of imprisonment or establishment. In the terrain interviews these are the times of the capitalism, the socialism and the contemporary times. Common parts of all of the narratives are the retrospections, the rethinking in adult age of the years of youth, the comparison of the life of today, including to the lives of the young people.

The information also contains the gender perspective through the variations of the stories of the males and females<sup>14</sup>. The males emphasize the external and the bigger manifestations of a certain fact while the females tend to pay more attention to the details, the internal structure of the event and they often are based on the social structures and relations. The two genders perceive one event in a different way – the women have been victims who also had to take care of their families while the men also had to participate in the military actions as soldiers.

All of the materials also demonstrate the **connection historical events – personal/ family history of the informer**. The historical context of the processes that have occurred during their lives is of a particular interest. The fact that you are ‘chosen’ to tell your story – in written form or in an interview – is accepted as a compliment and is evaluated highly. During the course of the story the big interest in the topic, the tragic faith of the group and the obligation to convey the memories to ‘the generations to come’ is acknowledged. The respondents always say that they have ‘*lived through much*’, that ‘*we, the Thracians (the ones from Chadarli, Sachanli and others toponymal self-titles) have suffered a lot*’ but also that ‘*we remember a lot of things*’, that they have listened to their story more than once and they know it well. They always point out their duty to hand over their memories of the events to their children and to the ‘*next generations*’. The contemporary respondents mix their big interest in the topic with their knowledge of the past of the city of Kardjali. They tried to tell me about it with the words of their ancestors but their interpretation was undeniable – they tried to explain to me in a logical way things that they emphasized on their own or that they thought were important and were not clarified.

The mutual connection between the historical events and the personal / family history forms clear and differentiated (gender-, age-, social-, ethnical and religious wise) pictures of the exact local communities. The informers methodically list their relatives and their neighbours, describe their birthplaces in a geographical and a topographical sense, and give a lot of information about the dynamic within the community (movement of individuals, exchange, weddings, etc.) and the settlement structures. They also inform on the social mechanisms that create certain problems and/or facilitate the functions of a certain group within the diaspora, the metropolia

<sup>14</sup> For another point of view of the gender perspective in the autobiographical stories – А. Лулева, „Но бяхме млади та не го чувствахме това толкоз“. Тематизиране на младостта в автобиографичните разкази. – В: Костов, А., Парушева, Д., Р. Прешленова (Съст.) *И настъпи време за промяна. Образование и възпитание в България ХІХ-ХХ в.* Sofia, 2008, p. 183–203.

or in times of its relocation<sup>15</sup>. The influence of the politics (both state and religious), the local economic development, the types of livelihood, the dynamics of life of the population is also widely spoken about. The respondents are very interested in the reflection of these factors on their individual and family history and perceive them as the mechanisms that influence different stages of people's lives.

The historical context in the materials is always clear – a certain event or a process is linked to/related to an important moment of the individual/ family history of the informer – it could be the birth, an exact year/event of his life or of the life of his family, etc.

### THE CONTENT

There are a few common topics in the archive memories and the terrain interviews which have a defining meaning for the identity of the respondents, including their biographical one.

The **family origin** has a big meaning. The informers explain their own individual success through the functions of the patriarchal traditions that have been kept, the system of family cooperation and solidarity (at least until the second – third quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century), as well as through the individual qualities of their ancestors.

All of the (auto) biographical stories of the respondents are filled with great emotions and pride of their background. They perceive their ancestors as important and significant people, describe them as good, just, honorable, hard-working, loving and sensitive. Without a doubt they point out their eventual encounters with important people and participations in important and dramatic events. The informers emphasize the extraordinary personas with direct speech in a lively and expressive manner. In their memories they are often idealized, their history is presented as a story from times passed and the life in their birthplaces – as happy, carefree and heavenly. This trend remains throughout all of the descriptions of the settlement and the explanations of the possibilities that were offered by the land. The relationships with the local Greeks and Turkish (linked to the so-called 'low culture') are described as conflict-free.

The memories regarding **the historical events** are a main part of the stories. They are a turning point for the ones that have experienced it, a dramatic instance that turned the lives of whole generations upside down. The historical context, the topics regarding the ethnical relations in the diaspora and the metropolia, the separated families, the dream of coming back, the individual and the collective memory are almost always present in the biographical identities of the informers.

<sup>15</sup> Compare to the reverse processes which the scientists encounter during the study of 'the traditional popular culture' in А. Касабова, "Теми и методи в етнологията. (Само)критичен поглед". *Българска етнология*, кн. 1, 2013, p. 16–17.

The relocations of people are told about in chapters. The archived materials put an accent on the escape of 1913 – it is extremely detailed, sometimes in days and hours, with a lot of data surrounding the victimization and the preserved traumatic memory. There have also been added stories about the Balkan war, the arrival of the Bulgarians, the return of Aegean Thrace to Turkey and the return of the immigrants in the area during the autumn of 1913.

A large portion of the archived memories regarding the 20s contain information about handing the area over to Greece, the repressions and the confinement that were experienced; leaving for Bulgaria, settling in Kardjali and the life there the relationships in the city during a vast period and the impossibility for the immigrants to return.

Some topics are not heavily discussed in the archived materials. The information about the period 1913–1919, when the area was a part of the Bulgarian Kingdom, is more isolated. The same occurs with the male memories of the participation in the Bulgarian army during World War I. There is also not much comment, often at the end of the story, about the topic of settling and the life in the national motherland – probably because it is not a priority for the informers whose interests and dreams are linked to their birthplaces in Aegean Thrace.

In the archived materials there is almost a complete lack of data regarding the processes between 1941–1944, for reasons that are unknown. The information is scarce and is present only at the end of some of the stories about 1913 (the 20s) – there are often just a few sentences and is of the sort: ‘we went to Thrace in ..., we lived in ... and we came back to Bulgaria/Kardjali in ...’<sup>16</sup>. The memories of people who came to Bulgaria during the 40s as infants and who are part of the first generation born here have not been archived.

Some terrain interviews tell about the events in Aegean Thrace following 9<sup>th</sup> September 1944. The respondents comprehend the processes as the main reason that made the Bulgarians leave the area again.

The (auto) biographical stories also tell about the ethnic relationships in the settlements of the diaspora and the metropolia, the gender relationships and the separated families. The contemporaries have a great interest in the birthplace of their ancestors which they know of from stories and personal visits. They are eager to describe these trips and they connect them to the nostalgia and the unaccomplished dream of their parents to return but also to their self-identity.

The theme of **identity** is also constantly present –in the information about ethnical, regional and religious self-awareness; in the strong and time-persistent attachment to the birthplace, accentuating being Bulgarian and in the collective solidarity. Different records show how the processes of national consolidation in the diaspora which were carried out by the respective countries were the genesis which later developed the national self-awareness of the informers and/or of their ancestors.

<sup>16</sup> Sometimes these records end with gratitude to the communist power which ‘fed us and gave us shelter’.

A common topic is the one of **the individual and the collective memory**. The necessity for the descendants to remember ‘the heroism’ and ‘the suffering’ of the ancestors is acknowledged. Expressions that are typical are ‘I wrote this so that it could remain for my descendants’, ‘so that they would not forget’, and ‘so that they would know’. Different testimonies regarding the past times are often searched for, ancestral, familial and individual stories are created, as well as family trees, maps, etc.

The finale of the archived stories is very **emotional** and corresponds to the nostalgia for the birthplaces, the faith of the immigrants, the separated families and the identities of the story-tellers. The emotional references are bilateral. The employees at the archives have collected the memories by accenting on the correct thing in a precise way, often presenting the event in a very cut and dry manner, while the individual experiences remained in the background. The employees probably omitted those so that they could go along the official methodological course –structuring the historical processes and guaranteeing the objectivity of the written historical source at hand. At the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century they completely changed the way of recording – they strive to convey the information in a literal sense but sometimes again overlook the emotional information.

Until the 80s only a few recorders of memories conveyed the emotions. Usually these are people for who these moments are also part of their individual memory and that way they are preserved in the materials. Such example is Mara Mihailova. The emotion of the story-teller is also present in the archive units that were recorded by the informers themselves, their children and grandchildren. Here the emotions are very strong, the sentences are sometimes broken apart, the text is smudged (probably because of tears), the expression is emotional and reliving the memory is apparent. The feelings of these respondents are most likely an inseparable part of their memory of the events that were experienced.

Knowing the way recording memories worked, I consciously looked for the emotional references in the terrain interviews because they represent the ways of accepting and/or denying in the relationships. I have to say that the emotions of the respondents surged quickly and almost without prompt, especially when the story-teller was a woman. The men were very fixed on conveying the events accurately and in a detailed way but in the majority of the cases this meant being more laconic. In some of the cases they needed time so that they could warm up, let their emotions go and show their true attitude towards the topic.

The (auto)biographical stories in the archived memories and the terrain interviews which are the source of the topic ‘The migration of the Aegean Bulgarians in their family stories’ are most often constructed on the relation age-generation of the informers and the connection between them and the historic events. The informers for different periods belong to different generations but all of them realize that they have lived through certain historical events with a crucial

meaning during the same period of their lives. They present their ancestors in a heroic and mythological way, demonstrate the pride of their suffering and experiencing big historical events, explain in a detailed manner how the changes reflected on their lives and identities. The respondents are connected to the diaspora as well as to the metropolia – this connection for them is inseparable from the motherland and to the issue of its understanding, living and perception. These common moments in the memories and the beliefs show that people who belong to different generations but who have lived through similar in meaning historical events, which have predetermined their similar fates, develop common recollections, system for evaluation and beliefs, independently from that they remember different historical processes.

These common moments create a part of their consciousness of community – the respondents think of themselves as ‘we’ in a sense of a group with shared memory and system for evaluation. This way they (self) define and (self) distinct from the previous and the next generations and create part of their ‘memory of the group’. It is a premise for the ‘look from underneath’ of the participants in the events and the processes, it synthesizes the role and the attitude of the subject towards what was lived and told. Working with such types of stories, the explorer directly oversees the interactions between the individuals and receives access to facts that are socially important to them.

## MARKERS AND SYMBOLS OF THE IDENTITY PHENOMENON WITHIN THE HELLENIC POPULATIONS COLONIZED IN NORTHERN GREECE

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The population transfers and exchanges between the states from the Balkan Peninsula and Anatolia, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, generated new identities. Even though, in order to analyze them, it is invariably done under the sign of ethnicity, the groups which they belong to are more accurately named not ethnic groups, but population categories within the nation they are a part of. Origin represents a central marker of these identities. Culturally speaking, the appearances of the identity phenomenon connected to a place of origin are noticeable in various categories of markers and symbols: oiconymic, spiritual, sportive, of song and popular dance, etc. The following paper focuses on the ethnographic illustration of these categories regarding the *Pontians* and the *Minor-Asians* in Greece. In dealing with the spiritual category, a visual anthropology application is presented, which refers to the custom of burning Judas in a Greek settlement at the border with The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It is worth mentioning that such an identity phenomenon represents a wide and fertile area of anthropologic research in the regions mentioned.

**Keywords:** identity, origin, population category, symbols and markers, uprooting.

### INTRODUCTION IN THE KEY OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

A great part of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as Anatolia, were witnesses of intense transfers and exchange of populations between the states in these areas in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The peace Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine (1919), the Convention and Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the Treaty of Craiova (1940) and other political agreements were the foundation of these events. It was believed that the ethnic uniformity of the nations<sup>1</sup> which resulted in the aftermath of World War I in this part of the world would have as an effect the dissolution of the conflict potential on ethnic grounds<sup>2</sup>. The ethnic criterion for population exchange received a religious aspect in the exchange between Greece and Turkey. Thus, the Turkish

<sup>1</sup> Nations which were built according to what Anthony D. Smith refers to as “ethnic model” (*The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford and New York, 1987, p. 144–149).

<sup>2</sup> Something which succeeded, having as comparative markers the similar conflicts in the Western half of the Balkan Peninsula – less affected by the population exchange we are referring to – which happened after the fall of Communism.

Orthodox population would be moved to Greece, and the Greek Muslim population would be moved to Turkey. It is not the causes of these exchanges, nor their criteria that I intend to deal with in this text. These represent the object of historic research. The following study deals with the appearances of the identity phenomenon generated by the processes mentioned before, on the coordinates of cultural anthropology, applied to the two Greek populations, the *Pontic* and the *Minor-Asian*.

Both socio-humanistic sciences, history and (socio)cultural anthropology, with a dialogue from evolutionist times and with influences of anthropology on the history in the second half of the last century<sup>3</sup> which seemed to mark their definitive connection, remain sciences with subjects, methods and cognitive intentions which are different. While history is usually preoccupied with the events of the past, cultural anthropology deals with the present, *directly observed* by the ethnographer<sup>4</sup>, namely the anthropologist in his first role. And, if anthropology is “the comparative study of common sense”<sup>5</sup>, this mainly refers to the social actors who bear – more often than not in a passive manner – history, than to those who behave as active agents of history. This study on an identity theme, having anthropological features, deals with present populations who were forced to bear, willingly or not, the effects of political decisions. Point in fact, the reference is to political decisions which were made a century ago. We are not sure to what extent these decisions, which sought for certain effects, anticipated a series of collateral consequences. In this case, *they generated new identities in the places where the populations were moved to*. However, by directly referring to the past, which is kept alive by countless symbols and identity markers, this anthropologic study also has a historical dimension.

The demographic status of the before mentioned populations, as well as the one belonging to other populations with a similar past, is that of “population categories”. This term was used with the same meaning by Geórgios V. Agelópoulos, but in the context of an intra-community analysis.<sup>6</sup> We are talking about “exclusive and imperative status categories”<sup>7</sup>, which are associated with a large number of their own cultural traits, without it being the case to refer to separate and independent

<sup>3</sup> A. Macfarlane, «Anthropology and History», in J. Cannon, W. Doyle and J.P. Greene (eds), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*, New York, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> E. Leach, 1989, «Tribal Ethnography: past, present, future», in E. Tonkin, M. McDonald and M. Chapman (eds), *History and Ethnicity*, London and New York, 1989, p. 34–47.

<sup>5</sup> M. Herzfeld, 2001, *Anthropology. Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society*, Malden (USA) and Oxford, 2001, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Γ.Β. Αγγελόπουλος, «Γαμήλιες ανταλλαγές σε πολιτισμικά μεικτές αγροτικές κοινότητες της Μακεδονίας. Η σημασία τους για ορισμό και τη διάκριση των πληθυσμιακών κατηγοριών», in Β.Κ. Γουνάρης, Ι. Δ. Μιχαηλίδης and Γ.Β. Αγγελόπουλος (eds), *Ταυτότητες στη Μακεδονία*, 1997, p. 103–122 [G. V. Agelópoulos, “Changes in the marriage models in culturally mixed agrarian communities from Macedonia”, in V.K. Gounáris, I.D. Mihailídis and G.V. Agelópoulos (eds), *Macedonian Identities*].

<sup>7</sup> F. Barth, «Introduction», in F. Barth (ed), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Bergen – Oslo and London, 1969, p. 9–38. “Exclusive” and “imperative” are adjectives for “status”.



ethnic groups. As far as ethnicity is concerned – by association with the dialects of a language<sup>8</sup> – these categories are in a *dialectal* relation with the largest ethnic group. Sometimes, as is the case of the Pontic category, the comparison with linguistics is not only metaphoric, because this category has its own dialect. Neither *emic* nor *etic* are they considered separate ethnic groups, by having, for example, a minority status. Every Pontian or Minor-Asian consider itself without restraint Greek, just as every Meglen-Vlach in Romania consider itself Romanian<sup>9</sup>. However, in order to conceptualize somehow the political status of such population categories, Christian Promitzer<sup>10</sup> uses the term of “hidden minorities”. When the “hidden minority” builds its identity by continuously referring to a “homeland”<sup>11</sup> it starts to resemble a diaspora community (in accordance with the features of such a community which were put forward by Robin Cohen<sup>12</sup>).

To sum up, we are talking about large population categories which are considered (by others but by themselves as well) to be separate from other similar categories or from an alleged main ethnic groups, without, however, being socially equivalent to ethnic groups. As far as their identity is concerned, they are under the sign of *ethnicity*, but a concept of ethnicity which is structured into *degrees of ethnicity* and which takes into consideration phenomena of pre- or proto-ethnicity<sup>13</sup>. There is no way of knowing whether or not the identity of the population categories we are concerned with will evolve towards a mature ethnicity, nor does it make the subject of the present study. Probably not, since the studies from the last half of the century emphasizes intense interethnic mix-ups in the Balkan region<sup>14,15</sup> a phenomenon compatible in the end with an “ethnicity without groups”<sup>16,17</sup>. We are not talking

<sup>8</sup> Irrespective of the fact that we are referring to the relation between dialects and the mother-tongue or the relations between dialects.

<sup>9</sup> What is interesting is that the same thing does not occur with the Meglen-Vlachs who stayed in Greece. The term “Meglen-Vlach”, even though it is not used by either of the populations, I introduced it as an intermediary term which would probably be accepted by both populations.

<sup>10</sup> K. Promicer [Promitzer], «(Ne-)vidljivost skrivenih manjina na Balkanu. Neka teorijska zapažanja», in B. Sikimić (ed), *Skrivene manjine na Balkanu*, Beograd, 2004, p. 11–24.

<sup>11</sup> By “place of origin” we are referring to the place/region where the ancestors of the population categories we are talking about were before the transfer.

<sup>12</sup> R. Cohen, *Global Diaspora. An Introduction* (Second edition), London and New York, 2008, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> S. Ștefănuță, «Ascendența etnică sub lupa analizei genetice. Sfârșitul etnicității?», in press in *Antropologie și genetică* (collection «Zilele Rainer»), Bucharest, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Γ.Β. Αγγελόπουλος, «Γαμήλιες ανταλλαγές σε πολιτισμικά μεικτές αγροτικές κοινότητες της Μακεδονίας», p. 107; M. Constantin, «A cross-cultural review of interethnic marriage among ethnic groups in Romania and in Bulgaria», *Études Balkaniques*, Sofia, L (4), 2014, p. 98–114.

<sup>15</sup> Although, according to Barth («Introduction», p. 24) the inter-ethnic mixes by marriage do not seem to represent a sufficient requirement for the identity change.

<sup>16</sup> R. Brubaker, «Ethnicity without groups», *Archives européennes de sociologie*, XLIII, 2, 2002, p. 163–189.

<sup>17</sup> Probably, one of the forms which an “end of ethnicity, as we know it today” may take (T. H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives*, London and New York, 2010 [1994], p. 217, the Norwegian author also referring to interethnic marriages when speaking about a possible end of ethnicity).

about a group ethnicity, but an ethnicity activated by “grouping”<sup>18</sup>. For example, a person of mixed ancestry, both Pontic and Minor-Asian, can join and declare adhesion to one of the two categories as context, preferences or interest requires.

#### A THEORY OF IDENTITY FOR THE BALKAN POPULATION CATEGORIES WITH A HISTORY OF POPULATION EXCHANGE AND TRANSFER

The identity theory I will make a brief presentation<sup>19</sup> of in this paragraph is not one born from hypotheses based on other theories. It has more of a *grounded theory*<sup>20</sup> aspect, as it is an inductive process where the theory is formed and modified together with the collected data. The methodology behind it is, mainly, participant observation, with an initial field period in northern Greece (Kilkis and Pélá regional units) marked by the “immersion”<sup>21</sup> approach of seven and a half months, between the years 2011 and 2012. The initial period was followed by countless other shorter periods spent in the field, from a few days to a month and a half, in Greece, as well as in Romania and even Turkey, on a trip with Pontic Greek people to see the places their ancestors three or four generations ago were forced to leave. In the initial field period – conceived purely in a formative manner, in order to be confronted with and to undertake the challenges of being in the field for a long time – my attention was drawn by the recurrence with which, in different forms, the people who belonged to different categories marked by a history of population exchange were identifying themselves with the place their ancestors were forced to leave<sup>22</sup>. The relatives who stayed behind are added to the place of origin, even if we are talking about a *sublimate kinship*, a kind of “χαμένα μας αδέρφια” (“our lost brothers”), the way the Pontians who were converted to Islam and who stayed in Turkey are referred to by the ones in Greece. The identity which is connected to a place of origin has the features of a “cultural theme”<sup>23</sup>, representing a principle of existential organization. But the importance of origin as a central ethnicity element is not the same for all the population categories studied. Thus, for the section of the research conducted by 2015, a hypothesis emerged with the variable of *origin* as a *central marker* in the identity of the population

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 167–168.

<sup>19</sup> We are going to dedicate a special paper to this theory

<sup>20</sup> B.G. Glaser and A.L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, New York, 1967.

<sup>21</sup> J.P. Spradley, *Participant observation*, Belmont (USA), 1980, p. 145.

<sup>22</sup> It can be said that the interest for such population categories and their identity was born from mere wonder, which is often the initial stimulus in anthropologic research (V. Mihăilescu, *Antropologie. Cinci introduceri*, Iași, 2007, p. 91).

<sup>23</sup> M.E. Opler, 1945, «Themes as dynamic forces in culture», *American Journal of Sociology*, 53, 1945, p. 198–206.

categories we are studying according to: a) *the number of relatives left behind*; b) *the distance to the place where the uprooting occurred*, and c) *the trauma caused by the uprooting*.<sup>24</sup> For example, one of the extremes is represented by the Pontic population category with a high identity relevance of the origin, with the highest per cent of variables “b” and “c”, but also of “a”, by taking into account a sublimate kinship. The other extreme is represented by the Arvanites in the village of Tycheró, in the Évros regional unit, in Greece, situated on the border with Turkey. They registered a low relevance of origin identity, with a low percentage of variables “b” and “c”, and a zero value of the “a” variable.

Verifying the hypothesis between the years 2015 and 2018, by increasing the number of population categories, led not only to confirming it, but also to the possibility of adding a new variable, namely *welfare* in the place of origin. However, I did not notice a direct connection between the identity importance of origin and the level of welfare in that place. A high level of welfare in the place of origin, as opposed to a low level at the destination in the time of the transfer, is meant to add to the trauma of uprooting. However, a low level of welfare in the place of origin does not significantly diminish the trauma, irrespective of the level of welfare found/achieved at the destination. Welfare seems to directly influence *the speed of taking roots* (the way it happened with the Meglen-Vlachs and Aromanian populations who migrated from Greece to the Romanian Cadrilater in 1926), but it does not affect uprooting.

#### IDENTITY SYMBOLS AND MARKERS OF ORIGIN FOR TWO GREEK POPULATION CATEGORIES

From a cultural point of view, the appearances of the identity phenomenon connected to a place of origin are noticeable in countless *identity symbols* and *markers*. Their main sense is of identity anchorage, but also mnemonic-technical, of preserving the memory of places and events which thus acquire the aura of founding myths. Their presence is the more frequent the better consolidated this identity is, the relationship being one of double implication. Therefore, we are expecting to see a higher frequency of it as far as the Pontic category are concerned, given as an example for which the origin has the highest identity relevance, but also in the case of the Minor-Asian category, which is in the vicinity of the Pontic one in a hypothetical hierarchy based on the theory mentioned in the previous paragraph. The very names preserve the memory of the regions the ancestors came from: *Pontus*, south of the Black Sea reaching to the base of the Caucasus Mountains, with the town of Trapezoúnda (today Trabzon) as the

<sup>24</sup> S. Ștefănuță, «Migrație și etnicitate în Balcani. Cazul câtorva categorii populaționale din Grecia și România (raport de cercetare)», *Anuarul Muzeului Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova*, new series, nr. VII, Brăila, 2016, p. 93–106.

symbolic capital city, *Asia Minor*, respectively, in the east of The Aegean Sea, with Smíрни (today Izmir) as the equivalent of Trapezounda. I shall continue by mentioning a few categories of symbols and markers belonging to the before mentioned population categories.

A first category of markers is the *oikonymics* one. Someone who travels through the northern part of continental Greece – the regions of Macedonia and Thrace – cannot but feel the wander caused by the high frequency of settlement names preceded by the adjective “νέο/νέα“, “new” (for example, Νέα Πόδα, “New Wheel”, in the Halkidiki regional unit), or which have it as a prefix (for example, Νεοχώρι, “New Village”, in the Sérres regional unit). The inhabitants of these places are, in their majority, “προσφυγες”, “refugees” who came, mainly, from Pontus and Asia Minor. The term “refugees” was used to refer to all new-comers, irrespective of the manner in which they arrived, nearly a century ago, and it is still used to describe their descendants today. There are even settlements named “Nea Trapezounda”, in the Pieria regional unit, in the Grevena regional unit, or a suburb of Athens named “Nea Smirni”. The “refugees”, by using these names, founded again the places they were forced to leave. Placed one near the other, it is created not only the image of the uprooting and the re-founding of a certain settlement, but of the entire Pontus or Asia Minor. By doing this, the connections with the old regions are not severed, but, on the contrary, are made stronger. Thus, the names of the localities have a mnemonic-technical function, representing one of the guarantees of keeping these connections active. Taking root on Greek soil does not have as an effect uprooting from Pontus or Asia Minor earth, not even when the very bones of the ancestors are transplanted<sup>25</sup>, bones representing an inevitable proof of the millennial rooting of the Greek element in the Pontic soil.

Another category of identity markers and symbols is the *spiritual* one. This time it is not about re-building a settlement, but re-building monasteries, with icons and holy relics brought from Pontus. All through the centuries, there were three monasteries which played the part of “Jerusalem” for Pontus. They are located in the Maçka Valley („Matsoúka”, in Greek) a valley which crosses the Pontic Mountains south of Trapezounda: Panaghia Soumelá, Saint George *Peristereóta* (the “pigeon”) and Saint John *Vazelónos*. The first one, Panaghia Soumelá, was restored and it is now a touristic and pilgrimage attraction for Christians and Muslims, especially on August 15<sup>th</sup>, when the Assumption is celebrated. This monastery was rebuilt in Greece in 1951, in the foothills of Vémio Mountains, Imathía regional unit.<sup>26</sup> The second one, Saint George *Peristereota*, was rebuilt in 1960 in the Rodohóri village, Náousa regional unit,<sup>27</sup> and the third one, Saint John *Vazelonos* is

<sup>25</sup> S. Ștefănuță, «Ascendența etnică sub lupa analizei genetice. Sfârșitul etnicității?».

<sup>26</sup> T. Κοντογιαννίδης, «Η Μόνη Παναγία Σουμελά στο Βέρμιο και η ιστορία της», *Pontosnews*, 2015 [T. Kondoianidís, «The Panaghia Soumela Monastery in Vemio and its history», *Pontosnews*] (<http://www.pontos-news.gr/article/139093/i-moni-panagias-soymela-sto-vermio-kai-i-istoria-tis>, accessed on January 4th 2019).

<sup>27</sup> M.B. Γιαννακοβίτου., Ροδοχώρι. «Ένα δάκρυ του Πόντου», p. 30–32 [M.V. Iannakovítou, Rodohori. «A tear of Pontus»].

being finished in the village of Άghios Dimítrios, Kozáni regional unit<sup>28</sup>. The importance of their symbolic identity is augmented by the presence of icons, holy relics or worship objects brought from Pontus, in different ways. Out of all of them, the icon of Virgin Mary the Athiniotissa has the highest symbolic value and the most obvious identity connotations. It was painted, according to tradition, by Luke the Evangelist and brought through a miracle from Athens to the Panaghia Soumela Monastery in Pontus, then kept from 1931 for more than 60 years in The Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, so that it finally was brought to the monastery in the foothills of the Vermio Mountains. Before the new Panaghia Soumela Monastery was built, because they did not possess the icon which was turned from a worship object into a museum exhibit, the Pontians were “orphans”, as an old woman in Kalamariá said. This metaphor was taken on for its emotional impact in *Pontosnews*<sup>29</sup>. Of course, August 15<sup>th</sup> represents a great day of pilgrimage for the Pontians, who go to the Panaghia Soumela Monastery in Vermio.

*Sports* markers and symbols represent a third category. To be more exact, the reference is made to the sports clubs. In order to present them, I shall put forth a fragment from an interview with Harálambos Volovótsis from Tycheró, Evros regional unit, one of the key-informants from the Hellenic field time (August, 2018):

PAOK is a Thessaloniki team. The initials stand for “Pan-Thessalonian Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans” (Πανθεσσαλονικιός Αθλητικός Όμιλος Κωνσταντινοπολιτών). It was founded by refugees who came from Constantinople in 1926. There was a team in the City, in Constantinople I mean (...) named Ermís. They wanted to found a team here [in Thessaloniki], but they did not want to name it Ermís, the way it was called back there, in the City, in the Besiktas district, in Pera (...) the Pera-Besiktas region; they wanted to give it another name. At first, they wanted to name it Constantinopolitans’ Sports Club. But a few of the people who wanted to found this team went down to Athens because they did not find fertile soil. (...) These ones (...) created AEK<sup>30</sup>, “Athletic Union of Constantinople” (Αθλητική Ένωση Κωνσταντινοπολιτών). AEK belongs today to Athens, as we all know. The people who stayed in Thessaloniki created PAOK and named it “Pan-Thessalonian Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans”, because they were all refugees from Constantinople.

We are not talking only about founding some sports clubs. As the Greek interviewee continues...

In Thessaloniki, there were, at that time, the Aris team and the Iraklís team. Aris was the city’s elite team (...) PAOK and Aris came often into conflict. They

<sup>28</sup> «Άγιος Ιωάννης Βαζελόνος», *Pontosnews*, 2014 [«Saint John Vazelonos», *Pontosnews*] (<http://www.pontos-news.gr/pontic-article/100257/agios-ioannis-vazelonos>, accessed on January 5th 2019).

<sup>29</sup> Τ. Κοντογιαννίδης, «Η Μόνη Παναγίας Σουμελά στο Βέρμιο και η ιστορία της».

<sup>30</sup> Whose football stadium is called “Hagia Sophia”, the name of the great cathedral built by the Byzantine emperor Justinian I in Constantinople, the 6<sup>th</sup> century, today turned into a mosque.

contested each other from the beginning, because one was the team of the city, the other was the team of the refugees. Slowly, the years went by, and after 1970 PAOK had a good team (...) which played in the Greek championship, and they were mistreated by the Athenian teams, especially by Olimpiakós. It was then that the entire northern Greece gathered around PAOK, as far as football was concerned, I mean (...) Greece became separated in two, when it comes to football, northern Greece and southern Greece (...) All of northern Greece supported the team, because almost all of it is made up of refugees. Some of them come from Eastern Rumelia, in northern Thrace, while others came from southern Thrace, or Pontus, or Asia Minor (...).

The identity implications of the “conflict” between PAOK, the “refugee” team and other “local” teams, are obvious. They show, in fact, on a symbolic level, the conflict, which can be felt to this day, between the “refugees” and the local populations when the former came to Greece. The reason of the conflict was the fact that the land abandoned by the Muslim population transferred to Turkey had to be divided, and the locals considered they were entitled to it.<sup>31</sup> Not only did this not happen, but the locals also had to bear the demographic pressure of the immigrants, as their number was much higher than the one of the Muslim immigrants. What is interesting is the fact that PAOK becomes the team that all the population categories which resulted in the population exchange<sup>32</sup> identify themselves with. It becomes a meeting point of similar destinies, which does not occur, on a spiritual level, with the new Panaghia Soumela monastery, which is a symbol only for the Pontic category. Born at the initiative of some “refugees” who arrived from the City, a symbolic center of all Hellenic populations, PAOK had, from the start, great chances for such image. It is as if, a member of the City or not, “Ἡ Πόλις θα σε ακολουθεῖ / The City will follow you”, according to the famous verse of the poet Κωνσταντῖνος Καβάφης / Konstantinos Kaváfis (1863-1933). Maybe building a new Hagia Sophia church in Greece, a replica of the one in Istanbul/Constantinople provides a symbolic representation for all the population categories of the “refugees”. In this context, Giórgos Savvídís’s gesture – he is of Pontic descent, the son of the current owner of PAOK, Iván Savvídís – of washing the players’ cars after the two to one victory against Aris in a football match in the autumn of 2018, portrayed merely as an outrageous gesture in the media<sup>33</sup>, has a completely different meaning.

<sup>31</sup> I. Δ. Μηαηλίδης, «Σλαβόφωνοι και Πρόσφυγες: Πολιτικές συνιστώσες μιας οικονομικής διαμάχης», in B. K. Γουνάρης, I. Δ. Μηαηλίδης and Γ. Β. Αγγελόπουλος (eds), *Ταυτότητες στη Μακεδονία*, 1997, p. 123–141 [I. Δ. Mihailídís, «Slavik speaking people and refugees: The political components of an economic conflict», in V. K. Gounáris, I. D. Mihailídís and G. V. Agelópoulos (eds), *Identities in Macedonia*].

<sup>32</sup> Every time I speak on the phone with Haralambos Volovotsis, of a partially Arvanite descent, I am also informed of how well the PAOK team is doing in the Greek championship: “Ο PAOK είναι πρώτος! / PAOK is first!”. I am also reminded of its coach, the Romanian Răzvan Lucescu. I often wonder if maybe Haralambos’s affection towards me has something to do with the fact that Răzvan Lucescu and I have the same nationality.

<sup>33</sup> For example, «Lucescu își continuă marșul în Grecia. Victoria cu Aris l-a făcut pe fiul patronului să le spele mașinile jucătorilor», 2018, *DIGI sport* (<https://www.digisport.ro/fotbal/fotbal-international/lucescu->

The *song* and *popular dance* complex represents another category of the identity markers and symbols, the last one I am referring to in this study. The *pondiaká* (“Pontic”) songs, with *tik* and *omál* as representative genres, can be understood without exception as nostalgic and full of longing for the lost *πατρίδα* (“country”), as far as the melody and the lyrics are concerned. The songs mention and mourn a glorious past, in whose lyrics the pride of the mighty *ακρίτες* (“guards”) at the Pontic borders of the Byzantine Empire reaches to us. A paradisiac land, with clear and cold waters is a recurring image in the Pontic songs. The pain of losing it is augmented by the perpetual state of being without a country in the land where they were forced to move, as we hear in the lyrics in a Pontic dialect of a song which has an *omal* rhythm: “Πέντε σπίτια έχτησα κι ασ’ όλα ξεσπιτούμαι / Πρόσφυγας ειμ’ ασο κούνι μ’, Θε παλαλούμαι. / Πατρίδα μ αραεύω σε αμόν καταραμένος / Σα ξένα είμαι Έλληνας και σην Ελλάδαν ξένος.” (“I’ve built five houses and I was thrown out from all of them / I’m a refugee from my birth, my God I will become crazy / I’m looking for you my homeland like damned / I am a Greek abroad and at Greece I am a foreigner”).<sup>34</sup> However, the Pontic song is not the final expression of an immovable fate, towards which resignation is the only solution. The Pontic soldier is still ready to fight, and his war-like attitude, as well as his movements, is meant to impress the audience when performing such a manly dance as *kótsari*. The male traditional Pontic costume is, in fact, a military uniform. As far as the Pontic singer is concerned, it seems that it is his duty to sing, playing the *kementzés* lyre in the same time, only *pondiaká* songs, as Maria from the village of Nótia, in the Pella regional unit, believes. Thus, the talented performers of Pontic descent Mathéos and Konstandínos Tsahourídís, famous around the world for their musical experiments, where musical traditions of different peoples are brought together by the endless possibilities of the *kementzés* lyre, and in whose songs the traditions and modern life dwell together, can never be *αληθινοί πόντιοι* (“true Pontians”).

*The traditional costume, the food, the journeys to the place of origin, the onomastics, the jokes and anecdotes etc.*, all represent other categories of markers and symbols where identity phenomenon in connection to a specific place of origin and a certain past appears for both the Pontic and Minor-Asian categories; not only for these two categories, but for other as well, in proportion with the identity relevance of the place of origin. The City on the banks of Bosphorus has the significance of a symbolic quintessence of all these places/regions, so that the general identity of “refugee” has great chances to become crystalized around some cultural markers which come from / and remind of / this place. I mentioned in this context the sports club PAOK from Thessaloniki. Although the categories of markers and symbols mentioned before are just as relevant, I believe that inductively the categories dealt

isi-continua-marsul-in-grecia-victoria-cu-aris-l-a-facut-pe-fiul-patronului-sa-le-spele-masinile-jucatorilor-543853, accessed on January 5<sup>th</sup> 2019).

<sup>34</sup> The lyrics can be read, and the song can be listened to here: <https://lyricstranslate.com/en/patrida-m-araevo-se-patrida-m-araeu-se-im-looking-you-my-homeland.html> (accessed on February 26<sup>th</sup> 2019).

with *in extenso* are enough. It could have as easily been the other way around, dealing more with the categories which were only mentioned, and leaving suspended the categories which I insisted upon. Put together, these categories set and are set by a cultural pattern and they represent the content of certain identities, for whom uprooting, with everything it implies, seems to be permanently fixed in history.

#### ETHNOGRAPHIC APPLICATION IN THE SUBFIELD OF VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY: THE BURNING OF JUDAS IN FANOS

Fanos (photo 1) is a village in the sunny hills in the foothills of Mount Páiko, near the border with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. From an administrative point of view, it is in the Kilkis regional unit, in the Central Macedonia administrative region. Around one hundred people, mostly elderly, permanently live in this village. Their pension is the main income, but other revenues are added to this, mainly from selling wine and *tsipouro*, the famous Greek brandy; both beverages are very much appreciated in the region for their quality. The younger population categories prefer to live in cities, especially in Thessaloniki, in search for jobs and better living conditions. At the week-end, on holidays or vacations, the young people come back to Fanos. Their ancestors from three or four generations ago came here in 1922, forced to leave Asia Minor. They came, in their majority, from Ikonion (Konya province in Turkey today) and from the vicinity of Brusa (today Bursa province).<sup>35</sup> They lived for a while with the Turkish locals who, in their turn, were waiting to be moved to Turkey. The village had a Turkish name at that time; it was “Mayadağ”<sup>36</sup>.

A number of field campaigns in the region and in this village prepared the research and the filming in the Holy Week of 2017 of the short documentary (of 20 minutes) *Fanos. The Memory of a Distant Past*, directed by Anișoara Ștefănuță.<sup>37</sup> One of the campaigns, the one during the Holy Week of 2013, led to obtaining a first version of the mini-documentary, called *The Fire of Judas in Fanos*. The

<sup>35</sup> X. Δ. Παυλακούδης, *Φανός που τρεμοσβήνει*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 2009, p. 1 [H. D. Pavlakoúdis, *The Village of Fanos fades away*].

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*. “The Yeast Hill”, a literal translation from Turkish.

<sup>37</sup> The film was presented and projected during the conference “Uses of the Past in Eastern and Southeastern Europe in Modern and Contemporary Period”, organised in Bucharest, held at the Institute of South-Eastern European Studies of the Romanian Academy, in collaboration with The Ethnographic Institute and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and The Archaeology and Ethnology Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, on June 12<sup>th</sup> 2018. Publishing a volume with the texts which resulted in the wake of conference is a good opportunity for me to give all the details of the context of the film, which were presented in the previous paragraphs. From lack of time, these details could not be offered during the projection of the documentary. The film can be found, on DVD, attached to the third cover of the *Yearbook of Prahova County Society for General Anthropology*, no 4/2018, Ploiesti, Mythos Publishing of the Prahova County Cultural Center. We would like to thank the organisers for the invitation to the conference; a special thanks to Stelu Șerban.



experience of 2013 was later used in the field campaign in 2017. For both versions of the documentary I participated as researcher, interviewer, interpreter and photographer.

The title of the film makes a reference both to the distance in time and space, of a rich material and spiritual past in the land of Asia Minor. At the end of this prolific period, what was later called the “Asia Minor catastrophe”, namely the defeat of the Greek army by the Kemalist troops in its attempt to march into the heart of Anatolia, would “rapidly and unequivocally bring to an end the millennial history of Hellenism in Ionia”.<sup>38</sup> (Τσουνάκος/Tsunákos, 2010 [1992]: 42). It is said that approximately one million Greek people were forced to leave Turkey as a result of the Kemalist policy of ethnic cleansing<sup>39</sup>, before or after the Treaty of Lausanne, “refugees” who settled once and for all in Greece. The title of the film can also have another meaning: if the events which took place a century ago possess an aura of a founding myth for a certain identity, then “the distant past”, with an insignificant drift from a historical point of view, becomes the equivalent of the indefinite past of the myth.

The film concentrates on one custom on Good Friday, according to which the hanged Judas is set on fire immediately after the epitaph procession (photo 3). The hanged Judas – in fact, a human shaped mascot, filled with straws and suspended at the edge of the main market, *πλατεία*, by the tip of a wooden or metal mast above a pyre made of dry kindling and cedar branches (photo 2) – is set on fire immediately after the epitaph procession (photo 3). The procession begins after the Lamentation of the Tomb, and follows a circular route on a few streets near the church, which represents making a circle around the whole village. Not only the epitaph, but the entire tomb of Saviour also, symbolized by a canopy table, is borne in the procession (photo 4). The whole procession is accompanied by the sound of drums and blowing instruments.

The attempt of explaining the significance of the custom of burning Judas makes, invariably, a reference to Asia Minor, as it is a custom which the people there also had and which was brought to the land where they were moved. This custom was not the only thing that was brought, and among others, there was also the icon of Saint John (photo 5), on whose frame are written the names of some families who came here from Asia Minor. The icon is now fixed on an iconostasis on the left side of the church *pronaos* from *πλατεία*. The church is a former mosque. The route the refugees traveled, bearing the icon as if in a procession, is pictured in a naïve painting exhibited in the only tavern in Fanos (photo 6). The tavern’s sign has inscribed on it the name of the village and a Turk’s head, as an iconic symbol, a reference to the past as well. Both the custom of burning Judas and the icon of Saint John are markers of a maximum concentration of identity energies. However, during the holy Week, because of its importance in the community, burning Judas becomes a priority. The custom is one of the rare moments expected, prepared<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Ο. Τσουνάκος, «Η Μεγάλη Ελλάδα και η Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία», *Ελληνική ιστορία. Α' και Β' παγκόσμιος πόλεμος. Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος*, Αθήνα, 2010 [1992], p. 19–42 [Ο. Tsounákos, «The Great Hellada and the Asia Minor Campaign», *The History of Greece. The First and the Second World War. The Civil War*].

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> As can be noticed in the film, the hanged Judas and the bonfire are prepared by a few young people. However, they express the will of the entire community.

and commented upon by the entire population of Fanos. The direct bond with the ancestors in Asia Minor, by way of this custom, is evident beyond any doubt in those film sequences when Spiros Karkóglou<sup>41</sup>, one of the people who were interviewed as a key-informant in the film, states the fact that the custom has never ceased. The advanced age of the interviewee, who allows him to be the bearer of the entire social memory of the settlement in the foothills of Mount Paiko, is a guarantee to the authenticity of the information. Especially since the man does not remember – from his experience or from what his parents told him – any another custom of lighting the fire, at the Birth of Saint John, when young people jump over the fire, to be brought from Asia Minor and to be held in Fanos every year.

The *emic* approach – in the spirit of anthropology nonetheless – unveils a *purification* ritual. As Christ's traitor, Judas becomes a symbol of evil, which the community takes its revenge on not only by casting him out, but by erasing every trace of him, distancing itself from him completely. Out of the material processes that man can command, fire is the only one with purging qualities corresponding to the evil which needs to be removed. It does not happen by chance that this custom takes place during Holy Week, which is marked by a series of purification rituals (in the film, other two rituals are mentioned, namely *fasting* and *cleaning* the houses and yards) performed waiting for the Resurrection of Christ. The *etic* approach could interpret Judas, who is about to be burnt, as a symbol of the Turkish enemy<sup>42</sup>, because of whom the "refugees", as well as the next generations, had to suffer (a part of the refugees' suffering was recalled by Spiros Karkoglou). In accordance with the anthropologic methodology and perspective, I will not go any further (yet) – and neither does the film – with such an interpretation.

The field research has shown that the religious rituals which happen during the Holy Week cannot be separated from the markers, symbols and behaviors which provide content to the Fanos idiom of Minor-Asian identity. The person watching the short documentary is given the same impression at the end of the film. Judas is both the traitor of Christ and the direct link to the previous generations. Anthropologically speaking, one of the obvious conclusions is that we are finding ourselves before a case of Christian-Orthodox *ethnic spirituality*.

### CLOSING OFF IN THE KEY OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The markers and symbols dealt with as far as the the Pontic and Minor-Asian categories are concerned, not only the ones simply mentioned, but others as well – the phenotypic aspect, of a more biological and less cultural nature, can be included here – represent as many appearances of the identity phenomenon

<sup>41</sup> Special thanks for the kind collaboration. We would also like to thank Father Andréas Theodoridis, Eleni Grompanopoúlou, Katerína Paitzidou, Thomás Mavridis, Periklis Papadóoulos, Grigórios Lióndas and the entire community of Fanos.

<sup>42</sup> As it was suggested in the comments about the film during the conference before mentioned.

connected to a place of origin and the uprooting from it, and a certain past which the uprooting ended. Also, they represent the content of some true *cultural complexes*<sup>43</sup>, grouped around the origin. Although in the present text, the issue of these markers and symbols was dealt with on *cultural* bases<sup>44</sup>, the fact that they are the expression and content of population categories identities makes it possible to be dealt with also on *social* bases; thus, placing it in the area often named *social anthropology*. I would say it is inevitable, since the “social structure” represents one of the central concepts of cultural anthropology<sup>45</sup>, and “cultural anthropology and social anthropology cover exactly the same ground”, starting, however, from opposite sides.<sup>46</sup> From this point of view, it can be noticeable that all these markers and symbols represent the cultural content of “ethnic boundaries”<sup>47</sup>. These boundaries set apart a number of *ethnomorphosis* processes generated by the population exchange and transfer in the decades of the first half of last century. It cannot be known if they are also *ethnogenesis* processes<sup>48</sup>. With the reference to the inter-ethnic mix I made in the introduction, I expressed the skepticism as far as the evolution towards a mature ethnicity is concerned. But also in the case of the population categories themselves, the observations and field data lead to the same conclusion. For example, an ad hoc measurement of the tendency towards a mature ethnicity when it comes to the Pontians, the category with the highest attachment to the place of origin, confirms the skepticism. Thus, considering one of the indicators the desire of returning to Pontus, in the eventuality of a hypothetical independence of this land, I noticed the fact that it did not exist among the Pontic travellers to Pontus on a trip in the summer of 2018, a trip I took part of as researcher. “All these have only *συναισθηματική αξία* (a sentimental value)”, in the opinion of Thodoros Tsidaridis from Kozani. For the moment, the ethnic dynamics is surer to deal with in the context of “anthropology of nostalgia”<sup>49</sup>. Although important, the Pontic identity is just one in a “thick portfolio of identities”<sup>50</sup>, beside the national, regional, familial etc. identities, maybe as well or even more important.

To sum up, it is noticeable that the identity phenomenon<sup>51</sup> in the Balkan population categories subject to the population transfer and exchange processes in

<sup>43</sup> C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*, New York, 1965 [1923], p. 51–52.

<sup>44</sup> I am referring to a privilege of the descriptive-ethnographic aspects.

<sup>45</sup> G. Geană, *Antropologia culturală. Un profil epistemologic*, București, 2005, p. 156–170.

<sup>46</sup> C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, New York, 1963, p. 357, translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf.

<sup>47</sup> F. Barth, «Introduction».

<sup>48</sup> As a study “by the major coordinates (and apparently irreconcilable)” (p. 9) of ethnogenesis and ethnomorphosis the volume *Apartenența etno-culturală din România în contextul globalizării. Criterii antropologice ale etnogenezei și etnomorfozei*, by Marin Constantin (Bucharest, 2013), can be consulted.

<sup>49</sup> A. Olivia and D. Berliner, «Introduction: Anthropology of Nostalgia – Anthropology as Nostalgia», in A. Olivia and D. Berliner (eds), *Anthropology and Nostalgia*, New York and Oxford, 2016, p. 1–15.

<sup>50</sup> I. Bellér-Hann and C. Hann, *Turkish Region. State, Market & Social Identities on the East Black Sea Coast*, Oxford and Santa Fe, 2001, p. 211.

<sup>51</sup> According to this study, an identity phenomenon where origin is to be found, one way or another, as one of its elements.

the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century represents a fertile and vast soil of anthropologic research. An entire generation of anthropologists – formed or not in the spirit of a “Balkan anthropology”<sup>52</sup> – can link their names to this type of studies, which did not necessarily have the identity as a topic; however, identity remained on a meta-thematic level of any theme. For the moment, I have identified a small number of studies from a cultural anthropology point of view<sup>53</sup>, even in Greece, where the phenomenon has the largest range of action and the most intense manifestation. The studies on historic topics are in greater number.<sup>54</sup> According to a piece of information I received from Dīmītra Louka from Athens (one of the participants in the trip I mentioned before, with a PhD in Social Anthropology at the University of the Aegean, Department of Social Anthropology and History in Mytilene, Lesbos Island), there is no such interest in these topics in Greece. She did not mention the reasons; however, in *at home* anthropology, it is known that, for an anthropologist, the study of those cultural and/or social phenomena he is most accustomed with represents a great challenge. At a first glance, those phenomena seem the most ordinary, thus unworthy of being researched.<sup>55</sup> On the coordinates of either the *at home* or *abroad* anthropology, the theme of the identity markers and symbols that I dealt with in the present text is in itself quite promising for the understanding of the identity phenomenon mentioned and, comparatively, for the understanding of the behaviors of individuals, groups or populations which find themselves in similar situations with the population categories we have dealt with.\*

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<sup>52</sup> S. Ștefănuță, 2018, «Thoughts regarding a possible Balkan anthropology», *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, tome 55, Bucarest, 2018, p. 141–162.

<sup>53</sup> For example, referring to the Aromanians in Romania, S. Serban, «Hidden Identities in Southeast Europe; Aromanians in Romania», in P. Hristov, A. Kasabova, E. Troeva and D. Demski (eds), *Contextualizing Changes: Migrations, Shifting Borders and New Identities in Eastern Europe*, Sofia, 2015, p. 455–476; referring to the ones in Bulgaria, S. Rakshieva, „Roots. On Ethnic Identity of Arumanian in Bulgaria”, in *Proiect Avdhela. Biblioteca culturii aromâne*, București, p. 1–14 ([http://www.proiectavdhela.ro/pdf/svetla\\_rashkiewa\\_roots\\_on\\_ethnic\\_identity\\_of\\_arumanians\\_in\\_bulgaria.pdf](http://www.proiectavdhela.ro/pdf/svetla_rashkiewa_roots_on_ethnic_identity_of_arumanians_in_bulgaria.pdf), accessed on January 12<sup>th</sup> 2019); referring to the Minor-Asians in Greece, R. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe. The Social Life of Asia Minor Refugees in Piræus*, New York and Oxford, foreword by Michael Herzfeld, 1998 [1989] etc.

<sup>54</sup> Although, the situation is not too good in this case either. Referring to The Lausanne Convention between Greece and Turkey, Renée Hirschon observes that “[S]urprisingly enough, however, the multiple and far-reaching effects of the Convention on the two countries have been only partially studied” (R. Hirschon, 2008 [2003], «Preface», in R. Hirschon [ed], *Crossing the Aegean. An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, New York and Oxford, 2008 [2003], p. XIV–XVII).

<sup>55</sup> V. Mihăilescu, «Introducere», in V. Mihăilescu (ed), *Etnografii urbane. Cotidianul văzut de aproape*, Iași, 2009, p. 7–29.

\* Many thanks for the observations and suggestions to the initial version of the text to: Anișoara Ștefănuță (who participated with me in the conference mentioned above), Gheorghîță Geană and Stelu Șerban.



*Photo 1.* The village of Fanos, ilkis regional unit, Greece.



*Photo 2.* The mast where Judas will be hanged from in *πλατεια* in Fanos.



*Photo 3. Judas hanged while being set on fire.*



*Photo 4. Procession during the Holy Week in Fanos.*



Photo 5. The icon of Saint John in the pronaos of the church in Fanos.



Photo 6. Naive painting of Minor-Asian refugees on the road of exile in a tavern in Fanos.





## THE 'REBORN' OF THE 'FIRST CAPITAL' OF THE BULGARIAN STATE IN THE NATIONAL CULTURAL MEMORY

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The text aims to examine the first Bulgarian capital Pliska in the perspective of historical ethnology. The study is concentrated on the period from the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. till the early 21<sup>st</sup> c., in which Pliska was "reborn" in the national cultural memory as the first capital of the Bulgarian state. The process of constructing ideas about the first Bulgarian capital depends on the political context and passes through various stages. While in the national narrative Pliska is mainly associated with the formation of the Bulgarian state, on a local level, initiatives and public space shaping in the last decade have been focusing on Knyaz Boris I and the adoption of Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet. On the national level, such considerations have led to the initiative of rebuilding the Grand Basilica. It reflects the trend of rebuilding a number of historical sites, motivated both by a desire to develop cultural and religious tourism and by increasing nationalist tendencies.

**Keywords:** Pliska, historical reenactments, cultural memory.

The notions of the nation's history are an essential element of the national identity. A key role in the national historical narrative is played by the founding of the state and the related heroes, places and monuments. The present article aims to examine the first Bulgarian capital Pliska from the perspective of historical ethnology as a field concentrating policies for constructing notions about the Bulgarians' past, and respectively – about identity. The study focuses on the period from the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. till the early 21<sup>st</sup> c., in which Pliska was "reborn" in the national cultural memory as the first capital of the Bulgarian state and became an object of different policies. The research is based on the understanding that written history is not independent of the context of the time of its creation and is always a kind of interpretation<sup>1</sup>. It focuses on the creation of the public memory about the first Bulgarian capital as part of the national cultural memory. The sources used in the paper are archival materials from the State Archive – Shumen, interviews held in contemporary Pliska, observation of the festival "Days of the Ancestors", reviews in the museum book about tourists' impressions from the archaeological site, information in the mass media, literary works.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, London, 1997.

Pliska was the capital of the medieval Bulgarian state since its founding in 681 until 893, when the capital was moved to Preslav. The name has Slavic roots and means a “swamp, lake”<sup>2</sup>. Its first mention is in a home source dating back to 822, namely an inscription of Khan Omurtag on the so-called Chatalar’s column where it is written “camp Pliska”<sup>3</sup>. The town was mentioned in a Byzantine chronicle for the first time in 971 with the name Pliskova<sup>4</sup>. The active occupancy of Pliska according to archaeological research dates back to the 1060s when the city was abandoned by its inhabitants, probably because of the uzes’ attacks<sup>5</sup>. In the Ottoman period, a village emerged next to the old capital with the name of Ahi Baba and Akbaba according to the tax registers from the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. On a map from 1843, the village was named Ali Baba, and on another map from 1853 – as Aboba. On a Russian map dating back to 1877, it was called Aku-baba<sup>7</sup>.

At the same time, European maps from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries continue to include settlements named Pliska<sup>8</sup>. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there have also been reports from travelers visiting Pliska’s ruins. Carsten Niebuhr, in the description of his journey from 1767, mentioned that there was a “big city” near Novi Pazar in the old days, without naming it<sup>9</sup>. Pliska’s field was an arena of military actions during the Russian-Turkish wars of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries when many Gagauz left the region and emigrated to Bessarabia, while Turks settled in their place<sup>10</sup>. In 1855, Tatars were also settled in Aboba<sup>11</sup>.

In the late 1970s, a hypothesis was proposed of a Proto-Bulgarian and not of a Turkish origin of its name Aboba which was used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to B. Simeonov, after moving the medieval capital from Pliska to Preslav, the Proto-Bulgarian population was called ‘Plisk-obar’ ‘Aba oba’ (with the supposed

<sup>2</sup> Р. Рашев, П. Георгиев, *Плиска*. Пътеводител, Шумен, 1993, р.4.

<sup>3</sup> В. Бешевлиев, “Плиска в географските карти от XVII и XVIII в.”, *Македонски преглед*, 1940, 3, р. 43–50, р. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Р. Рашев, П. Георгиев, *Плиска*, р. 12.

<sup>5</sup> В. Григоров, “Следстолична Плиска: стратиграфски наблюдения на обект „Дворцов център – Изток””, *Известия на Националния археологически институт*, 2016, XLIII, р. 256–293, р. 289.

<sup>6</sup> А. Kayapinar, “Osmanlı Döneminde Rumeli’de Bir Nahiye Merkezi: Pravadi”, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 2015, XXX/1, р. 121–148, р. 131–132. [[https://www.academia.edu/14070001/Osmanli%C4%B1\\_D%C3%B6neminde\\_Rumelide\\_Bir\\_Nahiye\\_Merkezi\\_Pravadi](https://www.academia.edu/14070001/Osmanli%C4%B1_D%C3%B6neminde_Rumelide_Bir_Nahiye_Merkezi_Pravadi)]

<sup>7</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле. Поселищно-географско изучаване*, Библиотека „География на България”, № 5, София, 1943, р. 169.

<sup>8</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле*, р. 40; П. Георгиев, “„Плюска град” и „град Шумен” – езиково тъждество и историческа идентичност (по следите на името „Шумен”)”, in П. Георгиев (ed.), *Градът в българските земи (по археологически данни)*. Сборник в чест на Вера Антонова, 2014, Шумен, Велико Търново, р. 479–500, р. 481.

<sup>9</sup> С. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, Dritter Band, Hamburg, 1837, р. 173.

<sup>10</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле*; К. Шкорпил, “Географический обзор”, *Материалы для болгарских древностей. Абоба-Плиска*, *Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе*, т. 10, София, 1905, р. 16–29, р. 28–29.

<sup>11</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле*, р. 58.

meaning “The village of the ancestors”), the last name being changed to Aboba<sup>12</sup>. The mention of the settlement under the name of Ahi Baba in Ottoman documents gives a far more credible reason for researchers to suggest that the settlement was founded by a *baba* from a Muslim Ahi brotherhood<sup>13</sup>.

During his visit in the village of Aboba in 1878, on the eve of the liberation of the region from the Ottoman rule, Felix Kanitz noted that the settlement had 100 Turkish and 30 Tartar houses. Kanitz also visited the ruins which he describes as an “antique castell”<sup>14</sup>. The ruins of the old capital were also visited by Konstantin Irechek in 1884, who described them in his “Travels in Bulgaria” as “probably Roman”<sup>15</sup>. At the same time, in 1885, Irechek suggested that Aboba could have a connection with the medieval Pliska<sup>16</sup>. It was not until 1898 when the Shkorpil brothers identified the ruins near Aboba as the old Bulgarian capital Pliska<sup>17</sup>.

In the summer of 1899, a commission of the Russian Archaeological Institute, which was attended by Karel Shkorpil, then a teacher at the Varna Men’s High School, M. Popruzhenko and V. Zlatarski, visited the ruins and decided for excavations starting in 1899<sup>18</sup>. As a result of the excavations of the Russian Archaeological Institute in 1899 and 1900, the view that the ruins near the village of Aboba were “Old Bulgarian” monuments was confirmed<sup>19</sup>. The supposed relics of a saint found in the Grand Basilica of Pliska were moved by a priest to the Kaspichan Church<sup>20</sup>.

The local Turkish population called the ruins and the basilica Hissar, Kale-eri, respectively Klise-eri<sup>21</sup>. Among the Deliorman *Gadzals* and Gagauz in the

<sup>12</sup> Б. Симеонов, “Абоба (Прабългарско, а не турско название на Плиска)”, *Български език*, 1979, 2, p. 137–139, p. 138–139.

<sup>13</sup> A mystical brotherhood, whose religious doctrine is influenced by the Shi’a Islam, see Н. Граматикова, *Неортодоксалният ислям в българските земи. Минало и съвременност*, София, 2011, p. 212, 540; Л. Миков, “Типологично сходство между културните традиции на ахиите от Анадола и на хетеродоксните мюсюлмани в България”, in Л. Миков, *Суфизъм, архитектура и изкуство на турците в България*. Избрани студии, т. 2, София, 2013, p. 214–239, p. 227.

<sup>14</sup> Ф. Каниц, *Дунавска България и Балканът*, т. 3, София, 1995, p. 261–262.

<sup>15</sup> П. Георгиев, “Заслугата на Карел Шкорпил за откриването на Плиска и за някои негови интерпретации”, in П. Георгиев and Я. Димитров (eds), *Плиска – Преслав*, т. 11, София, 2015, p. 13–19, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Ф. Успенски, К. Шкорпил, “Вновь открытая надпись Омортага. Столицы (аулы, становища) древних Болгар”, in *Материалы для болгарских древностей. Абоба-Плиска. Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе*, т. 10, София, 1905, pp. 544–554, p. 546.

<sup>17</sup> К. Шкорпил, Х. Шкорпил, *Първата българска столица до Абоба*, Варна, 1901, p. 17; Ф. Успенский, “Историко-археологическое значение Абобы и ея окрестностей”, in *Материалы для болгарских древностей. Абоба-Плиска. Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе*, т. 10, София, 1905, p. 1–15, p. 6; П. Георгиев, “Заслугата на Карел Шкорпил за откриването на Плиска”, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Ф. Успенский, “Историко-археологическое значение Абобы и ея окрестностей”, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> К. Шкорпил, Х. Шкорпил, *Първата българска столица до Абоба*, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17; К. Шкорпил, “Укрепления Абобской равнины”, in *Материалы для болгарских древностей. Абоба-Плиска. Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе*, т. 10, София, 1905, p. 30–61, p. 38.

Aboba Plain, a legend was recorded of a king who built a capital in Aboba. He invited his mother to look at the new capital and ask her about her opinion. She replied that the place was wonderful for cattle pasture, but even for them there was no water, and advised him to bring water from the Kriva river. The ruler built a canal to the Hissar. Water started flowing in the canal, but as the king told insulting words to the water, it stopped and returned to the river. Then the king made the capital in Preslav and again asked his mother about her opinion. She did not like the new capital and told him that he had to make a capital where the black and the white snake were intertwined, interpreted as a metaphor of Constantinople where the waters of two seas flow<sup>22</sup>.

After the Liberation of Bulgaria (1878), Turks and Tatars from Pliska field emigrated in waves, and Bulgarians settled in their place. The first Bulgarian settled in Pliska in 1890 – the shepherd Gancho Chakarov from Shumen, followed in 1903 by Delcho Yordanov from Byala Slatina. In the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century many other Bulgarians from Byala Slatina, Sevlievo, and Tarnovo settled in the village<sup>23</sup>. The exodus of Turks from the region in 1914 and 1938–1939 was particularly massive<sup>24</sup>. According to the memories of residents of Pliska, the Bulgarians in the village put pressure on their Turkish neighbours to leave.

For example, during a prayer of the Turks in the mosque, Bulgarians gathered their shoes left outdoors and threw them into a well, after which the Turks told themselves “for us there is no life here” and they emigrated to Turkey. The memory about the emigration of the Turks from Pliska is also reflected in published memories: “By 1938, Pliska still had around twenty Turkish families. Then they emigrated to Turkey, not without the participation of the authorities and their Bulgarian neighbours. “The Pliska-born quoted author also published the story how the local guard hit the gates of the Turks with his fire gun and pushed them to leave the settlement<sup>25</sup>.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the old capital was often used as an emblem of various activities. In 1911, a cultural community center, named “Tsar Boris”, was established in the village of Aboba<sup>26</sup>. In 1921, 30 pupils from the high school in the neighboring town of Novi Pazar founded the “Aboba” Club at the Youth Tourist Union, and in 1958 the Tourist Organization “Pliska” was founded<sup>27</sup>. A national festivity day (*sabor*) was held near the Basilica of Pliska on May 15, 1924 (The day of St. Boris).

A Committee for the Bulgarian Antiquity (*Balgarska starina*) was founded in the city of Varna in 1924 with the honorary presidency of the Metropolitan of Varna and Veliki Preslav Simeon<sup>28</sup>. Similar committees were also organized in

<sup>22</sup> Ф. Успенски, К. Шкорпил, “Вновь открытая надпись Омортага”, р. 554.

<sup>23</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле*, р.169.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 169.

<sup>25</sup> Х. Маринчев, *Попътни отломки. Записки*, I, София, 2010, р. 9.

<sup>26</sup> State Archive – Shumen, Fund 298 K, inventory 1, item № 1, р. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Г. Гроздев, Г. Златков, *Нови пазар*, София, 1983, р. 296, 385.

<sup>28</sup> К. Шкорпил, *В защита на българската народна старина*, Варна, 1924, р. 3.

Shumen, Novi Pazar, Provadia, Razgrad, and in the village of Aboba. Their general meeting on March 23, 1924 decided to hold a national gathering (*obstonaroden sabor*) near the Basilica of Pliska on May 15 (*Borisovden*). At their invitation, Karel Shkorpil wrote a text in which he included the legend narrated by the Turks about the founding of the old capital (see above)<sup>29</sup>. In the text, he also expressed his concern that the state did not take care of the historical monuments and gave an example with the ruins near Aboba, where only one guard was appointed. In his speech he also shared the opinion that the *Gadzals* Turks are heirs of the Proto-Bulgarians<sup>30</sup>. In 1929, on the occasion of the celebrations of the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Tsar Simeon's rule, a Jubilee collection called "Pliska – Preslav" was published in which it was suggested that Pliska was created by Emperor Constantine the Great, a thesis based on the Byzantine chronicler Kodin<sup>31</sup>.

In April 1924, a municipal commission proposed "to rename the village from Aboba to its old historical name as the old Bulgarian capital Pliska ... and moreover its population, except for a small part of Turks and Tatars, is now Bulgarian" and the village was renamed to Pliskov on March 26, 1925<sup>32</sup>. In the same year, a church "St. Tsar Boris" was erected in the settlement. The name of the village was updated to Pliska after 1947. According to the memories of a man from Pliska until 1944, every year on May 1 the teachers led pupils to a walk to the ruins for the Flowers Day<sup>33</sup>.

The excavations in Pliska were renewed in 1930 by Krastyo Miatev and continued until 1937, the funding being provided by Bulgarian Antiquity Association in Shumen<sup>34</sup>. A museum was built near the ruins in 1937<sup>35</sup>. In the interwar period Pliska was usually referred to as the first capital of the Bulgarian Khans and Tsars<sup>36</sup>. In Ivan Velkov's paper from 1948, dedicated to Pliska, the definition of the „capital of the Bulgarian Khans”, presented in the first issue of 1930, was missing<sup>37</sup>.

After World War II, the Archeological Museum in Sofia with the support of "Bulgarian Antiquity" renewed the archaeological research of Pliska<sup>38</sup>. During the socialist rule the mosque in the village was destroyed and a kindergarten and a bakery were built in its place<sup>39</sup>. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was thought that the first

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> В. Аврамов, *Юбилеен сборник Плиска – Преслав*, ч. III, София, 1929, p. 59.

<sup>32</sup> State Archive – Shumen, Fund 30 K, inventory 1, item № 15, p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Х. Маринчев, *Памет за два рода: Маринчеви от Плиска; Боневи от Църквица*, София, 2005, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> И. Велков, *Плиска: водач за старините*, второ допълнено и преработено издание, София, 1948, p. 6–7.

<sup>35</sup> В. Антонова, *Плиска. Водач за археологическите обекти и музея*, София, 1963, p. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Б. Асенов, *Нови пазар: Културно исторически очерк*, София, 1929, p. 6; И. Велков, *Плиска, столицата на българските ханове: водач за старините*, Шумен, 1930.

<sup>37</sup> И. Велков, *Плиска: водач за старините*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Х. Маринчев, *Попътни отломки*, p. 11–12.

capital had been built on the site of an old Slavic settlement<sup>40</sup>. In the Pliska Guide from 1963 it is defined as the capital of the “Slav-Bulgarian state”, which was founded on the site of an older Slavic settlement<sup>41</sup>. The class-party approach, characteristic of the epoch, was also applied to the methodology of archaeological research. The Guide stressed that while until 1944 the representative buildings were explored, then “after 9<sup>th</sup> September 1944 began the archaeological research with the main purpose of specifying where and how the large mass of the productive Slav-Bulgarian population lived, of exploring its lifestyle, social situation, material and spiritual culture, construction, funeral customs, etc.”<sup>42</sup>. The publication also noted that “with the conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks, the ruins of the first Bulgarian capital were barbarically plundered”, and mosques, tekkes, houses, the Kaspichan-Russe railway line<sup>43</sup> were built with its stones. In the Pliska Guide from 1977, the thesis that the capital Pliska was built on the site of an old Slavic settlement was once again popularized<sup>44</sup>. It is also emphasized that while until 1944 the research was focused on the life of the feudal establishment, after that it concentrated on the lives of the ordinary population<sup>45</sup>.

In the 60-s and 70-s the area was commodified, as a hotel and a restaurant were built for the tourists in the village of Pliska<sup>46</sup>. Old Pliska became part of the 100 national tourist sites in Bulgaria and was declared a monument of culture of national importance in 1970<sup>47</sup>. By ministerial decree, the old city has been declared a National Historical and Archaeological Reserve<sup>48</sup>. Intensive excavations started in that period. The name of the first capital was also used to name business enterprises. Thus, a factory for wagons named “Pliska”<sup>49</sup> was created in the neighboring town of Novi Pazar in 1973. The museum’s exposition in the archaeological reserve was renewed in 1975<sup>50</sup>.

Local inhabitants thematize the concept of the continuity between old and modern Pliska. In 1970s, an amateur historian published his idea that during the conquest of the Bulgarian lands in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Pliska was captured by the Turks and the city was destroyed with the presumption that Bulgarians would not remember their past<sup>51</sup>. According to the same author, the population of Pliska did not leave “*the lands of its glorious ancestors*”, and founded a new settlement nearby, Aboba, in which Turks settled and with whom the Bulgarians were in a

<sup>40</sup> В. Маринов, *Плисковско (Абобско) поле*, р. 35. This was not confirmed by further research.

<sup>41</sup> В. Антонова, *Плиска. Водач за археологическите обекти и музея*, р. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 30–31.

<sup>44</sup> В. Антонова, *Плиска: Пътеводител*, София, 1977, р. 3.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 8.

<sup>46</sup> С. Станчев, *Мадара, Плиска и Преслав*, София, 1966, р. 22.

<sup>47</sup> <http://niar-pliska.cqlo.info/>

<sup>48</sup> В. Антонова, *Плиска: Пътеводител*, р. 7.

<sup>49</sup> Г. Гроздев, Г. Златков, *Нови пазар*, р. 390.

<sup>50</sup> В. Антонова, *Плиска: Пътеводител*, р. 8.

<sup>51</sup> Т. Минев, *Плиска*, София, 1970, р. 46.

“constant struggle”<sup>52</sup>. It also said that the inhabitants of Pliska tell legends about the heroic times of old Pliska which they know “*from their ancestors*”<sup>53</sup>. The thesis of continuity in the memory is reflected also in poems of Pliska-born authors<sup>54</sup>. In his poetry collection “Legends about Pliska”, an author expressed his pride in being one of the “men from Pliska – a descendant of the creators of our statehood and culture, of the Slavonic script”<sup>55</sup>.

The patriotic mood of people born in modern Pliska was given a strong impulse during the celebrations of the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state. In its honor, in the 1980, people from Pliska organized a meeting in “Pliska” Hotel in Sofia<sup>56</sup>. In the 1980 national competition for the best developed village, Pliska won third place and a cash prize<sup>57</sup>. On the occasion of the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, in the jubilee year of 1981 the village was declared a town<sup>58</sup>. During the celebrations in 1981 Pliska was visited by the members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the center of Pliska was reconstructed and a big square was formed. The streets were named after Bulgarian Khans (“Han Tervel”, “Han Omurtag”), while the square was named “Tsar Simeon”.

Pliska took an active part in a number of initiatives at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A small family hotel “The Khans” was built in the center of Pliska and the agricultural cooperative was named after the founder of the Bulgarian state “Khan Asparuh”. A NGO “Pliska 2002” was set up with the goal of restoring the Grand Basilica near the old capital. A statue of Knyaz Boris the Converter was erected in the center of Pliska on May 2, 2007, after a national donation campaign started 2004. The official opening was attended by the President G. Parvanov, and the event was broadcasted directly on TV. The president also initiated a campaign to clean up a number of archaeological sites, including Old Pliska, with the aim of their socialization, by the participation of students.

In 2006, a new museum with a new exposition opened in the archaeological reserve. The response of its visitors can be read in the museum’s book of impressions: “*a very positive and energetic place*”, “*a sacred and wonderful place*”, “*an incredible place where one really touches the Great Bulgarians!*”, “*the history is the most valuable thing we have*”, “*to be proud that you are a Bulgarian, that you are a Christian. That you are of this great tribe*”, “*we are proud to be the descendants of such a glorious kin*”, “*to keep the Bulgarianness!*”, “*Pliska is a holy*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 50.

<sup>54</sup> X. Маринчев, *Памет за два рода*, p.16-17; P. Рачев, *Легенди за Плиска*, Шумен, 2001, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> P. Рачев, *Легенди за Плиска*, p. 78.

<sup>56</sup> X. Маринчев, *Памет за два рода*, p. 77.

<sup>57</sup> “Shoumenska Zarya” newspaper, September 22, 1981. Petko Tsankov’s text “Pliska village in preparation for the anniversary”.

<sup>58</sup> H. Мичев, П. Коледаров, *Речник на селищата и селищните имена в България 1878–1987*, София, 1989, p. 214.

*place also for the Macedonian Bulgarians*” (dating from 2014). The inhabitants of the town Pliska also express their pride that their settlement is close to such a remarkable place: “*I am proud to say that I am from Pliska. I was very keen to come here because Pliska is a big name*”<sup>59</sup>.

On the occasion of 1100 years from the death of Boris I in 2007, the former Bulgarian Tsar Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha donated an icon to the museum in Pliska. In 2008, the Archaeological Reserve received funding within the framework of the project “Restoration and Socialization of NIAR Pliska”, funded by the Operational Program „Regional Development”. Since several years, Pliska has had its own symbols – a flag, a blazonry and a badge, which included the symbolism of the famous Rosetta from Pliska and the inscription “Here will be Bulgaria,” an expression attributed to Khan Asparuh, the founder of the Bulgarian state.

Since 2012 a festival called “Days of the Ancestors” has been held in the first Bulgarian capital. The festival is organized by reenactment’s groups, the municipality, the museum and is under the patronage of the Vice President<sup>60</sup>. In 2014, on the “Days of the Ancestors”<sup>61</sup>, reenactments of the Bulgarian medieval past show associations and clubs for historical restorations “Avitohol” from Varna, “Krum Strashni” from Shumen, Patriotic Club “Vazrazhdane” from Targovishte, “Chigot” from Varna, “Tradition” from Tarnovo, reconstructors from Dobrich and Sofia, horse clubs, craftsmen. The greatest interest for the visitors are the demonstrations of riding skills and medieval crafts. Several of the reconstructors have shaved heads and “Proto-Bulgarian” tails on their heads. In the years to follow, the “Days of Ancestors” festival included also foreign reenactment’s clubs<sup>62</sup>.

In addition to the “The Days of Ancestors”, since 2012 an annual meeting of clubs for historical restorations, reconstructors and craftsmen of ancient crafts has been organized each October in the Pliska Archaeological Reserve. In workshops and lectures the participants discuss topics on the medieval culture and technologies<sup>63</sup>.

A “Proto-Bulgarian yurt” was placed in the reserve in Pliska in June 2013<sup>64</sup> and it is still put up there during the summer months as an attraction for the tourists. In the tent there are mannequins of a man and a woman in “Proto-Bulgarian” clothing with vessels and fabrics.

In the 1990s the tradition of organizing a Fest of the town of Pliska was restored – a *sabor* on the day of St. Tsar Boris, celebrated in the past on May 15 according to the old style<sup>65</sup>, and on May 1-2 in the last years. The president, the MPs, the Patriarch came to the fest of Pliska in 2014. On that day children are baptized in the Grand Basilica every year and a fair is organized in the

<sup>59</sup> Interview with a 60 years old woman, living in Pliska, 2014.

<sup>60</sup> <http://topnovini.bg/node/53834>, accessed 25.08.2014.

<sup>61</sup> Personal observation of the festival on 7 June 2014.

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.avitohol.org/en/Дни-на-предците-Плиска-2015>, accessed 18.11.2015.

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.avitohol.org/en/Корените-Български-Плиска-2015>, accessed 17.12.2015.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with the guardian of the tent, August 2013.

<sup>65</sup> During the time of socialism this *sabor* was canceled by a decision of the party committee. Interview with a man from Pliska, 2014.



archeological reserve<sup>66</sup>. On May 1, 2015, BTV News reported about 11 children baptized in the Grand Basilica of Pliska by priests from Kaspichan, Varna and Novi Pazar. On May 2, 2015, on the occasion of the 1150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Bulgarians' conversion to Christianity, President Rosen Plevneliev attended a solemn liturgy, served by Patriarch Neophyt in the Grand Basilica of the National Historical and Archeological Reserve Pliska<sup>67</sup>. The 1150<sup>th</sup> anniversary was celebrated by a savor, to which Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and the Prime Minister Boyko Borisov were invited. The Patriarch awarded the Prime Minister with the highest ecclesiastical medal "Holy Tsar Boris-Mihail"<sup>68</sup>.

The Prime Minister Borisov announced that, after a decision of the Council of Ministers, the state granted BGN 500,000 Leva for "restoration work" in Pliska, and said: "I regret that for Pliska for so many years in general something butaphoricis being done. I will now give them a target subsidy. All will be beautiful, and now I will make it so that when the Bulgarians come here, when the students come, they can see through the centuries what events took place here 1150 years ago"<sup>69</sup>.

In 2015 a hotel complex "Old Pliska"<sup>70</sup> was opened in the town of Pliska with an adjoining Yard of the Cyrillic alphabet, representing a park with models of the Cyrillic alphabet, a big cross, statues of Cyril and Methodius, Boris I, a chapel "Boris I the Baptist" and an art gallery dedicated to the Baptism of Bulgarians and the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet<sup>71</sup>. The chapel was sanctified on April 25, 2015 by the Varna-Preslav Metropolitan. The owner of the complex is the Armenian Karen Aleksanian who settled in Shumen<sup>72</sup>. The Cyrillic letters in the complex were made in Armenia, each of which is 2 m high. In an interview with the media, K. Aleksanian stressed that when he came to Pliska for the first time, he felt „some magical effect". He was inspired by the Cyrillic alphabet, which is the alphabet with "the most martyrial historical destiny," and wished to revive the place of its creation. The complex is devoted to the memory of his mother, who was a lecturer in Slavic literature<sup>73</sup>.

As a result of the granted funding in the summer of 2015, an archaeological study and conservation of the Grand Basilica were carried out. In the course of archaeological excavations of the Grand Basilica, in July 2015, water appeared by

<sup>66</sup> <http://shumen.topnovini.bg/node/510822>, accessed 21.03.2016.

<sup>67</sup> <http://www.vesti.bg/bulgaria/obshtestvo/plevneliev-reshenieto-na-sinoda-riskuva-razdelenie-6035496>, accessed 2.05.2015.

<sup>68</sup> [http://dariknews.bg/view\\_article.php?article\\_id=1426883](http://dariknews.bg/view_article.php?article_id=1426883), accessed 2.05.2015.

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.vesti.bg/bulgaria/obshtestvo/plevneliev-reshenieto-na-sinoda-riskuva-razdelenie-6035496>, accessed 2.05.2015.

<sup>70</sup> <http://starapliska.bg/>

<sup>71</sup> <http://xn--80aaafj0aaapmrl0ae8a3d.bg/%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81/>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>72</sup> <http://xn--80aaafj0aaapmrl0ae8a3d.bg/%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81/>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>73</sup> <http://xn--80aaafj0aaapmrl0ae8a3d.bg/%D0%B7%D0%B0-%D0%BD%D0%B0%D1%81/>, accessed 26.02.2016.

the clearing of a mediaeval well. It was suggested that the well dated back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century and that in the 9<sup>th</sup> century there was killed the first Bulgarian Christian martyr Boyan-Enravota, son of Khan Omurtag, and afterwards a chapel was built around his tomb. According to the Director of the National Museum of History, Bozhidar Dimitrov, the holy water was revered by the Bulgarians until the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the well was filled up by the Turkish authorities. The director of the National Museum once again took the role of mythmaker, telling the media that the spring of that holy water was according to “the ancient belief” and a good omen for “*our country and the people*”<sup>74</sup>. According to the publication of the “Standard” newspaper, “the ancient facility” was sacred for Thracians and Bulgarians, and the water was defined as “living”. The National historical museum raised an initiative for the restoration of the Grand Basilica, which found financial support from the state authorities and the business chambers<sup>75</sup>.

Bozhidar Dimitrov announced his intention to sprinkle the Prime Minister Boyko Borisov with the “miraculous water for health and success” during his visit in the region on occasion of the opening of the Belokopitovo road junction to the Hemus motorway<sup>76</sup>. According to Dimitrov, the Bulgarian seer Vanga predicted that Bulgaria would recover when the Grand Basilica will be rebuilt and the water of the well will run once again<sup>77</sup>. On August 3<sup>rd</sup>, the prime minister and other ministers visited the Grand Basilica and were sprinkled for health with water from the well by the director of the National Museum. On August 11<sup>th</sup>, the newspaper “Trud” published information that the water from the well is contaminated with nitrates twice above the norm. The survey of the water was conducted by the Regional Health Inspection in Shumen at the request of an individual. According to the head of the excavations, Pavel Georgiev, the Church should decide on the sanctity of the holy spring<sup>78</sup>.

The idea to bring the “living water from the Holy Well” in Pliska to the homes of 10,000 Bulgarians was launched in the media by B. Dimitrov. The campaign was to be carried out with the support of “Standard” newspaper and “Refan”, as a kind of gift for August 15, the day of the Holy Mother of God. Bottles with water, Pliska’s card and the story of the holy water had to be obtained when buying the newspaper “Standard” at its usual price<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> К. Събчев, “Бликна свещеният извор на Плиска”, *Стандарт*, 25 July 2015.

[http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/blikna\\_sveshteniyat\\_izvor\\_na\\_pliska-294019.html](http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/blikna_sveshteniyat_izvor_na_pliska-294019.html), accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>75</sup> [http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/blikna\\_sveshteniyat\\_izvor\\_na\\_pliska-294019.html](http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/blikna_sveshteniyat_izvor_na_pliska-294019.html), accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>76</sup> “Археолози ще окъпят премиера с „чудотворна вода” в Плиска”.

<http://www.mediapool.bg/arheoloji-shte-okapyat-premiera-s-chudotvorna-voda-v-pliska-news237088.html>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.trud.bg/Article.asp?ArticleId=4889859>, <http://www.trud.bg/Article.asp?ArticleId=4916515>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.trud.bg/Article.asp?ArticleId=4916515>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>79</sup> [http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/zhiva\\_voda\\_ot\\_pliska\\_za\\_golyama\\_bogoroditsa-295517.html](http://www.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/zhiva_voda_ot_pliska_za_golyama_bogoroditsa-295517.html), accessed 26.02.2016.

After the publications in the media that the water from the Pliska well has increased nitrate values, the Ministry of Health ordered its analysis. Bozhidar Dimitrov told the media that none of the ministers had drunk from it, but only had been sprinkled. The director of the Regional Museum of History in Shumen reported that every day many people wanted to fill bottles with water from the well and that if one had to get a concession for the water it should be the museum in Shumen<sup>80</sup>. For those wishing to get the water, archaeologists filled up several cans with water every morning, from which the people could pour<sup>81</sup> for themselves.

B. Dimitrov responded to the criticism with the story that the water in Pliska was declared sacred in the time of Boris I, who was probably baptized with her, and urged the prime minister not to allow the health minister to study the water while the site was being researched archeologically. He added that he had sprinkled the prime minister for health because this was an “ancient Bulgarian custom”<sup>82</sup>. However, the prime minister forbade the usage of the water for commercial purposes.

In 2015, Bozhidar Dimitrov announced another idea – the stones from abandoned stations from the first Rousse-Varna railway could be used to restore the Grand Basilica because they were taken from Pliska’s ruins during the construction of the railway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Director of the National historical museum received the consent of the minister of transport. The media also reported that the mayor of Hitrino had already donated such stones for Pliska, which were owned by the municipality<sup>83</sup>.

In the summer of 2016, the excavations of the Grand Basilica’s holy spring continued, revealing a water supply facility. The announcement of the discovery was again interpreted as a prerequisite for the development of the historical and religious tourism in the Grand Basilica, defined as the “mother of all Bulgarian churches since the dawn of Christianization of the Bulgarians and the center of the first Bulgarian monastery after the Baptism”<sup>84</sup>. The archaeological summer of 2016 brought other discoveries in the area of Pliska – the remains of a home and an oven from the late Bronze Age that the media presented in the perspective of continuity – “Pliska was a city 1000 BC”<sup>85</sup>.

The process of constructing ideas about the first Bulgarian capital depended on the political context and passed through various stages in the last century. The first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are a time of affirmation of the thesis that the ruins near the Turkish village of Aboba are from the first Bulgarian capital Pliska. The

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.mediapool.bg/zdravnite-vlasti-analizirat-chudotvornata-voda-ot-pliska-news237839.html>, accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>81</sup> <http://www.monitor.bg/a/view/77870>, accessed 19.12.2105.

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.dnesplus.bg/News.aspx?n=727343>, accessed 5.01.2019.

<sup>83</sup> [http://novinar.bg/news/dariavat-kamani-ot-zhp-gari-za-bazilikata-v-pliska\\_NTI1Mjs1Nw==.html](http://novinar.bg/news/dariavat-kamani-ot-zhp-gari-za-bazilikata-v-pliska_NTI1Mjs1Nw==.html), accessed 26.02.2016.

<sup>84</sup> <http://www.vesti.bg/bulgaria/obshtestvo/arheoloji-napraviha-novo-otkritie-v-pliska-6057549>, accessed 15.08.2016.

<sup>85</sup> <http://www.bgnow.eu/news.php?cat=2&cp=0&newsid=76520>, accessed 30.09.2016.

archaeological research began, and was continued in the interwar period – a time characterized by an emphasis on the Proto-Bulgarian component of the Bulgarian nationality and on Pliska as the “capital of the Bulgarian khans”. This was also the time of a complete ethno-demographic transformation of Aboba, which became the Bulgarian village Pliska. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the new dominant communist ideology and the Pro-Soviet orientation of the country changed the official story of Pliska, highlighting its supposed Slavic origin, and the research focused on the life of the ordinary population of the old town.

In the context of the celebrations of the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, big excavations of the first capital were carried out, and the center of modern Pliska, which was declared a town, was reconstructed. While in the national narrative Pliska is mainly associated with the formation of the Bulgarian state, on a local level, the initiatives and the shaping of public spaces in the last decade have been focusing on Knyaz Boris I and the adoption of Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet. So the founder of the state, Khan Asparuh, and the pagan period, in which Pliska was in fact the capital, remain in the background. This rearrangement of the accents is probably related to the ethno-demographic composition of the area where many Muslims (Turks, Tatars and Roma) live. For the Bulgarians in contemporary Pliska, it is important to highlight the ancient Christian past of the Old Pliska. On the national level, such considerations have led to the initiative of rebuilding the Grand Basilica. It reflects the trend of rebuilding a number of historical sites, motivated both by a desire to develop cultural and religious tourism and by increased nationalist tendencies.

QUELQUES CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LES PEINES ASSOCIÉES  
À L'UNIVERS DES LIVRES  
DANS LES PRINCIPAUTÉS DANUBIENNES ET DANS L'EMPIRE  
OTTOMAN (MILIEU DU XIX<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE)\*

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In the Danubian Principalities (1832–1849) and the Ottoman Empire (from 1857), the legislation mentions various sanctions endured by those who did not follow the rules on the circulation of the books (publishers, booksellers, readers). Towards the mid-nineteenth century, sanctions on the unlawful circulation of books coming from abroad or printed in their own countries have started to be enforced. This way, authorities wanted to reduce the influence that books could have on a new generation of young intellectuals willing to change the existing social and political foundations.

**Keywords:** punishments, knowledge, Danubian Principalities, Ottoman Empire, printed books.

Partout en Europe, la circulation du livre laïc a déterminé l'apparition de législations spécifiques, ayant pour but la réglementation de son statut (depuis le manuscrit jusqu'à la forme imprimée). Les mouvements révolutionnaires de la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle contribuèrent à consolider ces législations. Le rôle des réglementations portant sur le statut de l'imprimé fut de contrôler la diffusion et la réception d'idées susceptibles de transformer les mentalités des sociétés.

Notre étude se propose une analyse du phénomène du contrôle du livre dans les Principautés Danubiennes et dans l'Empire ottoman dans les premières décennies après l'adoption de la législation censoriale. Des réglementations modernes dans ce domaine apparaissent avec un certain décalage temporel<sup>1</sup> dans les deux espaces géographiques, mais le but en est essentiellement le même : contrôler la production et la diffusion du savoir par l'intermédiaire des textes imprimés ou manuscrits.

\* Une partie de ce sujet a été développée lors d'un colloque international organisé en octobre 2018 (Craiova): "11<sup>th</sup> International Conference *State and Society in Europe*" (*Perspectives on the Sanctions System Concerning the Books in the South-East of Europe: The Second Half of the 19th Century / Perspective privind sistemul de sancțiuni asociat circulației cărții în Sud-Estul Europei: a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*).

<sup>1</sup> C'est la raison pour laquelle le repère chronologique du titre a été choisi de manière générique comme étant le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. En fait, l'adoption des premières réglementations modernes concernant le contrôle du livre eut lieu en 1832 et 1833 dans les Principautés danubiennes, et en 1857 dans l'Empire ottoman.

Dans cette perspective, le système des sanctions liées à la circulation du livre eut des traits spécifiques d'un État ou de l'autre.

En général, l'intervention des autorités dans tout ce qui a trait au statut de l'imprimé fut une réaction d'adaptation aux nouvelles réalités créées par celui-ci, dans le but de sauvegarder l'ordre existant. C'est pourquoi nous présenterons dans cet article quelques-unes des mesures punitives qui se sont diversifiées, en fonction de la gravité des délits ou selon les pratiques sociales et culturelles des Principautés danubiennes et de l'Empire ottoman. Précisons d'emblée que notre démarche constitue une analyse historique et culturelle du phénomène, ayant pour principales sources de référence les législations élaborées vers la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Au fil du temps, le système des sanctions liées à la circulation des textes et des idées aura revêtu des formes des plus diverses : depuis la peine capitale ou corporelle (au moyen âge)<sup>2</sup>, jusqu'à des pénalités financières ou à des peines privatives de liberté ou à l'exil (à l'époque moderne). Parmi les nombreuses définitions de la peine, nous retiendrons celle formulée par Carrara, selon laquelle « la peine n'est qu'un échange de valeurs : c'est la monnaie dans laquelle on paie l'infraction »<sup>3</sup>.

### LES PRINCIPAUTÉS DANUBIENNES

Au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la préoccupation des autorités est d'endiguer ou de réduire l'influence que le livre pouvait exercer sur une nouvelle génération de jeunes intellectuels<sup>4</sup> disposés à changer les fondements sociaux et politiques existants. Ainsi, la législation élaborée dans les Principautés danubiennes pendant les années 1832-1849 contient des références graduelles concernant les sanctions encourues par ceux qui ne respectaient pas le régime de la circulation du livre (libraires, éditeurs, et, plus tard, lecteurs). C'est une évolution allant de vues générales (1832, 1833) à des prescriptions bien plus précises (1848, 1849), sur lesquelles les autorités reviendront pour les compléter.

Tant dans les Pays roumains que dans l'Empire ottoman, les sanctions visent le régime de la circulation du livre provenant de l'étranger ou imprimé sur leur propre territoire.

<sup>2</sup> En Europe occidentale, le supplice du bûcher ou les pratiques de l'Inquisition constituèrent des formes extrêmes de sanction de la transgression des normes concernant la circulation des livres ou des idées qui contrevenaient à la pensée de l'époque. La cruauté des peines de ce genre avait pour but de terrifier ou d'épouvanter non seulement le coupable, qui attendait sa fin dans le désespoir, mais aussi le groupe social appelé ou encouragé à assister au supplice.

<sup>3</sup> Voir Igor Ciobanu, Ana Negruța, « Evoluția pedepselor ca sancțiuni de drept penal », in *Revista Națională de Drept*, n° 7/2015, p. 14

([https://ibn.idsi.md/sites/default/files/imag\\_file/Evolutia%20pedepselor%20ca%20sanctiuni%20de%20drept%20penal.pdf](https://ibn.idsi.md/sites/default/files/imag_file/Evolutia%20pedepselor%20ca%20sanctiuni%20de%20drept%20penal.pdf)).

<sup>4</sup> Dans les Principautés danubiennes, la génération quarante-huitarde; dans l'Empire ottoman, les Jeunes-Turcs.

Les premiers décrets princiers concernant les conditions de la circulation du livre dans les Pays roumains prescrivent des sanctions pour la tentative d'introduire dans le pays des volumes qui n'auront pas été déclarés et examinés par les bureaux de la douane (les livres sont retournés à l'expéditeur, Moldavie, art. 7, 1832<sup>5</sup>), ou pour la tentative des libraires de faciliter l'introduction et la vente de livres non déclarés (retrait de l'autorisation et fermeture de l'établissement ; Moldavie, art. 8, 1832 ; Valachie, art. 15, 1833<sup>6</sup>). La saisie des livres était prescrite dans les cas où un livre avait été imprimé sans avoir au préalable obtenu une autorisation. Une telle peine était doublée du retrait du privilège accordé à l'imprimeur (Val., art. 7, 1832<sup>7</sup> ; art. 6, 1833).

On voit donc que les premières réglementations des années 1830 dans les Principautés danubiennes prescrivaient des sanctions visant des situations incompatibles avec la nouvelle législation, qui s'appliquaient aux libraires, aux commerçants, aux imprimeurs, aux éditeurs, mais pas aux lecteurs. La distinction entre libraires et propriétaires de livres est assez vague dans les premières interventions législatives modernes concernant le statut du livre manuscrit ou imprimé (Val., art. 11, 1833). À ce stade législatif, les sanctions visaient donc la possession de livres non déclarés, mais pas leur lecture. Peut-être parce que, pendant les premières années après l'adoption des Règlements, la censure comme pratique politique et culturelle était une réalité nouvelle pour la société valaque et moldave. « La morale publique » avait jusque-là fonctionné pendant de longues années comme une règle non écrite gouvernant les formes de lecture ou l'échange d'idées.

Les législations de 1848<sup>8</sup> et 1849<sup>9</sup> prescrivent, outre les sanctions administratives, des mesures pénales tant pour la Moldavie que pour la Valachie.

Le système de contrôle se diversifie à mesure qu'augmente la quantité de livres entrés ou produits dans le pays ; certains filtres de vérification deviennent nécessaires. L'actualisation de la législation, la responsabilisation des ressources humaines engagées dans ce mécanisme, le redimensionnement ou la diversification des mesures punitives furent les principales interventions des décideurs dans ce domaine.

Le premier filtre pour la vérification des livres entrés dans le pays était assuré par le corps des fonctionnaires représentés par les préfets, les commandants des frontières et les douaniers à qui incombait la « grave responsabilité » de ne pas permettre la circulation des imprimés sans les soumettre au contrôle fixé par la loi (Mold., ch. II, art. 5, 1848 ; Val., ch. II, art. 5, 1849). D'ailleurs, la responsabilité des douaniers est soulignée à plusieurs reprises dans la législation, tout manquement étant interprété comme « un acte criminel » (Mold., ch. V, art. 47 ; Val., ch. 5, art. 49 – « culpabilité criminelle »).

<sup>5</sup> *Albina Românească*, n° 6/29 janvier 1833, Jassy, p. 21–22.

<sup>6</sup> V.A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800 -1864*, tome I<sup>er</sup>, Bucarest, 1892, p. 246–247.

<sup>7</sup> Ion Colan, « Documente privitoare la Cenzură în Muntenia, 1832-1833 », in *Arhivele Olteniei*, n° 41/42, 1929, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române. Acte și documente*, tome V, 1904, Bucarest, p. 456–464.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, tome VI, 1910, p. 184–192.

Le second filtre était assuré par les libraires, le chaînon entre les fournisseurs de livres et les lecteurs. Dans leur cas, les avertissements évoquent une « grave responsabilité personnelle » ; le délit de mettre en circulation des imprimés non autorisés est puni par le retrait de l'autorisation et la fermeture de l'établissement (Mold., ch. I<sup>er</sup>, art. 2, 1848)<sup>10</sup>.

En lisant entre les lignes du décret princier de Moldavie (1848), on remarque une information suggérant l'existence d'un catalogue de livres étrangers acceptés, fourni par le Secrétariat d'État (Mold., ch. I<sup>er</sup>, art. 3, 1848). Dans les Principautés, le paiement anticipé était une pratique courante dans le commerce des imprimés. Par conséquent, les libraires devaient d'abord envoyer le catalogue des commandes reçues au Secrétariat d'État, qui le comparait avec la liste des livres classiques déjà connus et permis. Le contrôle des livres se faisait en comparant les listes, au moment où le propriétaire recevait son colis ; ne faisaient l'objet d'un examen plus approfondi que les imprimés qui semblaient « exiger une pareille mesure » (Mold., ch. I<sup>er</sup>, art. 3, 1848).

Si, lors des contrôles effectués dans les bureaux de la douane et, ultérieurement, au Secrétariat d'État, on identifiait dans les colis destinés à des particuliers des livres indésirables (ou non autorisés), les destinataires étaient obligés de les renvoyer à l'expéditeur à leurs propres frais (Mold., ch. III, art. 24, 1848 ; Val., ch. III, art. 24, 1849).

Les propriétaires d'imprimeries devaient se munir d'une autorisation spéciale de fonctionnement (une chrysobulle princière) délivrée par l'intermédiaire du Secrétariat d'État et conditionnée par la prestation d'un serment par lequel ils s'engageaient à respecter les obligations découlant de la pratique de ce métier. Tout propriétaire d'imprimerie ou de lithographie qui manquait à ses obligations devait être traité avec « toute la sévérité » (Mold., ch. IV, art. 28, 1848) ou « la dernière rigueur » des lois (Val., ch. IV, art. 28, 1849). S'il ne respectait pas les règles établies, l'imprimeur était « traduit en jugement criminel, pour recevoir sa peine, comme tout infracteur des lois concernant la morale et la paix de la société » (Val., ch. IV, art. 27, 1849).

Toute imprimerie non autorisée dépotée par les fonctionnaires ou par la police était détruite, et son propriétaire était arrêté (Mold., ch. IV, art. 29, 1848 ; Val., ch. IV, art. 29, 1849).

Les manuscrits dont le contenu ne respectait pas la méthodologie de rédaction prescrite par la législation (art. 1<sup>er</sup>) étaient détruits par la censure et ne pouvaient être imprimés (Mold., ch. IV, art. 32, 1848 ; Val., ch. IV, art. 33, 1849).

Le même sort était réservé à la presse venue de l'étranger (gazettes, journaux, périodiques), qui était détruite en partie ou en totalité si elle contenait des « expressions prohibées » (Mold., ch. V, art. 43, 1848 ; Val., ch. V, art. 45, 1849).

<sup>10</sup> Selon l'art. 1<sup>er</sup>, étaient interdits les imprimés (livres, cahiers, brochures, journaux) portant atteinte à la religion dominante, aux « fondements sur lesquels repos[ait] le bonheur commun », à l'ordre politique existant, au gouvernement, aux lois, à d'autres religions, à la morale, aux fonctionnaires de l'État, ainsi que ceux qui incitaient à la révolte par l'intermédiaire de « doctrines subversives ».



Des peines de prison étaient prescrites dans le cas du fonctionnement d'une imprimerie (typographie ou lithographie) sans autorisation, de la diffusion et de la lecture dans les cafés, les cabarets et d'autres endroits publics de livres, brochures, feuilles (imprimées ou manuscrites), gazettes ou journaux interdits (Mold., ch. V, art. 46, 1848 ; Val., ch. V, art. 48, 1849).

Dans certaines situations, les sanctions pouvaient être alternatives<sup>11</sup> ou cumulatives, selon l'état matériel du coupable ou selon la fréquence du délit. En Moldavie, l'amende pour la lecture de journaux interdits<sup>12</sup> variait, selon un document officiel de février 1849, de 50 ducats ou six mois de prison pour le premier délit, à 100 ducats et six mois ou un an de prison en cas de récidive<sup>13</sup>. Étaient visés tant les possesseurs (particuliers, librairies, cafés) et les lecteurs, que les intermédiaires (commerçants, etc.). Le cadre contextuel exigeant l'application de ces peines est évoqué par le paragraphe suivant :

« [...] et si l'on découvre soit à la périphérie, soit à l'intérieur du pays, dans les cafés, les librairies, ou arrivés sous forme de marchandise, ou chez les particuliers, des gazettes, journaux et autres périodiques, en quelque langue qu'ils soient écrits, qu'on les confisque et que ceux qui les auront apportés, tout comme ceux chez lesquels on les aura trouvés, subissent les peines suivantes [...] »<sup>14</sup>

C'est ainsi que, en 1844, sur ordre du prince de Moldavie Mihail Sturdza, Mihail Kogălniceanu écopa de six mois de prison (22 juillet – 9 décembre) au monastère de Râșca, à la suite d'une dispute apparue autour de la revue *Propășirea*<sup>15</sup>. Le mot qui déclencha la réaction des autorités fut le titre même de la revue (« le Progrès »), considéré comme porteur d'une connotation révolutionnaire.

En Valachie, un exemple célèbre est celui de l'attitude de C. D. Aricescu par rapport aux décideurs politiques de l'époque et au système censorial. L'un des premiers conflits fut occasionné par la visite à Câmpulung du prince Gheorghe Bibescu et de sa femme (automne 1846). La municipalité de la ville avait chargé C.D. Aricescu de composer un discours ou une ode adaptés au moment. Il s'agissait aussi d'une réparation morale, étant donné qu'Aricescu avait antérieurement publié des vers portant atteinte au prince régnant, ce qui lui avait valu de tomber en disgrâce. La rencontre n'eut toutefois pas l'effet escompté (notamment pour le *serdar* Dimitrie Aricescu, père du poète local) : les vers

<sup>11</sup> C'est ce que prescrit aussi la législation ottomane. Voir la loi sur la presse de 1865.

<sup>12</sup> Voir la liste des « journaux permis » dans *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române...*, tome VI, p. 131–132. La liste inclut des titres de publications de France, d'Autriche, de Grèce et de Valachie. Pour ces deux derniers pays, un seul titre apparaît, à savoir le journal officiel. Les gazettes adressées aux consulats jouissaient d'un statut privilégié. Par contre, on interdisait formellement « les gazettes de la Bucovine et de la Transylvanie, ainsi que tout autre imprimé à caractère politique, d'autant que certains paraissent dans la langue nationale ». Étaient exonérés « de toute interdiction ou limitation » toutes les gazettes ou journaux imprimés en Russie et en Turquie.

<sup>13</sup> Pour plus de détails, voir *ibidem*, p. 132, 140.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 132.

<sup>15</sup> Ștefan Cazimir, *Alfabetul de tranziție*, Bucarest, 1986, p. 68.

ressemblaient moins à une ode qu'à une satire, et, en plus, ils avaient été écrits en alphabet latin, ce qui contrevenait aux normes officielles !<sup>16</sup>

Le 30 septembre 1849, C.D. Aricescu fut arrêté à Bucarest à cause d'une poésie qui avait circulé en manuscrit (« Malédiction de la Roumanie contre ses oppresseurs »), et sa maison paternelle de Câmpulung fit l'objet de fouilles minutieuses<sup>17</sup>. Aricescu passa un an enfermé au monastère de Snagov.

Ces évocations ont pour but de rendre, ne serait-ce qu'en partie, l'image du système punitif associé à la production et à la circulation des textes (imprimés ou manuscrits) dans les Principautés danubiennes au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elles reconstituent d'une part les préoccupations des autorités concernant la circulation des personnes et implicitement des idées, et, d'autre part, l'attitude de représentants des élites intellectuelles face aux rigueurs de l'époque.

En conclusion, les sanctions législatives appliquées le plus souvent dans les Principautés danubiennes à la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle furent : le retrait des autorisations de fonctionnement (pour les libraires, les imprimeurs, les directeurs de théâtres), la fermeture des établissements (librairies, imprimeries, lithographies, théâtres), le renvoi à l'étranger des livres prohibés, la destruction des manuscrits ou de la presse étrangère contrevenant aux normes, l'amende et la prison.

## L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN

Dans l'Empire ottoman, les premières réglementations modernes concernant la production et la circulation du livre apparaissent vers la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et se diversifient progressivement pendant les décennies suivantes. Tout comme dans les Principautés danubiennes, elles prennent de la consistance à mesure que les pratiques associées à l'univers du livre se multiplient et font s'accroître le sentiment de vulnérabilité des autorités face à l'impact que l'imprimé en général peut avoir sur la mentalité des individus. L'élaboration des premières réglementations officielles pendant les Tanzimats fut une tentative des gouvernants pour réduire, voire annuler l'impact que les idées occidentales pouvaient avoir sur la stabilité du monde ottoman.

Les réglementations élaborées par la Porte à la moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle prescrivait, en cas de manquement aux normes en vigueur, des sanctions allant de la fermeture provisoire de l'imprimerie et l'infliction d'une amende aux éditeurs ou aux entrepreneurs coupables, jusqu'à des peines privatives de liberté, selon la gravité du délit<sup>18</sup>. Les délits punis étaient liés à la mise en circulation de toute forme d'imprimé (livre, journal ou autres) sans l'autorisation du gouvernement

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> Voir « Droit pénal. Code pénal ottoman », Ch. XIII (« Imprimeries établies sans autorisation. Publications d'écrits nuisibles... »), art. 137–139, in Grégoire Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane ou Recueil des lois, règlements, ordonnances, traités, capitulations et autres documents officiels de l'Empire Ottoman*, deuxième partie, Constantinople, 1874, p. 242.

impérial (art. 137). Des peines étaient également infligées à tous ceux qui, tout en ayant une autorisation, auraient diffusé des écrits préjudiciables aux intérêts de l'Empire ottoman, aux autorités publiques ou contre une nation sujette de Sa Majesté Impériale (art. 138). S'y ajoutaient les pamphlets imprimés, en prose ou en vers, portant atteinte aux bonnes mœurs, ainsi que les figures ou images à caractère obscène (art. 139).

Ces trois articles du Code pénal ottoman constitueront le fondement auquel se référeront les législations ultérieures en matière de sanctions appliquées à ceux qui transgressaient les normes de fonctionnement de l'imprimerie ou celles concernant la circulation et le contenu de l'imprimé.

La législation du 6 janvier 1857 (*Règlement concernant les imprimeries*, en 9 articles<sup>19</sup>) précise dans son dernier article que tous ceux qui contreviendraient aux nouvelles dispositions auront leurs imprimeries fermées par la police (sur ordre des gouverneurs-généraux) et seront passibles des peines édictées par le Code pénal ottoman.

La loi sur la presse de 1865<sup>20</sup> introduit des conditions et des prescriptions bien plus précises quant au parcours administratif à suivre pour obtenir l'autorisation d'imprimer un journal : le sujet ottoman devait être âgé de 30 ans accomplis (art. 3), n'avoir subi aucune condamnation pour des crimes ou délits prévus par le Code pénal, et jouir de la plénitude de ses droits civils. Les autorisations pouvaient être également accordées à des étrangers, à la condition expresse que ceux-ci soient assimilés aux sujets ottomans en tout ce qui concernait les charges et obligations découlant de la loi. Cette précision conférait aux autorités le droit de sanctionner une éventuelle contravention ou un délit de presse conformément à la juridiction des tribunaux ottomans. Outre les dispositions générales (art. 1 à 9), la nouvelle législation contenait des dispositions pénales (art. 10 à 35) qui prescrivait des sanctions comme l'amende (les sommes variaient en fonction des délits), la suspension ou la suppression du journal ou du périodique, ou la prison. L'emprisonnement était une mesure détaillée selon la gravité du délit : d'une semaine à trois mois (ou d'une amende de 25 livres) pour outrage à la morale publique et aux bonnes mœurs ou à l'une des religions ou l'un des cultes professés dans l'Empire (art. 14), de six mois à trois ans (ou d'une amende de 25 à 150 livres) pour offense envers le sultan ou la famille impériale (art. 15), d'un mois à un an (ou d'une amende de 5 à 50 livres) pour offense envers les ministres de Sa Majesté ou les chefs des gouvernements vassaux de la Sublime Porte (art. 16), de trois mois à trois ans (ou d'une amende de 15 à 100 livres) pour offense envers les chefs des gouvernements amis et alliés de la Sublime Porte (art. 17), etc. La diffamation était un autre délit puni de l'emprisonnement ou de l'amende, en fonction de l'importance des personnes<sup>21</sup> ou des institutions<sup>22</sup> visées.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, troisième partie, 1874, p. 318–319.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 320–325.

<sup>21</sup> Représentants de l'autorité publique, ambassadeurs, ministres plénipotentiaires, envoyés, chargés d'affaires ou autres agents accrédités auprès de la Porte, ou simples particuliers.

Des peines du même type, différenciées selon la gravité, sanctionnaient l'injure contre les officiels ou les particuliers, la publication ou la reproduction, avec mauvaise foi, de nouvelles fausses, ou de pièces fabriquées. La plupart de ces sanctions pénales étaient doublées de punitions administratives, à savoir par la suspension, ne pouvant excéder un mois, du journal ou du périodique (art. 27).

En cas de récidive, les sanctions juridiques et administratives déjà prononcées pouvaient être doublées (art. 33)<sup>23</sup>.

Selon une notification officielle élaborée afin d'empêcher la publication ou l'introduction dans l'Empire de publications nuisibles (livres, brochures), était passible de confiscation tout livre contenant sur sa couverture une autorisation fausse. Étaient confisqués aussi les textes à contenu nuisible (« littérature empoisonnée »), et leurs auteurs et éditeurs étaient passibles des sanctions édictées par la loi. En plus, les journaux ne pouvaient publier en feuilleton les œuvres qui n'avaient pas obtenu l'autorisation d'impression<sup>24</sup>.

À mesure que la législation ottomane portant sur le fonctionnement des imprimeries et la circulation du livre ou de la presse se diversifie pendant la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, on observe une multiplication des formes de contrôle et, implicitement, des sanctions infligées.

À part les prescriptions législatives, on rencontre d'autres façons de sanctionner les possesseurs de textes, en général étrangers, auxquelles recourent les représentants de la censure (cette « police de la pensée »<sup>25</sup>) : suppression des pages indésirables, confiscation<sup>26</sup>, tergiversation de la délivrance des autorisations d'impression, censure drastique des textes par diminution du nombre de pages approuvées. La situation devient carrément comique lorsque l'on vérifie et censure

<sup>22</sup> Cours, tribunaux.

<sup>23</sup> Un article additionnel à cette loi (1875) apporte des compléments quant au statut de l'imprimé sous forme de suppléments, que les propriétaires de journaux faisaient paraître de façon indépendante, en différentes langues. Selon cet article, les suppléments ne pouvaient contenir que des documents officiels (télégrammes, communications) donnant des nouvelles internationales très importantes. Toute contravention à ces dispositions, ainsi que la publication de nouvelles fausses ou l'emploi d'un langage inapproprié, entraînaient la suspension du journal pour un à trois mois, sans préjudice des autres peines prescrites par la loi sur la presse. « Article additionnel à la loi sur la presse », 10 Chaban 1292 (29 août – 10 septembre 1875), in Grégoire Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane ou Recueil des lois...*, cinquième partie, 1873–1888 (cf. [www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr)), p. 236.

*Notification Officielle pour empêcher la publication ou l'introduction dans l'Empire de livres, brochures ou écrits nuisibles* (p. 237-238). Dans sa version en français, ce document ne porte pas de date, mais il est suivi d'un autre daté du 8 Sefer 1293 (5 mars 1876), ce qui fait croire que les deux documents sont de la même période, in *Ibidem*.

<sup>25</sup> Formule utilisée dans un article (« La Censure ») publié dans *Pro Armenia*, n° 140, 1906, p. 955, en référence aux réalités censurales de l'Empire russe ([www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr)).

<sup>26</sup> Par exemple, une notice parue dans le journal *Pro Armenia* (n° 98, 1904, p. 615) signale une situation évoquant au lecteur d'aujourd'hui des réalités qui transcendent les cultures, les espaces ou le temps historique. À l'automne de 1904, à la douane de Constantinople, la censure ottomane saisit un paquet de traités de chimie destinés au programme scolaire d'un lycée. Le contenu de ce matériel didactique fut considéré comme séditieux à cause de la présence de la formule de l'eau, « H<sub>2</sub>O », qui aurait suggéré une attaque à l'adresse du Sultan : « Hamid II n'est pas important ».

les dictionnaires français dont commencent à disparaître, pour différentes raisons, des mots comme *Macédoine, Arménie, patrie, émir, croissant*, etc.<sup>27</sup> D'ailleurs, à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la censure ottomane disposait de listes officielles de livres à confisquer et de livres à censurer<sup>28</sup>. S'y ajoute une série de circulaires ministérielles contenant des dispositions qui augmentent le nombre des mots interdits (adjectifs, verbes, noms communs ou propres)<sup>29</sup>.

Les relations de voyageurs étrangers quant au contrôle douanier à la frontière avec la Turquie offrent une autre image de la manière dont les imprimés (quelles qu'en fussent la forme ou les dimensions) étaient vérifiés, censurés ou confisqués. On évoque par exemple un épisode qui eut lieu en 1894, dans un train arrêté pour un contrôle douanier à la frontière ottomane. Notre personnage, le comte Am. de Persignac, qui voyageait pour la première fois en Turquie, se retrouve dans une situation inattendue. Alors que le douanier turc chargé du contrôle des bagages s'excuse poliment du dérangement produit en pleine nuit, il aperçoit un livre que notre voyageur avait feuilleté dans la soirée. Il s'agissait d'un gros volume, de plus de 1900 pages, le *Dictionnaire de la vie pratique* de Bélèze<sup>30</sup>. En cachant son obligation professionnelle sous une curiosité typiquement orientale, le douanier ouvre le livre et arrache rapidement le feuillet qui parlait de la Turquie<sup>31</sup>.

Dans le même train et dans le même contexte, un commis-voyageur allemand a une rencontre hallucinante avec les rigueurs du système censorial ottoman. Ne parlent qu'allemand et faisant des efforts pour s'entendre avec un fonctionnaire qui ne parlait que turc, le commis-voyageur essaie de comprendre ce qui lui arrive et ce qu'on lui veut. Après un contrôle des bagages au bout duquel rien de suspect n'avait été trouvé, le regard du douanier tombe sur un panier à provisions où il aperçoit un bout de journal. Rageur, le douanier y plonge le bras et ramène un paquet enveloppé d'un lambeau de journal taché de graisse. Questionné sur le contenu du paquet, le voyageur répond en allemand presque instinctivement, ayant saisi le sens et les gestes associés à la question, qu'il s'agit un poulet. Le douanier ouvre rapidement le paquet, passe à l'Allemand le poulet rôti et se met à examiner le bout de papier. « Un journal ! », s'exclame le douanier, et continue : « Vous ne savez donc pas qu'il est défendu d'introduire des journaux en Turquie ? [...] C'est

<sup>27</sup> Comte Am. de Persignac, « Les Gaietés de la Censure en Turquie », *ibidem*, n° 160, 20 juin 1907, p. 1116.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> Les censeurs biffent des mots comme : *répandre, s'emporter, élire, écraser, se révolter, empirer, mêler, mélanger, pleurer, tomber, se battre, couper, gêner, pauvre, malade* (allusion à l'*Homme malade*), *jeune* (renvoyant à la *Jeune Turquie*), *ignorant, solidaire, national, ambassade, révolution, constitution*, etc., in *Ibidem*.

<sup>30</sup> *Le dictionnaire universel de la vie pratique à la ville et à la campagne contenant les notions d'une utilité générale et d'une application journalière et tous les renseignements usuels*, par G. Bélèze, (6<sup>e</sup> édition), Paris, 1882, 1872 p. + supplément 59 p. ([www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr)).

<sup>31</sup> Dans la 6<sup>e</sup> édition, il s'agit de la page 1789, où se retrouvent les mots *Turc, Turques, Turquie*. Aucune de ces références ne contient d'allusions dépréciatives à l'espace ou à la civilisation de l'Empire ottoman.

honteux ! [...] Vous ignorez donc ce n'est pas permis ? », reprend-il en pliant le bout de papier et en le mettant de côté pour l'emporter. Rien ne peut rendre, écrit Persignac, l'air effaré dont le commis-voyageur regagna son coupé, en pleine nuit, tenant d'une main le poulet par une patte, sa valise de l'autre<sup>32</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

L'échange de valeurs dont nous parlions au début de cette présentation (et que suppose la sanction) fut donc institué de façon unidirectionnelle et ne fonctionna que du point de vue des décideurs. Le système des sanctions associées à la circulation des livres fut en fait la conséquence d'un conflit des systèmes de valeurs : d'une part, le système référentiel du lecteur ou des autres personnages de l'univers du livre (libraires, éditeurs, auteurs) ; d'autre part, le système référentiel du pouvoir (autorités, législateurs, censeurs, douaniers).

En ce qui concerne l'espace ottoman, on peut distinguer une certaine typologie des mesures punitives : sanctions administratives (suspension des journaux ou de l'activité des imprimeries, fermeture des librairies ou des imprimeries, suspension des autorisations), sanctions pénales (amende, emprisonnement<sup>33</sup>) et pratiques censoriales d'un niveau de coercition proche de celui des mesures punitives administratives (confiscation des livres, censure ou suppression des pages indésirables, destruction publique de livres par le feu, listes de livres et d'auteurs interdits).

Ce ne sont là que quelques incursions dans les pratiques du système censorial des Principautés danubiennes et de l'Empire ottoman, qui semblent suggérer que l'histoire reste une source ou une ressource importante du présent de n'importe quelle époque de l'humanité. En fait, l'institution de règles (sous forme de normes et de procédures) eut, du moins en théorie, le rôle de diminuer les effets d'erreurs humaines aux conséquences nuisibles, dangereuses ou irrémédiables pour le destin individuel ou collectif des hommes. Les pratiques, les coutumes, les croyances, etc. ne semblent pas avoir changé au fil des époques ; seule l'évolution technologique fait croire que le passé, c'est quelque chose d'éloigné et ne peut pas se répéter.

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<sup>32</sup> « Les Gaietés de la Censure... », in *Pro Armenia*, n<sup>os</sup> 158/159, 1907, p. 1103.

<sup>33</sup> Ce type de sanction s'appliqua sous forme de contraintes graduelles : arrestation des coupables (réels ou supposés, certains étant victimes de dénonciations), interrogatoire avec utilisation de techniques très diverses (persuasion, correction, chantage, etc.), exil dans des contrées éloignées de l'Empire (Beyrouth, Tripoli, Yemen, etc.). Une fresque de la période hamidienne et des formes de censure appliquées pendant les années de l'ascension du mouvement des Jeunes-Turcs fut brossée dans la littérature turque – voir Halide Edib Adivar, *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936) trad. fr. *Rue de l'Épicerie aux Mouches* (1944), trad. roum. *Fiica măscăriciului* (1970).

## PRESENTATION OF “THE IDEAL” AND “THE OTHER” MODELS OF FAMILY FORMATION IN BULGARIAN FILMS OF THE 1970S

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Throughout the period of socialism the state undertakes a number of measures to control all aspects of the population’s life. The family, which at that time is looked upon as “a major cell of society”, is to shape the future generations in keeping with the ideology aspect to by the communist party. The family is kept under control ever since the start of its formation. A great number of regulations and restrictions are drawn concerning marriage contraction age, its form (e.g. “comsomol style” marriage) and the family’s reproductive function. The report highlights the depiction of those aspects of state policy in feature films from the “mature socialism” period.

**Keywords:** Bulgarian films, the 1970s, family formation, models.

The present paper is focused upon two film comedies from the period considered – *Two dioptries of farsightedness* (1976) and *One hundred tons of happiness* (1978). The director of both films is Petar Vassilev–Milevin. The scriptwriters are respectively the Mormarev brothers, for the former and, Miron Ivanov for the latter. *Two dioptries of farsightedness* stars Georgy Partsalev, for whom the part of the bride’s father was especially written,<sup>1</sup> along with other outstanding members of the cast, namely Sashka Bratanova as the bride and Dimo Panov as her grandfather. In *One hundred tons of happiness* Kiril Gospodinov, Todor Kolev, Ivan Yanchev and Dimo Panov perform as the “local factors” who have accomplished the construction of an imposing Wedding Couples’ Home where one hundred wedding couples are to contract their marriages<sup>2</sup>.

The title of the film *Two dioptries of farsightedness* comes from a remark of one of the main characters addressing his daughter: “Better take good care of yourself, girl. And mark my words. Why do you think that with the years one gets to be farsighted? Because one starts to see much farther ahead. With me, they detected two dioptries right away”<sup>3</sup>. The plot revolves around the main characters secret “comsomol style” wedding and their parents reaction to it. The university

<sup>1</sup> И. Котева. „Два диоптъра далекогледство”. *Средношколско знаме*, 1976, бр. 24, 16 март, р. 3

<sup>2</sup> А. Янакиев. *Енциклопедия на българското кино*. София, 2000 р. 354, р. 548

<sup>3</sup> Ч. Гешев. Против социалното късогледство. *Народна култура*, 1976, бр. 10, 16 март, р. 6

students Lily and Plamen get married through merely “signing at the municipality hall” while keeping their parents in the dark as they fear interference on their part. The response of Lily’s father and Plamen’s mother is particularly dramatic. The girl’s father believes that at 19 one is too young to start a family and one’s studies should come uppermost, scornfully referring to married girl students as “knitting baby booties while attending lectures”. Besides, the boy comes from the country and has no place to live in Sofia. To thwart his daughter’s future life together with her fiancé, mismatched in his opinion, the father is ready to go any lengths, his greatest trump card being to “crush him politically” by applying to his faculty comsomol secretary. Much to the father’s disappointment, however, the comsomol secretary turns out to be no other than his future son-in-law. In the long run, he redirects his efforts from preventing the marriage to organizing a wedding celebration in keeping with his views. To this purpose, he even invites to his home the wedding couple’s friends who suggest that it should be a “comsomol style” wedding. The father’s answer is that it will certainly be a “comsomol style” one and wants to be informed what that involves exactly. The reply that it is merely the wedding couple and their two witnesses who go to the municipality hall makes him indignant since he has already invited all their relatives and has bought seven kilograms of Prague ham. The newly weds then feel obliged to admit that they have already been married “the comsomol way” which results in a number of new moves on the father’s part. They include the purchase of a wedding dress, unsuccessful negotiations with an official to “perform” a formal marriage ceremony on the wedding day and a later talk with a lawyer to have them divorced for a week so that they would be able to remarry. The bridegroom’s mother, in her turn, disapproves of the bride’s family as she herself and her husband are dentists whereas the girl’s parents belong to the working class which she, being a representative of brain workers, views as lower-grade. In spite of all vicissitudes, at the end of the film, in a conversation with his father who reminds him that he too married without asking his father’s permission, the character embodied by Georgy Partsalev comes to the conclusion that what is most important is that the young ones should be happy and “the rest is all bunkum”. In the last shots the father and the newly weds are seen buying a pram.

According to press reviews, the film pictures the changes in young people’s lives in the period of “mature socialist society”. One of the most essential of those changes is the opportunity to build their relationship “not upon coarse material gain but “upon the pure emotions and noble impulses of love”. The purpose of the film is to ridicule philistine displays in the society of the period, finding expression in calculating considerations as to the choice of marriage partners<sup>4</sup>. Thus, an exponent of philistine mentality advises Lily to find a boy from Sofia “with everything

<sup>4</sup> М. Стоянов. СМЕХЪТ – СИГНАЛ ЗА УСПЕХ. *Народна младеж*, 1976, бр. 51, 28 февруари, р. 14; Ч. Гешев. Против социалното късогледство. *Народна култура*, р. 6



about him in the right place” and with a father “somebody to talk of”. The Narodna Mladezh newspaper, the acknowledged mouthpiece of DKMS<sup>5</sup> levels criticism at the film for insufficient condemnation of “philistinism” and scanty emphasis on a more solid and expressive portrayal of the comsomol members while the characters are powdered with “a rather great amount of daily concerns”.

In the film two types of weddings during the period dwelt upon are outlined and contrasted against each other – the comsomol-style wedding viewed as the ideal form of contracting a marriage in line with the authorities stipulations as against the other one, the philistine-style wedding with all the relatives present, the wedding couple wearing a special kind of clothes, abundant food provided, etc. The initiator of the second type of wedding is a working class member who married in his time without asking his parents’ permission and whose own wedding was also comsomol style in its essence. Now, already in the capacity of a parent, his values have changed. It has become a matter of major importance to him to effect the kind of wedding that he himself did not have. During the 1970s the authorities resorted to a number of measures to popularize the somewhat forgotten “comsomol style weddings” of the mid – 1940s and the early 1950s, having realized that this type of weddings had come to be rather the exception. It was enjoined on the comsomol committees, Fatherland Front and women’s councils to make efforts towards the eradication of “philistinism, commonplaceness and ugliness in wedding celebrations as contrary to communist world outlook and rituals”. That is why the faculty comsomol secretary in the film can only marry “the comsomol way” and overcome through plenty of tactfulness, skilfulness and good will, the views of his bride’s father. On the other hand, the emergence of the pram in the final shots reconciles the personal-level contradictions among the characters along with suggesting the birth-encouraging policy pursued by the authorities, which underlay the introduced “bachelor tax”.

The second film *One hundred tone’s of happiness* aims at condemning the overzealousness of local functionaries in a small town who strive to organize something imposing to bring fame to their town, the country and, why not, bring them world fame. To this purpose they initiate the construction of an impressive Wedding Couples’ Home where one hundred couples are to be married, at a special ceremony. The media representatives disclose the fact that in the course of five years there has been a ban on holding wedding celebrations thus the desired number of wedding people has been reached. When the photographer urges the brides and bridegrooms to come closer for an overall picture together he makes the children present considered to be bridesmaids and brideshelp, stand frontmost. At that point he is taken aside by one of the organizers who explains that those are no bridesmaids and brideshelp but the wedding couples’ children as “the business has dragged on and love cannot wait”. On the other hand, the major person – the senior

<sup>5</sup> Dimitrov Communist Youth League for which the word “comsomol” is yet another abbreviation.

ritual man, “winner of an international prize for weddings and marriages” – fails to turn up for the ceremony. He is frustrated and, in the long run, extremely irritable because he was unable to buy tricolour ribbon as the saleswoman is on holiday and there is no one to replace her. The bus arrives late and he gets a toothache but the dentist cannot help him as the technician has been evading the assemblage of the dental machines for two years due to the fact that he was denied a business trip to Sweden. Patients with a toothache are treated by hypnotism but the ritualman is far too nervous to feel its effect and he finally decides to run away and shun the performance of the civic ceremony for the one hundred couples. A great number of vicissitudes follow where the Wedding Couples’ Home officials take pains to have the chief ritualman come back and cajole him into officiating at the ceremony. In the end, he makes his appearance but the wedding couples, bored with the long wait, have already dispersed.

In a press interview, the director Peter Vasilev – Milevin asserts that it was his purpose in the film to show up initiatives and events of this sort where “immoderate ambition”, “the underrating of one’s own abilities and powers” result in “withering man’s spiritual world”<sup>6</sup>. The film mirrors the authorities’ policy of the period to build imposing ritual homes and halls, mostly in smaller places. Along with the new socialist rituals, they are intended to contribute to the transformation of the civic marriage contraction into a climax of the wedding celebration. However, the ritual centre construction takes too long, which again leads to setting the ideal and the other models of marriage contraction against each other. While waiting for the centre construction, being under a ban to contract marriages, the greater part of the wedding couples already have children.

Both films were shot at a time when Bulgarian intellectuals dared to stand up in open confrontation with the authorities far too infrequently. In return, their loyalty was encouraged and rewarded by those in power who resorted to a wide range of means to affiliate the artists. On the one hand, they were promoted to high posts and showered with awards; on the other hand, considerable financial resources were allotted to culture events. Confident as to their own stability, the authorities allowed a certain expansion of what was expected to be permitted in the sphere of culture demonstrating a greater tolerance to artistic quest. For this atmosphere of relative tolerance Todor Zhivkov’s “attention” to artists, his skill “to court” them as well as the enlisting of a greater number of artists in the management of culture proved of major importance<sup>7</sup>. In the 1970s Stoyan Mikhailov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee in the charge of ideological issues, voiced his stand that public discontent was to be periodically reduced

<sup>6</sup> X. Хубенов. Пред среща със зрителите: „Сто тона щастие”. *Кооперативно село*, 1978, бр. 62 28 март, р. 4; Л. Рупов. Снима се нов филм „Сто тона щастие”. *Пиринско дело*, 1977, бр. 164, 14 юли, р. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Е. Калинова. *Българската култура и политическият императив (1944–1989)*. София, 2011, р. 294.

through authorities-dominated “social vents” among which the cinema, football matches and the totalizer stand out<sup>8</sup>. To what extent those “vents” were controlled by the authorities is evident in both films dwelt upon. Milevin who does not dare to evolve his potential to the full in them due to difficulties attending the “screen release” of his film *Whale* (1967), which set up the permissible scope of the director’s criticism. In whale mockery grows into satire ridiculing institutions “inaccessible” to criticism. The ambiguous image of the sprat gradually transformed to a whale as the news about the fishing ship’s catch ascends to each of the various levels of bureaucratic hierarchy hints at the falsehood and showiness throughout the state and party system. That is why the film was released as late as 1970. The film critic Bozgidar Mikhailov believes that the director (Milevin having directed the films *specialist in anything*, 1962, and *The Quiet fugitive*, 1972 as well) venturing to accomplish whale was for more resourceful and audacious in those earlier films whereas after “the freezing” of whale has become rather more cautious<sup>9</sup>.

In this sense, the films under consideration can also be regarded as exemplifying the “social vent” films in which criticism is aimed at individually negative “local factors”, philistine prejudice of particular social members, the incongruity between a certain number of intellectuals and society but by no means intended to ridicule the dominant state and party system.

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<sup>8</sup> И. Братоева-Даракчиева *Българското кино от Калин Орелът до Мисия „Лондон“*. София, 2013; 177

<sup>9</sup> Н. Станимирова. *Кинопроцесът – „замразен временно“*. *Български игрални филми 1950–1970 в документи, спомени, анализи*. София, 2012, р. 272–273



COUTUMES ET TRANSFERTS INSTITUTIONNELS DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ :  
LE CALENDRIER DE MÉGARE ET DE SES COLONIES\*

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This study is devoted to the calendar of Megara and her colonies, and to the institutional connections between metropolis and *apoikiai* (« colonies ») in Antiquity. Most of the scholars agree that the Megarian calendar was reproduced, with minor changes, in the colonies during the Archaic period. Nevertheless, it was recently argued that the similar Megarian institutions attested in the colonial cities might reflect the desire of the *apoikoi* (« colonists ») to create artificially, in latter periods, a Megarian-Dorian identity. This new thesis is subject of debate. Since the transfer of the metropolis' calendar to the colonies, as supposed for the Megarian colonisation, is paralleled by similar institutional connections attested in the Euboian and Milesian colonial enterprises. Besides, the calendar cannot be dissociated from the religious sphere, and several months were consecrated to the celebration of particular Megarian cults. This has not stopped the evolutions and the innovations: some months (*Bosporios*, *Herakleios*, *Potamios*) can be connected with new cults and festivals appeared in latter times in the colonies, or with the presence of Greeks of non-Megarian origin in the *apoikiai*, especially the Boeotians. Megara and her colonies certainly not possessed identical calendars in Archaic period, but the differences were probably less important than the similarities.

**Keywords:** Megara, Aigosthena, Calendars, Greek Institutions, Greek Colonization, Greek Federalism.

La cité de Mégare et son territoire, la Mégaride, bénéficiaient d'une position stratégique dans l'Antiquité : les Mégariens occupaient une région de passage entre, d'une part, les cités du Péloponnèse, et de l'autre, les cités de la Grèce centrale et Athènes. De même, Mégare était admirablement située pour faire le lien entre la Méditerranée occidentale et la mer Égée, avec ses quatre ports : Nisaia sur le golfe Saronique, Pagai, Panormos et Aigosthènes sur le golfe de Corinthe<sup>1</sup>.

\* Cette étude sur le calendrier mégarien a fait l'objet d'une présentation orale donnée en 2019 à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris) dans le cadre d'un cycle de conférences intitulé « Communautés culturelles et dynamiques religieuses dans le monde grec antique. II. Mégare et ses colonies de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin ». Nous remercions Denis Knoepfler et Alexandru Avram pour les suggestions qu'ils ont bien voulu nous faire à cette occasion. Nos remerciements vont aussi à Thibaut Castelli pour la relecture attentive de cet article. Toutes les dates s'entendent av. J.-C., sauf mention contraire.

<sup>1</sup> Sur la géographie de la Mégaride, voir : R.P. Legon, *Megara. The Political History of a Greek City-State to 336 B.C.*, Ithaca-London, 1981, p. 21-40 ; K. Freitag, *Der Golf von Korinth. Historisch-topographische Untersuchungen von der Archaik bis in das erste Jh. v. Chr.*, München, 2005, p. 174-186 ;

La Mégaride se prête à l'examen de plusieurs phénomènes antiques spécifiques au monde grec tels que la colonisation ou l'interaction entre institutions civiques et institutions fédérales. Excellents rameurs, selon Théocrite, les Mégariens sont parmi les premiers Grecs à établir des *apoikiai* (« colonies ») à la haute époque archaïque<sup>2</sup>. Mieux encore, Mégare reste la seule métropole grecque à avoir fondé, entre le VIII<sup>e</sup> et le VI<sup>e</sup> siècles, des cités à la fois en Sicile (Mégara Hyblaea, Sélinonte), sur les rives de la mer de Marmara (Astacos, Chalcédoine, Sélymbria, Byzance) et de la mer Noire (Héraclée du Pont, Mésambria)<sup>3</sup>.

Plus tard, à l'époque hellénistique, les Mégariens sont les seuls Grecs qui font partie, à tour de rôle, de la Confédération achéenne et de la Ligue béotienne. Cette particularité de l'histoire des Mégariens offre une possibilité unique d'étudier les changements institutionnels engendrés dans une cité hellénistique par le passage d'un État fédéral à un autre. On ajoutera qu'à cette époque deux *kômai* (« bourgs ») de la Mégaride, Aigosthènes et Pagai, obtiennent l'indépendance et deviennent des cités<sup>4</sup>.

Chose importante, les institutions mégariennes peuvent être étudiées grâce non seulement aux documents de Mégare, mais aussi à ceux qui émanent des colonies mégariennes. De fait, on retrouve dans les *apoikiai* des coutumes institutionnelles, des *nomima*, spécifiques à la cité de Mégare : des magistratures telles que le *basileus* et les *aisimnatai*, des subdivisions civiques telles que les *phylai* (« tribus ») et les *hékatostryes* (« centaines »), des cultes mégariens (Déméter *Malophoros* et Zeus *Meilichios* à Sélinonte, Apollon *Pythaios* à Chalcédoine, Artémis *Orthosia* à Byzance, Dionysos *Dasyllios* et Dionysos *Patrôos* à Callatis), ainsi que des calendriers qui ont en commun plusieurs mois. Les historiens modernes ont noté que ces institutions faisaient partie du bagage originel des colons mégariens partis pour la Sicile, la Propontide et le Pont-Euxin<sup>5</sup>.

Le rôle de la métropole dans la fondation des colonies a été contesté par R. Osborne, qui, dans un article publié en 1998, a essayé de montrer que les *apoikiai* ne seraient pas à l'époque archaïque des « state entreprises », mais des « private entreprises », menées par des « charismatic individuals ». De plus, Osborne estime

P. J. Smith, *The Archaeology and Epigraphy of Hellenistic and Roman Megaris, Greece*, BAR International Series 1762, Oxford, 2008, p. 5–10.

<sup>2</sup> Théocrite, XII, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Robu, *Mégare*, p. 117–324.

<sup>4</sup> K. Freitag, *op. cit.*, p. 177, 185.

<sup>5</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 137–206 ; C. Antonetti, « Megara e le sue colonie: un'unità storico-culturale ? », in *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca. Atti della tavola rotonda: Espansione e colonizzazione greca di età arcaica. metodologie e problemi a confronto (Venezia. 10–11.11.1995)*, C. Antonetti (éd.), Naples, 1997, p. 83–94 ; Avram, in *ISM III*, p. 85–89, 91–100, 110–115 ; F. Ferraioli, *L'Hekatostryes: analisi della documentazione*, Tivoli (Rome), 2012, p. 13–84 ; Robu, *Mégare*, p. 325–405 ; A. Chaniotis, « Political Culture in the Cities of the Northern Black Sea Region in the « Long Hellenistic Age » (The Epigraphic Evidence) », in *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity. Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*, V. Kozlovskaya (éd.), Cambridge, 2017, p. 141.

que le phénomène même de la colonisation grecque doit être mis en doute, car la notion de « colonisation » est trop ancrée dans le présent<sup>6</sup>.

Assurément, la place importante détenue par les « chefs » (*hégémones*) dans la colonisation doit être davantage soulignée et les exemples modernes sont peu pertinents pour l'étude des relations entre métropoles et colonies dans l'Antiquité. Il suffit de rappeler ici qu'une *apoikia* grecque est une cité indépendante, à la différence de la *colonia* romaine ou d'une colonie appartenant aux empires modernes. Il n'est pas certain pour autant, comme on l'a déjà souligné, qu'il faille aller jusqu'à nier les spécificités de ce mouvement de personnes de l'époque archaïque, appelé de manière conventionnelle par les spécialistes la « colonisation » grecque<sup>7</sup>.

Par ailleurs, il convient de noter que l'une des conséquences de la thèse d'Osborne a été la remise en question des liens institutionnels entre métropole et colonies, et en particulier du rôle de la cité-mère dans l'introduction du calendrier dans les nouvelles fondations. Étant donné que les colonies ne seraient pas le résultat d'une décision de la métropole, mais d'une initiative individuelle, le calendrier mégarien aurait été introduit dans les colonies tout simplement parce que c'était le calendrier du chef de l'expédition ou de l'expert religieux qui se trouvait parmi les *apoiikoi*<sup>8</sup>. De cette manière, on remplace une fois de plus la communauté par l'individu.

Dernièrement, T. Russell est allé plus loin dans l'interprétation, en soutenant que le calendrier de Byzance et d'autres colonies mégariennes du Pont-Euxin est un bon exemple d'une institution qui n'a pas été transférée depuis la métropole, mais qui a été créée localement, suite aux relations entre les cités pontiques et avec pour but de mettre en valeur leur « identité dorienne ». Autrement dit, les traditions

<sup>6</sup> R. Osborne, « Early Greek Colonization? The Nature of Greek Settlement in the West », in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, N. Fisher, H. van Wees (éds.), London, 1998, p. 251–269. Osborne finit son article par la conclusion suivante : « A proper understanding of archaic Greek history can only come when chapters on 'Colonization' are eradicated from books on early Greece » (p. 269).

<sup>7</sup> Pour la critique de la thèse d'Osborne, voir : E. Greco, « On the Origin of the Western Greek Poleis », *Ancient West & East* 10, 2011, p. 233–242 ; M. C. D'Ercole, *Histoires méditerranéennes. Aspects de la colonisation grecque de l'Occident à la mer Noire (VIII<sup>e</sup>–IV<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C.)*, Paris, 2012, p. 18–20 ; I. Malkin, « Greek Colonisation: The Right to Return », in *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, G.-J. Burgers (éds.), Rome, 2016, p. 27–50.

<sup>8</sup> R. Osborne, « Greek 'Colonisation': What Was, and What Is, at Stake », in *Conceptualising Early Colonisation*, L. Donnellan, V. Nizzo, G.-J. Burgers (éds.), Rome, 2016, p. 25, écrit : « When Hanell in *Megarische Studien* 75 years ago showed that Megara's 'colonies' shared a calendar, he was surely right to conclude that the calendar that they shared had much in common with the (otherwise unknown) calendar of Megara itself. But he was in my view wrong to think that that meant that these communities had been set up by Megarian design on Megarian lines. (...) The calendar of the person who led the settlers, or of the religious expert among the settlers, would naturally impose itself, and future migrants might well prefer to join a city whose calendar (and other similar institutions) were familiar rather than one where cults and months bore strange names. Sharing a calendar and sharing a cult were part of sharing a history; but they did not require any on-going political bond. »

institutionnelles dites « mégariennes » seraient dans les *apoikiai* le reflet des recherches identitaires de l'époque classique, voire hellénistique<sup>9</sup>.

Pour notre analyse, la question est de savoir si ces « individus charismatiques » pouvaient reproduire les institutions politiques, les cultes et le calendrier de la métropole dans les nouvelles cités, sans contact avec la cité-mère. En réalité, plusieurs indices plaident en faveur des relations entre métropole et colonies, et cela sur la longue durée. Certes, la fondation d'une colonie est le résultat de la décision d'un ou de plusieurs groupes d'individus, mais cela n'empêche pas que la colonisation grecque soit un phénomène de mobilité régi par des lois ancestrales (*nomoi*). À titre d'exemple, on peut évoquer : le droit de retour des *apoikoi* dans la métropole en cas d'échec de leur entreprise<sup>10</sup> ; la loi ancienne (*palaios nomos*) qui, selon Thucydide, demandait à une *apoikia* de faire venir de la métropole un fondateur (*oikistès*) en cas de l'établissement d'une nouvelle colonie<sup>11</sup> ; ou encore les liens culturels entre métropole et colonies tels qu'ils sont relevés, par exemple, lors du conflit entre Corcyre et Corinthe au sujet d'Épidamne, l'une des causes de la guerre du Péloponnèse. À en croire Thucydide, les Corinthiens reprochaient aux Corcyréens le refus de participer aux fêtes et aux sacrifices célébrés en commun par les Corinthiens et leurs *apoikoi*. Pour les Corinthiens, les Corcyréens enfreignaient ainsi des lois ancestrales et leur conduite donnait le droit à la cité-mère d'intervenir<sup>12</sup>.

Tous ces témoignages indiquent que la métropole jouait un rôle important dans le processus de fondation d'*apoikiai*. Et le fait que la plupart des sources textuelles sur les relations entre métropoles et colonies sont postérieures au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle n'est pas, à lui seul, un argument pour l'absence de contacts, y compris au niveau politique.

<sup>9</sup> T. Russell, *Byzantium and the Bosphorus: A Historical Study, from the Seventh Century BC until the Foundation of Constantinople*, Oxford–New York, 2017, p. 189–190, note : « The similarities between the calendars of Byzantium, Callatis, Chersonesus, Chalcedon, and Mesembria appear to have been conscious, and the cities may have hoped that these cultural similarities would serve to distinguish them from the barbarian tribes of the Black Sea, as Greek cities who could point to a shared cultural heritage and shared ancestors. (...) Consequently, it is no surprise if the Byzantines overcompensated by artificially preserving their dialect long after the *koine* had spread to the city, and by selecting months for their calendar which emphasized their Dorian identity and their ancestral connections with the other Dorian-Megarian cities in the Pontus ». Cf. A. Robu, *RESEE* 55, 2017, p. 373–375.

<sup>10</sup> Le « Serment des Fondateurs » de Cyrène atteste que les colons thréens ont le droit de retourner dans la métropole si, au bout de cinq ans, ils n'arrivent pas à s'installer dans le nouveau pays : C. Dobias-Lalou, « SEG IX, 3 : un document composite ou inclassable ? », *Verbum* 17, 3–4, 1994, p. 244–246, voir surtout les lignes 33–37 de l'inscription. C'est en vertu d'une loi analogue que les colons érétriens expulsés de Corcyre par des Corinthiens cherchent à regagner leur cité-mère. Mais sans avoir été informés à l'avance, les Érétriens refusent de les accepter et les *apoikoi* partent alors fonder Méthone, en Thrace : Plutarque, *Questions grecques*, XI (= *Moralia* 293 B) ; cf. S. De Vido, « 'Capitani coraggiosi'. Gli Eubei nel Mediterraneo », in *Tra mare e continente: l'isola d'Eubea*, C. Bearzot, F. Landucci (éds.), Milano, 2013, p. 86–87.

<sup>11</sup> Thucydide, I, 24, 2 ; cf. I. Malkin, *op. cit.*, p. 39–47.

<sup>12</sup> Thucydide, I, 25, 4 ; cf. T. Stickler, *Korinth und seine Kolonien. Die Stadt am Isthmus im Mächtigegefüge des klassischen Griechenland*, Berlin, 2010, p. 226–235.



Notons que l'on a aussi inversé la direction des transferts institutionnels, par exemple, on a suggéré que le collège d'*aisimnatai* ne fut pas transféré depuis Mégare dans les colonies du Pont (la *communis opinio*), mais qu'il aurait été introduit dans ces cités suite aux relations avec les colonies ioniennes du Pont, l'*aisymnateia* étant aussi présente dans le milieu ionien. Cette magistrature aurait été ensuite transférée depuis les cités pontiques à Mégare de Grèce, où elle est attestée à l'époque hellénistique<sup>13</sup>.

Du reste, on a proposé que les similitudes entre les institutions de la métropole et celles des colonies ne seraient pas le résultat des transferts à l'époque archaïque, mais de développements en parallèle. L'argument principal serait que les attestations datent d'une période tardive, époque hellénistique ou impériale. Dès lors, on ne pourrait pas utiliser cette documentation pour l'histoire archaïque de ces cités. De plus, certaines institutions sont connues aussi ailleurs dans le monde grec<sup>14</sup>. Il n'empêche qu'il existe des coïncidences troublantes : Dionysos *Patrôos* et Dionysos *Dasyllios*, ou encore les *hékatostryes* (« centaines »), n'apparaissent dans les cités du Pont-Euxin que dans le milieu mégarien, ces institutions n'étant jamais attestées dans les colonies milésiennes.

Doit-on rappeler que l'existence des transferts culturels entre métropole et colonies ne signifie point que les institutions des colonies soient restées inchangées pendant des siècles ? En réalité, ces institutions ne sont pas figées dans le temps, elles connaissent des évolutions importantes, à l'image d'ailleurs des *nomima* de la métropole. Les *aisimnatai* de Chalcédoine et les *probouloi* de Callatis confirment, par exemple, que des magistratures, à l'origine probablement oligarchiques,

<sup>13</sup> M. L. del Barrio Vega, « The Aisimnatai at Megara », in *A Greek Man in the Iberian Street. Papers in Linguistics and Epigraphy in Honour of Javier de Hoz*, E. Luján, J. L. García Alonso (éds.), Innsbruck, 2011, p. 17–24 ; eadem, « The Greek Language in the Black Sea », in *Studies in Ancient Greek Dialects from Central Greece to the Black Sea*, G. K. Giannakis, E. Crespo, P. Filos (éds.), Berlin-Boston, 2018, p. 516–517.

<sup>14</sup> Il s'agit là d'une critique que l'on a formulée au sujet des correspondances institutionnelles entre Mégare et ses colonies, la thèse défendue par K. Hanell dans *Megarische Studien*, et que nous avons reprise, avec des mises en garde, dans Robu, *Mégare*. Cf L. Donnellan, *Histara*, <http://histara.sorbonne.fr/cr.php?cr=2607&lang=fr> (consulté le 29 mai 2019), qui, dans un compte rendu à notre ouvrage, note : « The institutional history, written with the assumption that “mother city equals foundation” and that all institutions remained stable throughout centuries, from foundation to the end of the Roman period, is equally unconvincing ». Cependant, nous n'avons jamais soutenus que les institutions des colonies soient restées inchangées dans l'Antiquité, mais qu'il existe des coutumes institutionnelles communes à Mégare et à ses colonies, l'héritage mégarien étant visible à travers plusieurs magistratures et subdivisions civiques. De même, Donnellan écrit : « Robu points out that Kalchedon is better placed than Byzantion to receive ships coming from the Black Sea ». Or c'est exactement le contraire de notre opinion. À notre sens, « le point de départ préféré pour entreprendre un voyage en direction de la mer Noire était la côte asiatique du Bosphore et non pas la côte opposée, les courants marins pouvant être déviés plus facilement depuis Chalcédoine que depuis Byzance. En revanche, Byzance, grâce à la direction des courants sortant du Bosphore thrace, pouvait contrôler le passage des navires venant du Pont. » (Robu, *Mégare*, p. 234-235). Ce n'est pas là un aspect mineur, car cette particularité géographique permet de comprendre l'installation des Mégariens dans un premier temps sur la rive asiatique du Bosphore thrace et seulement dans un deuxième temps sur la rive européenne.

pouvaient intégrer à l'époque hellénistique les institutions démocratiques des cités coloniales<sup>15</sup>. Que ces institutions ne soient pas attestées avant l'époque hellénistique ne doit pas surprendre, compte tenu de l'absence d'inscriptions archaïques et classiques émanant de ces cités.

Bref, les liens institutionnels entre métropole et *apoikiai* font l'objet aujourd'hui des controverses historiographiques, plusieurs spécialistes ayant contesté, on le voit, le rôle de la métropole dans la création des *nomima* de cités coloniales. Il est dans notre intention de reprendre cette question, en prenant comme étude de cas les calendriers de Mégare et de ses *apoikiai*. Dans un premier temps, nous aimerions relever les similitudes et les différences entre les calendriers des colonies, tout en montrant l'intérêt de cette documentation pour l'étude des cultes et des fêtes des Mégariens.

Nous ferons dans un deuxième temps quelques remarques sur le calendrier mégarien archaïque et, de manière générale, sur les institutions de Mégare, et nous étudierons aussi le calendrier d'Aigosthènes, une autre cité de la Mégaride.

#### LE CALENDRIER DES COLONIES MÉGARIENNES ET HÉRACLÉOTES

K. Hanell a jadis reconstitué les calendriers des colonies mégariennes et héracléotes dans deux études qui ont fait date et servent encore aujourd'hui<sup>16</sup>. Le mérite de ce savant est d'avoir été le premier à souligner l'importance du *Liber glossarum* pour l'étude du calendrier mégarien. Compilée au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C., cette collection ménologique transmet le calendrier complet de Byzance, avec les équivalences dans le calendrier julien. En réunissant les attestations épigraphiques récentes, A. Avram et C. Trümpy ont proposé, en parallèle, des reconstitutions du calendrier de Mégare et de ses colonies<sup>17</sup>.

Les nouvelles inscriptions ont permis de mieux préciser la succession des mois et de remplir certaines lacunes dans les calendriers des colonies mégariennes.

<sup>15</sup> Avram, in *ISM III*, p. 86–87 ; Robu, *Mégare*, p. 386, 412 ; *idem*, « What's in a Name ? Megarian Colonies in the Black Sea: Common *nomima*, and Local Traditions », in *Megarian Moments. The Local World of an Ancient Greek City-State*, H. Beck, P. J. Smith (éds.), *Teiresias Supplements Online*, Volume 1, Montréal 2018, p. 273–289, <http://teiresias-supplements.mcgill.ca/>.

<sup>16</sup> K. Hanell, *Das Menologium des Liber glossarum*, K. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse (Bulletin de la société royale des lettres de Lund), 1931–1932, II, Lund, 1932, surtout p. 21–27 ; *idem*, *Megarische Studien*, p. 190–204 ; cf. A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*, Munich, 1972, p. 87–89 ; L. D. Loukopoulou, *Contribution à l'histoire de la Thrace propontique durant la période archaïque*, Athènes, 1989, p. 120–122 ; P. J. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 124–125, 142–143.

<sup>17</sup> Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 25–31 ; *idem*, in *ISM III*, p. 110–115 ; C. Trümpy, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, Heidelberg, 1997, p. 147–155 ; cf. D. Chiekova, *Cultes et vie religieuse des cités grecques du Pont Gauche (VII<sup>e</sup>–I<sup>er</sup> siècles avant J.-C.)*, Berne, 2008, p. 303 ; T. Russel, *op. cit.*, p. 175–191.

En nous appuyant sur le *Liber glossarum* et les attestations épigraphiques, nous pouvons proposer la structure suivante pour le calendrier de Byzance :

**Tableau I**

Mois juliens	Byzance
<i>Ianuarios</i>	Πεταγείτιος
<i>Februarius</i>	Διονύσιος
<i>Martius</i>	Εὐκλείος
<i>Aprilis</i>	Ἀρτεμίσιος
<i>Maius</i>	Λύκειος
<i>Iunius</i>	Βοσπόριος
<i>Iulius</i>	Λατοῖος
<i>Augustus</i>	Ἀγριάνιος
<i>September</i>	Μαλοφόριος
<i>October</i>	Ἡραῖος
<i>November</i>	Καρνεῖος
<i>December</i>	Μαχάνειος

Le *Liber glossarum* donne pour juillet l'équivalence *Iateos*, un mois non attesté par ailleurs dans le monde grec, et que K. Fr. Hermann corrige en Ὑακίνθιος, en notant que la glose de Pappias donne la forme *Iatheos*<sup>18</sup>. Mais Hanell remplace, à juste titre, Ὑακίνθιος par Λατοῖος, un mois mentionné par un décret de Byzance. Il suggère aussi de remplacer Καρνεῖος par Ἐρμαῖος<sup>19</sup>. Néanmoins, cette dernière proposition est aujourd'hui à abandonner<sup>20</sup>, car une nouvelle inscription, trouvée à Esence, aux alentours de l'antique Daskyleion-sur-mer, confirme la présence de Καρνεῖος dans le calendrier byzantin. Il s'agit d'un décret en l'honneur d'un stratège et qui émane d'une communauté villageoise, dont les membres sont qualifiés d'*enchôrioi*. La mention de l'*hiéromnamon* comme magistrat éponyme, du mois *Karneios* (l. 2) ou encore les formes doriennes qui apparaissent dans l'inscription (cf. l. 3–4 : ὁ στραταγός) indiquent qu'il s'agit d'une communauté appartenant à la péree asiatique de Byzance<sup>21</sup>.

On note par ailleurs que le mois Βοσπόριος occupe une place importante dans le calendrier religieux des Byzantins : c'est durant cette période de l'année que se déroulait la fête des *Bosporia* en l'honneur de la Phôosphoros, une déesse

<sup>18</sup> K. Fr. Hermann, « Bemerkungen zu den menologischen Glossen des Papias », *Philologus* 2, 1847, p. 263.

<sup>19</sup> K. Hanell, *op. cit.*, p. 22, 25–26 ; *idem*, *Megarische Studien*, p. 195–198, 201. Le mois Λατοῖος apparaît dans le décret de Byzance en l'honneur du juge de Milet Apollônidas, fils de Memnôn : *I. Byzantion*, 2, l. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>21</sup> S. Aybek, B. Dreyer (éds.), *Der archologische Survey von Apollonia am Rhyandakos beim Uluabat-See und der Umgebung Mysiens in der Nordwest-Türkei 2006–2010*, Berlin, 2016, p. 49–51, 81–82, pl. 24, fig. 4 ; cf. D. Rousset, *Bull. ép.*, 2017, 449.

porteuse de torches, que les modernes identifient soit à Artémis, soit à Hécate<sup>22</sup>. On honorait lors de cette fête la déesse Phosphoros par une course aux flambeaux à laquelle participait la jeunesse du gymnase<sup>23</sup>.

De même, le mois Βοσπόριος avait une signification particulière dans le calendrier des mystes de Dionysos *Kallôn*, un thiasse situé dans le territoire de Byzance, à Callum. Cette association dionysiaque organisait des concours et des fêtes, et ses dignitaires sont honorés à trois reprises lors de ce mois<sup>24</sup>. Comme nous l'avons proposé ailleurs, il est permis de penser que les mystes de Dionysos *Kallôn* organisaient des concours athlétiques, notamment des courses aux flambeaux, similaires à ceux qui avaient lieu dans la ville à la même période de l'année, lors du mois Βοσπόριος. L'association contribuait de cette manière à la diffusion de pratiques civiles et religieuses dans le territoire de la cité<sup>25</sup>.

Plusieurs mois apparaissent ailleurs dans le monde mégarien. On trouve ainsi Μαχάνειος, Πεταγείτιος, Διονύσιος, Ποτάμιος, Ἀπελλαῖος<sup>26</sup>, Ἀρτεμισίος<sup>27</sup> à Chalcédoine, et parmi ces mois, seuls Ποτάμιος et Ἀπελλαῖος ne sont pas présents dans le calendrier de Byzance. On constate par ailleurs qu'il n'existe aucune attestation certaine du calendrier à Mésambria et dans les colonies mégariennes de Sicile<sup>28</sup>.

En revanche, les inscriptions émanant des colonies d'Héraclée du Pont attestent le nom de huit mois à Callatis (Μαχανεύς, Πεταγείτιος, Διονύσιος, Εὐκλείος, Ἀρτεμισίος, Λύκειος, Ἀπελλαῖος, Μαλοφόριος)<sup>29</sup> et de cinq mois à Chersonèse

<sup>22</sup> Hannel, *Megarische Studien*, p. 185-186, 200-201 ; L. D. Loukopoulou, *op. cit.*, p. 105-109 ; A. Zografou, « Les *Phosphoroi* et la thallos d'Athènes », in *Nommer les Dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épicles dans l'Antiquité*, N. Belayche et al. (éds.), Turnhout, 2005, p. 535-536 ; *eadem*, *Chemins d'Hécate. Portes, routes, carrefours et autres figures de l'entre-deux*, Kernos Suppl. 24, Liège, 2010, p. 189 ; M. Dana, « Entre Crimée et Bosphore : d'une *Parthenos* à l'autre », *Métis* N.S. 10, 2012, p. 303-307 ; T. Russel, *op. cit.*, p. 181-186.

<sup>23</sup> *I. Byzantion*, 11 ; cf. M. Dana, *Culture et mobilité dans le Pont-Euxin*, Bordeaux, 2011, p. 110-114.

<sup>24</sup> *I. Byzantion*, 30, l. 5 ; 31, l. 4 ; 33, l. 4.

<sup>25</sup> A. Robu, « Associations dionysiaques, communautés rurales et cultes à Byzance à l'époque impériale », in *Identité régionale, identités civiles autour des Détroits des Dardanelles et du Bosphore (V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.-II<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.)*, M. Dana, F. Prêteux (éds.), *DHA* Suppl. 15, Besançon, 2016, p. 254.

<sup>26</sup> *I. Kalchedon*, 10, l. 7-8 ; 12, l. 27 : Μαχάνειος ; 12, l. 19 : Πεταγείτιος ; 7, l. 7 ; 12, l. 20 : Διονύσιος ; 6, l. 2 : Ποτάμιος ; 10, l. 8 : Ἀπελλαῖος.

<sup>27</sup> *IG XII 4*, 1, 226, l. 27-28.

<sup>28</sup> Hannel, *Megarische Studien*, p. 191, et C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 150, estiment que le mois *Artémisios* serait attesté par un décret de Mésambria, mais cette inscription émane probablement d'Odessos : *IGBulg.* I<sup>2</sup>, 39. L. Dubois identifie le mois *Archomaos* dans une inscription de Mégara Hyblaea, cette proposition est toutefois très incertaine : L. Dubois (éd.), *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile. Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial*, Rome, 1989, p. 26-27, n<sup>o</sup> 20 ; *contra* C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 150, n. 643.

<sup>29</sup> *ISM* III, 12, l. 2 : Μαχανεύς ; 30, l. 3 : Πεταγείτιος ; 19, l. 4 ; 35, l. 2 ; 44, l. 2 ; 47, l. 2 : Διονύσιος ; 10, l. 1 : Εὐκλείος ; 6, l. 2 : Ἀρτεμισίος ; 44, l. 40 : Λύκειος ; 2, l. 20 : Ἀπελλαῖος ; 38, l. 2 : Μαλοφόριος.

Taurique (Διονύσιος, Εὔκλειος, Λύκειος, Ἡράκλειος et Λατοῖος)<sup>30</sup>. On rappelle que l'héritage mégarien fut transmis à Callatis et à Chersonèse Taurique par le biais de leur métropole, Héraclée du Pont, celle-ci étant une fondation des Mégariens et des Béotiens<sup>31</sup>. Dès lors, on peut penser sans crainte de se tromper que les mois en vigueur à Callatis et à Chersonèse Taurique se retrouvaient originairement dans le calendrier d'Héraclée du Pont<sup>32</sup>.

Il convient de se demander quelle fut la succession exacte des mois dans les différentes cités mégariennes et héracléotes. On trouve une réponse partielle à cette question dans une inscription de Callatis, qui atteste que le changement du collège des *eisagôgeis* avait lieu au mois Μαλοφόριος. Celui-ci était donc le dernier mois du calendrier callatien<sup>33</sup>. Les spécialistes ont aussi suggéré que l'année commençait probablement à l'équinoxe d'automne (le 23 septembre) et que le premier mois de l'année était Ἡραῖος<sup>34</sup>. De plus, il est certain qu'à Callatis le mois Διονύσιος précédait Λύκειος, car un décret des thiasites a été émis au mois Διονύσιος avec la mention qu'il soit affiché avant le mois Λύκειος<sup>35</sup>. Deux inscriptions de Chalcédoine attestent aussi que Ἀπελλαῖος succédait à Μαχάνειος et Διονύσιος à Πεταγείτιος, ce qui est conforme à l'ordre des mois byzantins donné par le *Liber glossarum* (sachant qu'à Ἀπελλαῖος correspondait probablement Βοσπόριος à Byzance)<sup>36</sup>.

Pour le reste des mois, nous sommes réduits à des comparaisons avec le calendrier de Byzance et avec le calendrier en vigueur en Bithynie, également attesté par le *Liber glossarum*. On pense en effet que le calendrier bithynien devait présenter plusieurs correspondances avec le calendrier d'Héraclée du Pont et indirectement avec les calendriers des colonies héracléotes, Callatis et Chersonèse Taurique. Fort de ces analogies, on peut reconstituer les calendriers des colonies mégariennes et héracléotes de la manière suivante (les mois non attestés sont indiqués par un astérisque) :

<sup>30</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 352 (= *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 8), l. 56 ; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 357 (= *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 24), l. 24–25 : Διονύσιος ; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 361, l. 4–5 ; J. G. Vinogradov, « Un nouveau dossier documentaire de l'époque impériale de Chersonèse », *VDI*, 1996, 1, p. 54–55 (en russe ; = *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 39 ; cf. L. Dubois, *Bull. ép.*, 1997, 425 ; *SEG* 45, 985), col. A, l. 32, col. B, l. 26 : Εὔκλειος ; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 358 (= *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 16), l. 12 : Λύκειος ; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 359, l. 19 ; *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup>, 402, l. 7 ; S. J. Saprykin, « Proxénie de Chersonèse pour un Sinopéen », *VDI*, 1998, 4, p. 43 (en russe ; = *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 19 ; cf. *SEG* 49, 999), l. 31 : Ἡράκλειος ; E. G. Surov, « Nouvelle inscription de Chersonèse », *VDI*, 1960, 3, p. 154–155 (en russe ; = *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 23), l. 17–18 ; cf. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. ép.*, 1964, 312 ; E. I. Solomonik, « Inscriptions grecques de Chersonèse (nouvelles trouvailles) », *VDI*, 1996, 4, p. 45, n° 4 (en russe ; = *IOSPE* III<sup>3</sup>, 86 ; cf. *SEG* 46, 930), l. 3 : Λατοῖος. Voir aussi E. I. Solomonik, *Nouveaux monuments épigraphiques de Chersonèse*, Kiev, 1964 (en russe), p. 17, n° 2, l. 4–5 : [μνη]ὸς Ἡρα[κλείου] (ou Ἡρα[ίου], selon Avram, in *ISM* III, p. 111–112, n. 507).

<sup>31</sup> Robu, *Mégare*, p. 305, 325–326 (avec les références).

<sup>32</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 191–192 ; C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 150–151.

<sup>33</sup> *ISM* III, 38, avec les commentaires d'Avram, in *ISM* III, p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 190, 192, 194 ; Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 30, n. 25 ; *idem*, in *ISM* III, p. 111, n. 505. Cf. T. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 180–181, qui suggère qu'à Byzance l'année aurait pu commencer au solstice d'été.

<sup>35</sup> *ISM* III, 44, avec les commentaires d'Avram, in *ISM* III, p. 111.

<sup>36</sup> I. Kalchedon, 10 et 12.

Tableau II

Mois juliens	Byzance	Chalcédoine	Callatis	Chersonèse Taurique
Sept.-Oct.	Ἡραῖος	Ἡραῖος*/ Ποτάμιος	Ἡραῖος*/ Ἡράκλειος*	Ἡραῖος*/ Ἡράκλειος
Oct.-Nov.	Καρνεῖος	Καρνεῖος*	Καρνεῖος*	Καρνεῖος*
Nov.-Déc.	Μαχάνειος	Μαχάνειος	Μαχανεύς	Μαχάνειος*/ Μαχανεύς*
Déc.-Janv.	Πεταγείτιος	Πεταγείτιος	Πεταγείτιος	Πεταγείτιος*
Janv.-Fév.	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος
Fév.-Mars	Εὐκλείος	Εὐκλείος*	Εὐκλείος	Εὐκλείος
Mars-Avril	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος*
Avril-Mai	Λύκειος	Λύκειος*	Λύκειος	Λύκειος
Mai-Juin	Βοσπόριος	Ἀπελλαῖος	Ἀπελλαῖος	Ἀπελλαῖος*
Juin-Juillet	Λατοῖος	Λατοῖος*	Λατοῖος*	Λατοῖος
Juillet-Août	Ἄγριάνιος	Ἄγριάνιος*/ Ποτάμιος	Ἄγριάνιος*/ Ἡράκλειος*	Ἄγριάνιος*/ Ἡράκλειος
Août-Sept.	Μαλοφόριος	Μαλοφόριος*	Μαλοφόριος	Μαλοφόριος*

Notons que la succession chronologique de quelques mois de Chalcédoine et des colonies héracléotes est loin d'être assurée, car il s'agit des mois qui n'ont pas de correspondances dans le calendrier de Byzance. Ainsi, au mois dorien Ἀπελλαῖος, attesté à Chalcédoine et à Callatis, correspond dans le calendrier byzantin un mois local, à savoir Βοσπόριος ou éventuellement Ἡραῖος. A. Avram exclut cette dernière possibilité et considère le mois Ἡραῖος comme faisant partie du calendrier mégarien archaïque, une opinion qui reste encore à être confirmée par les sources. En faveur de cette hypothèse, il note aussi l'appartenance d'Ἡραῖος au calendrier bithynien et l'existence des analogies entre ce calendrier et le calendrier byzantin<sup>37</sup>. Cependant, on n'a pas là des indices certains pour la présence d'Ἡραῖος dans le calendrier mégarien. En réalité, ce mois est en rapport avec la célébration d'Héra, une divinité peu documentée à Mégare<sup>38</sup>.

De même, Avram estime que les mois Ποτάμιος à Chalcédoine et Ἡράκλειος à Chersonèse sont des mois locaux, qui ont remplacé des mois mégariens traditionnels. Ainsi, le mois Ποτάμιος aurait remplacé le mois Λατοῖος à Chalcédoine, tandis que le mois Ἡράκλειος se serait substitué à Καρνεῖος ou à Ἄγριάνιος dans le calendrier de Chersonèse (et sans doute dans celui d'Héraclée du Pont) « à l'occasion d'une quelconque réforme du calendrier »<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 29 ; *idem*, in *ISM III*, p. 113.

<sup>38</sup> P. J. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 125 ; Robu, *Mégare*, p. 24-30.

<sup>39</sup> Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 30 ; *idem*, in *ISM III*, p. 113. Cf. aussi A. Avram, « Épigraphe et histoire religieuse : le culte de Lété dans les cités de la mer Noire », in *Estudios de Epigrafía Griega*, Á. Martínez Fernández (éd.), La Laguna, 2009, p. 312. C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 153, remplace Λατοῖος par Ἡράκλειος dans le calendrier mégarien archaïque. Mais cette proposition est très incertaine, car le culte d'Héraclès est peu attesté en Mégare. Voir à cet égard : Robu, *Mégare*, p. 267.

La première proposition reste néanmoins difficile à suivre, car le mois Λατοῖος est probablement lié à Apollon *Latōos*, une divinité attestée à Mégare<sup>40</sup>. À notre avis, Ποτάμιος de Chalcédoine pourrait en réalité figurer à la place occupée dans le calendrier de Byzance soit par Ἡραῖος, soit par Ἀγριάνιος. Ces deux mois ne se rattachent pas à un culte mégarien spécifique et ils ne sont pas attestés ailleurs dans le monde mégarien. Certes, Ἀγριάνιος est un mois présent dans plusieurs cités doriennes (Sparte, Épidaure, Rhodes), mais il est aussi répertorié en Béotie<sup>41</sup>. Et il est possible que la présence de ce mois dans le calendrier byzantin vienne mettre en lumière la participation des Béotiens à la colonisation du Bosphore thrace<sup>42</sup>.

Pour les mêmes raisons, nous pensons qu'au mois Ἡράκλειος, attesté à Callatis et à Chersonèse Taurique, et indirectement dans leur métropole Héraclée du Pont, devait correspondre Ἀγριάνιος ou Ἡραῖος dans le calendrier de Byzance. Il nous semble certain que le mois Ἡράκλειος faisait partie du calendrier originel d'Héraclée du Pont et il n'est pas nécessaire de penser qu'il ait été introduit suite à une réforme du calendrier. En effet, on peut penser avec raison que les Héracléotes ont réservé dès l'époque de la fondation un mois du calendrier au héros éponyme de leur cité.

Le culte d'Héra est présent à Chalcédoine et peut-être aussi à Héraclée du Pont, et il ne serait pas exclu qu'un mois du calendrier de ces cités soit consacré à cette déesse, tout comme à Byzance et en Bithynie<sup>43</sup>. Cependant, dans l'attente de nouveaux documents, il est prudent de considérer Ἡραῖος et Ἀγριάνιος comme des innovations byzantines, et auxquels devaient correspondre d'autres mois dans les calendriers chalcédonien et héracléote.

En revanche, les choses sont probablement différentes pour Καρνείος : celui-ci est un mois pandorien par excellence et il aurait dû figurer dans le calendrier mégarien archaïque et par la suite dans les calendriers des colonies mégariennes et héracléotes<sup>44</sup>.

Au demeurant, les calendriers des colonies mégariennes mettent en lumière plusieurs cultes et fêtes célébrés à Mégare et dans ses colonies. Plusieurs mois se rapportent en effet à une divinité précise : *Bosporios* fut consacré, on l'a vu, à la

<sup>40</sup> Pausanias, I, 44, 10 ; cf. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 201.

<sup>41</sup> C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 126–127, 167–178.

<sup>42</sup> Robu, *Mégare*, p. 264–269.

<sup>43</sup> Démosthène de Bithynie, *FGrHist* 699 F 5 : Ἡραία, ἄκρα οὕτω λεγομένη καταντικρὸν Καλκηδόνας. Cf. Arrien, *FGrHist* 156 F 18. La déesse Héra apparaîtrait sur les monnaies frappées par Héraclée du Pont au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle : *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Bosporus-Bithynia*, Copenhagen, 1944, pl. 10, n<sup>os</sup> 412–418 ; M. Price (éd.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The British Museum, Volume IX, Part 1 : The Black Sea*, London, 1993, pl. LVIII, n<sup>os</sup> 1588–1592, 1603 ; W. Stancomb (éd.), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Volume XI : The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea Region*, Oxford, 2000, pl. XXXVI, n<sup>os</sup> 815–816. *Contra* W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, T. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, vol. I, 2, Paris, 1908, p. 347–349, n<sup>os</sup> 16–28, qui identifient cette divinité à la Tychè de la ville. Pour la présence du mois *Heraios* dans le calendrier bithynien, voir : C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 276–277.

<sup>44</sup> C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 126, 154–155.

Phôsphoros, *Artémisios* à Artémis, *Malophorios* à Déméter *Malophoros*, *Dionysios* à Dionysos, *Héraios* à Héra, *Hérakleios* à Héraclès, *Machaneus/Machaneios* à Zeus *Machaneus*, *Karneios* à Apollon *Karneios*, *Latoios* à Apollon *Latôos*, *Lykeios* à Apollon *Lykeyos*, et c'est peut-être aussi Apollon qui était célébré durant les mois *Petageitnios* et *Apellaios*<sup>45</sup>. Le mois *Agrianios* renvoie également à une fête religieuse, mais celle-ci reste difficile à mettre en rapport avec une divinité particulière<sup>46</sup>.

Quant au mois *Eukleios*, il serait à mettre en relation avec l'épiclèse *Eukleia*, sous laquelle Artémis était célébrée dans plusieurs cités, notamment en Béotie et sans doute aussi à Corinthe<sup>47</sup>.

La même explication pourrait être fournie pour *Potamios*, dont le nom ferait référence, selon nous, à une épiclese divine, appartenant peut-être à Artémis ou à Aphrodite. De fait, Pindare qualifie Artémis de Syracuse de déesse « fluviale » (*potamia*)<sup>48</sup>. On remarque aussi qu'un mois consacré à Aphrodite (*Aphrodisios*) figurait dans le calendrier bithynien à la place occupée par *Agrianios* dans le calendrier byzantin<sup>49</sup>, un mois, qui a probablement été remplacé par *Potamios* à Chalcédoine. Or, comme il a déjà été noté, plusieurs correspondances existaient entre le calendrier bithynien et les calendriers des colonies mégariennes : *Dionysios* est commun aux Bithyniens et aux Mégariens, et à la place d'*Artémisios* et de *Malophorios*, on trouve respectivement en Bithynie *Bendidaios* (Artémis entretient un rapport étroit avec Bendis) et *Démétrios*<sup>50</sup>. Les mois *Aphrodisios* du calendrier bithynien et *Potamios* de Chalcédoine pourraient ainsi enrichir la liste des correspondances entre ces calendriers.

Par ailleurs, il convient de noter que le culte d'Aphrodite est bien attesté à Chalcédoine : Denys de Byzance situe un sanctuaire de la déesse au nord de la ville, près d'un ruisseau appelé Himéros, nom porté par l'une des divinités qui forment habituellement le cortège d'Aphrodite<sup>51</sup>. Le même auteur place au nord de Chalcédoine, à l'embouchure d'Arétas, un *Potamônion*, peut-être le lieu d'un autre sanctuaire d'Aphrodite. Notons également qu'Hanell proposait une explication différente pour le mois *Potamios*, en le mettant en rapport avec un éventuel culte rendu par les Chalcédoniens au dieu-fleuve Kalchedon<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 194–204 ; C. Antonetti, « Le culte d'Apollon entre Mégare et ses colonies du Pont », in *Religions du Pont-Euxin. Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Symposium de Vani (Colchide)-1997*, O. Lordkipanidzé, P. Lévêque (éds.), Besançon-Paris, 1999, p. 17–24 ; Avram, in *ISM III*, p. 92–95.

<sup>46</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 201 ; C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 126–128.

<sup>47</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 200 ; C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>48</sup> Pindare, *Pythiques*, II, 11.

<sup>49</sup> C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 276–277.

<sup>50</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 192 ; Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 29 ; *idem*, in *ISM III*, p. 113.

<sup>51</sup> Denys de Byzance, 111, p. 34 (éd. Güngerich). La déesse Aphrodite apparaîtrait sur les monnaies de Chalcédoine à l'époque impériale : W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, T. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 301, n° 73, p. 306, n° 105.

<sup>52</sup> Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 202 ; cf. C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 153, n. 655. Pour la localisation de *Potamônion* dans le territoire de Chalcédoine, voir Denys de Byzance, 103, p. 32 (éd. R. Güngerich). Selon une tradition littéraire, la cité de Chalcédoine tirait son nom d'un fleuve homonyme : Denys de Byzance 111, p. 34 (éd. R. Güngerich) ; Hésychios, *FGrHist* 390 F 21.



À ce stade de l'analyse, on retiendra que les mois attestés dans les colonies mégariennes et héracléotes renvoient à des divinités qui sont célébrées sous les mêmes épicleses à Mégare (Déméter *Malophoros*, Apollon *Latôos*, Apollon *Lykeios*) ou qui sont richement documentées dans le monde mégarien (Apollon, Artémis, Dionysos, Zeus)<sup>53</sup>.

De même, il est intéressant de remarquer que certains mois (*Bosporios*, *Hérakleios*, *Potamios*, peut-être aussi *Héraios*) présents dans les colonies ne conservent pas l'héritage mégarien. On a affaire à des mois qui sont en rapport avec des traditions et des fêtes locales, créées dans les colonies après la fondation (la fête des *Bosporia* en l'honneur de la Phosphoros à Byzance), ou encore qui sont en rapport avec des cultes introduits dans les colonies par des *apoikoi* non mégariens (béotiens, corinthiens, argiens), à savoir les cultes d'Héraclès et peut-être aussi le culte d'Héra. De fait, Héraclès et Héra sont peu célébrés en Mégaride, les deux divinités font en revanche l'objet de cultes en Béotie, en Corinthie et en Argolide. Ces régions ont fourni des contingents de colons pour la fondation de Byzance par les Mégariens, tandis qu'Héraclée du Pont est une fondation mégaro-béotienne<sup>54</sup>.

#### LES CALENDRIERS DE MÉGARE ET D'AIGOSTHÈNES

Les Mégariens de Grèce n'avaient pas pour habitude de faire mentionner les mois dans leurs inscriptions publiques. C'est la raison pour laquelle on ne trouve qu'un seul mois attesté à Mégare : le mois Πάναμος apparaît dans un décret datant du début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce décret est un *unicum* dans l'épigraphie mégarienne, il porte sur l'arbitrage entre Aigosthènes et Pagai au sujet de la possession des territoires frontaliers, notamment le port de Panormos sur le golfe de Corinthe. Cette affaire prit une importance régionale, car les deux principales confédérations de l'époque, la Confédération béotienne et la Ligue achéenne, sont intervenues pour soutenir les deux parties. Les Béotiens appuyèrent Aigosthènes, tandis que les Achéens envoyèrent des représentants pour défendre Pagai et son alliée, Mégare<sup>55</sup>. C'est probablement en raison du caractère international de cette dispute territoriale que les Mégariens font mention dans l'intitulé du décret des magistrats éponymes de Mégare et de la Ligue achéenne, suivis par le nom du mois où la décision a été prise, soit le mois mégarien Πάναμος, avec sa correspondance dans le calendrier numéral achéen. Autrement dit, ils fournissent une double datation, civique et fédérale<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> C. Antonetti, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 17–24 ; *eadem, op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 83–94.

<sup>54</sup> Robu, *Mégare*, p. 271–272, 277, 300.

<sup>55</sup> *IG VII 188–189*. Ce décret est à consulter dans l'édition de L. Robert, « Hellenica. I. Inscriptions de Pagai en Mégaride relatives à un arbitrage », *RPh* 13, 1939, p. 97–122 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, II, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 1250–1275).

<sup>56</sup> A. Robu, « Recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Mégaride : le décret d'Aigosthènes pour Apollodôros de Mégare (*IG VII, 223*) », in *Philologos Dionysios. Mélanges offerts au professeur Denis Knoepfler*, N. Badoud (éd.), Genève, 2011, p. 86–87.

Le mois Πάναμος n'est jamais attesté dans le milieu colonial, et faute d'autres attestations émanant de Mégare, Hanell, Avram et Trümpy se sont appuyés sur la documentation des colonies pour reconstituer le calendrier mégarien archaïque. Cette démarche a été critiquée par Russell, qui note : « to attempt reconstructions of the calendar of Megara on the Byzantium's calendar, as Trümpy and Avram do, is dangerous : Megara's calendar may have been *roughly* similar to those of the Pontic colonies, but it was probably not identical »<sup>57</sup>. Cependant, ces spécialistes n'ont pas soutenu que les calendriers de Mégare et de ses colonies aient été identiques, mais ils ont seulement essayé d'établir les correspondances entre les différents calendriers des cités mégariennes.

Assurément, certaines propositions peuvent faire l'objet de discussions. Avram et Trümpy proposent par exemple de supprimer dans le calendrier de Mégare le mois *Latoios* et de garder *Héraios*, un mois attesté à Byzance et en Bithynie. Or, le mois *Latoios* devait figurer, on l'a vu, dans le calendrier mégarien, compte tenu du lien qui existe entre ce mois et le culte d'Apollon *Latôos*. En revanche, on ne sait pas si les Mégariens de Grèce avaient dans leur calendrier un mois *Héraios*, le culte d'Héra étant peu documenté en Mégaride.

Pour le reste, il est vraisemblable que les mois suivants faisaient partie du calendrier mégarien archaïque : *Karneios*, *Machaneios*, *Petageitnios*, *Dionysios*, *Eukleios*, *Artémisios*, *Lykeios*, *Apellaios*, *Latoios*, *Malophorios*. Dans tous les cas, ce sont des mois qui avaient une importance dans le calendrier religieux de Mégare. Ainsi, le tableau suivant peut être proposé, les mois non attestés étant signalés par un astérisque. Il faut également garder à l'esprit que sauf pour Byzance, la succession des mois n'est pas certaine, elle n'est donnée ici qu'à titre indicatif.

Tableau III

	Mégare	Byzance	Chalcédoine	Callatis	Chersonèse Taurique
Sept.-Oct.	Ἡραῖος*/ Πάναμος	Ἡραῖος	Ἡραῖος*/ Ποτάμιος	Ἡραῖος*/ Ἡράκλειος*	Ἡραῖος*/ Ἡράκλειος
Oct.-Nov.	Καρνεῖος*	Καρνεῖος	Καρνεῖος*	Καρνεῖος*	Καρνεῖος*
Nov.-Déc.	Μαχάνειος*/ Μαχανεύς*	Μαχάνειος	Μαχάνειος	Μαχανεύς	Μαχάνειος*/ Μαχανεύς*
Déc.-Janv.	Πεταγείνιος*	Πεταγείνιος	Πεταγείνιος	Πεταγείνιος	Πεταγείνιος*
Janv.-Fév.	Διονύσιος*	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος
Fév.-Mars	Εὐκλείος*	Εὐκλείος	Εὐκλείος*	Εὐκλείος	Εὐκλείος
Mars-Avril	Ἄρτεμῖσιος*	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος	Ἄρτεμῖσιος*
Avril-Mai	Λύκειος*	Λύκειος	Λύκειος*	Λύκειος	Λύκειος
Mai-Juin	Ἄπελλαῖος*	Βοσπόριος	Ἄπελλαῖος	Ἄπελλαῖος	Ἄπελλαῖος*
Juin-Juillet	Λατοῖος*	Λατοῖος	Λατοῖος*	Λατοῖος*	Λατοῖος
Juillet-Août	Πάναμος/ Ἀγριάνιος*	Ἀγριάνιος	Ἀγριάνιος*/ Ποτάμιος	Ἀγριάνιος*/ Ἡράκλειος*	Ἀγριάνιος*/ Ἡράκλειος
Août-Sept.	Μαλοφόριος*	Μαλοφόριος	Μαλοφόριος*	Μαλοφόριος	Μαλοφόριος*

<sup>57</sup> T. Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

L'examen des occurrences reproduites dans le tableau III permet de formuler plusieurs remarques. Premièrement, on constate que les mois qui se rattachent à un culte mégarien spécifique (Déméter *Malophoros*, Apollon *Lykeios*, Apollon *Latôos*) ou à des divinités très célébrées dans le monde mégarien (Apollon, Artémis, Dionysos, Zeus) sont communs à plusieurs calendriers.

Deuxièmement, comme D. Knoepfler nous l'a fait remarquer, ce n'est peut-être pas une coïncidence si ce sont plutôt les mois d'été (*Apellaios*, *Panamos/Agrianios*) et peut-être aussi d'automne (*Héraios*) qui changent dans les cités coloniales. Ce sont des périodes de l'année qui se caractérisent par une multiplication des fêtes, et cela a pu avoir comme résultat l'apparition de nouveaux mois.

Troisièmement, outre Bosphorios, il existe actuellement trois autres mois à Byzance (*Karneios*, *Agrianios*, *Héraios*) qui ne trouvent pas de correspondance dans les autres cités mégariennes. On peut retirer de cette liste *Karneios*, celui-ci étant un mois pandorien, qui faisait sans doute partie du bagage des Mégariens arrivés sur les rives du Bosphore thrace. On ne sait pas en revanche si le mois *Agrianios* appartenait au calendrier mégarien, car ce mois est certes attesté en milieu dorien, mais il est aussi présent ailleurs, notamment en Béotie, lieu de départ, avec la Mégaride, des colons ayant participé à la fondation de Byzance.

De même, le mois *Héraios* est commun à plusieurs cités ioniennes et doriennes. Ce mois peut témoigner de l'importance que le culte d'Héra a pris à Byzance, et éventuellement de la participation d'autres colons à la fondation de cette cité (des Corinthiens, des Argiens). Une seconde solution serait de considérer *Héraios* comme l'indice en faveur d'un ancien culte mégarien d'Héra, oblitéré à Mégare, mais qui fut conservé dans le milieu colonial.

Quant au mois *Panamos*, il est difficile de dater son apparition à Mégare. Les modernes estiment en règle générale qu'il faisait partie du calendrier mégarien archaïque et ce n'est que le hasard des découvertes qui expliquerait son absence dans les colonies<sup>58</sup>. Certes, cette hypothèse reste envisageable, vu la présence de ce mois dans les calendriers d'autres cités doriennes (Corinthe, Argos, Sparte). Mais il ne faut pas oublier que Πάναμος n'est pas spécifique aux cités doriennes, il est aussi présent en Béotie, avec laquelle les Mégariens ont des relations étroites dans l'Antiquité, ou encore dans le calendrier ionien archaïque, sous la forme Πάνημος<sup>59</sup>. On peut avoir donc affaire à un mois panhellénique. Il n'est pas exclu dès lors qu'à l'époque classique et hellénistique le mois *Panamos* ait pris la place occupée par le mois *Agrianios* ou le mois *Héraios* dans le calendrier archaïque. Rien n'empêche en effet que le calendrier de Mégare ait connu des modifications à l'époque classique ou hellénistique. Dans ce cas, ce ne serait pas le hasard qui expliquerait l'absence de l'attestation de *Panamos* dans les colonies mégariennes,

<sup>58</sup> Avram, *Calendriers*, p. 30 ; idem, in *ISM* III, p. 114 ; C. Trümper, *op. cit.*, p. 154-155.

<sup>59</sup> Pour la présence de Πάναμος/Πάνημος dans le calendrier ionien archaïque et dans les calendriers de Sparte, d'Argos, de Corinthe et de la Confédération béotienne, voir C. Trümper, *op. cit.*, p. 26-29, 135-137, 144-145, 155, 244-245.

mais le fait que ce mois fut introduit dans la métropole à une époque bien ultérieure à la fondation des colonies.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est fort probable que *Panamos* a été remplacé dans le milieu colonial par un mois à caractère local : *Potamios* à Chalcédoine, *Hérakleios* à Héraclée du Pont et dans ses colonies.

Par ailleurs, on n'a pas d'indices selon lesquels les Mégariens ont adopté le calendrier numéral achéen, suite à leur entrée dans la Ligue achéenne peu après le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle. En revanche, un calendrier numéral apparaît à Aigosthènes, bourg mégarien qui obtient l'indépendance dans la seconde moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle. À l'image de Mégare, Aigosthènes adopte plusieurs magistratures béotiennes (l'archonte éponyme, les polémarques), lors de l'appartenance au *koinon* béotien, et des institutions achéennes (les *synarchiai*), suite à l'entrée dans le *koinon* achéen. Mieux encore, un décret datant de la première moitié du II<sup>e</sup> siècle fait mention du mois *Tritos*<sup>60</sup>. A. E. Samuel note dans son ouvrage sur les calendriers antiques que ce mois appartient au calendrier mégarien, tout comme le mois *Panamos*<sup>61</sup>. En réalité, cette affirmation est erronée, *Tritos* est un mois du calendrier d'Aigosthènes<sup>62</sup>. Il y avait peut-être là une volonté de se différencier de leurs voisins de Mégare, comme en témoignent également les pratiques épigraphiques différentes dans les deux cités<sup>63</sup>.

À notre sens, le modèle pour le calendrier aigosthénien est à chercher dans la Ligue achéenne, car les Achéens employaient, eux aussi, un calendrier numéral. Il est permis de supposer que l'entrée d'Aigosthènes dans le *Koinon* achéen, peu après la dissolution de la Confédération béotienne par le Sénat romain en 171, fut suivie de l'adoption de plusieurs institutions achéennes (le calendrier, les *synarchiai*)<sup>64</sup>. C'est là un aspect fort intéressant pour l'étude du fédéralisme antique, en particulier pour ce qui est du rapport entre les institutions civiques et fédérales.

## CONCLUSIONS

L'étude des calendriers des cités mégariennes confirme la thèse de K. Hanell, reprise avec de nouveaux arguments par A. Avram et C. Trümpy, sur le rôle de la métropole dans l'introduction du calendrier dans les colonies. En effet, il est fort probable que le calendrier de la Mégare archaïque est en bonne partie le même que celui de ses colonies. Des différences existent et des développements locaux sont documentés dans les *apoikiai*, on l'a vu dans le cas des mois *Bosporios*, *Potamios* et *Hérakleios*.

Les nouveaux mois dans les colonies, tout comme les cultes non mégariens (le culte d'Héraclès à Héraclée du Pont, peut-être aussi le culte d'Héra à Byzance)

<sup>60</sup> IG VII 223.

<sup>61</sup> A. E. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 193, n. 1.

<sup>63</sup> P. Liddel, « The Decree Culture of the Ancient Megarid », *CQ*, 59, 2, 2009, p. 427.

<sup>64</sup> A. Robu, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 94.

offraient aux colons non mégariens (béotiens, argiens) la possibilité d'établir une communauté de culte avec les Mégariens. L'adoption d'un calendrier est liée aux fêtes célébrées par les *apoikoi*. Le calendrier et, de manière générale, les coutumes institutionnelles (*nomima*) des colonies sont le résultat des négociations locales entre différents groupes de colons.

I. Malkin a bien noté que les *nomima* « were certainly neutral, and were symbolic of collective identity »<sup>65</sup>. On voit d'ailleurs que les *nomima* permettaient encore à l'époque de Thucydide d'identifier l'origine d'une colonie<sup>66</sup>. Les Grecs des colonies se montrent parfois plus traditionalistes que ceux de la métropole, comme le prouve par exemple l'emploi du dialecte mégarien à Chersonèse Taurique à l'époque impériale, une période où la *koinè* était bien implantée à Mégare<sup>67</sup>.

Par ailleurs, les *nomima* peuvent changer à la fois dans la métropole et dans le milieu colonial. Ainsi, Mégare et Aigosthènes modifient leurs institutions suite à l'entrée dans les États fédéraux hellénistiques, en prenant comme modèle des magistratures béotiennes ou achéennes, voire même le calendrier achéen pour Aigosthènes. On a, avec cet exemple, un indice supplémentaire de la dynamique des institutions civiques dans le monde grec.

Les colonies ont introduit, elles aussi, de nouvelles institutions, mais lorsque cela arrive, on constate qu'elles mettent en valeur des traditions locales. C'est par exemple le cas d'Apollon, un ancien dieu mégarien qui acquit des compétences oraculaires à Chalcédoine, étant célébré sous l'épiclèse *Chrestèrios* (« Oraculaire »)<sup>68</sup>.

La thèse de T. Russell selon laquelle les cités « doriennes » du Pont-Euxin ont établi des institutions similaires pour renforcer leurs « réseaux » et pour se distinguer des colonies ioniennes de la région reste difficile à suivre, car aucun document antique ou parallèle ne vient l'appuyer. En revanche, le transfert du calendrier mégarien depuis la métropole vers la colonie trouve des analogies ailleurs, notamment dans le cadre de la colonisation eubéenne<sup>69</sup> et dans la colonisation milésienne<sup>70</sup>.

Les *apoikiai* mégariennes ont bien évidemment la conscience d'une origine commune, elles établissent des relations sur la base de la parenté (*syngéneia*). Mais

<sup>65</sup> I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Oxford, 2011, p. 191.

<sup>66</sup> Thucydide, VI, 5, 1.

<sup>67</sup> M. L. del Barrio Vega, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

<sup>68</sup> *I. Kalchedon*, 5.

<sup>69</sup> Pour les liens institutionnels unissant les cités de l'Eubée et celles de la péninsule Chalcidique, voir : D. Knoepfler, « Le calendrier des Chalcidiens de Thrace. Essai de mise au point sur la liste et l'ordre des mois eubéens », *JSavants*, 1989, p. 23–59 ; idem, « The Calendar of Olynthus and the Origin of the Chalcidians in Thrace », in *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, J.-P. Descœudres (éd.), Oxford, 1990, p. 99–115 ; C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 39–54 ; E. Voutiras, « La réconciliation des Dikaïopolites : une nouvelle inscription de Dikaia de Thrace, colonie d'Érétrie », *CRAI*, 2008, p. 781–792 ; B. Gray, *Stasis and Stability. Exile, the Polis, and the Political Thought, c. 404–146 B.C.*, Oxford, 2015, p. 41–57.

<sup>70</sup> N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien. Vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen*<sup>2</sup>, Frankfurt am Main, 1988, p. 113–126 ; C. Trümpy, *op. cit.*, p. 89–93 ; D. Chiekova, *op. cit.*, p. 301–302.

la parenté n'empêche pas les conflits, comme ce fut le cas entre Byzance et Callatis à l'époque hellénistique au sujet de l'*emporion* de Tomis<sup>71</sup>. Il n'y a aucun témoignage pour prouver l'idée d'une volonté de créer ensemble des traditions communes à l'époque classique ou hellénistique. L'idée même d'une « identité dorienne » doit être écartée pour l'époque archaïque et classique, car celle-ci ne commence à être attestée dans les cités pontiques qu'à l'époque impériale, dans un contexte bien particulier de recherches des origines<sup>72</sup>.

Il ne faut pas chercher une date précise pour le transfert des institutions de la métropole, mais les chefs des colons doivent avoir joué un rôle dans l'introduction du calendrier et dans l'établissement des cultes civiques. Le calendrier est lié aux fêtes de la cité et à l'accomplissement des rites et des sacrifices spécifiques à chaque culte. Or les *apoikoi* devaient accomplir des sacrifices, et parfois ce privilège était réservé à certaines familles<sup>73</sup>.

Il est vrai que les calendriers des colonies ne sont pas attestés à l'époque archaïque, mais le dialecte, l'alphabet, l'onomastique, des cultes mégariens sont bien documentés dans les colonies à cette période. Il n'y a donc aucune raison de penser que les choses se soient passées différemment pour le calendrier, qui était avant tout un calendrier religieux. Célébrer une divinité mégarienne telle que Déméter *Malophoros*, dont le culte remonte à l'époque de fondation de Sélinonte<sup>74</sup>, signifiait accomplir des rites spécifiques et organiser des fêtes en l'honneur de la déesse à des moments précis de l'année, sans nul doute lors du mois *Malophorios*.

Serait-il possible d'admettre que l'introduction de *Malophorios* dans le calendrier soit le résultat d'une décision prise dans les colonies à l'époque classique ou hellénistique ? En réalité, rien ne permet de mettre en doute l'opinion que l'introduction du calendrier se fit dans le milieu colonial en même temps que l'établissement des cultes par les fondateurs de la cité. Il est aussi fort probable qu'introduire une magistrature mégarienne ou un mois du calendrier de Mégare était le résultat d'une décision collective, qui impliquait toute la communauté, et non pas une initiative individuelle. Assurément, la colonisation grecque n'est pas le résultat d'un mouvement d'aventuriers, mais un déplacement cohérent de population, régi par des lois (*nomoi*) et dont le résultat, la création d'une nouvelle

<sup>71</sup> Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F 13 (21) (= Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 224, 228 a-b).

<sup>72</sup> L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*, Paris, 1980, p. 412–414.

<sup>73</sup> On trouve dans les colonies mégariennes des cultes à caractère familial. Voir à cet égard : A. Robu, « Le culte de Zeus Meilichios à Sélinonte et la place des groupements familiaux et pseudo-familiaux dans la colonisation mégarienne », in *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne*, P. Brulé (éd.), *Kernos* Suppl. 21, Liège, 2009, p. 277–291. Sur les liens culturels entre métropole et colonies, voir en particulier : I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, Leiden, 1987, surtout p. 114–134.

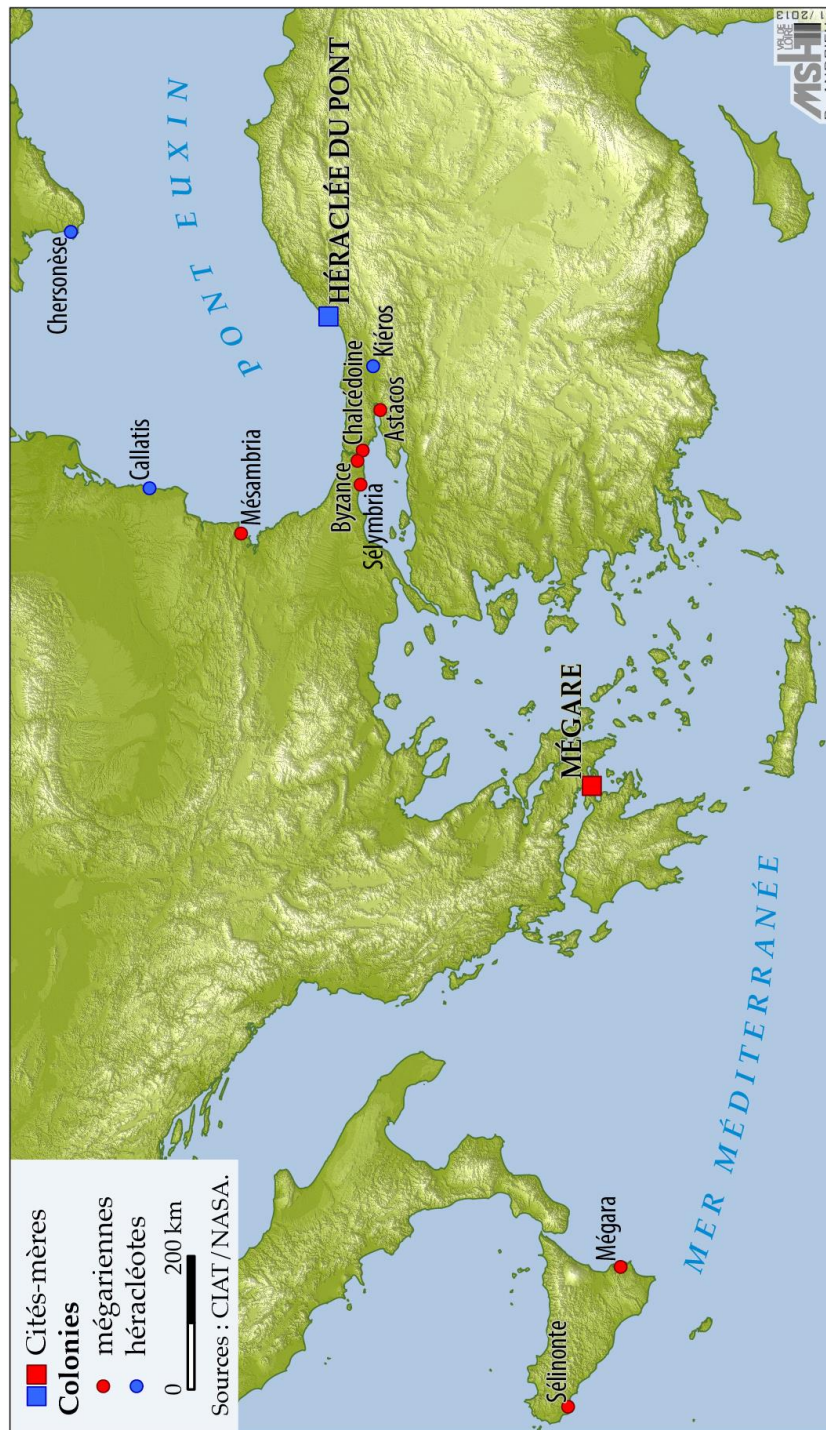
<sup>74</sup> M. Dewailly, « Les statuettes aux parures du sanctuaire de la Malophoros à Sélinonte. Contexte, typologie et interprétation d'une catégorie d'offrandes », *Cahiers Centre Jean Bérard* 17, Naples, 1992, p. 3–6 ; V. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Grecia*, Palilia, Band 4, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 144–152.

citée, est visible sur le sol, dans les monuments sacrés et les bâtiments publics, mais il est aussi illustré par les coutumes institutionnelles (*nomima*) reproduites par les Grecs dans les *apoikiai*.

## ABRÉVIATIONS

- Avram, *Calendriers* : A. Avram, « Les calendriers de Mégare et de ses colonies pontiques », in *Religions du Pont-Euxin, Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Symposium de Vani (Colchide)-1997*, O. Lordkipanidzé, P. Lévêque (éds.), Besançon-Paris, 1999, p. 25–31  
*Bull. ép.* : *Bulletin épigraphique de la Revue des Études grecques*.  
 Hanell, *Megarische Studien* : K. Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, Lund, 1934.  
*I. Byzantion* : A. Łajtar (éd.), *Die Inschriften von Byzantion, I. Die Inschriften*, Bonn, 2000 (IK, 58, 1).  
*IGBulg. I<sup>2</sup>* : G. Mihailov (éd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. I<sup>2</sup>, Sofia, 1970.  
*IK* : *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn, 1972-.  
*I. Kalchedon* : R. Merkelbach, F.K. Dörner, S. Şahin (éds.), *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*, Bonn, 1980 (IK, 20).  
*IG* : *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873-.  
*IOSPE I<sup>2</sup>* : V. Latyshev (éd.), *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae<sup>2</sup>*, vol. I, Saint-Petersbourg, 1916 (Hildesheim, 1965).  
*IOSPE III<sup>3</sup>* : I. Makarov (éd.), *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae<sup>3</sup>*, vol. III, *Inscriptions of Chersonesos and vicinity*, 2017, édition électronique : <http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html> (consulté le 29 mai 2019).  
*ISM III* : A. Avram (éd.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure*, vol. III : *Callatis et son territoire*, Bucarest-Paris, 1999.  
 Robu, *Mégare* : A. Robu, *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin. Histoire et institutions*, Berne, 2014.  
*SEG* : *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, Leiden, 1923–1971, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1979–1980, Amsterdam, 1979–2005, Boston 2006-.

**Carte** : Mégare, les colonies mégariennes et héracléotes, d'après Robu, *Mégare*, p. 488.





## BORDER CONTROL AND SHIPPING ON THE LOWER DANUBE IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND IN THE 9<sup>TH</sup> AND 10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

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In the days of the Late Roman Empire, the *Limes Moesiae* followed the course of the Lower Danube. A Roman road, the *Via Istrum*, ran along the southern bank of the river, linking legion camps, forts, watchtowers, signal posts and stations, from *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica) to *Noviodunum* (Isaccea). One of the three units of the *Classis Histriae* (i.e., the Danube Fleet), the *Classis Moesica*, secured the border control on the river. It operated not only along the Danube from the Iron Gates to the Danube Delta, but also along the northern Black Sea coast, from the delta to the Crimea. While the Danube Fleet played a significant role in the logistics for the legions by transporting food, weapons and troops it was also a great economic factor, due to the activities of its headquarters, and its ports, marinas and wharfs. The river trade on the Lower Danube covered a wide variety of commodities in the Late Roman period.

Even as the Danube border became gradually weakened in Late Antiquity, the amphorae and fine ware circulation in the Mediterranean world attest to the fact that the Lower Danube was integrated in the extensive network of the Mediterranean long-distance trade routes at least until the beginning of the seventh century. However, as the barbaric incursions into imperial territory intensified, urban life along the southern bank of the river fell into deterioration. From the late 600s to the 960s, the Bulgarians appear to have been making great efforts to keep the delta area under their control. The Byzantines, on the other hand, never gave up on the idea of recovering its control over the mouth of the Danube. Commercial shipping between the Middle and the Lower Danube seems to have been resumed after the Bulgarians and the East Franks concluded a peace treaty in the early 830s. In the 960s, river trade on the Danube appears to have been in full swing. Rock salt from Transylvania, silver, horses and slaves from Bohemia and Hungary were being shipped on the Danube.

**Keywords:** Border Control, Black Sea, Byzantine Thalassocracy, Danube Fleet, Lower Danube, River Trade, Shipping, *Via Istrum*.

### BORDER CONTROL AND SHIPPING ON THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL CENTURIES AND LATE ANTIQUITY

In Europe, the fortifications along the Danube have been part of the Roman military frontier for centuries.<sup>1</sup> While, in some locations, the frontier was moved

<sup>1</sup> On the Rhine-Danube *limes*, see C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study*, Baltimore – London, 1997; H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2: *The Barbarian Invasions*, trans. in English by W. J. Renfroe Jr., rev. ed., 1990. See also A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London – Boston, Mass., 1974).

north or south of the river as a result of military conquests, in other locations it remained a permanent defensive structure over long periods of time. The water border was under the control of the *Classis Histria* (i.e., the Danube Fleet), which was divided into three parts: *Classis Germanica*, *Classis Pannonica*, and *Classis Moesica*.<sup>2</sup>

A Roman road, the *Via Istrum*, ran along the southern bank of the river, linking legion camps, forts, watchtowers, signal posts and stations all the way from the Roman provinces of *Germania Superior* and *Raetia* in the west to the Black Sea in the east. Built, for the most part, under the emperors Domitian (81–96) and Trajan (98–117), that road was completed under Caracalla (198–211). The Lower Danube section of that road stretched between *Noviodunum* (present-day Isaccea, district of Tulcea)<sup>3</sup> in the east and *Sirmium* (present-day Sremska Mitrovica)<sup>4</sup> in the west.

The Lower Danube, with more than 1,000 km to be defended, was the longest and the most threatened part of the Danube *limes*. In the Roman imperial centuries, this part of the *Ripa Danubii* was defended by two legions at first, and by four legions under Marcus Aurelius (161–180). As for the *Classis Moesica*, it operated not only along the river from the Iron Gates to the delta, but also along the northern Black Sea coast, that is, from the delta to the Crimea. Initially, its headquarters were at *Noviodunum*; in 85 AD Emperor Domitian had it moved further upstream, to *Sexaginta Prista* (present-day Ruse). This naval center, established by Vespasian (69–79), was rebuilt and heavily fortified in around 250 AD, after the attacks by the Goths, and was destroyed in the sixth century by the Avars and the Slavs.<sup>5</sup> Other important anchors of this fleet were at *Novae* (near Svishtov), *Ulpia Oescus* (near Gigen) and *Tomis* (present-day *Constanța*).<sup>6</sup>

While the main role of the Danube Fleet was to guarantee peace through border control it also played a significant role in the logistics for the legions by transporting food, weapons and troops. Last but not least, the Danube Fleet was a great economic factor, due to the activities of its headquarters, and its ports, marinas and wharfs where the marines spent their pay, thus increasing the volume of local trade. After completing their military service, many navy veterans settled along the right bank of the Danube and in the nearby areas and played a role in the economy of the towns and forts along the border and its countryside.

The river trade on the Lower Danube covered a wide variety of commodities: salt and iron from *Noricum*, cattle, foodstuffs, cereals, ceramics, and gold from *Dacia*,

<sup>2</sup> D.B. Saddington, “*Classes*. The Evolution of the Roman Imperial Fleets”, in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Malden, MA – Oxford, etc., 2007, pp. 201–217.

<sup>3</sup> I. Barnea, “Dinogetia et Noviodunum, deux villes byzantines du Bas-Danube” *RESEE* 9, 1971, 3, p. 343–362.

<sup>4</sup> P. Milošević, *Arheologija i istorija Sirmijuma*, Novi Sad, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> O. Buonegru, M. Zahariade, “Les forces navales du Bas Danube et de la Mer Noire aux I<sup>er</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècles”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11, 1996, p. 631–634.

<sup>6</sup> G. von Bülow, A. Milčeva (eds.), *Der Limes an der unteren Donau von Diokletian bis Heraklios*. Vorträge der Internationalen Konferenz Svištov, Bulgarien, 1-5 Sept. 1998, Sofia, 1999; P. Иванов, Долнодунавската отбранителна система между Дортикум и Дуросторум от Август до Маврикий, Sofia, 1999; L. Vagalinski, N. Sharankov, S. Torbatov (eds.), *The Lower Danube Roman Limes (1<sup>st</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> Century AD)*, Sofia, 2012.

wine and olive oil from the Balkan provinces were traded between the East and the West, to and from Rome, and from the North to the South. The freight ships and the rafts that carried goods up and down the river were protected by the imperial navy.

Being the most common transport containers in the Roman Empire, amphorae served as transportation package for wine, olive oil, and fish products. The findings of various types of amphorae along the Lower Danube and the western Black Sea coast attest to the commercial links of those areas with other parts of the empire. As has been shown by D. Paraschiv, in the Istro-Pontic region there have been found amphorae of four basic types (Pontic, Occidental, Oriental and North African), dating into the first through the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> The Occidental amphorae were produced in *Hispania*, *Italia*, and *Germania*, with the Hispanic amphorae being the most numerous ones. Occidental amphorae are mostly to be found on the sites of the Roman fortified cities along the Danube *limes* (i.e., *Novae*, *Carsium*, *Beroe*, *Aegyssus*, *Halmyris*) and, as one proceeds downstream, their numbers decrease. Most probably, these transport amphorae came to the Balkans through the Adriatic ports and, after crossing *Dalmatia* and *Moesia Superior*, they were carried further down the Danube to *Moesia Inferior*. However, they have not been found in the interior of *Moesia Superior* and along the western Black Sea coast. After 400 AD these types of amphorae disappear, which may lead us to conclude that, by the beginning of the fifth century, the commercial ties of the Lower Danube lands with the western parts of the Roman Empire were severed.<sup>8</sup>

The Oriental types of amphorae, on the other hand, seem to have been the most common transport vessels in the Lower Danube lands in the Roman and Early Byzantine periods. These amphorae were produced in the Aegean basin and reached the Lower Danube through the western Black Sea ports, their numbers steadily increasing from the fourth century onwards. Having a pitched interior, they contained wine, olive oil, vinegar, salsamenta (i.e., a fermented fish product) and a variety of ointments.<sup>9</sup> From the late 500s onwards, a type of North African amphorae, which were produced mostly in Tunisia, reached the Lower Danube lands, probably through the western Black Sea ports; they seem to have contained oil and fish products.<sup>10</sup>

The *Notitia dignitatum*<sup>11</sup> – and, more precisely, its section for the Eastern Roman Empire dating from around 395 AD – mentions a *classis Scythiae*, which was under the command of the *dux Scythiae*<sup>12</sup>, and a *classis Stradensis et Germensis* under the command of the *dux Moesiae primae*.<sup>13</sup> In 412 AD Emperor Theodosius II (408–450)

<sup>7</sup> D. Paraschiv, *Amfore romane și romano-bizantine în zona Dunării de Jos (sec. I–VII p. Chr.)*, Iași, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168–169.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>11</sup> O. Seeck (ed.), *Notitia dignitatum: accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi provinciarum*, Berolini, 1876.

<sup>12</sup> *Notitia dignitatum. Pars Secunda. In partibus Orientis*, p. 24: cap. XXXIX. *Dux Scythiae*. <[http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/\\_P24.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/_P24.HTM)> (3.16.2019).

<sup>13</sup> *Notitia dignitatum. Pars Secunda. In partibus Orientis*, p. 26: cap. XLI. *Dux Moesiae primae*. <[http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/\\_P26.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/_P26.HTM)> (3.16.2019).

ordered the repair of the existing craft and the building of new boats, which were reconnaissance and shallow-drafted patrol ships (*lusoriae*).<sup>14</sup> *Classis Moesica* remained in function until the beginning of the fifth century, when the fleet was integrated in the Byzantine navy of Constantinople. Under Justinian the Great (527–565), the re-establishment of a permanently maintained fleet and the introduction of the *dromon* marks the point when the Byzantine navy began departing from its Late Roman roots and developing its own characteristic identity.

Even in the early fifth century trade seems to have been flourishing along the Lower Danube, as has been noted by Zosimus: commodities were being re-loaded from smaller river craft onto bigger sea-faring vessels.<sup>15</sup> Numismatic finds from *Bononia*, *Ratiaria*, *Oescus*, *Novae*, *Sexaginta Prista*, *Durostorum* and *Noviodunum* suggest that, in the fourth and early fifth centuries, commercial dealings and building activities were taking place along the right bank of the Danube.<sup>16</sup> “Barbarians” from the left bank of the river would cross over to its right bank, to trade with the locals at designated border spots. In each of the Lower Danube provinces, there was appointed an imperial functionary who was in charge of frontier trade. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists the *comites commmerciorum* in the Eastern part of the empire, as follows: one *comes per Orientem et Aegyptum*; one *comes per Moesiam, Scythiam et Pontum*; and one *comes per Illyricum*.<sup>17</sup> As I have already pointed out, the grain supply, and the amphorae and fine ware circulation in the Mediterranean world bear evidence to the fact that the Lower Danube was integrated in the extensive network of the Mediterranean long-distance trade routes in Late Antiquity.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the troops that were dislocated along the Danube border seem to have been receiving olive oil as part of the *annona militaris* at least until some point in time during the sixth century, as could be seen from the spread of a certain type of transport amphorae along the right bank of the river.<sup>19</sup> There are also amphorae, which attest to the fact that there was

<sup>14</sup> Cod. Theod. VII.17.1. Cf. J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, 2 vols., Dover Publications, 2011, vol. 1, p. 412; Th. S. Burns, *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome: A Study Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians*, ca. 375–425 A.D., Bloomington, Ind., 1994, p. 412.

<sup>15</sup> F. Paschoud (ed., trad.), *Zosime. Histoire nouvelle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1971–1989, vol. II, lib. IV, p. 272–273. Cf. Л. Симеонова, *Пътуване към Константинопол. Търговия и комуникации в Средиземноморския свят (края на IX – 70-те години на XI в.)*, Sofia, 2006, p. 133.

<sup>16</sup> Л. Симеонова, “Крепостта Видинис/Бдин и „завръщането на Византия на Дунава“: реализация и крах на една имперска мечта”, in Л. Симеонова, Л. Тасева (съст., ред.), *Средновековните Балкани като световен кръстопът. Контакти и обмен* [Studia balcanica 32], Sofia, 2017, p. 93–108, see esp. p. 70.

<sup>17</sup> *Notitia dignitatum. Pars Secunda. In partibus Orientis*, cap. XIII. 6–3. <[http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/\\_P1H.HTM](http://www.intratext.com/IXT/LAT0212/_P1H.HTM)> (3.16.2019). Cf. J. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, Baltimore, MD, 1986, p. 826.

<sup>18</sup> For more details, see M. Mundell Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange: Papers of the Thirty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, St John’s College, University of Oxford, March 2004, Aldershot, 2009.

<sup>19</sup> O. Karagiorgou, “Mapping Trade by the Amphora”, in M. Mundell Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, p. 37–58, see esp. p. 57. Cf. above, notes 5–8.

military supply of wine to some Lower Danube ports, such as *Sexaginta Prista*, even in the late sixth and the first half of the seventh century.<sup>20</sup>

Due to lack of resources, however, the empire's defense system along the Danube border became gradually weakened. The reforms that were carried out first by Diocletian (284–305) and later on by Constantine I (306–337) and his successors resulted in the split of the Roman military into field armies and frontier troops.<sup>21</sup> The latter were called *limitanei* (or *ripenses*): their task was to patrol the borders and oppose small-scale raids, waiting for more substantial aid to be provided by the field troops (i.e., the *comitatenses*) that were dislocated in the interior of the provinces. But the *limitanei* gradually became part-time soldiers and eventually an unpaid *militia* relying, for their income, on the farming of the plots of land they had been granted.<sup>22</sup> Hoards of fourth-century silver coins as well as of early fifth-century gold coins, which have been found in Romania, suggest that the Romans may have been paying tribute to the Goths and the Huns living on the other side of the water border.<sup>23</sup>

By the end of the fourth century, the Roman *villa* economy in the Lower Danube lands appears to have collapsed.<sup>24</sup> The results of recent archaeological research in that area provide us with a possible explanation as to how and why there was such a radical break between the Roman Empire and its Early Byzantine successor on the Lower Danube. For example, the archaeological research on the site of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* in Bulgaria has shown that, in the fifth century, that city was replaced by a very different *Nicopolis*, both in layout and economy. Excavations of a nearby Late Roman fort (Dichin) provided additional information about the regional economy and the military situation on the Lower Danube in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>25</sup>

The restoration of the border fortifications along the Lower Danube seems to have begun some thirty or forty years after the Hunnic invasions, under Anastasius I (491–518). Thus, the defensive walls of *Bononia* (present-day Vidin) were strengthened, most probably in the days of that emperor, by the construction of a

<sup>20</sup> D. Dobрева, "Late Roman Amphorae on the Lower Danube: Trade and Continuity of the Roman Production", in *27<sup>th</sup> Congress of the REI CRETARIAE ROMANAE FAUTORES*, Belgrade, 19–26 Sept. 2010: <[https://www.academia.edu/597259/Late\\_Roman\\_amphorae\\_on\\_the\\_Lower\\_Danube\\_trade\\_and\\_continuity\\_of\\_the\\_Roman\\_production](https://www.academia.edu/597259/Late_Roman_amphorae_on_the_Lower_Danube_trade_and_continuity_of_the_Roman_production)> (3.16.2019).

<sup>21</sup> On the creation of the *limitanei*, see D. S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay AD 180–395*, London – New York, 2004, p. 451–453; E. A. Thomson, "Constantine, Constantius II, and the Lower Danube Frontier", *Hermes* 84, 1956, 3, p. 372–381.

<sup>22</sup> For the pay cancellation under Justinian I, see W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army, 284–1081*, Stanford, Cal., 1998, p. 60.

<sup>23</sup> D. Moissil, "The Danube Limes and the Barbaricum (294–498 A.D.) A Study in Coin Circulation", *Histoire & mesure* 17, 2002, 3–4, p. 79–120.

<sup>24</sup> A. G. Poulter, "The Economy, the Countryside, Forts and Towns: The Early Byzantine Period on the Lower Danube during the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD", in H. Baron, F. Daim (eds.), *A Most Pleasant Scene and an Inexhaustible Resource. Steps Towards a Byzantine Environmental History* [Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident 6], Mainz, 2017, p. 79–100.

<sup>25</sup> A. G. Poulter, "The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Lower Danube: the City, a Fort and the Countryside", in *British Academy Scholarship Online*, Jan. 2012: DOI: 10.5871/bacad/9780197264027.001.0001.

new tower: a coin minted by Anastasius was found in it.<sup>26</sup> A building inscription in neighboring *Ratiaria* (present-day Archar, district of Vidin) suggests that its city walls were repaired by the same emperor.<sup>27</sup> Another Latin inscription, which was found in *Histria* (present-day Istros, district of Constanța), suggests that that city may have had its walls repaired under Anastasius, too.<sup>28</sup>

As the barbaric incursions into imperial territory intensified, urban life along the southern bank of the Danube fell into deterioration.<sup>29</sup> Out of the forty urban settlements that were located along the present-day Bulgarian section of the Danube River, very few, if any, seem to have survived the Avar raids in the 580s.<sup>30</sup> Theophylactes Symmoca, for example, writes that *Aquae*, *Bononia*, *Ratiaria* and some other towns in *Moesia* were destroyed by the Avars in 586.<sup>31</sup> In the Iron Gates section of the river the *limes* appears to have been destroyed much earlier, around the middle of the fifth century.<sup>32</sup> But, as has been shown by A. Madgearu, the Avar attack of 597/598 and the military revolt of 602 did not cause any major destruction on the *limes* in *Scythia minor*; the fall of the *limes* in those parts of the Eastern Roman Empire began in 614.<sup>33</sup>

Procopius of Caesarea (*De aedif.* IV, 6) provides a list of 600 forts and castles in the Balkans that were supposed to be rebuilt or repaired under Justinian the Great. It is hard to say how much of Justinian's fortification plan materialized and how many of the fortresses and forts listed in Procopius' work did not get a chance to be rebuilt and remained in a state of disrepair. Whatever the case, it seems that, along the Danube and in the immediate hinterland, some relatively small forts were built.<sup>34</sup> In the course of the sixth century the original Roman *limes* system was slowly melting away. By the middle of that century, the *Sclavi* had begun to raid deep into imperial territory; by the 580s, as the Slav communities on the Danube had become larger and more organized, and as the Avars exerted their influence, raids became larger and resulted in permanent settlement.

<sup>26</sup> Й. Атанасова, "Круглые и полигональные башни в Dacia ripensis", in *Thracia III. Primus congressus studiorum Thracicarum*, Sofia, 1974, p. 337–344, see esp. p. 338.

<sup>27</sup> В. Динчев, "Рациария (Ratiaria)", in Р. Иванов (съст., ред.), *Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България. Сборник в памет на проф. Т. Иванов*, t. I, Sofia, 2002, p. 13–30, see esp. p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Е. Попеску, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și commentate*, București, 1976, № 112, p. 150–151.

<sup>29</sup> V. Velkov, *Cities in Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity. Studies and Materials* Amsterdam, 1977. Cf. Р. Иванов (съст., ред.), *Римски и ранновизантийски градове в България*; see above, note 27.

<sup>30</sup> For the Avar raids along the Lower Danube, see F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 65–71.

<sup>31</sup> Л. Симеонова, "Крепостта Видинис/Бдин и „завръщането на Византия на Дунава“", p. 72.

<sup>32</sup> M. Vasić, V. Kondić, "Le limes romain et paléo-byzantin des Portes de Fer", in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, 13. Internationaler Limeskongress*, Aalen, 1983 (Stuttgart, 1986), p. 542–560.

<sup>33</sup> A. Madgearu, "The Province of Scythia and the Avaro-Slavic Invasions (576–626)", *Balkan Studies* 37, 1996, 1, p. 35–61. Cf. C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae: Topographical and Stratigraphical Research on the Late Roman Fortifications on the Lower Danube* [BAR International Series, 88], Oxford, 1980.

<sup>34</sup> F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250*, p. 45.

The final attempt at restoring the northern border of the empire was made from 591 to 605 AD, when the end of conflicts with Persia allowed Emperor Maurice (582–602) to transfer units to the north. Maurice aimed to re-establish a sturdy defense line along the Danube River, as Anastasius I had done a century earlier. Furthermore, he intended to keep the Avars and the Slavs off the Balkan provinces of the empire by invading their homeland: this would enable Roman troops to increase their pay by pillaging in hostile territory, making such campaigns more attractive. However, Maurice was deposed after a military revolt in 602 AD, and the Danube frontier fully collapsed about fifteen years later. In the interior of the Balkans, many fortresses were rebuilt either under Maurice or his successor, Phocas (602–610).<sup>35</sup> But it was Phocas' inaction with regard to the Balkan provinces of the empire, which was more or less caused by the deteriorating situation on the Persian front that paved the way for the eventual collapse of Roman rule over the Balkans.<sup>36</sup>

#### THE LOWER DANUBE AND THE DELTA AREA UNDER BULGARIA'S CONTROL FROM THE LATE 600S TO THE 960S

The peace, which Constantine IV (668–685) concluded with Asparukh in 681 AD, marked a turning point in the history of Byzantium: as has been noted by J. Haldon, the empire lost control of the Slavs “who had hitherto recognized Byzantine overlordship in the area about the Lower Danube from the Dniester to the Balkan range itself, including part of the plain of Wallachia, south Bessarabia, the Dobrudja, and the older province of *Moesia Inferior*”.<sup>37</sup> But the strategy, which Constantine IV used for attacking Asparukh's Bulgars, established a pattern of attacking Danube Bulgaria by the Byzantine forces in the centuries to follow: a fleet would be dispatched with troops to the mouth of the Danube to attack the Bulgarians from the rear, while an army would march from Thrace.

No sooner had Bulgaria settled in the northeastern corner of the Balkan Peninsula than the Byzantines and the Bulgarians started fighting over which one of them would establish control over the Lower Danube area. In order to protect themselves from incursions of the steppe peoples into the former Roman province of *Scythia Minor*, the Bulgarians built earth ramparts, which were up to four meters high and ten-to-fifteen meters wide at their base.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 189.

<sup>36</sup> M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare*, New York – Oxford, 1998.

<sup>37</sup> J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 67.

<sup>38</sup> P. Рашев, *Старобългарски укрепления на Долния Дунав (VII–XI в.)*, Varna, 1982.

The empire relied on its maritime hegemony in order to maintain key positions in the vicinity of the Danube Delta. This allowed the Byzantines to launch occasional naval raids by entering into the delta, thus exerting pressure over the medieval Bulgarian state, of which the eastern frontier was the western Black Sea coast.<sup>39</sup> The empire never gave up on the idea of recovering its control over the mouth of the Danube and fought hard to preserve its naval supremacy in the delta area, even when military circumstances did not favor a resumption of Byzantine domination over *Scythia Minor*.<sup>40</sup>

Written sources as well as epigraphic and archaeological material attest the Bulgarians' control of the delta area in the ninth and early tenth centuries. Thus, according to the anonymous chronicle of the reigns of Michael I (811–813) and Leo V (813–820), the so-called *Scriptus incertus*, the Bulgarian ruler Krum banished a great number of Adrianopolitans to “the Bulgaria beyond the River Istros”.<sup>41</sup> Leo the Grammarian writes that these people were resettled “on the River Danube”.<sup>42</sup> The precise location of their resettlement to the north of the Danube is unknown. This happened shortly after Leo V's ascension to the throne in 813. About a quarter of a century later, in 837 some of these deportees attempted to return to their native land with the help of the imperial navy. A Bulgarian *comes* crossed the river in an effort to stop them but was defeated. Then another Bulgarian army was dispatched to prevent them from leaving but it failed to cross the river, probably stopped by Byzantine ships. Eventually, the Bulgarians asked the Magyars living in the northern parts of the Black Sea region for help; the Magyars were defeated too, so the deportees managed to board the imperial ships and leave.<sup>43</sup> This story is, in itself, illustrative of the bitter Byzantine-Bulgarian rivalry as regards the control over the delta area.

Lacking a fleet of their own, the Bulgarians found it difficult to prevent Byzantine ships from entering the river delta. The sea-borne imperial forces, on the other hand, did not always have sufficient manpower to carry out a successful attack on the Bulgarians: they often resorted to the help of Petcheneg or Magyar horsemen who were ferried across the river by Byzantine ships. For example, in his *Tactica*, Leo VI (886–912) tells the story of the imperial navy transferring *Turkoi* (Magyars?) across the Danube, to attack the Bulgarian ruler Simeon from the rear

<sup>39</sup> V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, “Quelques observations sur la domination byzantine aux bouches du Danube – le sort de Lykostomion et de quelques autres villes côtières”, *Studia Balcanica* I, 1970, p. 79–86; eadem, *Долни Дунав – гранична зона на византийския Запад*, Sofia, 1976, *passim*; V. Gjuzev, “Il Mar Nero ed il suo litorale nella storia del Medioevo Bulgaro”, *Byzantinobulgarica* VII, 1981, p. 11–24.

<sup>40</sup> V. Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, Leiden, 2009, p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> This short anonymous chronicle is inserted into the text of Leo the Grammarian's *Chronographia*; cf. I. Bekker (ed.), *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, Bonn, 1842, p. 341–348, see esp. p. 345–346.

<sup>42</sup> *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. Bekker, p. 207–208.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231–233.



in 895.<sup>44</sup> Leo's son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, elaborates on this story by adding more details to it: when Simeon found out that a Byzantine fleet had arrived "on the river" – its precise landing spot is not mentioned in the text – and that the imperial ships were about to ferry *Turkoi* across the Danube in order to attack him, he ordered some very strong and thick ropes to be made. Those ropes could not be broken, so at first the Byzantine ships failed to cross the river. Then the flotilla's commander along with two brave sailors jumped off the *chelandion* and managed to cut the ropes, thus producing an opening through which the ships with the *Turkoi* could make it to the opposite bank of the river.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the development of a Bulgar-Slavic state in the northeastern Balkans, Byzantium's *thalassocracy* in the Black Sea remained undisputed.<sup>46</sup> Byzantium was "the real mistress of the Black Sea", due to its naval organization and technological superiority, particularly with regard to the design of the ships and the use of sea weapons, such as the Greek fire.<sup>47</sup> Byzantine ships were designed essentially for coastal cruising, which is why the Byzantines preferred cabotage to open sea routes. The developed network of Black Sea ports, harbors and landing places facilitated considerably coastal navigation.<sup>48</sup> The most significant and exploited routes connected the major Black Sea seaport towns with Constantinople. For example, such a popular coastal sea route linked the Byzantine capital with *Messembria* (present-day Nesebar), *Anchialos* (present-day Pomorie), and the harbors in the Danube Delta. Thence, this route followed the northwest coastal line and alongside the estuaries of the rivers Dniester and Dnieper went on to the northern Black Sea coast as far as Cherson from where, along the Crimean coast, the route set towards the *Cimmerian Bosphoros* (Kerch) and the Sea of Azov.<sup>49</sup> Some sources suggest that there existed an open sea route, which linked the northwestern parts of the Black Sea with its southeastern parts: in this way, *Trebizond* (present-day Trabzon) was connected with the Danube Delta area and it usually took nine days of sailing to complete the journey.<sup>50</sup>

In the ninth century, the Byzantines may have been masters of the sea due to their naval superiority but the Bulgarians never gave up on the idea of extending their territory as far as the estuaries of the Dniester and the Dnieper rivers,

<sup>44</sup> *Leo. Imp. Tactica* XVIII, 42. Cf. В. В. Кучма (перев.), *Лев VI Мудрый. Тактика Льва. Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, Sankt-Peterburg, 2012, p. 274.

<sup>45</sup> *Const. Porphyр., De Administrando Imperio*, сар. 51, 112-120, in Г. Г. Литаврин, А. П. Новосельцев (ред.), *Константин Багрянородный. Об управлении империей*, Moskva, 1989, p. 238–240.

<sup>46</sup> G. Brătianu, *La Mer Noire des origines à la conquête ottomane*, München, 1969, p. 171–184.

<sup>47</sup> F. van Doorninck Jr., "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea 330–641", in G. Bass (ed.) *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, London, 1972, p. 134–146.

<sup>48</sup> L. Christopher, "Byzantine Navigation and Sea Routes in the Black Sea" in *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού*: URL: <<http://blacksea.ehw.gr/Forms/fLemmaBody.aspx?lemmaid=11970>> (3.13.2019).

<sup>49</sup> Л. Симеонова, *Пътуване към Константинопол*, p. 152–156, 256–269.

<sup>50</sup> Б. Недков (ред.), *България и съседните ѝ земи през XII век според „Географията“ на Идриси*, Sofia, p. 97.

probably marching along overland routes. Thus, one of Omurtag's commanders, the *kopanos* Korsis, is said to have drowned in the Dnieper<sup>51</sup>: he may have been sent on an expedition against the Magyars living in that area.<sup>52</sup> Although, as far as the acquisition of the Dniester and the Dnieper estuaries is concerned, the Bulgarians' expansionist dreams may not have materialized they appear to have been making great efforts to keep the delta area under their control. In the 940s, it was probably the looming threat of Petcheneg incursions into Bulgarian territory that made a Bulgarian commander, the *zhupan* Dimiter, take actions to strengthen the defenses of his military district: the inscription of Mircea Voda attests to that.<sup>53</sup> Another inscription dated into the ninth or tenth centuries, which is found on the site of the ancient *Axiopolis* in the Hinog Island, mentions a certain Voislav – probably a local commander of Slavic origins, in service to the Bulgarian rulers.<sup>54</sup> Last but not least, there is the Basarabi-Murfatlar cave complex<sup>55</sup> with its tenth-century graffiti-inscriptions in Greek and Old Bulgarian (the latter being written in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic scripts)<sup>56</sup> as well as with some runic inscriptions.<sup>57</sup> The complex is a relict from a widespread monastic phenomenon in tenth-century Bulgaria, as F. Curta has noted;<sup>58</sup> but it also bears evidence to the fact that monks who settled there must have felt quite safe in that area, thanks to the defense provided by the Bulgarian military.

Bulgaria seems to have kept the mouths of the River Danube under its control at least until the late 960s when Svyatoslav of Kiev invaded the country. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who seems to have written his *De Administrando Imperio* around the middle of the tenth century, says that the whole territory between the delta and the *Ditsina* (i.e., present-day Provadiiska) River belongs to Bulgaria<sup>59</sup>. The Black Sea port of Constanța was within Bulgarian territory, too. However, in the tenth century there seem to have been no Bulgarian forts on the left bank of the river.<sup>60</sup> And if ever there was a Bulgarian fort on *Păcuiul lui Soare*, as P. Diaconu believed, it must have been built after the siege of *Dorostolon* in 971.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>51</sup> V. Beševlev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1963, p. 285–286.

<sup>52</sup> V. Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, p. 57.

<sup>53</sup> Д. П. Богдан, “Добруджанская надпись 943 года (палеографический и лингвистический очерк)”, *Romanoslavica* 1, 1958, p. 88–104.

<sup>54</sup> E. Popescu, *Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII*, p. 203, № 202.

<sup>55</sup> F. Curta, “The Cave and the Dyke: A Rock Monastery on the Tenth-century Frontier of Bulgaria”, *Studia Monastica* 41, 1999, № 1, p. 129–149.

<sup>56</sup> K. Popkonstantinov, “Die Inschriften des Felsklosters Murfatlar”, *Die Slawischen Sprachen* 10, 1986, p. 77–106.

<sup>57</sup> В. Бешевлиев, “Етническата принадлежност на рунните надписи при Мурфатлар”, *Векове* 1976, 4, p. 12–22.

<sup>58</sup> F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 232.

<sup>59</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, IX, 91–102, in Г. Г. Литаврин, А. П. Новосельцев (ред.), *Константин Багрянородный. Об управлении империей*, p. 50.

<sup>60</sup> A. Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Leiden, 2013, p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> P. Diaconu, “Cetatea bizantină din insula Păcuiul lui Soare”, *BMI* 1, 1971, p. 3–20. Cf. A. Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube*, p. 33.

### REVIVAL OF THE SHIPPING ON THE MIDDLE AND THE LOWER DANUBE IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

In the Bulgarian controlled territory on the right bank of the Danube, new settlements emerged only in the latter part of the ninth century; they were built either upon the ruins of the Late Antique settlements, or in close proximity to them.<sup>62</sup> Albeit slowly at first, in the course of time these new, medieval settlements became involved in the river trade.

Probably, it was in the 830s that the sailing from the Lower to the Middle Danube and back was made possible by the conclusion of the Bulgarian-Frankish peace treaty. After nearly nine years of war, the Avar Khaganate on the Middle Danube was finally destroyed by the Franks in 796. In 804, Bulgaria conquered the southeastern Avar lands of Transylvania and southeastern Pannonia up to the Middle Danube; many Avars became subjects of the Bulgarian Empire. In 818, the Slavic tribes, who inhabited the former Avar domains on the Middle Danube, rebelled against the increasingly centralized Bulgarian suzerainty in the west and sought the support of the Frankish Emperor Louis the Pious (813–840). Failing to get Frankish cooperation in solving the Slavic problem, the Bulgarian ruler Omurtag took punitive actions against the Slavs, sending fleets along the Drava and the Danube in 827 and then again in 829.<sup>63</sup> Leading an expedition on the Tisza, one of Omurtag's commanders, the *zera-tarkan* Onegar, drowned in that river.<sup>64</sup> Eventually, the Eastern Franks and the Bulgarians established friendly relations<sup>65</sup>: this facilitated the east-west communications along the Danube.

The only written evidence of commercial shipping along the Lower Danube in the late 800s is to be found in the vita of St. Blasius of Amoreia (†912/13).<sup>66</sup> After spending some time in Bulgaria, he boarded a ship and sailed upstream en route to Rome.<sup>67</sup> When the ship reached a gorge (the Iron Gates?), it was attacked by river pirates; St. Blasius was mistaken for a merchant carrying goods.<sup>68</sup> The tenth-century coins, which have been found near Orșova,<sup>69</sup> attest to the fact that tradesmen

<sup>62</sup> E.g., see the case of Bononia/Vidinis: В. Вълков, "Седалището и териториалният обхват на Бдинската област от средата на IX в. до началото на XI в.", *Известия на музеите в Северозападна България* 13, 1988, p. 21–47.

<sup>63</sup> L. Simeonova, "The Short Fuse. Examples of Diplomatic Abuse in Byzantine and Bulgarian History", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23, 1996, p. 55–75, see esp. p.58.

<sup>64</sup> V. Beševlev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, p. 287.

<sup>65</sup> V. Gjuzelev, "Bulgarisch-fränkische Beziehungen in den ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts", *Byzantinobulgarica* 2, 1966, p. 15–39.

<sup>66</sup> Vita Blasii Amorensis, in AASS Nov. 4, p. 657–669.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 660E – 661A. Cf. В. Гюзелев, "Данни за българското минало в житието на Власий Аморийски (IX–X в.)", in В. Гюзелев, *Средновековна България в светлината на нови извори*, Sofia, 1981, p. 51–60.

<sup>68</sup> Vita Blasii Amorensis, chap. 9, in AASS Nov. 4, 661B–C.

<sup>69</sup> L. Kovács, *Münzen aus der ungarischen Landnahmezeit: archäologische Untersuchung der arabischen, byzantinischen, westeuropäischen und römischen Münzen aus dem Karpatenbecken des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest, 1989, p. 51, №№ 260, 263.

sailing up and down the Danube were regularly assaulted by pirates in that narrow section of the river. The archaeological finds that have been discovered along the Danube transport corridor and the connecting secondary roads provide evidence of the ninth-and tenth-century revival of trade in the Lower Danube lands. Coins minted by Byzantine emperors, along with a variety of exotic objects, suggest that there were merchants of various nationalities traveling along that corridor.<sup>70</sup>

Rock salt from Transylvania seems to have been one of the commodities that were transported up the Danube in the late 800s.<sup>71</sup> Slaves were yet another commodity, which appears to have been transported along the Danube in the tenth century. Two identical tenth-century iron slave collars, one of them found near Krivina (district of Ruse) and the other one found near Brno,<sup>72</sup> suggest that slaves may have been transported along the Danube from Central Europe down to the mouth of the river where they may have been re-loaded onto bigger ships in order to be taken to Constantinople.<sup>73</sup> V. Beševliev argues that Bulgarians may have acted as intermediaries in the slave trade of that time period;<sup>74</sup> however, there is no written evidence of Bulgarians taking part in that kind of trade.

On certain occasions, travelers used alternative, roundabout routes in order to avoid the dangers arising from political tensions, open hostilities, or natural disasters in the immediate vicinity of the Danube. They would sail on the interconnected Danube tributaries down to a point where it was safe to either get back onto the big river or continue the journey by land. Thus, in 892 the Frankish envoys dispatched by King Arnulf (887–896) to Bulgaria wished to avoid traveling along the overland route, which ran through the territory held by Arnulf's archenemy, the Moravian Prince Svetopolk (870/871–894). So, when they reached the Croatian kingdom, Prince Braslav, who was Arnulf's loyal vassal, gave them a boat to sail down the Odra, the Kulpa, and the Sava rivers. Arnulf's envoys probably landed at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube where they met with the "Bulgarian king". In the following spring, the Frankish envoys went home, following the same route that would keep them out of reach of Svetopolk's people.<sup>75</sup>

In the 960s, river trade on the Danube appears to have been in full swing. In the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, under 6477 AM (969 AD), there is an account of Prince Svyatoslav's desire to move his capital to the Lower Danube: "Svyatoslav announced to his mother and his boyars, 'I do not care to remain in Kiev, but

<sup>70</sup> Л. СИМЕОНОВА, *Пътуване към Константинопол*, p. 135–137. Cf. A. Lewis, "The Danube Route and Byzantium 802–905", in A. Lewis, *The Sea and Medieval Civilizations*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1978, VIII.

<sup>71</sup> E. Dümmler (ed.), *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 892, in *MGH SS III*, Hannover, 1839, p. 408.

<sup>72</sup> M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge, 2001, fig. 25.1, 25.2.

<sup>73</sup> On the main routes of slave trade in the western Black Sea region, see Л. СИМЕОНОВА, *Пътуване към Константинопол*, p. 137–138.

<sup>74</sup> V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte*, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 414.

<sup>75</sup> *Annales Fuldenses*, a. 892, ed. Dümmler, in *MGH SS III*, p. 408.

should prefer to live in Pereyaslavets on the Danube, since that is the center of my realm, where all riches are concentrated; gold, silks, wine, and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus' furs, wax, honey, and slaves."<sup>76</sup>

Obviously, Little Preslav or, as the Greek sources call it, *Presthlavitza* (Πρεσθλαβίτζα) was a big trading center near the mouth of the Danube. Its precise location, however, remains unknown and is the subject of scholarly debate.<sup>77</sup> The Byzantine coins, which are found in the Dobrudja, show that international trade was taking place in that area in the ninth through the eleventh century.<sup>78</sup> The economic and strategic importance of Little Preslav is further illustrated by the significant number of seals of tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine imperial functionaries, with the place name *Presthlavitza* on them. However, in the 1020s Little Preslav may have started to lose its importance as a center of international trade, due to the intensified Petcheneg raids.<sup>79</sup>

Byzantium's "return on the Danube", followed by the administrative and military reorganization of the conquered Bulgarian lands,<sup>80</sup> managed to boost trade in the Lower Danube lands and along the western Black Sea coast.

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<sup>76</sup> S.H. Cross, O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (trans., ed.), *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text* [Medieval Academy of America Publications 60], Cambridge, Ma., 1953, p. 86.

<sup>77</sup> S. Franklin, J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*, London – New York, 1996, p. 147, n. 23: cited bibliography. Cf. N. Oikonomides, "Presthlavitza, the Little Preslav", *Südost-Forschungen* 42, 1983, p. 5–9.

<sup>78</sup> G. G. Custurea, *Circulația monedei bizantine în Dobrogea (secolele IX–XI)*, Constanța, 2000.

<sup>79</sup> И. Божилев, В. Гюзелев, *История на Добруджа, т. 2. Средновековие*, Veliko Tarnovo, 2004, p. 97–103.

<sup>80</sup> P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge, 2000. See also A. Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, passim.



## THE INSTITUTION OF *BANS* IN MEDIAEVAL AND OTTOMAN BULGARIA\*

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The article presents a study on the institution of bans in South-Eastern and in Central Europe. The study begins with the first data, related to the Croats but the special accent is on Bulgarian history. We have a survey of the sources, mentioning the institution in Bulgaria or in Bulgarian lands from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern times under Ottoman power: these are historical relations, inscriptions, and folkloric data. A particular attention is paid to an unpublished graffito from the Church of Saint Demetrius of Boboshevo from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. We arrive to the conclusion that in mediaeval and Ottoman Bulgaria the institution of bans did not exist and the mentioning derive from the popular culture with the uninstitutional meaning of important, rich and influential person.

**Keywords:** ban, Bulgarian institutions, Ottoman Empire, Boboshevo, Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo.

In September 2017, a group of Romanian and Bulgarian scholars, members and associates of a joint project between the Institute of Historical Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Art History and Archaeology of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, visited the small town of Boboshevo in Western Bulgaria to view its artistic and historical monuments. This was not my first visit but perhaps because of the milieu, I was drawn to some graffiti on the western façade of Church of St. Demetrius (Fig. 1), which used to be part of a monastery. This is the beginning of the birth of this article, which nevertheless is also a continuation of my interests in the domain of public institutions.

The modern town of Boboshevo is located on the banks of the Stymon River (Bulg. Stuma), which forms an abundant valley that, through the centuries, assured the welfare of the local population. In the late mediaeval period this region was a contact area between the declining Second Bulgarian Empire and the emerging Serbian Kingdom and later Empire, which subsequently disintegrated into several local principalities. On the eve of the Ottoman conquest, the area was part of the

\* I would like to express my gratitude to M.A. Johnson, Curator of the Hilandar Research Library at the Ohio State University, for her assistance in preparing this article for publication.

Velbâzhd principality under the power of the Dejanović-Dragaš family<sup>1</sup> whose last representative, Constantine Dragaš, was the grandfather of the last Roman emperor Constantine XI Dragaš Palaeologus. The Lord of Velbâzhd was killed as the Sultan's ally by the Wallachians in the battle of Rovine (May 17, 1395) to the north of the Danube River<sup>2</sup>. After Constantine Dragaš's death, his state became an Ottoman *sancak* and the town of Velbâzhd was later named "Kyustendil" after the name of Constantine Dragaš, meaning the "state of Constantine". It became an important Muslim centre in the Balkans, maintaining its prosperity, which was instrumental to the flourishing of the whole region and especially of what was then the village of Boboshevo<sup>3</sup>. Thanks to this prosperity, several churches were built and, with the production of manuscripts it became quite an important local cultural centre. One of these temples is the former monastery church of St. Demetrius, which is the focus of our interest. Its architecture, mural paintings and accompanying inscriptions are well studied but, as far as I know, its graffiti, which nevertheless offer very interesting data, have never been researched. It is not the purpose of this article to provide an exhaustive inventory and translation of all the graffiti in Boboshevo, but in the next section I will describe one of the inscriptions<sup>4</sup> as an example of the types of information that it can convey.

### 1. THE GRAFFITO OF BOBOSHEVO

The graffito that caught my attention was located on what was originally the western façade of the church (15th century), but is now part of the narthex that was constructed later, in the second half of the 19th century (Fig. 2). Thus, the inscriptions were scored at a time when the wall was not covered and its external frescoes were noticeably in view: the inscription (AD 1653/6) is in a frame behind the *archiereus* in the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple. It is important to note that the addition of the graffiti to the church wall is not done as a hidden and clandestine act but – I believe – as a pronouncement and notice of remarkable events. They are not well done (at least, they are not as well executed as the inscriptions on the frescoes), but certainly they were done openly. The

<sup>1</sup> Хр. Матанов, *Югозападните български земи през XIV век*, Sofia, 1986, p. 115–128, especially p. 119, 122–123; Хр. Матанов, *Княжеството на Драгаши. Към историята на Североизточна Македония в предосманската епоха*, Sofia, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Хр. Матанов, *Югозападните български земи през XIV век*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, Assen – Maastricht, 1985, p. 109–111; M. Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период. Преглед на икономическите, юридическите и художествените предпоставки за българското поствизантийско изкуство и неговото място в развитието на изкуството на християнските Балкани, 1360/70–1700 г. Нова интерпретация*, прев. Р. Градева, Sofia, 2002, p. 83–84.

<sup>4</sup> I am planning to publish a study of the other graffiti on the western façade of the Church of St. Demetrius in a separate article.



inscriptions are situated on both sides of and above the entrance to the temple, not symmetrically but in order to be seen and eventually read. Our inscription (AD 1653, Fig. 3) is scored on a black or dark background field in a delineated white square. It seems to me that the square was prepared later than the frescoes and for the express purpose of writing the graffito about the death of a prominent and highly respected person in it. If we accept this hypothetical suggestion, the graffito would gain a bit more official character and the position of the individual would be perceived as of a somehow higher status that previously considered.

*Inscription of AD 1653*

† ДА СЕ ЗНА КОГА ПРИСАДИ

Д . . . . . УШИ [ОГ СОБШИ ???]. . НЕНА Ѡ БАНА

ВЕЛЬБАШКА. ВЪ ЛЕТО ꙗꙗꙗꙗ [ОГ Д, ???] (7161/4?/= AD 1653/6/)

БЪ ДА ГО ПРОСТИ .Ъ ЦР

Б. ДА ГО ПРОСТИ

С.Ѡ НБСНО . ВИ

† *Let it be known when settled*

..... .passed away (?) .. nena from the ban<sup>5</sup>  
of Velbâzhd. in the year 7161/or 4/

*May God forgive him*

*Kingdom (?) of Heaven.*

## 2. THE INSTITUTION OF BAN IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND IN THE BALKANS

The point that attracted my attention is the mention of a “*ban* of/from Velbâzhd”. If we accept this reading, we should conclude that, in year 7161 of the Universal calendar (AD 1653/or 6), in the region called “Kraishtë” that covered today’s administrative districts of Kyustendil, Pernik and a part of district of Sofia, “*ban*” refers to something that existed in the Balkans during the Middle Ages. The *ban* is an institution that was widespread in the Western Balkans, Central Europe, and in Wallachia and Moldavia. Many years ago, I dedicated an entire article to the

<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank Kazimir Popkonstantinov and Ivanka Gergova for the suggestions, concerning the reading of the inscription. Professor Gergova proposed a different optional reading of the text, eventually replacing the expression “ban of/from Velbâzhd” by “Bath of Velbâzhd”. Such a reading would change the structure of this article but not my general thesis about the institution of *bans* in mediaeval and Ottoman Bulgaria. This is the reason, allowing me to keep my reading here. I shall discuss the kind and useful suggestion of Professor Gergova, which is optional in her own terms, in a special article dedicated to the graffiti from the Saint Demetrius church in Boboshevo.

*bans* from the time period of the crepuscule of the Second Bulgarian Empire and the Ottoman conquest<sup>6</sup>. Here I shall review some of my conclusions in an attempt to elucidate the above-cited text.

The title of *ban* was probably brought to Europe by the Avars or perhaps created in Pannonia in the Avar milieu by a transformation of the Avar word/name *bajan/Bajan*<sup>7</sup>. Special attention should be paid to the Avar Khagan Bayan I, because it is possible that the title is derived from his name. Despite these legitimate observations, the institution of the *ban* is not attested in that form among the Avars<sup>8</sup>. One can find the oldest mention of the *bans* in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio* in reference to the Croats. The emperor-scholar announces in chapter thirty that the country of the Croats was divided into eleven *županias* and that their *ban* governs over Kribasa, Litza and Gutziskà<sup>9</sup>. In the following chapter, he recounts how King Miroslav of Croatia was deposed and killed by *ban* Pribina<sup>10</sup>. The latter was the first *ban* of Croatia and, since he came from Pannonia where the Avar traditions were still strong, this confirms the above-mentioned origin of the institution. *Bans* are referenced in some other sources related to Croats (the *Chronicle of the Priest from Dioclea* and *Sumpetar Cartulary*), and this indicates a certain continuity to the use and existence of the title. As for Byzantine authors, the title of *ban* is cited by John Cinnamus (12<sup>th</sup> century) in his *History*, who stated that this was the manner in which the Huns labelled power<sup>11</sup>.

The *bans* are quite well known in the institutional system of the Hungarian Kingdom, but the title was not created there. It is attested during the time when the Hungarian Kingdom took its first steps in Central Europe (mid-10<sup>th</sup> century) and, obviously, it took the institution from the local tradition, i.e., the Croatian one. On the other hand, Hungary later became the second centre of the diffusion of this institution. We know of several provinces or dependant territories headed by a *ban*: Croatia, Banate of Bosnia, Banate of Masco, etc. In the sources that describe the penetration of the Hungarians into the Balkans and the conquest of part of Bulgaria during the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries, we have data about a “banate of Bulgaria” or at least about *Paulus regni Bulgariae banus*<sup>12</sup>. This would have been a high Hungarian

<sup>6</sup> Iv. Biliarsky, “Les institutions de la Bulgarie médiévale : y avait-il des bans en Bulgarie d’avant la conquête turque”, *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 1–2, 1992, p. 89–94.

<sup>7</sup> P. Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. I, Zagreb, 1971, p. 104–105.

<sup>8</sup> T. Živković, *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum. A Lost Source*, (Institute of History. Monographs, vol. 62), Belgrade, 1912, p. 144–145 note 426.

<sup>9</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text edited Gy. Moravcsik, transl. R.J.H. Jenkins (= *Corpus fontium historiae byzantine*, vol. I), Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 144<sup>93-94</sup>; Živković, *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum*, p. 143–144.

<sup>10</sup> Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, p. 150<sup>77-79</sup>; Živković, *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum*, p. 81–82.

<sup>11</sup> Ioannis Cinnami, *Epitome rerum ab Ioannae et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, Bonn, MDCCCXXXVI, p. 117<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> V. Gjuzelev, “La guerre bulgaro-hongroise au printemps de 1365 et les documents nouveaux sur la domination hongroise du Royaume de Vidin (1365–1369)”, *Byzantinobulgarica* VI, 1980, p. 163, 165, 167, 170, 171; П. Коледаров, *Политическа география на средновековната българска държава*, t. II, Sofia, 1989, p. 11.

official in charge of the kingdom's Bulgarian affairs. The title continued to be used during the Habsburg Empire, especially in the Croatian territories referring to an important position and in the meaning of the governor of a country. The combined influence from the north and west direct the ways in which the institution of the *ban* penetrated mediaeval Serbia. The institution was rooted in the state tradition of the western neighbours of the Bulgarians, and even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the newly created administrative-territorial units were called *banovina* (бановина), governed by an official, called *ban* (бан).

We find the institution in the Romanian space as well. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Duchy of Wallachia temporarily occupied the Severin Banate – a territory of the Kingdom of Hungary – and thus the title “*Banus de Zeurino*” or the “lord of the Severin Banate” was added to the titles of some of rulers (Vlaicu-Vladislav or Mircea the Elder). Wallachian princes lost the region around the middle of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but the institution continued in Oltenia as a governor of a province. During the time of Vlad the Monk (ca. 1491), one of the local *bans* moved to the city of Craiova and was installed there. Under Radu the Great (1595–1508), the institution of the *grand ban of Craiova* was created. The *Grand ban*<sup>13</sup> was a very high-placed functionary in Wallachia and occupied the second position in the Duchy after the Lord-Voievod. For a long period, the institution was strongly related to the Craiovescu family and prospered especially during the reign of Neogoe Basarab (1512–1521). Craiovescu *bans* had their own employees and officials just like the princes of an entire Duchy: a boyar council, administrators, and other signs of their power. Three great rulers of Wallachia came from among the *bans*: Neogoe Basarab, Matei Basarab, and Constantin Brancoveanu. During the Austrian occupation of Oltenia (1718–1739), the institution of the *ban* almost disappeared, at least in the country itself, and by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Oltenia lost its autonomy, and *ban* became just an honorary title without any administrative service attached to it. The *Grand ban* position was suppressed in 1831. The *Grand ban* of Moldavia was created around the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – probably under Wallachian influence – and was one of higher dignities in the Duchy. The *bănișor* (or the ‘small *ban*’)<sup>14</sup> existed in Wallachia – in Oltenia. These officials were subordinate to the *Grand ban*. There were also public servants called *bănișori* related to the border areas and having functions related to taxation.

The Wallachian institution of the *Grand ban* is of particular importance for the popular image of the *bans* in the Bulgarian milieu. The position and influence of the lord of Craiova penetrating south of Danube – together with the Serbian and Croatian impact – could be the reason the title entered folklore and folksongs as a heroic person.

<sup>13</sup> *Instituții feudale din țările române. Dicționar*, coord. O. Sachelarie, N. Stoicescu, Bucharest, 1988, p. 34–35.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

## 2.1. THE TERM

There is much debate about the etymology of the term *ban*, but I will not review the arguments here in depth. Usually, discussions bring us closer to the truth, but in this case it may just create more problems. The question is delicate and intimately related to that of the identity of Croats, and this makes the discussion more difficult in the Balkan context. In this study, I shall only touch on the broad outlines of some of the theories rather than detail the controversial arguments. I strongly believe that the predominant thesis is that we should seek the origins of *ban* in the steppes<sup>15</sup>. As mentioned above, we find the word first in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio*, where the Greek form is βεάνος, βοάνος, mentioned in chapters 30–31, dedicated to the situation in Dalmatia and to the Croats<sup>16</sup>. The prevailing opinion of specialists is that the word has its origins in the Avar language – a form of contraction of the Turkic word “bajan” meaning “rich” or “strong” and related to power<sup>17</sup>. The great influence of the famous scholar Pavel Jozef Šafařík, who first proposed this idea in his *Slavic Antiquities*, should be noted here. Another interpretation proposed a relation of the “*ban*” to the Persian word “*ban*” or “*van*” with the meaning of “guardian” or “custodian”; which also confirms the arrival of *ban* in Central Europe through the Avars and their Khanate<sup>18</sup>. Such was the proposal of Franjo Rački. The spread of the term from the Avar language does not exclude it having some Iranian origin, as it may have passed through Turkic languages in the contact zone of Central Asia. Nevertheless, there are scholars that openly insist on the Iranian (Sarmatian) origin of Croats and seek there the appearance of the term<sup>19</sup>. There are, as well, ideas of Greek (from βάνδον) and of Gothic origins of the word. The word was retained in some Slavic languages with its original Greek pronunciation, and in the works of the late Byzantine authors it has the orthography of “μπάνος”<sup>20</sup>.

None of these different proposals changes the general conclusion that the title of *ban* is a result of the influence of the Eurasian steppes, at least in the beginning of its usage in Central and South-Eastern Europe. It is important to follow the development of the etymology of the term and the connotation it has in 19th-century Bulgarian literature. In the *Dictionary* of Naiden Gerov, the word бaнъ

<sup>15</sup> I strongly believe that it is necessary to reject the idea that “*ban*” is a variant form of the mostly West-Slavic word “pan” meaning “lord”; *Энциклопедический словарь. Брокгаузъ-Ефонъ*, Т. V, Sankt-Peterburg, 1891, p. 92–96.

<sup>16</sup> Constantini Porphyrogeniti, *De administrando imperio*, Budapest, 1949, p. 144<sub>93</sub>, 150<sub>78</sub>.

<sup>17</sup> F. Bezlaj, *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika*, Ljubljana, 1976, t. I, p. 11; Skok, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. I, p. 104–105; E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908, Bd. I, p. 42; *Български етимологичен речник*, t. I (A-3), Sofia, 1971, c. 30.

<sup>18</sup> A. Matzenauer, *Cizi slova ve slavanských řecích*, Brno, 1870, p. 103; F. von Miklošich, *Die türkischen Elemente in der südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, Wien, 1884, t. I, S. 11; H.G. Lunt, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*, Berlin, 2001, p. 256.

<sup>19</sup> Kr. St. Sakač, “Odkud Hrvatima Ban?”, *Obnovljeni život* 20, 1939, 7, p. 388–400; Živković, *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum*, p. 144–145 note 426.

<sup>20</sup> Ioannis Cinnami, *Epitome rerum ab Ioannae et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, p. 117<sub>4</sub>: ... μπάνον ταύτην καλοῦσιν Οὔννοι τὴν ἀρχὴν...

‘ban’ is defined as “conveying a certain title or a certain rank in popular songs, for example *bey*”, and the cited example relates the term to Wallachia and puts it in the context of the title of “king”<sup>21</sup>. A bit further on the same page the verb бѣнься ‘ban’*osia* is defined as “to extol oneself”, “to present oneself as magnificent”. There is nothing institutional in this meaning, which is actually related to the social status of a person. In this respect it corresponds completely with the connotation that the word has in the Bulgarian folksongs as we shall see further in this study.

### 3. THE INSTITUTION OF BAN: DID IT EXIST IN MEDIAEVAL BULGARIA?

#### 3.1. FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

The problem concerning the existence of the institution of *ban* in the First Bulgarian Empire is posed in relation to the reading of a very problematic inscription, found by Karel Škorpil in the beginning of twentieth century in Pliska, in the area of the Great Basilica. This is (or pretends to be) a very short text of two words: ДѢЛАНЬ БАНЬ<sup>22</sup>. It must be stressed that the editors of the inscription added very brief commentaries to it and the other published texts, which are – it must be noted – very problematic. Gyula Moravczik mentioned this publication without commentary<sup>23</sup>. Unsurprisingly, Bulgarian historiography paid considerable attention to the inscription. A. Deleva, based on the above-cited text of John Cinnamus, describes the institution of *ban* as “Hunno-Bulgarian”, indicating that she concludes it existed in Bulgarian state system<sup>24</sup>. Christo Dimitrov proposed the idea that the above-mentioned person is Peter Delean, the son of Tsar Gabriel Radomir, who obtained the title in Hungary, during his exile there<sup>25</sup>. The author explicitly states that there were no *bans* in Byzantium or in Bulgaria, but that they appeared in Bosnia and in Croatia under Hungarian influence. Ivan Božilov rejected this identification but only insofar as it concerned the individual Peter Delean, who had nothing to do in Pliska; he does not comment on the institution of *ban* itself.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Н. Геровъ, *Рѣчникъ на българскій языкъ съ тълкувание на рѣчи-ты на български и на русски*, ч. I (А–Д), Plovdiv, 1895, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> К. Шкорпил, “Постройки в Абобском укреплении”, *ИРАИК* X, 1905, p. 107; К. Шкорпил „Рисунки на камнях и кирпичах“, *ИРАИК* X, 1905, p. 285, табл. ХСVII,1 (album); Ф. И. Успенский, „Надписи староболгарския“, *ИРАИК* X, 1905, p. 237–238. Actually, F. Uspensky did not comment on the title of *ban* but only on the name of Delean, suggesting that he could be the son of Tsar Gabriel-Radomir.

<sup>23</sup> G. Moravczik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, Leiden, 1983 (=Berlin, 1958), S. 204 (μάνος).

<sup>24</sup> A. Deleva, “The List of Bulgarian Khans. Linguistic Identification of the Text”, *Bulgarian Centuries* 1, 1999, p. 60–65 and particularly p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> Хр. Димитров, “Унгария и българските земи под византийска власт през XI–XII в.“, *Исторически преглед* 1994–1995, 3, p. 5; Хр. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения през Средновековието*, p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> Ив. Божилов, В. Гюзелев, *История на България в три тома*, т. I, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, Sofia, 1999, p. 397.

Pavel Georgiev is the author of the most recent research centred on the institution of *ban* and on the interpretation of the inscription from Pliska<sup>27</sup>. Unfortunately, his work is very perplexing, and I do not understand his conclusion or even his identification of the alphabet used to write the inscription. In the beginning of his article, Georgiev confirms the interpretation of the inscription and the conclusion of the authors that dates it to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Georgiev later reinterprets both words, proposing a mixture of Iranian, Turkic, Aramaic and other languages and posits runic elements in the script of this two-word text. Georgiev rightly refers to his own interpretation as “very complicated”, and I will leave it to others to sort out his conclusions.

Thus, we have only this source for the eventual existence of the institution of *ban* during the First Bulgarian Empire. It is obvious that the example is problematic, and I do not believe that on this basis it is possible to posit the existence of such an office or title in the hierarchical institutional system of the state.

### 3.2. SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE.

With regards to the late mediaeval epoch the situation is quite similar: there is no extant document mentioning the institution of *ban*. It does not seem very convincing to theorize the existence of the institution based on a problematic inscription from Cherven, where we do not even have an entire word<sup>28</sup>. This is a stone tablet with a text of four lines, legible but damaged. On the first line we find mention of some imperial order, and on the third line the authors read: “ГРЛАДЪ А .. .. БА .. .. ГРА.. ..”. After a reconstruction of the missing letters, the authors interpret the text as “ГРЛАДЪ АЗЪ БАНЪ ГРАДА”. The only conclusion would be that the *ban* is an institution related to the governance of a city. The phrase is not clear and without context. Which is to say that the publishers are not completely convinced of the interpretation given of above-cited inscription. I do not believe that it is possible to argue the existence of the institution on the grounds of such a dubious source.

Actually, the most intriguing text that mentions the title or rank of *ban* regarding Bulgaria is the correspondence between the Sultan Murad I and Inĝe Balaban Bey concerning the conquest of the city of Sofia by the Ottomans<sup>29</sup>. The

<sup>27</sup> П. Георгиев, „Надписът на Делян бан от Плиска“, *Оръжие и снаряжение през късната Античност и Средновековието IV–XV, Acta Musei Varnaensis*, I, Varna, 2002, p. 102–110.

<sup>28</sup> Ст. Йорданов, К. Хаджиев, “Нов кирилски надпис от средновековен Червен“, *Археология* 3–4, 1999, p. 97–99.

<sup>29</sup> Ahmed Feridun bey, *Meĝmu'a-i münša'ât üs-salātīn*, c. I, Qoşanĝiniye 1274 (=1857–1858), p. 108–109; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, München, 1967, № 43, p. 224; Б. Дякович, “Сборник на Феридун бей“, in *Годишник на Народната библиотека в Пловдив*, 1922, p. 194.

story is as follows: the city of Sofia and the surrounding region were governed by Yanuqa *ban*, who successfully repulsed many Ottoman attacks. The enemies had to resort to the use of trickery to occupy the city. A Bulgarian-Muslim called Uzunğa Sevindik penetrated the close circle of Yanuqa, presenting himself a fugitive, seeking asylum in Sofia after having abjured the Islamic faith. The *ban* accepted him and promoted him to the position of *doghanđi* (falconer). They went hunting and, at one point, during the second decade of the month of Sefer of the Hijri year 788, they were in the area of Tatar Pazarcik. The traitor brought Yanuqa close to the Ottoman outposts, and they were captured by Deli Balaban and Ahmed Ghazi. Obviously, Uzunğa Sevindik pretended to be a captive. They were sent to Philippopolis, and then Yanuqa was taken to the Sultan. After these events and the detention of the governor, Inđe Balaban bey, occupied Sofia and the region. Some time later the Sultan recompense his servants: Uzunğa Sevindik obtained a *ziamet* (“land tenure”) and Ghazi Ahmed – the rank of *yigit başı* (“chief of the young men”<sup>30</sup>). We can find almost the same story in the “History” (“Amazing Events”) of Koca Hussein but without the name and the title of the defender of Sofia<sup>31</sup>.

One of the problems of the interpretation of this story is that it is usually cited incorrectly in Bulgarian historiography, using the translation of D. Ichiev where it is described as a “*Report of Lala Şahin Paşa*”<sup>32</sup>. The tale is quite similar to the above mentioned account with the addition that, after the occupation of Sofia by Inđe Balaban bey, the Sultan pardoned Yanuqa and made him again governor of Sofia. In the context of our research, we note that the main source of the story – the history of *Hoca Sa’d ad-Dīn* – does not mention either the name or the title of the Bulgarian defender of Sofia<sup>33</sup>.

The account of the conquest of Sofia and its region by the Ottomans raises the question about the supposed position of Yanuqa. It leaves the impression that he was governor of Sofia and that its administrative entity was under the supreme power of the Bulgarian ruler in the Hijri year 788, i.e. AD 1386. We shall pass over the discussion about the date of the conquest of the city, but it is impossible to neglect the question about the date of the so-called Vitosha chrysobull of Tsar John Shishman from the same time. In the imperial document, the governor of Sofia is called *kephalé*, and his position is presented as quite strong and important in the area<sup>34</sup>. The institution of the *kephalé* is quite well known in late mediaeval Bulgaria

<sup>30</sup> C.V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789–1922*, Princeton, NJ, 1980, с. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Хюсеин, *Беда ‘и’ ул-века ‘и’ (Удивительные события)*, in: *Памятники литературы Востока*, т. XIV, ч. I, Москва, 1961, л. 74а–74б<sub>24</sub>.

<sup>32</sup> Д. Ихчиев, “Материяли за историята ни под турското робство“, *Известия на Историческото дружество в София*, 1906, 2, р. 92–96.

<sup>33</sup> Sa’d al-Dīn, Muhammed hoca ef., *Tāğ al-tevārih*, с. I, Qoştañiniye, impr. ‘Āmire, 1279 (1862–1863), 102–103; М. Калицин, *Корона на историята на Ходжа Садеддин*, ч. I, Veliko Tarnovo, 2000, с. 205. Note that some Bulgarian historians nevertheless cite the text as a source about “*ban Yanuqa*”.

<sup>34</sup> Г. Ильинский, *Грамоты болгарских царей*, Москва, 1915, с. 29<sub>5–14</sub>.

and especially in the region of Sofia thanks to the inscription of Urvich<sup>35</sup>. These sources, partially documented and quite reliable, offer a contradiction to the above interpretation of the Turkish texts. I cannot accept the assertion that *ban* was the personal title of Yanuqa, who had the administrative rank of *kephalé*.

All of these observations demonstrate that the cited texts are not a solid basis upon which to argue the existence of the institution (administrative rank or honorary dignitary) of the *ban* in mediaeval Bulgaria. Some other citations confirm this doubt. We find the appellation of *ban* also in the correspondence of Sultan Orkhan, where it is applied to a Byzantine official – the governor of the city of Samavina (district of Adrianopolis) and grandfather of Sheikh Bedreddin<sup>36</sup>. Obviously, a Byzantine public servant cannot be *ban*. It must be stressed also that in the same correspondence of Inĝe Balaban bey the same “*ban*” Yanuqa is also referred to as “*bey*”<sup>37</sup>. Obviously, the Ottoman author did not follow the strict rules of institutional appellations. In general we can say that the Ottoman writers from 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries preferred to use words known to them, neglecting the institutional terminology of the conquered states. This is how I see the explanation for the citation of *ban* in the quoted texts.

### 3.3. OTTOMAN PERIOD

The date of our inscription is situated during the Ottoman era in Bulgaria. This is the reason why we must pay special attention to it and to the developments of the sources from the Late Mediaeval and Early Modern times. When studying the inscription, we should keep in mind that there was no state and no state institutional system of the conquered peoples (except in the frame of *millet*) and that most of the data are legendary or folkloric.

#### 3.3.1. The so-called ‘Historical Relation’ of the priest Methodius Draginov and other legends

The “Relation” is a controversial tale about the islamisation of the Rhodopes mountains, ascribed to a certain priest from Tzepina (now a part of the town of Velingrad, Bulgaria). It became a core part of the national mythology of Bulgarians, the subject of fictional literary works and of propaganda. The story is extremely suspect as an historical source. No one has seen the original manuscript, and we have the tale only in a publication of a local Bulgarian patriot from the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>35</sup> П. Мутафчиев, “Боженишкият надпис”, in П. Мутафчиев, *Избрани произведения*, т. I, Sofia, 1973, с. 493; Ив. Билярски, “Службата на кефалиите във Второто българско царство”, *Търновска книжовна школа*, Sofia, 1994, т. V, p. 553–562; Iv. Biliarsky, *Word and Power in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, Leiden, 2011, p. 371–373.

<sup>36</sup> Feridun bey, *op. cit.*, c. I, 70–71; I. Beldiceanu Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des Sultans...*, № 13, p. 119; *Islâm ansiklopedisi. Islam âlemi, tarih, coğrafya ve biyografya lugati*, 2, Cilt. Istanbul 1961, p. 444 (Bedr. Simavi).

<sup>37</sup> Feridun bey, *op. cit.*, c. I, 108–109; I. Beldiceanu Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des Sultans...*, № 43, p. 225.



who probably invented the story as anti-Ottoman propaganda<sup>38</sup>. For our research it is important to mention the name of a certain *ban Velio*, who was one of the leaders of the local people in this story. How could we find such an institution in the North-Western Rhodopes during these times? “*Ban Velio*” offers one of the main reasons to doubt the whole story, which is ascribed to priest Methodius Draginov<sup>39</sup>. What was his public position? Obviously, he was not a relic from the Middle Ages. He could only be a type of commander of a paramilitary detachment of the population with a special status, related to their service in the Ottoman army. Notwithstanding the fact that we have no documented data about such a paramilitary institution, we should note that the region of Tzepina had the status of a *vaqf* property<sup>40</sup> (i.e., property of a pious religious foundation), rather than a *voynuq* or other similar type of settlement with military obligations, which would have provided a reason for the existence of a supposedly military institution.

Without delving further into this situation, let me state that this example does not support the argumentation of the existence of the institution of *ban* in Bulgaria under the Ottoman rule.

There is another case, somewhat similar to the abovementioned in its legendary character. Some stories about the foundation of the town of Bansko in Eastern Macedonia state that it was the refuge of a certain *ban* with his people, who founded the settlement and gave it the name of his rank<sup>41</sup>. There are several articles on the etymology of the name of “Bansko”. Constantine Popov proposed the idea that it comes from бань or баньство, meaning “the territory of a *ban*”, “the administrative district, governed by a *ban*”<sup>42</sup>. Later, Peter Koledarov added some supplementary arguments, likening it to the family name of *Baanovi*, actually, kin of *hadji Vâlcho*, the brother of St. Paisius of Chilandari<sup>43</sup>. I shall not comment on the theses of these authors, but I do not believe that these legends could be the basis for the institutions.

### 3.3.2. *The folklore*

The presence of *bans* in epic chants could be a topic of separate research, so here I shall offer only a few observations on our topic of this problematic institution. In general, Bulgarian and Balkan epics provide us with some significant references to *bans*. They are usually present in the heroic chants about *Kral Marko* (the name of

<sup>38</sup> Ил. Тодоров, “Летописният разказ на поп Методи Драгинов”, *Старобългарска литература* XVI, 1984, р. 56–79.

<sup>39</sup> Тодоров, “Летописният разказ на поп Методи Драгинов”, р. 66.

<sup>40</sup> Тодоров, “Летописният разказ на поп Методи Драгинов”, р. 65–66.

<sup>41</sup> Д. и К. Молерови, “Народописни материали от Разложко”, *Сборник за народни умотворения и народопис* 48, 1954, р. 5.

<sup>42</sup> К. Попов, “За етимологията на Банско”, *Изследвания върху историята и диалектите на българския език. Сборник в памет на чл.-кор. Кирил Мирчев*, София, 1979, п. 293.

<sup>43</sup> П. Коледаров, “Възникването на Банско и развитието му като огнище на национална пробуда”, *Българска етнография*, 1985, 4, р. 23.

King Marko Mrnjavčević is used, but the historical person is quite different from the epic hero) and his battles with his enemies. In these texts we find another interesting name directly related to our research: *ban* Kulin, the ruler of Bosnia (actually, a fictional hero with his name)<sup>44</sup>. Of course, these sources cannot be used as a source of historical data for studying the public institutions, but for the popular image of the dignitary. This popular image is completely positive. The *bans* are protectors of the people against the foreign power of the infidels. *Ban Kulin*, in particular, is presented as a champion in the battle against the permanent antagonist – the Sultan. Together with Kral Marko, they defeat his army, and *ban* Kulin is thus portrayed as the protector of Christianity<sup>45</sup>. The *bans* are a strong and brave warriors. They are brave in a personal battle for a young virgin („два се млади бана за девока бия“ = “two young *bans* fought for a young virgin”<sup>46</sup>) as well as in the grand battles against the hereditary Muslim foe and the other allies of the Evil<sup>47</sup>.

It is important to note that we find the term in several cases in quite stable syntagms that indicate the *bans* are important people, who form a common group with the tsars, kings and princes. Such is the expression “кралеве, баневе” (“kings, bans”)<sup>48</sup>. These citations show us the social context in which the popular imagination situated *bans* as dignitaries. There are also some chants that indicate the hierarchy of the powerful and highly ranked people. Here are there some citations.

The first chant<sup>49</sup> (lines 1–4):

Зажени се Филип Маджарина,	//	Philip the Magyar got married
па си взема мома Соколина.	//	and he married the virgin Sokolina <sup>50</sup>
Поканил е седемдесет краля,	//	He invited seventy kings
поканил е осемдесет баля...	//	and he invited eighty <i>bans</i> ...

And somewhat further in the same chant (lines 12–14):

па погуби седемдесет краля	//	And he (Kral Marko) killed seventy kings
и погубил осемдесет баля	//	and killed eighty <i>bans</i>
и погубил Филип Маджарина.	//	and killed Philip the Magyar.

<sup>44</sup> *Български юнашки епос, Сборник за народни умотворения и народопис*, т. LIII, 1971, № 364, p. 490–491, № 634, p. 738–740.

<sup>45</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 634, p. 738–740.

<sup>46</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 321–322, p. 450–452.

<sup>47</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 210, p. 376<sub>20-21</sub> (the *bans* are called “chevaliers”); № 642, p. 755<sub>178-179</sub>, 756<sub>218-219</sub>.

<sup>48</sup> Бож. Ангелов, Хр. Вакарелски, *Трем на българската народна историческа епика*, Sofia, 1939, p. 49<sub>88</sub>; *Български юнашки епос*, № 32 p. 208<sub>42</sub>, № 165 p. 340<sub>48</sub>, № 201 p. 366<sub>25</sub>, № 210 p. 375–376, № 352 p. 481, № 502 p. 616–617, № 566 p. 683<sub>64</sub>, № 638 p. 747<sub>187</sub>, № 642 p. 755–756.

<sup>49</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 368 p. 493.

<sup>50</sup> A girl (looking like) a female falcon.

In another chant<sup>51</sup>:

Посили се Жълта Безергяна,	//	Yellow Bezerguian(a?) <sup>52</sup> got stronger
та погуби седемдесе краля	//	and he killed seventy kings
и погуби осемдесе баля.	//	and he killed eighty <i>bans</i> .

The consistent number of the invited and subsequently murdered dignitaries should have some importance. Usually, the fewer there are, the higher their position. So, kings would be placed above the *bans*, but obviously they are compared to each other, they are both within same system. Note as well the fact that the ruler's title of "king" is not typical for the Bulgarian Middle Ages. It is in use in Serbia but not in Bulgaria. Even with the independence of the Bulgarian state, which was proclaimed in 1908, Ferdinand I obtained the title of tsar, not king. The use of "king" in the cited folkloric chants is a bit strange, and I think it could be explained by the influence of a shared folkloric tradition with the Serbs. To quote another chant where we find a type of hierarchical progression from *ban* to king to tsar:

Слушай, синко, мама що ти казва:	//	Listen, my son, to what your mother tells you:
ти си имаш до три мили сестри,	//	you have three dear sisters,
първата е у бана башица,	//	the first is a <i>baness</i> with a <i>ban</i> [her husband],
тя ще даде три товара благо,	//	she will give you three loads of goods,
втората е у краля кралица,	//	the second is a queen with a king [her husband],
тя ще даде три безцен камъни,	//	she will give you three precious stones.
третата е у царя царица,	//	the third is a tsarina with a tsar [her husband],
тя ще даде три златни пръстени... <sup>53</sup>	//	she will give you three golden rings ..

In this case, the ascending gradation is confirmed not only by the arrangement and hierarchy of the titles, but also by the gifts. It is interesting that there is also a song in which we have a comparison between the *ban* and the *voievod*: the latter is situated after the *ban* and in two chants the descendent gradation is kings to *bans* to *voievods*<sup>54</sup>. This is important because of the Hungarian and Romanian context, which is critical to our study, but such a gradation is inconsistent with the historical sources. As I have already stated, however, folklore and folksongs are not reliable sources for the institutions.

<sup>51</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 118 p. 294 (see also the very similar text of №119 p. 297).

<sup>52</sup> A Jewish merchant from Thessalonica.

<sup>53</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 353, p. 475.

<sup>54</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 168, p. 344<sub>19</sub>, № 200, p. 365<sub>8, 18</sub>, № 586, p. 703<sub>2</sub>.

The association of the *bans* with other dignitaries presents us with a popular image of the institution (or perhaps it is better to say: “of the appellation of the institution that entered folksongs”) as a noble and high-ranked person. The position is not clearly defined but this is not surprising, considering the situation of the Balkans being under Ottoman rule. There is an expression that refers to the *ban* as *çorbacı* (чорбаджия): „Ой ко ти Бога, бано, чорбаджийо...” = “Oh, my God, and you my *ban*, my lord (*çorbacı*)”<sup>55</sup>. The original meaning of the word *çorbacı* is “soup cook” or “soup provider” (Turk. *çorba* = *soup*). The position of “soup cook” became an office (commander of a detachment, called “*orta*”) in the Janissaries’ corps, in which the detachments were organised according to the kitchen and the distribution of food. It was used as well as the name of the head of a ship’s crew. In the Ottoman Balkans, among the Slavic people the word was used as a title for rich and high-placed persons, the formal or informal heads of the traditional Christian communities. I believe that this is the key to understanding the meaning of the term *ban* in the heroic epics of the Bulgarians and other Balkans peoples during the Ottoman era. At least with Bulgarians, it was not a remnant of the mediaeval state and its institutions, and I would dare say that even in folklore it was subjected to the influence and exchange of ideas with Serbs and other peoples of the Western Balkans.

#### 4. BOBOSHEVO AND THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ST. DEMETRIUS CHURCH

##### 4.1. BOBOSHEVO AND ITS STATUS IN OTTOMAN TIMES

Nowadays, Boboshevo is a small town in Western Bulgaria, but one cannot fail to recognise the presence there of impressive architectural and artistic monuments from the Middle Ages and the early Ottoman times. The town is quite well studied in Bulgarian and foreign historiography, where its artistic heritage is strongly emphasised. There are two important exceptions, which are lengthy studies by Ivan Kepov that were published in the 1930s<sup>56</sup>. Both of them present interesting material, and later studies actually supported the author’s conclusions with regards to the historical data<sup>57</sup>. The first real contribution of a contemporary scholar was done by Machiel Kiel in his book about art and society in Bulgaria during Ottoman

<sup>55</sup> *Български юнашки епос*, № 545, p. 658<sub>8</sub>.

<sup>56</sup> Ив. П. Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево с карта, план и разни изображения*, Изд. Бобошевска популярна банка, Sofia, 1935; Ив. П. Кепов, “Народописни, животописни и езикови материали от с. Бобошево – Дупнишко”, *Сборник за народни умотворения и народопис*, XLII, 1936, p. 1–288. I would say that the latter study is strongly centred on ethnographic and linguistic subjects and have almost nothing to do with my current research. While the former book contains a large amount material, collected thanks to the efforts of a local enthusiastic researcher, but it uses old and outdated research and sometimes incorrectly published and interpreted Ottoman documents.

<sup>57</sup> Е. Флорева, *Църквата Пророк Илия в Бобошево*, Sofia, 1978, p. 15–18.

times<sup>58</sup>. His work is continued by Ralitsa Rousseva in her co-authored book on the St. Demetrius church in Boboshevo<sup>59</sup>.

It is probably that the settlement, which later came to be known as Boboshevo, flourished in the Middle Ages, but its name “Boboshevo” is attested only from the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>60</sup>. It was a relatively important economic and cultural community up to 19<sup>th</sup> century, because of its strategic position on the road from Sofia to Macedonia and Northern Greece. Its commercial importance and the existence of fairs are confirmed by the name of the neighbourhood “Panadjuro”<sup>61</sup>. Ivan Kepov mentions the handicraft guilds and their importance to the area. It must be stressed that Kepov asserts that, up to the 1850s, there were a few *çorbacı* families who appointed the mayor of the settlement, but, later, this task was in the hands of the wealthy craftsmen organisations<sup>62</sup>.

In the beginning of Ottoman rule, Boboshevo was a relatively wealthy, calm, prosperous and peaceful settlement and all of this was due to its status. It is important for our study and we shall pay greater attention to it. Boboshevo was given as a possession (*mülk*) to a princess – Ismikhan Sultan – daughter of a sultan, called Hüdavendigâr (“the devotee of God”). Based on this soubriquet, which was used about Murad I and in the publications of D. Ikhchiev, Ivan Kepov, subsequent authors decided that Boboshevo had this status as early as in 14<sup>th</sup> century, the time of the conquest<sup>63</sup>. Actually, in the book of H. Staneva and R. Rousseva we find both theses: the author mentions the register of AD 1573 but also the donation supposedly of Murad I in favour of his daughter during the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>64</sup>. We find also a legend about a beautiful lady from the village, whom the Sultan wanted to marry and she formally agreed in order to save the people and to acquire some privileges for Boboshevo. When the Sultan instituted the rights of the town, she committed suicide and so escaped the harem. The Sultan was angry but he did not punish the village and bequeathed these rights to his successors. Time passed, and the punishment was undertaken during the civil war between the heirs of Bayazid I in the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>65</sup>. Obviously, there was a constant trend to relate the beginning of the Ottoman history of the village with the time of the conquest in 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>58</sup> M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, p. 109–111; М. Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период*, p. 83–84.

<sup>59</sup> H. Staneva, R. Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo. Architecture, Wall Painting, Conservation*, Sofia, 2009, p. 12 sq.

<sup>60</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 12–14.

<sup>61</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 54–55; Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, p. 110; Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период*, p. 83–84.

<sup>62</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 93–94.

<sup>63</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 13–14, 125–127; Флорева, *Църквата Пророк Илия в Бобошево*, p. 15–16.

<sup>64</sup> Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, p. 12, 14 (R. Rousseva).

<sup>65</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 125–126.

This assumption reflects on the reconstruction of the events and historical context of the possession of the village by Ismikhan Sultan, who is described as the daughter of Murad I (or Murad II) by Iv. Kepov and subsequent authors. I think the first to abolish this conclusion was Machiel Kiel, who cites a register of the *Sancak* of Kyustendil (AD 1573)<sup>66</sup>, where we find the village of Bobosheva, *kaza* Dupniçe, private property (*mülk*) of Ismikhan Sultan, daughter of the ruler. Many years after the publication of Machiel Kiel's book, the register was published in a Macedonian translation<sup>67</sup>. The text describes a wealthy settlement, mostly Christian (there were only two Muslim and twelve Gypsy households<sup>68</sup>), which was heavily exempted from state taxes and duties as well as from the intervention of imperial officials<sup>69</sup>. The attitude toward the princess, Ismikhan Sultan, is impressive, and the encomium to her is worth remarking on<sup>70</sup>. The Dutch researcher M. Kiel explains that this is the daughter of the Sultan who ruled in 1573, therefore Selim II, and not any of the sultans from the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is no Sultan's daughter bearing such a name before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, so we have to date the source and the related status of Boboshevo as an imperial *mülk* to the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Ismikhan Sultan is a very important person in the Ottoman history of the epoch, she was the wife of the Great Vizir Sokollu Mehmet pasha (Mehmet Sokolović). She died six years after the assassination of her husband and is buried next to her imperial father.

The special status of the village of Boboshevo became the basis of its economic, cultural and religious (Christian) prosperity. The *defter* of AD 1573 provides evidence of a large population (330 households) and a relatively low level of taxation (19 082 *akçe*)<sup>71</sup>. The main domain of production was viticulture and wine-making, but there was also well-developed wheat production and agriculture in general<sup>72</sup>. Besides the low taxes on the households, the village was exempted from some *corvées* and mandatory deliveries for the army and traveling state officials. We also have witnesses regarding the significant prosperity of crafts and artisanal production. There were very few Turkish representatives and Ottoman administrators in the settlement, and most of the functionaries were even forbidden

<sup>66</sup> Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, p. 109; Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период*, с. 83 (document TKGM, Ankara, *Kuyudu Kadime*, № 90, f. 421r–422v).

<sup>67</sup> Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, т. V, кн. V, *Опишрен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 година*, превод, редакција и коментар д-р Ал. Стојановски, Скопје, 1995, p. 109–119. The document is *Defter-i mufassal Livâ-i Köstendil*, Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, № 85, 88, 89, 90. Actually, this provided the designation of the limits of the villages Boboshevo and Ilkovtsi by the *kadı* of Dupniçe with a sicil of March – April 1569 g. – *ibidem*, p. 119.

<sup>68</sup> Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, т. V, кн. V, p. 110, 113.

<sup>69</sup> Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, т. V, кн. V, p. 109–110.

<sup>70</sup> Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, т. V, кн. V, p. 109, 115–116.

<sup>71</sup> Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, т. V, кн. V, p. 115; Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 129; Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, p. 110; Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турскиот период*, p. 83.

<sup>72</sup> Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, p. 110; Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турскиот период*, p. 83–84.

to enter it. Later, the property became a *waqf* and continued with its privileged status and prosperity up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is confirmed by charters of Sultan Mahmud II of 24 March 1821 and of Sultan Abdul Azis of 1861<sup>73</sup>.

This social and economic situation as well as the great degree of freedom of the population can explain the progress of spirituality, cultural and religious life, and the building of churches.

#### 4.2. THE MONASTERY OF SAINT DEMETRIUS AND ITS CHURCH

The first data about the monastery and its early history are legendary. There is idea that it dates at least from the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> century and that Saint John of Rila entered the monastic order in this very monastery. This occurred around AD 900, which means that the monastery should be dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>74</sup>. All of the arguments for such an assertion, that are actually due to the interpretation of Ivan Kepov, are the location of the birthplace of Saint John of Rila in the village Skrinò and the proximity of the Saint Demetrius monastery to it. The following history of the monastery, as presented in Ivan Kepov's book, stems from his conclusion that the instauration of the *mülk* property of Ismikhhan Sultan is made by Murad I as her father. So, the village and the monastery did not suffer during the conquest in the 14<sup>th</sup> century but rather during the civil war between the sons of Bayazid I, and the holy place was restored under Bayazid II following the attestation of the inscription<sup>75</sup>. I believe that we must reject all this not only because of the register from the time of Selim II but also because of the fact that Ottoman conquest of the village should be dated to after the death of Constantine Dragaš in the battle of Rovine (May 17, 1395), because up to then Boboshevo and the surrounding area were under his power and not at all the *mülk* property of any Sultan's daughter.

Thus, we should disregard the very early history of the monastery and base our research on the only the verifiable data, which are from the frescos in the Saint Demetrius Church. There is some discussion about the period in which they were created. Here, I shall cite only the relevant conclusion of Gojko Subotić, Machiel Kiel, Elka Bakalova, and Ralitsa Rousseva<sup>76</sup>. Despite the fact that there may have

<sup>73</sup> Д. Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилския манастир*, София, 1910, р. 112, 194, 196, 200, 203; Е. Флорева, *Църквата Пророк Илия в Бобошево*, р. 15–16.

<sup>74</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, р. 170–171; Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, р. 12 (R. Rousseva – the authors stresses the legendary character of these data); К. МИНЧЕВА, *Манастири и манастирска мрежа в Кюстендилския санджак през XV–XVII век*, *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, vol. X, Sofia, 2010, р. 140–141.

<sup>75</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, р. 172–173.

<sup>76</sup> Г. Суботиќ, *Охридската сликарска школа од XV век*, Охрид, 1980; Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, р. 109–111, 336–337; Кил, *Изкуство и общество в България през турския период*, р. 83–84, 260–261; Г. СУБОТИЌ, „Костурска сликарска школа. Наслеђе и образовање домаћих радионица“, *Глас САНУ*, CCCLXXXIV, *Одељење историјских наука*, књ. 10, 1998, р. 125–126; Е. Бакалова, „Србските учени за монументалната живопис от XV век в България“, *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, 44/2, Београд, 2007, р. 22; Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, р. 12–20.

been an older building dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century and even earlier<sup>77</sup>, the actual church is from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the frescoes could date to this period or some years later. Boboshevo was a great centre and this is confirmed by the existing temples from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (for example, the Church of Saints Theodore) or from 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (e.g., the Church of the Holy Prophet Elijah and Saint Athanasius's Church)<sup>78</sup>. We have some data about the literary life in Boboshevo. There is evidence regarding the monastic libraries and the extant manuscript and old printed book collection<sup>79</sup>. They are no longer housed in the town but are still accessible, collected around the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. In his book, Ivan Kepov also proposed a brief prosopography of the known monks from Boboshevo<sup>80</sup>.

When speaking about the historical context of the re-building of the church of Saint Demetrius, the importance of the ktitor's inscription should be noted. I shall cite it in its entirety:

*By the will of the Father, and by the assistance of the Son, and through the action of the Holy Spirit, this holy and divine temple of the holy and glorious Great Martyr of Christ and Myroblytes Demetrius was built and painted from the vault by Hieromonk Neophytes with the sons, priest Demetrius and Bogdan. May god forgive them, Amen. In the year 6996 in the days of Tsar Bayazid beg, ruler of these countries, under the sacred bishop Jacob.*<sup>81</sup>

The text of the inscription is well known and well studied. I shall not repeat the historical and prosopographical results of these studies but I would like to stress the attitude that is revealed here toward the Sultan Bayazid II, the Muslim ruler of the Balkans. It is quite positive or at least not at all negative for an infidel sovereign. He is not openly praised and not presented as possessing a power blessed by God or established by God, but nor is he cursed, or referred to as an infidel. The usage of the title of "tsar" should be emphasised. Certainly, this is in and of itself a glorification. It is true that such a title is applied to infidel rulers, such as the Tartar khans in some Russian texts, but they are *supreme rulers* and this

<sup>77</sup> Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, p. 14; МИНЧЕВА, *Манастири и манастирска мрежа в Кюстендилския санджак през XV–XVII век*, p. 140–141.

<sup>78</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 188–191; Е. Флорева, *Църквата Пророк Илия в Бобошево*, Sofia, 1978; Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, p. 14 (R. Rousseva); К. Минчева, *Манастири и манастирска мрежа в Кюстендилския санджак през XV–XVII век*, p. 36, 70 note 113; Цв. Кулева, "Поствизантийските стенописи в църквата 'Св. Теодор' край Бобошево и техния художествен кръг", *Проблеми на изкуството* 1, 2012, p. 15–22; Св. Атанасов, "Особености в стенописната украса на църквата Св. Теодор край град Бобошево, Кюстендилско", *България в световното културно наследство. Материали от третата национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм „Пътуване към България“*, Шумен, 17–19 май 2012 г., Shumen, 2014, p. 757–774.

<sup>79</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 174–176.

<sup>80</sup> Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, p. 176–181.

<sup>81</sup> Staneva, Rousseva, *The Church of Saint Demetrius in Boboshevo*, p. 15.



is the main message of the usage. To call the Ottoman Sultan “tsar” and “beg” in the same text means at least a recognition of the supreme power of his position, of his leadership of the people or in any case of the local folks. I think this is strong confirmation of the already revealed historical and political context around the status of Boboshevo and of Saint Demetrius monastery.

##### 5. THE GRAFFITO OF SAINT DEMETRIUS CHURCH AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT. THE QUESTION ABOUT BANS IN BULGARIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINATION

We see a privileged settlement under the special status of a *mülk* property of a member of the imperial Ottoman family, the daughter of the Sultan. This settlement later became a Muslim *vaqf* and so retained its rights. Certainly the monastery, situated in the environs of Boboshevo and strongly interconnected to the village, had the advantages of the abovementioned status too. The almost entirely Christian population developed in freedom and peace and had their economic prosperity. As we saw by our survey it had its leaders from the rich and respected men – *çorbacılar* – and later, leaders from the craftsmen *esnafs*, who actually governed the village. Let us try to situate our inscriptions in this context.

The inscription we are interested in is dated to 1653/6/ and recounts the death of a certain person who is described as “*ban off from Velbâzhd*”. The graffito is quite damaged and the sense is not completely clear but we can read part of it.

If we accept the proposed reading, it obviously poses again the problem about the *bans* in Western Bulgaria, in a region of strong common Bulgarian and Serbian traditions. These common traditions could explain the use of the title but the text itself does not help our understanding of this use. First of all, we have to assert that the location in the region of Velbâzhd/Kyustendil is justified by the geographical emplacement of Boboshevo. The former village should be situated in the territories of the local lord Constantine Dragaš and later was part of the Kyustendil *sancak*<sup>82</sup>. The date of the graffito in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century presents us the opportunity to relate the text with the well-known situation in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and the privileged status of Boboshevo. Obviously, its favoured status continued into the next century, going on even up to 19<sup>th</sup> century. We know also about the existence of wealthy and high-ranking people in the settlement who retained certain influence in the local society and in relations with the Ottoman rule. Obviously, one of them deserved having his death announced on the Western façade of the monastery church. We can imagine that this was a type of honour during this period.

We have to keep in mind at least two groups of questions posed by the inscription. The *first* concerns the relation between the *ban* and the town of Velbâzhd. Why is the *sancak* head town mentioned? What was the connection

<sup>82</sup> Матанов, *Югозападните български земи през XIV век*, p. 119, 122–123.

between that person and the town? As we have already mentioned, Boboshevo was administratively and territorially subordinated to Velbâzhd/Kyustendil but was it necessary to define somebody by the regional centre? It is not impossible but very few plausible that the person referenced could have been from the bigger town and his name was mentioned in the local church. Obviously, we cannot resolve this problem with our available sources. It seems to be a suitable decision that we have citation of a high person from Boboshevo who was known and respected on a regional level and thus was mentioned with a reference to the *sancak* head town. As a supplementary evidence in favour of such an explanation of the inscription, I could adduce another graffito from the same western façade of the same church that mentions a certain Isaiah (?) from Dupnitsa, who should have been in Boboshevo on April 21, 7182 = AD 1674 (въ лѣтѣ 7182 [ап?]ри дѣ[и] кѣ [и?]сам ѿ доупни[ца?]<sup>83</sup>). Here we find a similar situation – somebody from the larger town and *kaza* centre is mentioned on the western façade of the church. In order to seek a relevant answer of this group of question, we have to try to respond the following as well.

The *second* group of questions concerns the “title” of the mentioned person: *ban*. What is the purpose of its use? Was it an official position in the Ottoman administrative system in general or among the Christian population in the frame of the *millet*? Was it an honorary title or just a designation of an elevated, wealthy and respected person? This is related to the very topic of the article and cannot be decided only on the basis of the damaged text of the graffito. This is the reason of the above proposed survey of the *ban*’s institution from the early Middle Ages onward, and I believe the conclusion has to be taken from a consideration of the whole history of the *bans* in Europe and with the people from the steppe. Obviously, a Christian *ban* could not be the head of the *sancak*’s administration. This interpretation should be abandoned. “*Ban*” is known neither as an Ottoman functionary, nor as an authorized honorary title. As we saw, it was in an unofficial use among the Christian population of the Empire. This could provide us a way to answer our questions. In the inscription, *ban* should be understood as an address to a high, rich and revered person from the region whose death was announced by a graffito in the western wall of the monastery church.

## 6. CONCLUSION

It is completely comprehensible why the graffiti on the western wall of the church of Saint Demetrius near Boboshevo were neglected in previous studies to date. These studies are centred on the architecture and the frescoes of the temple and the inscriptions related to them. The ktitor’s inscription, the names of the saints

<sup>83</sup> The inscription will be published in my forthcoming article on the graffiti from the St. Demetrius church in Boboshevo.

or of the iconographic compositions, the texts on the rolls and so forth are much more valuable from an historical and art-historical point of view. Nevertheless, the graffiti have their specific importance for the life and history of the monument and its social, cultural, and historical environment. The inscription we are interested in proclaims the death of a high positioned and respected person from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There is another one, situated symmetrically next to the opposite upper right hand corner of the entrance door, which may be from the same year (ϷΖρξΔ, мѣца г[ε]нарита ѿ дѣнь / 7164 = AD 1656, January 9<sup>th</sup> day) that records the death of a certain priest Bogdan<sup>84</sup>. Certainly, this confirms the use of the western façade to announce important events. We find also another graffiti that mentions a person from Dupnitsa, and one more mentioning a hard coldness: a natural disaster that damaged the main production of the village, the viticulture. There are many other inscriptions and they are united by their presence on the western façade of the Church of Saint Demetrius. Not all of them were part of the original painting but were added later to the frescoes. It is important to state that these graffiti are not unofficial. At least some of them appear to have been endorsed officially, having been scored in a prepared framework emphasising the announcement of an important public event. Thus, we find a series of public announcements in a visible public place, which everyone passes when entering the church – a space of communion, of community and unity. This confirms for us not only the obvious function of the temple as a socializing area, related to the religious and all essential parts of life and the existence of the commonwealth but also to the role of the distribution of information.

The main aim of this study is to explore once again the problem about the institution of *bans* in Bulgaria. Obviously, we cannot just disregard the acquisition of a new and previously unknown source. In this respect, I believe I have nothing to modify in the conclusion that was presented in my article published almost thirty years ago. The institution of *ban* has its roots with the steppe people and was brought to Europe by them, probably by the Avars. It was initially attested in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio* with regards to the Croats and afterwards disseminated into Serbia, Hungary, Walachia and Moldavia and so forth. The institution was not attested in Bulgaria – neither in the First, nor in the Second Bulgarian Empire. The data are either dubious or legendary. We analyse some of the citations of the terminology in Ottoman sources during the epoch of the conquest of Balkans, but they do not present a sufficient basis to prove the existence of *bans* in Bulgaria. Nevertheless, we consider many folkloric texts that cite *bans*, particularly in Bulgarian heroic epics, which have a great degree of commonality with Serbian ones. This fact could be explained by the mutual exchange between two neighbouring and close peoples. We can say that in these sources as well as in the other data from the Ottoman period the word functioned –

<sup>84</sup> It will be included in my forthcoming article on the graffiti from St. Demetrius church in Boboshevo.

at least in Bulgarian milieu – as an informal and unofficial designation of a high placed, powerful, rich, important, influential and respected person and not at all as an official honorary title or executive service.

Sofia, March 15, 2019  
Saint Martyr Agapuis and Six Martyrs with him,  
40 years from the death of Emilian Stanev

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*Figure 1.* The church of Saint Demetrius near Boboshevo (C. Firea).



Figure 2. The Western façade of the church of Saint Demetrius (C. Firea).

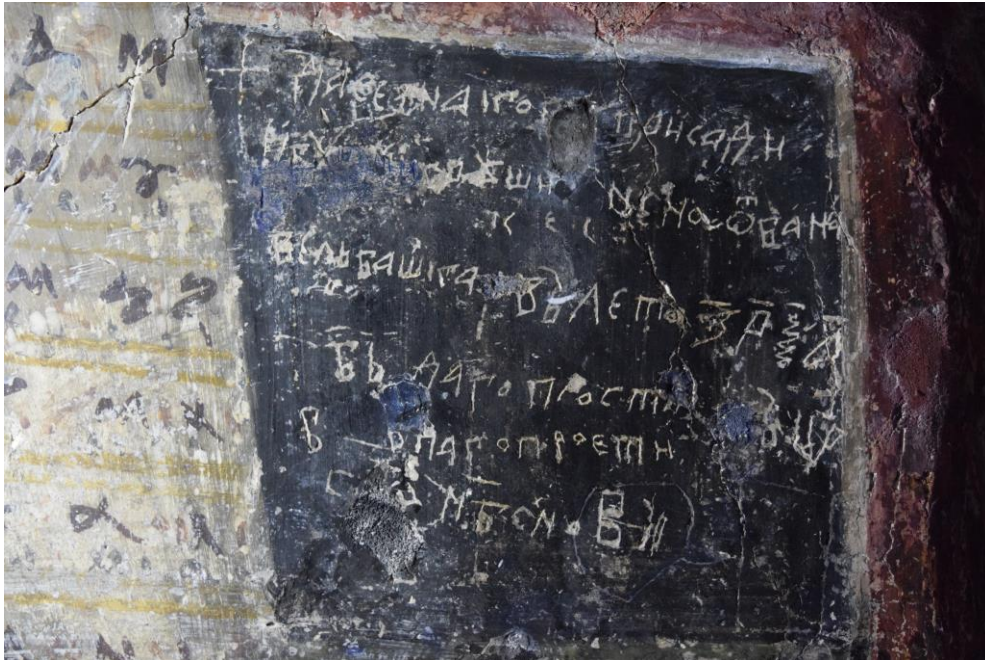


Figure 3. The inscription (C. Firea).

*RERUM MEMORABILIUM TABULA*: NIKOPOL DANS LES NOTES  
DE GÉOGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE DES ÉCRIVAINS EUROPÉENS  
(XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES)

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The elaboration of *Tables of Remarkable Things/ Rerum memorabilium tabulae* as a supporting scientific tool in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries scientific literature contributes to distinguishing homonymous geographic sites, such as the many cities bearing the name of victory (*Nicopolis*). From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the city of Nikopol on the Danube (*Nicopoli de Bulgarie*) is clearly distinguished from Preveza (*Actia Nicopolis* of the Antiquity, *Nicopoli de Romanie* of the Modern Times). The already non-existent towns, such as the antique city of *Nicopolis ad Istrum (ad Haemum, ad Iatrum)* are found only in the sections of antique Greek-Roman geography. In the universal geographies from that period, Nikopol on the Danube becomes known as a central town of a sanjak. Along with its traditional name, the Turkish version is also mentioned – *Nigeboli, Nigebolu*. The latter is relatively rarely listed in *Rerum memorabilium*. In the Tables and in the main text of the geographic works, Nikopol on the Danube is often misrepresented as a capital or a major city of Bulgaria, which is influenced mainly by the *Universal Relations* of Giovanni Botero. The name of this town in Central Bulgaria is associated with the traumatic memory of the Battle of Nikopol (1396). This trend continues in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the geography textbooks.

**Keywords:** Nikopol on the Danube – European universal geographies and histories – Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries – Giovanni Botero – history and geography textbooks in pre-modern times.

*Rerum memorabilium tabula* ou *Table des choses mémorables* et/ou *notables*, si on adopte la version française, est un élément du livre imprimé de l'époque pré-moderne. Il voit le jour vers le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les imprimeries vénitiennes et florentines, grâce à des polygraphes comme Lodovico Dolce (1508–1568), Lodovico Domenichi (1515–1564) et autres assistants d'imprimeurs, pour devenir partie intégrante du livre imprimé au cours des deux siècles suivants. La politique éditoriale contribue beaucoup à son épanouissement. On en a l'exemple avec Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari (1508–1578) qui conçoit et réalise partiellement l'impression de la première série d'historiens anciens et modernes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> S. Favalier, "Penser un nouveau produit éditorial: Tommaso Porcacchi, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari et leur «Collana historica»", *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance* 74, 2012, p. 161–184.

Le but de cette liste de remarquables sujets, personnages et lieux est d'attirer l'intérêt des lecteurs. Elle prend la forme d'une table des matières détaillée des thèmes et des questions organisés par ordre alphabétique. La table est placée soit au début, soit à la fin de l'œuvre imprimée. Elle est particulièrement utile pour le lecteur d'ouvrages de géographie générale ou d'histoire universelle car ils contiennent une mine d'informations sur des lieux, des personnages, des miracles, d'importantes batailles et d'autres, ce qui entrave la perception globale du texte. L'insertion de la table à la structure du livre facilite l'accès à un sujet précis. C'est ainsi que dans les éditions ultérieures, elle est utilisée en tant qu'élément des manuels d'enseignement dans les universités et les collèges (XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles). Cette partie du livre imprimé est un amalgame des tables des matières, sommaires et indexes alphabétiques d'aujourd'hui concernant des personnages, des lieux géographiques et des termes. En outre, elle est plus détaillée que les indexes actuels. Elle répertorie non seulement les pages contenant les informations recherchées, mais offre également un bref commentaire sur le sujet, comme par exemple : « Les bains, ce qu'ils représentent, qui les a découverts ».

En règle générale, le nom de l'auteur de la *Rerum memorabilium tabula* n'est pas mentionné dans le livre car il s'agit d'un assistant de l'imprimeur chargé de l'élaboration de la table. Il est souvent aussi le premier éditeur, correcteur du texte, commentateur du livre, ainsi que le premier censeur de l'ouvrage. Sa mission est de lire le manuscrit ou une édition antérieure de l'œuvre, et de noter les thèmes dans les marges. Ces notes marginales, d'abord manuscrites puis imprimées (*postillae, marginalia*), sont placées dans la table au moment de l'impression définitive après le contrôle de la censure<sup>2</sup>.

Le nom de la ville de Nikopol, situé sur le cours du Danube, se voit souvent mentionné dans les listes du type *Rerum memorabilium tabula*, ainsi que dans d'autres notices géographiques ou historiques des livres imprimés des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Mais la question qui se pose est de savoir de quelle ville balkanique portant le nom de la victoire il s'agit<sup>3</sup>, parce que dans l'Antiquité plusieurs villes de ce nom existaient dans les Balkans et ailleurs. Dans les livres de géographie de l'époque de la Renaissance, Nikopol sur le Danube est très souvent identifié, et

<sup>2</sup> La Bibliothèque de l'Académie des sciences de Roumanie conserve un exemplaire intéressant d'un ouvrage de géographie qui révèle le mécanisme de la composition des notices imprimées – BAR II. 271137. Il s'agit de G.L. D'Anania, *L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo overo Cosmografia*. Venetia 1582, où figurent les notes manuscrites de Torquato Tasso. Voir *Călători străini despre Țările române*, IV. Bucarest 1972, p. 566; П. Данова, "Представите за българите и техният език в Италия (XV–XVI век)", В: *Етничност, език и идентичност в Югоизточна Европа (Studia balcanica 29)*. София 2014, p. 104–106.

<sup>3</sup> D'après l'archéologue bulgare Konstantin Stanev, la ville sur le Danube avait reçu le nom de Nicopolis en l'honneur de la victoire remportée par le général byzantin, puis empereur, Nicéphore III Botaniatès (1078–1081) sur les Petchénègues au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cf. К. Станев, Възстановяване на византийската власт в Паристрион през 1059 г. и произход на името Никопол // *Минало* 3 (2003) с. 19–24. Cf. également А. Кузев, Никопол и Холъвник. – В: *Български средновековни градове и крепости*, 1. София 1981, p. 286; М. Аспарухов, *Археологически приноси към историята на град Никопол*. Враца 1997; Ив. Божилов – В. Гюзелев, *История на Добруджа*, 2. Велико Търново 2004, 384–385.



ceci à tort, à *Nicopolis ad Istrum* ou *ad Iatrum*, évoqué par Claude Ptolémée comme étant Nikopol près d'Haemus. Il s'agit de la ville antique près du village actuel de Nikup sur le cours de la rivière Rossitza<sup>4</sup>. Nikopol sur le Danube prend de l'importance dans la seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle lorsque la ville devient centre secondaire du Royaume de Tarnovo. Après la conquête ottomane des terres de Shishman, elle devient le centre d'un sandjak et joue un rôle important dans les affrontements militaires entre les Ottomans et leurs adversaires au nord<sup>5</sup>. L'importance de la ville est également déterminée par son emplacement stratégique sur un gué du Danube qui le relie à Holovnik (Petit Nikopol) sur la rive opposée. En outre, la ville est reliée par d'importantes routes terrestres aux villes situées au sud de Stara planina (Yambol – Nikopol et Sofia – Nikopol)<sup>6</sup>.

Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la géographie européenne de l'Antiquité, et plus particulièrement de l'Europe antique, est fort redevable au savant d'Alexandrie Claude Ptolémée qui fait autorité incontournable dans ce domaine. Bien que nombre de savants, cartographes, traducteurs, commentateurs et éditeurs utilisent et se réfèrent à d'autres auteurs antiques reconnus, le nom de Ptolémée est l'origine incontournable et le repère qu'aucun ouvrage de géographie générale ne peut omettre<sup>7</sup>. Beaucoup d'éditions de la *Géographie* de Ptolémée sont accompagnées tant de cartes élaborées sur la base des données fournies par le savant d'Alexandrie (*Tabulae antiquae*) que de cartes de l'époque (*Tabulae modernae*) des régions géographiques de l'ancien monde, et plus tard du nouveau monde, décrites dans l'ouvrage. Ce sont précisément les cartographes ayant réalisé ces cartes qui sont les premiers à se rendre compte que le *Nicopolis ad Haemum* de l'Antiquité n'est pas identique à la ville contemporaine de Nikopol sur le Danube. Je ne donnerai comme exemple que Giacomo Gastaldi (1500–1566). Dans son antique *Tabula IX* établie d'après les données de Ptolémée, et dans laquelle sont répertoriés les sites de la plus grande partie de la Péninsule balkanique, on remarque une ville perchée sur une crête inconnue de la Stara Planina (Haemus) et surnommée *Nicopoli*. La ville de *Nicopolis ad Haemum* (près du village actuel Nikup en Bulgarie) figure dans la liste des villes de la province de Mésie Inférieure contenue dans la *Géographie*. Gastaldi a eu du mal à localiser ce toponyme de manière précise en se servant des indications astronomiques données par Ptolémée, et guidé par le nom, il a placé

<sup>4</sup> Cf. les éditions en langue latine du *Orbis brevium* de Zaccaria Lilio dans T.M. Guarnaschelli – E. Valenziani. *Indice generale degli incunabuli delle biblioteche d'Italia*, III. Roma 1954, No 5760–5762, p. 233, ainsi que sa traduction plus récente en italien avec une table ajoutée *Breve descrizione del mondo di Zaccheria Lilio Vicentino*. Venetia, 1551, p. 129. A propos de cette identification erronée dans la tradition latine de l'Europe de l'Ouest voir С. Баталова, “На крилете на традицията: Николас Клопер Млади (1432–1487) за българите”, *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 8 (2018), p. 304 et n. 116.

<sup>5</sup> В. Гюзелев – М. Грънчаров – М. Дешкова – К. Петров – Т. Ковачева – Й. Николов, *История на Никопол*. Плевен 2004, p. 46–59, 76–96, 104–110.

<sup>6</sup> Н. Тулешков, “Пътища и пътни съоръжения в централните части на Балканския полуостров през късното средновековие”, *Векове* 6 (1988), p. 23–35.

<sup>7</sup> En ce qui concerne les éditions de Ptolémée, cf. H. Stevens, *Ptolemy's Geography. A Brief Account of all the Printed Editions down to 1730*. London 1908.

une ville imaginée sur la crête de la Stara planina. Dans *Polonia et Hungaria Nova tabula*, ce même cartographe a correctement représenté Nikopol sur le Danube comme une ville fortifiée. Dans les *Rerum memorabilium tabula* des éditions contenant les deux cartes à la fois, le commentaire se rapportant au nom de Nikopol est erroné. « La ville de la victoire » est identifiée uniquement à Preveza (*Actia Nicopolis* de l'Antiquité). Ce commentaire est très probablement sorti sous la plume d'Ieronimo Ruscelli (1504–1566)<sup>8</sup>. Cet auteur et polygraphe au sens strict du mot produit une très brève liste des régions et des villes remarquables qui est constamment présente dans toutes les éditions en langue italienne de la *Géographie* ptolémaïque. Étant donné que la géographie était une science majeure de son époque, Ruscelli s'efforce, dans ses commentaires, d'attirer le plus de lecteurs et d'acheteurs possibles pour son ouvrage en négligeant les détails. S'il avait consulté les cartes géographiques de Gastaldi ainsi que les listes de villes, régions, etc. de Domenico Mario Negri, il se serait certainement rendu compte du nombre de villes antiques portant le nom de la victoire<sup>9</sup>.

Une nouvelle tendance au sein de la géographie descriptive de l'Europe prend naissance vers le dernier quart du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ses débuts sont à mettre en rapport avec le susmentionné Giovanni Lorenzo D'Anania (1545–1609), qui, dans son livre *L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo*, présente les sites géographiques de manière descriptive comme si lui-même les avait visités et vus en tant que voyageur qui suivait un itinéraire donné, traversait des fleuves, des montagnes, s'arrêtait dans des villes, etc. Cette démarche géographique « à la manière du voyageur » ne traduit que l'état contemporain des sites. Le récit n'est bien sûr pas dépourvu de notes historiques sur les pays et les peuples. Sans être lui-même voyageur, D'Anania connaît très bien la route de Dubrovnik qui est l'une des voies terrestres pour pénétrer en Bulgarie. Ainsi, il note qu'après le passage du gué du fleuve Morava, on entre en Bulgarie – sujet auquel il consacre un paragraphe entier de son ouvrage<sup>10</sup>. C'est notamment en rapport avec la division administrative de cette province ottomane contemporaine qu'il cite le nom de Nikopol comme siège d'un sandjak-bey. Le commentaire du géographe-« voyageur » contient à nouveau une erreur – il situe Nikopol à l'est de Silistra et Kilia<sup>11</sup>.

Dans une autre édition de la *Géographie* de Claude Ptolémée de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle que nous devons au mathématicien et astronome Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617), Nikopol est évoqué de nouveau en tant que centre de sandjak et vient en deuxième place après Sofia, qui est le siège du beylerbey de Roumélie. Dans ce livre, on a également noté son nouveau nom – Nigeboli. Ces informations

<sup>8</sup> *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino, Nuovamente tradotta di Greco in Italiano, da Ieronimo Ruscelli* [...], In Venetia, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1564<sup>2</sup>. Les cartes et la liste sont sans pagination.

<sup>9</sup> Dominici Marii Nigri Veneti, *Geographiae Commentariorum libri XI*. Basileae 1551, p. 254, 270, 307, 389, 410, 416, 465, 513, 714.

<sup>10</sup> G.L. D'Anania, *L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo overo Cosmografia*, p. 139: “Quindi guatandosi verso ostro il fiume Morava, che gli antichi chiamavano Mosco, si trova la Bulgaria detta anticamente Mesia inferiore”.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*: “segue Selistra, Chelia, e più a Oriente Nicopoli, pur con loro sangiacchi.”

sont incluses à la trente-septième nouvelle carte *Turcici imperii Descriptio* à la fin du deuxième volume. Elle contient des descriptions plus détaillées des provinces de l'Empire ottoman qui sont omises du récit antérieur sur l'Europe : la Bosnie, la Serbie, la Bulgarie et les deux Valachies. C'est très exactement dans le paragraphe consacré à la Bulgarie qu'on mentionne Nikopol – Nigeboli. Avec la citation du nouveau nom turc, il ne peut être question de confondre les « villes de la victoire » antiques avec Nikopol sur le Danube<sup>12</sup>. L'ouvrage de Magini bénéficie de nouveaux tirages, à la fois en latin et en italien, à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> et durant les premières décennies du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ils contribuent sans aucun doute à surmonter les erreurs accumulées d'identification du Nikopol d'alors sur le Danube aux villes balkaniques homonymes connues pendant l'Antiquité.

L'ouvrage géographique de Magini fait ressortir une autre tendance également. L'auteur se sert des données les plus actuelles sur les événements des Balkans. Ainsi, par exemple, lorsqu'il mentionne les deux Valachies et la Transylvanie, il n'oublie pas de noter que « maintenant » elles se sont révoltées et ont refusé de payer le tribut annuel au sultan.<sup>13</sup> Il s'agit incontestablement des événements en rapport avec la première phase (1593–1595) du long conflit austro-ottoman (1591/1593–1606), connus du mathématicien et astronome italien.

Ces deux tendances – décrire les sites géographiques à la manière des voyageurs et inclure des notes historiques et des données d'actualité concernant la situation des terres et des peuples décrits – ressortent encore plus nettement dans l'ouvrage *Relazioni universali* du jésuite Giovanni Botero (1544–1617)<sup>14</sup>. La première partie de ce travail est un texte strictement géographique qui décrit les régions de l'Europe. Il est pertinent de souligner que contrairement aux commentateurs, traducteurs et rectificateurs de Claude Ptolémée, Botero se sert des rapports des observateurs catholiques, principalement les membres de l'Ordre des jésuites. Bien évidemment, il ne s'interdit pas de copier et d'utiliser le déjà dit des ouvrages géographiques antérieurs. Ainsi, pour la Bulgarie qui y est à nouveau désignée comme province de l'Empire ottoman, nous apprenons très peu de nouveautés par rapport à ce qui est écrit par D'Anania ou Magini parce que Botero puise dans de nombreux carnets de voyage, et, tout comme D'Anania, il cherche à écrire « à la manière des voyageurs ». En outre, dans la partie géographique du livre sont incluses des informations sur l'histoire de Bulgarie. Selon celles-ci, la Bulgarie a été fondée en 666 (faux) à la suite de la défaite infligée par les Bulgares à l'empereur byzantin Constantin IV. Par la suite ils ont souvent et longtemps combattu les empereurs byzantins. Ces dernières affirmations sont correctes. La

<sup>12</sup> G.A. Magini, *Geographiae universae tum veteris tum novae absolutissimum opus duobus voluminibus distinctum*, 2. Venetiis 1596, f. 271/r: “Sangiacatus continentur nempe Sophiae Nicopolis Turcis Nigeboli”.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 271/v.

<sup>14</sup> *Le Relazioni universali di Giovanni Botero Benese* [Parti 1–4]. In Brescia [1599]. Botero publie les quatre parties de son travail séparément, dans des livres distincts en 1591, 1592, 1595 et 1596. Les extraits ici sont cités d'après le corpus complet.

ville principale (*metropoli*) du pays était Sofia, où résidait le berleybey de Roumélie, mais d'autres auteurs donnaient cet avantage à Nikopol. Le relief du pays était montagneux, mais les plaines ne faisaient pas défaut et il y avait des lieux désertés. Ce sont notamment ces friches qui ont épuisé les armées de Vladislav, roi de Pologne<sup>15</sup>. Le mélange d'informations historiques et de données géographiques éveille la curiosité du lecteur commun. Néanmoins, ce procédé nuit à l'historicité du récit: les terres inhabitées au moment des deux campagnes du roi Vladislav III Jagiello (1443–1444) ne l'étaient pas à l'extrême fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> et aux deux premières décennies du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle lorsque l'ouvrage de Botero a bénéficié de nombreux tirages. C'est une autre question de savoir ce que l'auteur voulait nous suggérer en écrivant que Sofia, et selon d'autres auteurs Nikopol aussi, étaient des « métropoles » bulgares<sup>16</sup> – villes principales, capitales ou bien sièges de métropolitains. Les renseignements de Botero sont très laconiques à ce sujet, bien qu'il possède une grande culture historique. C'est évident d'après d'autres de ses travaux faisant écho au souvenir de la bataille de Nikopol de 1396<sup>17</sup>.

Contrairement aux informations concises et en partie incorrectes sur l'histoire et la géographie de Nikopol dans le paragraphe *Bulgaria* de la première partie des *Relazioni universali*, les renseignements sur les colonies pauliciennes situées le long du Danube entre les villes de Nikopol et de Roussé sont intéressants. Il s'agit de la note marginale « *Heresia de' Manichei da chi seguita* », placée dans l'index de la troisième partie du même ouvrage où sont présentées les croyances de tous les peuples au monde<sup>18</sup>. Ces informations sont incontestablement puisées dans le rapport d'un missionnaire catholique probablement d'origine bulgare puisqu'il comprenait et communiquait librement avec les Pauliciens locaux<sup>19</sup>.

Des données de ce genre sont plutôt exceptionnelles dans les ouvrages d'histoire ou de géographie générale. Il ne faut pas sous-estimer le fait que le travail de Botero ne peut pas être considéré comme proprement historique ou géographique. C'est une sorte d'encyclopédie de la connaissance humaine sur le monde qui l'entoure d'après les relations contemporaines envoyées de tous les pays (Relations universelles). Ces notes sur la géographie de la Bulgarie intégrées dans la première partie du livre ont le plus grand impact sur les auteurs postérieurs. Les traductions ultérieures en langues européennes modernes (français, espagnol, allemand, anglais, roumain et autres) insistent sur la première partie qui reçoit la désignation si bien méritée de « géographie universelle ». On trouve des

<sup>15</sup> Botero, *Relazioni universali*, Parte prima [1599], p. 188–189.

<sup>16</sup> А. Николов – Г. Димов, “Теренно проучване на средновековните паметници на гр. Никопол (23–25.06.2011)”, *Mediaevalia* 2 (2012), p. 217 n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Botero, G. *Della ragion di Stato libri dieci, con tre libri della causa della grandezza delle città*. Torino 1948, p. 333.

<sup>18</sup> Botero, *Relazioni universali*, Parte terza, p. 140: “Ma prima d'uscir fuori da questi contorni, dica uno due parole de' Paolini. Sul Danubio tra Nicopoli e Russi si trovano 12. casali d'huomini, che si chiamano Paolini che possono fare 15. mila anime. Parlano Bulgaro, e seguono in parte l'heresia de' Manichei, con molti altri errori, e se bene venerano l'immagini di Dio, e de' Santi, non adorano però la Croce”.

<sup>19</sup> Данова, *България и българите*, p. 288–289.

renseignements identiques dans les travaux de géographie et d'histoire générale composés durant les deux siècles suivants. Que les travaux sortent de la plume de géographes et de pédagogues européens allemands, espagnols, français, hollandais, anglais ou autres, Nikopol sur le Danube y figure en tant que ville de Bulgarie, elle-même désignée comme province de l'Empire ottoman (la Turquie du Nord en Europe) et vient aussitôt après Sofia, qualifiée de capitale du pays. S'il existe quelques ajouts à cette information concise, ils renvoient au souvenir traumatique des deux croisades infructueuses de la chevalerie européenne défaite à Nikopol (1396) et à Varna (1444)<sup>20</sup>.

D'intéressantes notes de géographie sont à trouver également dans les ouvrages d'histoire générale qui continuent la tradition médiévale bien connue des chroniques universelles. Celles d'entre elles qui sont en usage comme manuels et matériaux pédagogiques pour l'enseignement en histoire connaissent de nombreuses éditions et/ou traductions. Quant aux livres d'histoire générale, il convient de noter qu'ils reçoivent un certain nombre d'ajouts chronologiques au fil du temps. C'est le cas de *l'Epitome historiarum ab Orbe condito/ Abrégé de l'histoire du monde depuis ses origines* jusqu'à environ 1595 (et des ajouts originaux dans les éditions ultérieures jusqu'à 1598) du jésuite romain Orazio Torsellini (1544–1599). Cette histoire est rééditée à plusieurs reprises en langue latine dans nombre de villes européennes durant le XVII<sup>e</sup> et la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il en existe des traductions en français, espagnol et italien, ainsi que de nombreux ajouts chronologiques qui concernent des événements de l'histoire européenne et mondiale allant jusqu'au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>21</sup>. Dans l'histoire brève les faits sont rendus si concis que le lecteur peut difficilement faire la différence entre les récits de la prise de Nikopol par les Ottomans (1395)<sup>22</sup> et l'expédition ultérieure du roi hongrois Sigismund<sup>23</sup>. C'est probablement la raison pour laquelle le nom de Nikopol n'est pas mentionné dans les notes composant les différentes listes des choses mémorables. Dans la Table des matières, incluse dans la traduction française (devenue très populaire au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle grâce à ses trois

<sup>20</sup> Cf. par exemple, la géographie universelle (1693<sup>1</sup>) de Johann Hübner (1668–1731), où les villes bulgares de Nikopol et Varna sont évoquées uniquement comme des lieux aux environs desquels se sont déroulés les derniers affrontements des croisades infortunées de l'Occident. Les pertes humaines subies par les croisés dans ces défaites y sont également indiquées. Un récit historique détaillé concernant l'échec de l'expédition à Nikopol est ajouté dans les traductions françaises postérieures de ce même ouvrage – comparer J. Hübner, *Kurze Fragen aus der alten und neuen Geographie*. Leipzig 1718, S. 771; J. Hubner, *Géographie universelle*, 3. A Basle 1754, p. 475.

<sup>21</sup> П. Данова, “България и българите в „Кратката история на света“ на Орацио Торселлини (1545–1599)”, *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 8 (2018), p. 309–331.

<sup>22</sup> Au sujet des sources bulgares de la prise de Nikopol, voir K. Ivanova, “Un renseignement nouveau dans un manuscrit bulgare du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle au sujet de la résistance du tzar Ivan Šišman contre les Ottomans près de Nicopol”, *Etudes balkaniques* 1 (1988), p. 91 sq.

<sup>23</sup> La bibliographie sur la bataille de Nikopol est énorme. Je vais évoquer un recueil d'études et de documents réalisé à l'occasion du 600<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de cet événement mémorable : В. Гюзелев (сът.), *1396. Никополската битка в съдбата на България, Балканите и Европа*. София 1999.

éditions) figure la note suivante : « *Nicopoli, ville de Bulgarie, son état présent* »<sup>24</sup>. La page à laquelle le lecteur peut trouver des renseignements sur Nikopol en Bulgarie est également indiquée à ce même endroit. L'Abbé Lagneau, traducteur du texte, a inséré une notice détaillée sur la ville danubienne dès la première mention de Nikopol. Elle est riche d'informations et je la citerai par conséquent dans son entier :

« Nicopoli. Il y a plusieurs villes de ce nom. Celle dont il s'agit en cet endroit est une ville de Bulgarie grande Province qui fait partie de l'Empire du Turc en Europe depuis plus de deux cens ans. Cette ville est sur le Danube avec un Château, & un grand fauxbourg au delà de ce fleuve, à soixante & quinze mille pas de Sophie qui est la Capitale de toute la Province. Elle est encore assez peuplée & des meilleurs de la Bulgarie. Les Grecs y ont un Archevêque qui y fait résidence. »<sup>25</sup>

C'est la note la plus développée sur la ville de Nikopol de tous les livres d'histoire et de géographie de la période analysée. Y sont indiqués l'emplacement géographique de la ville, sa muraille urbaine, « le quartier » de la rive opposée, à savoir le Petit Nikopol (Turnu), la distance en pas jusqu'à la capitale provinciale Sofia, c'est-à-dire l'une des importantes voies terrestres de la région. L'Abbé Lagneau n'a pas manqué de souligner qu'il s'agissait de l'une des villes les plus peuplées et les plus développées de Bulgarie, c'est-à-dire des terres au nord de la Stara planina et du sandjak de Sofia. La remarque que la ville est le siège d'un archevêque « le grec » = orthodoxe (métropolitaine) mérite également attention. Cette affirmation est erronée sauf si le mot « Grecs » se réfère aux bulgares catholiques habitant la ville danubienne et non pas aux populations orthodoxes en général<sup>26</sup>.

S'il y a un détail faux dans la note du traducteur et du commentateur du texte, il concerne la déclaration que deux cents ans se sont écoulés depuis la soumission de Nikopol aux Ottomans. C'est une absurdité embarrassante étant donné que plus de trois cents ans étaient passés depuis la prise ottomane de la ville jusqu'à l'époque de la traduction et de l'édition du texte, et que l'Abbé Lagneau est une personne d'une culture historique remarquable. Il faut souligner que c'est précisément lui qui a rectifié un défaut majeur de l'ouvrage d'Orazio Torsellini – l'absence de chronologie précise. Par conséquent, en tant que commentateur, il a noté dans les marges de la traduction française l'année à laquelle débutait le récit des événements passés.

Émettre des hypothèses permettant d'expliquer ce détail troublant<sup>27</sup> ne semble pas très opportun étant donné la liberté de la traduction du latin en français

<sup>24</sup> *Histoire universelle traduite du latin du P. Tursellin jesuite, avec des notes sur l'Histoire, la Fable, & la Geographie*, 3. Paris 1706, s. p.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 526.

<sup>26</sup> Voir Ив. Тютюнджиев, *История на българския народ XV–XVII в.* Велико Търново 2017, p. 341–394.

<sup>27</sup> La plus séduisante est l'hypothèse que Lagneau avait utilisé une œuvre composée deux siècles après la prise de Nikopol par les Turcs, à savoir vers 1595 et qui reflétait également des événements de la guerre austro-turque, liée à des affrontements militaires sur le territoire du sandjak de Sofia.

des passages concernant Nikopol et les villes conquises par Bayezid I en 1395. Torsellini relate que : « Nicopolim inde, aliasque haud ignobiles Bulgariae urbes »<sup>28</sup>, ce qui en français est rendu de manière suivante : « Nicopoli, & quesques autres bonnes villes de la Bulgarie »<sup>29</sup>. Selon Torsellini, il s'agissait de villes loin d'être sans importance, alors que la signification historique spécifique de *bonnes villes* en français les transforme en villes les plus importantes.

Dans les histoires universelles incluant des événements de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, une place importante est réservée à la guerre de la Sainte-Ligue (1591/1593–1606), et dans ce cas le récit contient également des éléments d'ouvrages géographiques. C'est bien évident dans l'*Historiae sui temporis* de Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617). Plusieurs faits de la longue guerre austro-ottomane sont présentés de manière détaillée dans la continuation de son livre concernant les années 1591–1596 et publiée pour la première fois en 1620 par ses amis et disciples<sup>30</sup>. Aux cours des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, c'est l'ouvrage historique publié par de Thou qui a bénéficié de nombreuses éditions en latin et de traductions en français, surtout dans les pays de la Réforme car il figurait dans l'Index des livres interdits<sup>31</sup>.

Le nom de Nikopol est donné dans l'index des événements mémorables de l'édition latine. Les mêmes sujets indiqués dans les notes marginales sont également présents dans la traduction française<sup>32</sup>. À la différence de l'abbé Lagneau qui donne des renseignements sur la géographie de la ville en note de bas de page, l'auteur de cet ouvrage historique les inclut dans le texte principal à l'endroit précédant le récit de la conquête et de l'incendie de Nikopol en 1595. Il reprend la thèse déjà présentée par Botero que Nikopol était la capitale de la Bulgarie, bien que selon d'autres auteurs c'était Sofia. L'interprétation du nom de « la ville de la victoire » proposée ici est fort curieuse et unique – selon de Thou, elle était ainsi dénommée probablement en raison des batailles qui ont eu lieu dans ses environs. Les informations sur ses habitants, leurs occupations, métiers et coutumes, considérés selon la manière occidentale comme barbares, sont également intéressantes<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> C'est l'auteur qui souligne, P.D.; *Epitome historiarum ab Orbe condito, ad nostra usque tempora*, R.P. Horatii Tursellini è Societate Jesu. Verius autem manuductio ad omnem omnium Gentium, et seculorum Historiam, sive etiam, Institutiones historicae Historiophilis omnibus longè commodiore forma, bono lectore, editae, Oeniponti 1680, p. 435.

<sup>29</sup> *Histoire universelle*, p. 526.

<sup>30</sup> Iac. Augusti Thuani, *Historiarum sui temporis*, 5. s.l., 1620.

<sup>31</sup> Ici est utilisée la traduction française des mêmes événements de l'édition J.-A. De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, 8. A La Haye 1740.

<sup>32</sup> Cp. *Historiarum sui temporis*, 5, p. 607: "Heiduci cum praetorianis Nicopolitanis acriter confligunt"; *Histoire universelle*, 8, p. 685: « Les Turcs battus par les Heiducs à Nicopoli ».

<sup>33</sup> *Histoire universelle*, 8, p. 685: « Dans le mois de Juillet précédent, les Turcs, indignés de se voir battus de tous côtés en Valachie, & songeant à se venger de tant de défaites, indiquèrent un rendez-vous de leurs troupes à Nicopoli. Cette place est la capitale de la Bulgarie, quoique quelques-uns donnent cet avantage à la ville de Sophie. »

La tendance à inclure des notes ou des esquisses de géographie dans la narration historique se poursuit au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette démarche n'enrichit pas l'exposé parce qu'une grande partie des données géographiques a vieilli ou est fausse<sup>34</sup>.

En conclusion, il convient de souligner que l'élaboration des tables des choses mémorables / *Rerum memorabilium tabulae*, intégrées en tant qu'apparat critique dans la littérature scientifique des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, contribue à la différenciation des sites géographiques homonymes parmi les nombreuses villes portant le nom de la victoire (*Nicopolis*). Dès la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Nikopol sur le Danube (*Nicopoli de Bulgarie*) est nettement distingué de Preveza (*Actia Nicopolis* de l'Antiquité, *Nicopoli de Roumanie* des temps modernes). Les villes qui n'existent plus, telle que l'antique *Nicopolis ad Istrum (ad Haemum, ad Iatrum)*, ne sont citées que dans les sections sur la géographie antique gréco-romaine. Pendant cette même période, Nikopol sur le Danube est mentionné dans les commentaires des géographies universelles comme une ville, centre d'un sandjak. Outre son nom traditionnel, sa version turque est également rendue – *Nigeboli, Nigebolu*. Cette dernière est rarement présente dans les listes *Rerum memorabilium*. Dans ces tables et dans le texte des ouvrages de géographie, Nikopol sur le Danube est souvent présenté à tort comme une capitale ou la ville principale de Bulgarie essentiellement sous l'influence des relations universelles de Giovanni Botero. Le nom de cette ville de Bulgarie centrale s'associe au souvenir traumatique de la bataille de Nikopol (1396). Cette tendance se poursuit au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle surtout dans les manuels et les livres pédagogiques de géographie.

Les notes géographiques sur Nikopol sur le Danube sont incorporées dans les histoires universelles de la période. On y observe la tendance à les placer dans les marges comme des notices ou comme des notes en bas de page, et leur contenu ne diffère que rarement de l'information fournie par les géographies universelles.

Les notes géographiques et historiques sur Nikopol sur le Danube ne contiennent pas de renseignements inconnus. Elles servent d'indice du niveau de culture générale de l'homme européen instruit, diplômé des universités et des collègues jésuites.

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<sup>34</sup> On peut donner comme exemple le volume de Domenico Suarez sur l'histoire des califes et des souverains ottomans qui la suite de l'histoire universelle d'Antonio Foresti. Cet auteur tire littéralement les données géographiques sur l'Empire ottoman, ses provinces et villes, y compris sur Nikopol, du livre de Denis Martineau du Plessis. Voir A. Foresti – D. Suarez, *Del Mappamondo istorico Tomo sesto, Parte prima che abbraccia le Vite de' califi maometani, e degl'imperadori ottomani*. In Venezia 1712, p. 2–5.



## DEUX ENQUÊTES DU XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE SUR L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN

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In 1668 the war between the Ottoman Empire and Venice was reaching its end after the long siege of Candia. It excited the interest of diplomats and scholars for different reasons. Two Italians were induced to study the economic resources and the military organization of the Empire. The first of these writings (published here) is preserved at the Marucelliana Library in Florence, while there are several copies of the second. Both authors belonged to the same circle of distinguished physicians.

**Keywords:** Francesco Redi, Giovanni Mascellini, fiscal system in Chios and Bagdad, janissaries.

Les pages qui suivent ne sont que le résultat inattendu de mes recherches à travers quelques manuscrits d'une merveilleuse bibliothèque de Florence, la Marucelliana. L'entière importance devrait en être évaluée, ailleurs, par les experts en histoire économique ou militaire quand ils auront exploité davantage le contenu des archives ottomanes. Ce que, par contre, les documents signalés ici nous permettent de reconstituer aujourd'hui c'est un paquet de connaissances sur l'Empire Ottoman en 1668, tel que l'ont assemblé par leurs investigations parallèles deux savants italiens qui ne se sont peut-être jamais rencontrés dans leur vie. Ces auteurs, des médecins tous les deux, entendaient, quand ils composaient leurs travaux, participer au progrès scientifique européen et, en même temps, combler des lacunes de l'information politique lorsqu'on éprouvait en Occident le besoin d'estimer justement les ressources de l'Empire Ottoman. L'un d'eux écrivait à Florence, l'autre à Constantinople, une quinzaine d'années avant le Siège de Vienne; ils avaient, l'un et l'autre, la même raison d'examiner l'organisation fiscale qui étayait la base économique d'un possible partenaire, ainsi que, tout aussi attentivement, le système militaire dont on redoutait la force. Les précieuses données ainsi recueillies et leur confirmation apportée par une vaste expérience de la capitale ottomane se sont rejointes à la cour de Toscane où le grand-duc se flattait de pouvoir accroître son prestige en envoyant ses galères dans les mers du Levant comme grand adversaire des Infidèles<sup>1</sup>.

C'est là que l'un des auteurs qui ont illustré la culture italienne du « Seicento », soit par une inlassable curiosité personnelle, soit pour informer son princier maître, s'est proposé de connaître en détail le fonctionnement des services fiscaux

<sup>1</sup> Guy Le Thiec, *Le Turc en Italie. Divertissements nobiliaires à la Renaissance*, dans *Turcs et turqueries (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris-Sorbonne, 2009, p. 136.

ottomans et de glaner des renseignements sur le corps des janissaires. Ainsi donc, Francesco Redi réclame sa place parmi les savants occidentaux qui ont entrepris d'acquiescer plus d'observations sur l'Empire Ottoman.

Mais qui était Francesco Redi? Son nom est d'habitude invoqué dans l'histoire de la médecine et des sciences naturelles, mais également, à cause de sa contribution à la littérature italienne, comme poète et philologue. Né à Arezzo en 1626, il est mort à Pise en 1698. Son père, Gregorio Redi, avait été le médecin du grand-duc de Toscane Francesco II. Le fils a rempli en 1654–1670 la même fonction auprès de Ferdinando II dont le successeur, Cosimo III, l'a gardé à son service. Pour se préparer à hériter cette dignité auprès des Médicis, il avait étudié la médecine et la philosophie à Pise de 1643 à 1647. Sa curiosité de naturaliste se dirigea vers les vipères et les insectes, il partagea avec Athanasius Kircher l'intérêt pour la puissance curative de certaines plantes exotiques et il publia en 1678 une *Lettera intorno all'invenzione degli occhiali*. On doit encore remarquer ses recherches de parasitologie (1684). A la fondation de l'Accademia della Crusca, en 1655, Redi se trouve déjà récompensé pour son activité par l'invitation à siéger parmi les premiers membres de cette prestigieuse institution<sup>2</sup>.

Si l'on se pose la question qu'est-ce qui a pu attirer ses regards vers le monde ottoman, la réponse se dérobe à qui la chercherait en feuilletant la correspondance de Francesco Redi, du moins ce qui en a été publié (en deux éditions avant sa mort)<sup>3</sup>. Les lettres sont celles d'un érudit qui collectionne des manuscrits grecs et arabes. Une relation d'une vingtaine d'années avec le bey de Tunis s'est établie à travers un compatriote qui était devenu médecin à Constantinople dans l'entourage du sultan. Il a connu Jean Baptiste Tavernier, le célèbre voyageur, qu'il remercie en 1680 pour « le sue curiosissime Relazioni della Turchia, della Persia e dalle Indie »<sup>4</sup>. En 1683–1686, les guerres de Hongrie contre les Turcs, dont il demande des nouvelles et qui le font même dédier des vers d'hommage à Sobieski et aux autres grands chefs militaires, l'ont amené à interroger des archéologues qui, visitant la Grèce, y avaient reconnu les conditions de vie sous la domination ottomane<sup>5</sup>. Encore un médecin italien appelé à Constantinople pour soigner un très grand dignitaire lui rapporte les difficultés du traitement et lui raconte chaque étape

<sup>2</sup> Ranieri Schippisi, *Francesco Redi, dans Letteratura italiana. I minori*, III, Milano, 1961, p. 1764–1792. Voir encore D. Prandi, P. Falconieri, *Bibliografia delle opere di Francesco Redi*, Firenze, 1941; Walter Bernardi, Luigi Guerrini, *Francesco Redi, un protagonista della scienza moderna: documenti, esperimenti, immagini*, Firenze 1999; B.J. Hayward, « Francesco Redi (1626–1697), Tuscan Philosopher, Physician and Poet », *Journal of Medical Biography*, 11, 2003, p. 28–34. Il possédait le latin et le grec, le français, l'espagnol, l'allemand, l'éthiopien et l'arabe (Luigi Vigliani, in *Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico*, XV, Torino, 1971, p. 690–691).

<sup>3</sup> *Lettere di Francesco Redi, patrizio aretino*, I–II, Napoli, 1779 + Firenze, 1795. Une troisième édition à Florence en 1825.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 110. Cf. J.B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages en Turquie & en Perse*, ed. Stéphane Yerasimos, I–II, Paris, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> Par exemple, Jacques Spon (*Opere di Francesco Redi, gentiluomo aretino e accademico della Crusca*, Milano, 1811, p. 161–162). Voir Ms Redi 8, p. 225–227, trois lettres à Spon en 1685.

de son voyage qui a duré deux ans. Redi lui conseillait d'apprendre le turc pour mieux observer, grâce à cette langue, différents aspects concernant les sciences naturelles<sup>6</sup>.

Il aura disposé de telles sources soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire d'amis associés au même réseau d'antiquaires (Antonio Magliabechi, Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, Anton Maria Salvini). Les prouesses en Méditerranée des galères de l'ordre chevaleresque de Saint Etienne l'ont informé sur le besoin de sauvegarder les chrétiens réduits en esclavage par les Turcs. Mais dans sa bibliothèque, dont il existe le catalogue, les livres concernant l'Empire ottoman manquaient encore en 1672.<sup>7</sup> Les connaisseurs de la réalité contemporaine du Sud-Est européen, nombreux dans l'élite intellectuelle en France et en Angleterre, moins en Italie, sinon à Venise, n'avaient pas approfondi les notions d'administration et d'organisation fiscale.

De l'oeuvre de Redi il subsiste deux parties, dont la première contient la transcription des rapports recueillis à Florence même. Les informateurs ont été quatre Turcs et trois Grecs capables de présenter l'organisation financière de l'Etat ottoman, au niveau de leur expérience personnelle. En voici la liste:

Relazione del Caraggio che si paga dai cristiani nell'isola di Scio, ricavata dalle risposte di Eiup di Costantinopoli, che fu preso dalle Galere del Granduca l'anno 1662<sup>8</sup>.

Relazione intorno al Caraggio pagato per tutto l'Impero Ottomano, ricavata dalle risposte date da Usein Chiaus e da Ali Celibi, adi 4 agosto 1668<sup>9</sup>.

Relazione cavata delle risposte di Michele Faccà, Sciotto, intorno al Caraggio che pagano quelli dell'Isola di Scio al Gran Signore, adi 7 agosto 1668<sup>10</sup>.

Relazione intorno al Caraggio che si paga nell'Impero Ottomano, ricavata dalle interrogazioni fatte a Rai d'Agnolo, greco di Adrianopoli, 18 agosto 1668<sup>11</sup>.

Relazione sul Caraggio di Mehemet Bostangi, adi 27 settembre 1668<sup>12</sup>.

Relazione sul Caraggio di Helias di Babilonia, a 2 Dicembre 1668<sup>13</sup>.

Le monde ottoman est fragmenté : deux de ses provinces sont examinées ici, Chio, enlevée aux Génois en 1566, et Bagdad, dont la prise en 1634 fut la plus grande victoire de Murad IV. Trois témoins se sont enhardis à décrire des situations valables partout, tandis qu'un seul, militaire professionnel, a avoué sans scrupule ce qu'il savait de l'organisation des troupes auxquelles il avait appartenu. Il est vrai que les connaissances qu'il possédait ne s'élevaient pas au dessus de son grade. Le choix des informateurs, quoique fait au hasard, est avantageux de par sa variété.

<sup>6</sup> Giulia Calvi, "Healing, Translating, Collecting. Doctor Michelangelo Tilli across the Ottoman Empire (1683–1685)", *Cyber Review of Modern Historiography*, 21, 2017–2018, p. 56–59.

<sup>7</sup> *Lettere*, I, p.106.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 113.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 115.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 118.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 120.

L'un, qui a été capturé sur un navire ottoman, porte un nom musulman (Eiup, ci-devant Jacob), était-ce un converti à l'Islam ? Originaire d'Istanbul, son métier de scribe-comptable lui ouvrait la perspective de voyager. Un autre est un Grec de Bagdad, frère de l'archevêque local<sup>14</sup>, à moins que ce prélat ne fût catholique, le titulaire in partibus, résidant à Rome. Alors cet Hélias devait se déclarer « étranger chrétien », qualité particulièrement onéreuse. Toujours est-il que la différence religieuse est essentielle: les non-musulmans (catholiques, arméniens et juifs) ont un statut spécial, traditionnel.

Pour rendre compréhensible l'ensemble des informations, convergentes ou, parfois, contradictoires, qui affluaient vers Francesco Redi en lui épargnant le soin de se déplacer, il faut dire d'abord que ce système de relations complexes est dû au manque de personnel spécialisé. Au centre, à Istanbul, le defterdar, responsable des registres de recensement amoncelés en deux siècles, loue ou vend à des particuliers la charge de percevoir l'impôt annuel sur les fortunes tel qu'il est dû par les chrétiens et par les turcs à la fois. Le profit qu'en retirent les percepteurs les incite à renouveler leur affaire dans la même ville où les impôts étaient répartis et perçus, chaque année.

Ceci dit, on doit expliquer ce que signifiaient les monnaies d'usage en ces calculs: pezza, c'est-à-dire peso en espagnol, qui vaut 8 réaux, donc 90 aspres, aspre, valeur insignifiante, au-dessous de 0,20 grammes d'argent, sciai, un huitième de pezza, para, équivaut à 2 gros aspri, à peu près 3 aspri normaux, mancur, mansur ou filur, petite monnaie de cuivre, crus, « pezza da otto » = 1 gurush, tallar, la monnaie allemande Reichsthaler, « un sultanino vale due pezze e 10 aspri, cioè 190 aspri », autant dire 1 altyn = 200 aspri, « il zecchino veneziano vale due pezze e 20 aspri »<sup>15</sup>, par conséquent 200 aspri.

La valeur de ces monnaies, telle qu'elle était calculée par les contemporains, correspond à la baisse du rapport or-argent à partir de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle qui a continué au cours de la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup><sup>16</sup>.

Le kharadj est en principe une imposition fixe et inchangeable. Comme on verra, elle varie beaucoup: bien qu'établie à 7 pezze par personne (mâle et adulte), la somme descend à 6 pezze à Chio, où elle est réduite à 5 pezze lorsque le nombre des débiteurs est en train de décroître. Selon un informateur d'Andrinople, 5 pezze serait la règle pour tous les sujets chrétiens de l'Empire, mais la courbe monte, au contraire, là où la quantité des recensés s'est amoindrie, jusqu'à 8–12 (« ascende a otto talvolta a nove, talvolta a dieci, fino in dodici pezze per testa »)<sup>17</sup>. A Chio on

<sup>14</sup> La juridiction de cet « episcopus Bagdadi sive Babylonis » comprenait l'Assyrie et la Mésopotamie (Fernando Filoni ; *The Church in Iraq*, trad. Edward Condon, The Catholic University of America Press, 2017, p. 46).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 126.

<sup>16</sup> Je dois la plupart de ces éclaircissements à l'aide amicale que m'a prêtée Ernest Oberländer-Tâmoveanu. Pour la soldé comme pour le nombre des janissaires au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle on doit employer Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700*, London, 1999.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 116.

est arrivé à la réduction la plus avantageuse, « due pezze e mezzo »<sup>18</sup>. Trois piastres et un quart à Bagdad<sup>19</sup>, quatre à Istanbul<sup>20</sup>: dans ces conditions il est difficile de conclure quelle confiance pouvait-on accorder à de pareils calculs. Tout en avançant une moyenne de 5 à 20 aspres, il est impossible de se livrer à supposer l'immensité du total « per tutto l'Impero »<sup>21</sup>.

De surcroît, il y a des catégories biologiques et sociales exemptées du kharadj. En premier lieu, les femmes et les enfants. Pour ces derniers, la limite d'âge est à douze ans, malaisée à fixer pour des paysans qui ignorent leur date de naissance (mais on nous enseigne ici un procédé pour préciser l'âge à partir duquel on est traité comme redevable)<sup>22</sup>. L'invalidité n'est pas une raison d'être excepté: les hommes doivent payer, qu'ils fussent infirmes, aveugles ou impotents du fait de la vieillesse<sup>23</sup>. Le clergé chrétien est exonéré, prêtres et moines, orthodoxes et catholiques, aussi bien que les rabbins. Dans le camp opposé, les janissaires et les spahis se sont assurés le même privilège. Lorsqu'un chrétien se convertit à l'Islam, il est aussitôt délivré du devoir de payer le kharadj. Afin d'éviter de pareils cas honteux pour la communauté orthodoxe, certains notables conservent l'équilibre en payant l'impôt à la place de leurs voisins pauvres<sup>24</sup>.

Il existe aussi, à part le kharadj, encore une imposition à laquelle sont assujettis turcs et chrétiens, la djizye (« le deci »), payable en argent. Une autre taxe, au vieux nom byzantin, « avania », est payable en nature ; donc, selon un témoin d'Andrinople, en viande, beurre, foin, blé, riz etc. Alors ce n'est pas la personne qui est comptée, mais l'habitation, et la somme due par un turc est légèrement inférieure à celle exigée d'un chrétien. Le sens même du mot « avania » désigne une exaction, temporaire ou régulière.

En marge de ces situations, conditionnées plus ou moins par des facteurs communs, une exception: l'île de Chio, à cause de la production d'anis. Deux des informateurs interrogés par Redi sont venus raconter en détail comment était distribuée cette précieuse ressource et comment la récolte, pour laquelle les 62 villages exemptés du kharadj habituel avaient une responsabilité collective, était régulièrement partagée entre le chef-collecteur et ceux dont il achetait la protection jusqu'au Sérail d'Istanbul<sup>25</sup>.

Que faire de tous ces renseignements qui mettaient en lumière des aspects de la vie économique dans une partie de l'Europe difficilement accessible ? L'absence

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 111. Pour les adolescents, 3 pezze.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 120.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 112 : « In Costantinopoli dice che si paga solamente quattro pezze per Caraggio ».

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 114.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 116.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 118. Voir Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beyrouth, 1958, p. 270–274.

<sup>24</sup> Ms. 35, f. 116, 118, 120.

<sup>25</sup> E. Argenti, *The History of Chios Alexander M. Vlasto, A History of the Island of Chios* (A.D. 70–1822), London, 1913.

de cohésion entre territoires et groupes sociaux demeurait évidente. Le public visé par cette enquête se laisse deviner : les gens d'affaires toscans, représentés à Constantinople par une agence<sup>26</sup>. La biographie de Francesco Redi montre qu'il ne demeura pas longtemps attaché au sujet assigné à ses recherches. En 1668, donc en même temps qu'il interrogeait ces rescapés de l'ordre ottoman, il réalisait des expériences extraordinaires d'entomologie. Cette orientation répondait davantage au progrès scientifique européen. Tant qu'il examinait l'état du plus grand Etat de l'époque, il avait été réduit à des estimations approximatives, par des moyens indirects. Désormais il n'aura plus besoin que d'un microscope perfectionné<sup>27</sup>.

Cependant, il n'avait pas été le premier à susciter au grand-duc de Toscane l'idée d'un rôle à remplir dans une grande offensive qui eût récupéré sur les Turcs cette partie de l'Europe qu'ils possédaient.

Cosimo III était en train d'étudier l'arabe<sup>28</sup>. Peu remarqué par les érudits modernes, ce penchant intellectuel du prince, cultivé certainement sous la tutelle de Redi, aura été connu par les savants du même réseau étendu aussi loin que Constantinople. C'est de la capitale ottomane que lui fut adressée une Breve Relazione dell' Ottomanno Imperio nel presente stato in questo anno 1668, dont une copie in quarto se trouve dans le dossier Redi Varia 35, tandis que l'original (?) est le ms. no 298 de la Bibliothèque Statale di Lucca<sup>29</sup>. Plusieurs autres copies existent (deux en Grande – Bretagne)<sup>30</sup>. Toutes portent l'indication du nom de l'auteur: « dal medico Mascellini da Urbino ». Il importe de rappeler la biographie de ce personnage, substantiellement reconstituée par N. Vătămanu<sup>31</sup>. Né à Pesaro en 1612, « doctor Medicinæ » de Padoue en 1637, Giovanni Mascellini était déjà à Constantinople deux ans après, mais il ne tarda pas de quitter le service de l'ambassadeur de Venise à la Porte pour se rendre en Valachie où il allait être le médecin personnel du prince Matthieu Basarab. Son long séjour à la cour de Târgoviște, interrompu à plusieurs reprises par diverses missions diplomatiques que lui confiait le prince, ne l'isolait pas complètement, car il avait des rapports étroits avec la mission des frères mineurs conventuels, active autour de l'église catholique de Bucarest, qu'il se chargeait de surveiller. De 1646 à 1650 il fut l'ami

<sup>26</sup> Andrei Pippidi, «The End of the Florentine Colony in Constantinople», *Il Mar Nero*, V, 2001–2003, p. 273–281.

<sup>27</sup> «Microscopio di tre vetri lavorato in Roma». Les volumes VI et VII des Opere comprennent des *Consulti medici*.

<sup>28</sup> Pier Mattia Tommasino, «Bulghaith al-Darawi and Barthélemy d'Herbelot. Readers of the Qur'an in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany», *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 20, 3, 2018, p. 108.

<sup>29</sup> C. Pizzi, «Une relation sur Constantinople, inédite et méconnue, du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle», dans *X. Milletlerarasi Bizans tetkikleri kongresi tebliğleri. Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* (Istanbul, 15–21.IX.1955), Istanbul 1957, p. 244–247, sans reproduction du texte.

<sup>30</sup> Signalées par Nicolae Vătămanu, «Contribution à l'étude de la vie et de l'oeuvre de Giovanni Mascellini, médecin et secrétaire princier», *RESEE*, XVI, 2, p. 274–275. Il y en a eu deux ayant appartenu à des ambassadeurs d'Angleterre à Constantinople : Heneage Finch lord Winchilsea en 1661 et Sir John Finch en 1668. Leur successeur (1681), Sir William Trumbull en posséda encore une : celle que Vătămanu (avec P. Cernovodeanu) a publiée, *ibid.*, p. 279–285.

<sup>31</sup> Voir aussi idem, *Voievozi și medici de curte*, București, 1972, p. 150–165.

d'une « persona da bene », docteur en philosophie et en théologie de Rome, mais cette relation tournera à l'aversion lorsque celui-ci alla gravir une haute dignité de l'Eglise orthodoxe : il s'agit de Pantaleone Ligaridis, un brillant érudit, fondateur de la première école gréco-latine en Valachie<sup>32</sup>. Chaque fois qu'il revenait à Constantinople, Mascellini renouait avec l'élite gréco-levantine et les émigrés italiens y compris le baile de Venise Giovanni Soranzo. Sa compétence médicale était si appréciée que le grand visir, Ahmed Köprölü lui-même, demandait ses soins pour lui et sa famille. Quand il aura épousé la fille d'un autre médecin de Padoue et de Constantinople<sup>33</sup>, parfaitement intégré parmi les drogmans vénitiens – les Bruti, Tarsia, Borisi, Grillo -, on voit que, ayant quitté la Valachie en 1655, il comptait demeurer en ce milieu d'échanges intellectuels et d'influence politique. Cependant, après son mariage, Mascellini est revenu à la cour de Târgoviște, où, en 1657, il a servi d'interprète à l'accueil d'une ambassade suédoise, pour traduire en grec, langue connue par le prince roumain.<sup>34</sup> Pour les années suivantes les indices sont concordants. Quoique présent de temps en temps en Valachie et en Moldavie, il est toujours retenu auprès du grand visir, qui exige qu'il l'accompagne en Crète en 1666 dans le camp des assiégeants de Candie, ou comme médecin personnel du sultan à Andrinople, en 1672, et à Silistra en 1675. Ses soins étant requis par le khan Selim Giray, Mascellini dut accourir en Crimée, mais, au retour de ce voyage, il succomba aux fièvres du Danube. Son épitaphe, placée en 1675 dans une église de Galatzi, proclame ses mérites „in medica arte” qui lui ont obtenu la gratitude de plusieurs monarques européens, sans oublier les „principes utriusque Valachiae”<sup>35,36</sup>.

Une biographie qui, du côté des préoccupations scientifiques sur le plan professionnel aboutit à deux ouvrages destinés à flatter par leur dédicace le patron de l'auteur, le grand visir. Rédigés en latin, donc visant des collègues dont on attendait l'admiration. A leur date, 1672, Mascellini se trouvait à Andrinople, en remettant à jour d'anciennes leçons pour deux brochures qui contenaient des prescriptions contre la peste et un cours sommaire sur des thèmes classiques de l'enseignement médical. La « Breve Relazione » a été écrite quatre ans plus tôt, vraisemblablement pour l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre, Sir John Finch. Celui-ci venait d'arriver à Constantinople, nommé en cette position, qui avait été occupée

<sup>32</sup> Sergiu Iosipescu, «Paisie Ligaridi și studiile clasice din Țara Românească în secolul XVII», *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie „A.D. Xenopol”*, XXI, 1984, p. 379–385.

<sup>33</sup> Sur ce Danois italiénisé, devenu, de 1641 à 1646, médecin du prince de Moldavie Basile Lupu, voir N. Vătămanu, *op. cit.*, p. 139–149; Eugen Lozovan, «Un médecin danois en Moldavie: Hans Andersen Skovgaard (1600–1656)», *Romanica*, 4, 1971, p. 81–84; Andrei Pippidi, «Quelques drogmans de Constantinople au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *RESEE*, X, 2, 1972, p. 245–246, 255; Cristian Luca, *Țările Române și Veneția în secolul al XVII-lea*, București, 2007, p. 111–126; idem, *Dacoromano-Italica, Studi e ricerche sui rapporti italo-romeni nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, p. 118, 150, 158, 164–166, 176–178.

<sup>34</sup> Conrad Jacob Hildebrandt's *Dreifache Schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine und Constantinopel (1656–1658)*, ed. Franz Babinger, Leiden, 1937, p. 111, 223.

<sup>35</sup> N. Vătămanu, *art. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>36</sup> Phyllis S.Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, Rutgers University Press, p. 36, 53–55, 104–105, 146, 154; Ludovic Demény, Paul Cernovodeanu, *Relațiile politice ale Angliei cu Moldova, Țara Românească și Transilvania în secolele XVI–XVIII*, București, 1974, p. 165–168.

depuis 1661 par son cousin, lord Winchilsea, auquel Mascellini avait rendu plusieurs services importants. Sir John était lui-même médecin et membre de la Royal Society ; de plus, il venait de Florence, où il avait représenté le roi Charles II auprès du grand-duc<sup>37</sup>. Il est évident qu'il y avait connu Francesco Redi et celui-là lui aura recommandé de s'adresser à Mascellini pour les conseils nécessaires à un diplomate insuffisamment informé sur l'Empire Ottoman.

Du point de vue des relations internationales il y avait un problème grave: la guerre pour Crète, où les Vénitiens résistaient depuis 1645, et Mascellini sera même obligé d'assister personnellement au siège de la forteresse de Candie. Le texte qu'il a offert n'est qu'un coup d'oeil sur la situation générale. Il a été conservé dans les archives de famille des Finch, mais son auteur a dû penser à le diffuser et, pour commencer, il l'a envoyé à Cosimo III à toutes fins utiles.

Ceux qui l'ont reçu, voulant se faire une idée plus exacte et plus complète de l'Empire Ottoman, ont sollicité l'aide de Francesco Redi. Ce qui explique les pages ajoutées à ce qu'il avait déjà extrait des premiers informateurs disponibles. Il importe peu de savoir de quelle source sont recueillis les renseignements sur les janissaires qui forment un bloc : les pages 122–131 du même dossier. Un ancien soldat certainement, car l'une des questions qu'on lui pose, restée sans réponse, est s'il a pris part à la campagne de Neuhausel (Saint Gotthard, 1664). Un Turc probablement, car Redi ne connaissait pas cette langue : il note une fois « si domandò »<sup>38</sup>, donc il employait un interprète, et une autre notation traduit en turc les noms des mois<sup>39</sup>.

Les recherches des historiens, si elles n'ont pas encore résolu les questions de 1668, se chargeront sans doute de les reformuler. Ce qui intéressait alors c'était surtout qui commandait les janissaires et quelles attributions revenaient à chaque commandant. Le nombre des janissaires, affirmé ici à deux reprises, 45 000,<sup>40</sup> est précisé par l'étude la plus fortement documentée: 39 470 en 1670 (avec le nombre de recrues enrôlées, on arrive à 48 212)<sup>41</sup>. Une quantité de détails concernent le cantonnement de ces troupes et, surtout, le paiement de la solde à plusieurs occasions et pour diverses catégories. Les galères de la flotte ottomane seraient quarante, ce qui correspond aux sources déjà connues<sup>42</sup>. Un passage au sujet du siège de Candie semble reposer sur un témoignage direct.

En fin de compte, les informations réunies dans ce dossier représentent une contribution méconnue à la connaissance de l'Empire Ottoman en Occident, toujours reprise et toujours inachevée.

<sup>37</sup> Ms Redi 35, f. 119.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 129.

<sup>39</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 124 et 127.

<sup>41</sup> Rhoads Murphey, *op. cit.*, table 3.5. Mais *ibid.*, p. 46–47, le chiffre est réduit à seulement 18 000 pour une partie active, combattante, tandis que le total s'arrête à 32 000).

<sup>42</sup> Selon le ms Redi 35, f. 128. Voir Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, III, Paris, 1844, p. 45 : 36 galères et 4 mahonnes.



## ANNEXES

### I

Ms Redi 35

111 Relazione del Caraggio che si paga dai cristiani nell'isola di Scio, ricavata dalle risposte di Eiup di Costantinopoli, che fu preso dalle Galere del Granduca l'anno 1662

113 Relazione intorno al Caraggio pagato per tutto l'Impero Ottomanno, ricavata dalle risposte date da Usein Chiaus e da Ali Celibi, adì 4 agosto 1668

115 Relazione cavata dalle risposte di Michele Faccà, Sciotto, intorno al Caraggio, che pagano quelli dell'isola di Scio al Gran Signore, adì 7 agosto 1668

116 Relazione intorno al Caraggio che si paga nell'Impero Ottomanno ricavata dalle interrogazioni fatte a Rai di Agnolo greco di Andrinopoli, 18 agosto 1668

118 Relazione sul Caraggio di Mohamet Bostangi, adì 27 Settembre 1668

120 Relazione sul Caraggio di Helias di Babilonia, fratello dell'Arc. di Babilonia, a dì 2 Dicembre 1668

111 Disse che i caraci cioè appaltatori o riscuotatori del Caraggio sono dei primi cortigiani della Porta, amici o raccomandati dal defterdar.

gli caraci si partono di Costantinopoli al mese di marzo e devon essere ne' luoghi a loro destinati il giorno che i Turchi otomani chiamano Nevrud, cioè l'equinozio di primavera. Vi sarà taluno di qti caraci che marcia con 50 cavalli e come è arrivato al luogo trova la casa apparecchiata dove è fatta la spesa a lui e alla sua comitiva e servitù per tutto il tempo che si trattiene a riscuotere e per qte spese ogni mattina vengono quattro deputati a dimandare tutto quello che bisogna al M-ro di casa del caraci e tutto quello che chiede, tutto ogni giorno gli danno. Subito dunque arrivato il caraci, si chiamano i deputati del popolo insieme col cadi in presenza del quale si legge la patente del G.Signore e del defterdar fatta al caraci per la riscossione. In q-ta occasione il caraci da a mangiare mille pezze al cadi, accioche il cadi faccia intendere al popolo che tratti bene il caraci, e che il caraci è dei favoriti del gran signore e qta lettura della patente si fa in ogni corbella, perche nella città di Scio non si paga caraggio.

Son dunque in Scio quattro diputati, due Greci e due Italiani e in mani di qti capita tutto il caraggio e loro lo pagano al caraci.

Scio ha 22 mila caraggi di sei pezze l'uno, e due mila de tre pezze l'uno, e qti due mila sono i ragazzi da 12 sino a 17 anni.

In Scio sono 62 villaggi esenti dal caraggio, e qti 62 villaggi son quegli che attendono alla raccolta del mastice e nella custodia.

Oltre qto caraggio, l'isola di Scio da 40 mila pezze al Capitan Bascia del mare.

Il caraci in Scio avrà per suo guadagno intorno a venti mila pezze, per le quali si fanno pagare oltre le sei pezze per volta, si fanno pagare due milla pezze per caraggio ed il restante per le spese del caraci lo ripartiscono per villaggio.

112 Tutte l'isole dell' Archipelago danno fra tutte 300 mila pezze al Capitan Bascia del Mare oltre i regali che gli fanno ogni volta che va all'isole di panno, orsi drappi di seta, orsi castrati.

Quando la gente scema, e non per questo scema la somma totale del caraggio, ma ad'ognuno si cresce la somma del suo in particolare, conforme le sue ricchezze. Se la gente cresce, la somma totale del caraggio non cresce, e per questo scema la quantità del caraggio particolare. Chi pagava sei, pagará cinque.

Del mastice ordinario se ne raccorrà in Scio 380 casse di cento libbre l'una. Di qte casse se ne mandava 40 al Gr. Sig-re, venti alla valide o Regina madre, quindici casse all'azechi o donna favorita del G.Sig-re, dieci al Gr. Visir, gli altri sei visir ne anno due per uno e così i due cadalischieri. Il mufti ne ha cinque, il defterdar ne ha trè, l'eunuco maggiore ne ha due e tutte qte casse son di mastice sceltissimo, e tutte l'altre casse va al Bei secondo la tariffa. Soprintendente alla raccolta del mastice vi è un'aga il quale ha grandissima autorità di mandar in galera, di far impiccare gli uomini a lui sottoposti ecc.

Ne i preti latini, ne i preti greci ammogliati, ne i monaci ne le donne non pagano caraggio si come ancora non pagano il caraggio i fratelli di preti, ne i padri di preti pur che il figliuolo prete sia vivo. I figliuoli dei preti non pagano. In Scio son conventi di monache. I fratelli di qte monache non pagano caraggio.

Il defterdar ha della riscossione de caraggi dieci per cento.

112 v. Qto Eiup, o Jacob di Costantinopoli l'anno 1663 fu in Scio con un caraci, ed era scrivano del detto caraci, disse che in tutto l'imperio i preti ammogliati e i monaci non pagano caraggi e qto disse saperlo di certa scienza; pagano po i fratelli e i padri de preti e non ne sono esenti come in Scio.

In Costantinopoli dice che si paga solamente quattro pezze per caraggio.

Il caraggio de Greci di Costantinopoli comporta 300 m. pezze. [phrase effacée]

113 Tutte le città, castelli, terre, ville e borgate dell'Impero Ottomanno son tassate in una certa e determinata somma di danaro che è l'annuale tributo che danno al Gran Signore. Qte classe son registrate a' libri del defterdar, cioè tresorier

generale, ed esso per non aver la briga del riscuotere le mette in vendita, e son comprate da i caracci che tanto è a dire riscuotitori o appaltatori del careggio o tributo, e qti caraci per averle le pagano maggior somma di danari di quello che elle vagliano. Subito che le anno comprate, vanno ne' luoghi a loro assegnati a riscuoterle e per riscuoterle impongono tanto per testa più o meno secondo la ricchezza o povertà de particolari, della quale pigliano informazione dagli abitanti del luogo, e per rifarsi della spesa e per guadagnarvi ancora, passano molto più di quello che dovrebbero, e di qta soverchia tassazione i popoli non possono richiamarsi, se non fosse un eccesso più che strabocchevole, che forse anco non meriterebbe loro il conto a richiamarsene e particolarmente a quegli che son molto lontani da Costantinopoli. Qta tassa o imposizione di quascheduna città o castello non si leva mai ne mai si sminuisce ancorchè sminuisce il popolo o il no delle teste, ma cio che pagavano quei molti son forzati a pagarlo quei pochi, che vi son rimasti, e pagano ugualmente i cristiani e i turchi; egli è ben vero che se un cristiano si fa turco immediatamente è fatto libero in perpetuo da ogni tributo: Gli ebrei anno una tassa particolare da loro della quale il chiaus e il celebi dissero averne notizie. L'isole tutte del Arcipelago non sono sottoposte a qta foggia di tributo; ma è imposto loro dal Bascià del Mare.

Ogn'anno si riappalta qto caraggio.

Tutti gli appalti del caraggio si fanno in Costantinopoli e non nelle provincie.

Non si appalta a castello per castello, ma a città per città con tutti i castelli del loro territorio.

Del caraggio son esenti tutti i sacerdoti, tanto cristiani che ebrei, tutti i monaci tanto latini che greci, ne son esenti tutti i giannizzeri, tutti gli spai o timari.

Il medesimo caraci o appaltatore del caraggio riscuote dal turco e dal cristiano.

Oltre il suddeto caraggio o tributo nell'impero ottomanno si pagano le deci,e tanto da turchi quanto da cristiani con qta differenza però che il cristiano d'ogni otto paga uno ed il turco d'ogni dieci paga uno, e qte decime non vanno al Gran Signore ma agli spai o timari.

Oltre di qto gli spai o timari impongono e tassano ogni anno tutti i cristiani e tutti i turchi lor sudditi per testa secondo le loro ricchezze ugualmente, onde a chi tocca pagar quattro aspri a chi sei a chi otto a chi dieci a chi 20, a chi 30, o poco più.

Quanto al caraggio la maggior somma non si può sapere, perche si regola secondo la ricchezza, la minor somma arriva fino a cinque aspri, dieci, dodici, venti e la maggiore può essere buon numero di pezze.

115 Disse che i caraggi che si pagano dall'isola di Scio sono ventiquattro mila, e son bastati due pezze e mezzo l'uno. Egli è ben vero che, essendovi molti poveri che non posson pagar nulla, perciò questa tassa cresce a segno che arriva fino a cinque pezze ed a quel segno che arriva tanto la paga il povero che il ricco. Raccolta dunque tutta la somma de caraggi, si paga al mandato del defterdar ventiquattro mila caraggio di prezzo di due pezze e mezzo l'uno, dal sopravanzo se ne sodisfà a quello che si appartiene al Capitan Bascià general del Mare di giustizia e per

ragione di legato se ne soddisfà ancora ad altri legati che si convien fare al cadì che viene di Costantinopoli ogni anno o ogni due anni.

Quanto al modo del riscuoterlo, il defterdar appalta o vende questo caraggio a qualche caraci o riscuotitore, il quale si porta ogni anno nel mese di marzo a Scio ed arrivato, lo fa tassare a deputati sciotti, i quali per dieci giorni danno da mangiare o spesano il caraci con tutta la famiglia sua e servitù; e perche sono obligati a fargli sempre le spese per tutto quel tempo che sta a riscuotere il caraggio che sarà almeno meno cinque o sei mesi, perciò passati que' dieci giorni in cambio di fargli le spese, si appaltano seco di dargli tanto danaro, e che egli se le faceva da se, e per lo più rimangon d'accordo con cinque o sei mila pezze, dopo di che quattro deputati, due greci e due italiani, tassano il popolo, e loro stessi, con la forza e autorità del caraci, riscuotono il caraggio e, finito il riscuotere di quelle somme in primo luogo pagano al caraci quello che son convenuti per le spese di esso caraci, in secondo luogo pagano al caraci li 24 mila caraggio di due pezze e mezzo l'uno e il restante lo serbano per soddisfare al Capitan Bascià, al cadì e ad altre spese.

116 Disse che tutti i cristiani dell'imperio ottomanno pagano ogni anno il caraggio a ragione di cinque pezze per testa di tutti i maschi da dodici anni fino alla morte. Ma perche il popolo è sminuito e impoverito per qto, caraggio per lo più ogni anno ascende a otto talvolta a nove, talvolta a dieci, fino in dodici pezze per testa imperocchè ogni città o castello quando fù istituito anticamente il caraggio, fu tassata in una certa e determinata somma di pezze, la qual somma ancorchè il popolo sminuisca, non si sminuisce. E a questo caraggio son sottoposti tanto i poveri quanto i ricchi. E se i poveri non anno tanto da poter pagare, sono sforzati i ricchi a pagar per loro e poi i ricchi fanno lavorare i poveri per trovar dalle loro fatiche quello che anno speso per loro nella paga del caraggio.

A riscuoter qto caraggio va ogni anno un caraci o appaltatore, il quale ha comprato questa detta del defterdar o tesoriere generale e per questa ragione ancora cresce il caraggio sopra le cinque pezze imperocchè questo e il guadagno del caraci, il quale solamente ha da render conto al defterdar della tassa antica di cinque pezze a testa.

Disse che gli ebrei e gli armeni e i franchi anno un caraggio da per loro.

Il caraci, per riscuotere il caraggio, arrivato che è nel luogo da lui comprato o appaltato, chiama i più ricchi e i più principali e da loro si fa pagare tutta la tassa e qti più ricchi poi si fanno pagare da particolari.

Subito che il caraci arriva nel luogo di sua iurisdizione, in quel momento il popolo è obligato a far le spese a lui e tutti i suoi uomini e ufficiali per tutto quel tempo che si dimorano, e queste spese s'anno da cavare dal suddetto caraggio e questo ancora è una delle ragioni perche da cinque pezze ascende talvolta sino a dieci, come si disse di sopra. Molte città si appaltano col caraci per non fargli le spese giornalmente e gli danno una grossa somma di danaro acciochè se le faccia da se. Altre città gli fanno le spese a giorno per giorno i contadini del distretto di una città pagano il caraggio dentro alla città essendo noverati in quel popolo. I castelli piccoli vicino alle città pagano il caraggio nelle città. Ma i castelli lontani e

castelli più grossi che anno il cadì cioè il Podestà o giudice, anno un caracì da per loro che va a riscuotere il caraggio.

Un cristiano che si faccia turco subito è libero dal caraggio.

I Preti greci che anno moglie, che tutti l'anno, pagano il caraggio per loro e per loro figliuoli. I monaci o caloieri non pagano. Domandato perche i caloieri non pagano, rispose che questo fu privilegio di Macometto. Domandato se i Turchi pagavano questo caraggio dimme di no, ma soggiunse che i Turchi pagavano ogni anno un avania o balzetto che alle volte è maggiore alle volte minore, secondo i bisogni. Questo balzetto lo pagano ancora i cristiani oltre il caraggio. I caloieri son esenti da questo balzetto. Qto balzetto non si tassa secondo le teste, ma secondo le case, e la loro possibilità. Qto balzetto che pagano in Andrinopoli serve per il Gran Signore quando va fuori a conto di carne, di burro, di paglie biade, risi ecc. In qto balzetto si aggrava piu la mano addosso a cristiani che addosso a Turchi.

Il caraggio, come si è detto di sopra, si comincia a pagare di dodici anni, e perche nascon dispute se i figliuoli abbiano ancora dodici anni per certificarsene, i Turchi pigliano una funicella e l'adoppiano e con essa addoppiata cingono il collo del fanciullo, dipoi levatagliela dal collo mettono i due capi in bocca al fanciullo e gliela fanno stringer co denti. Se in quel cerchio che fa la fune tenuta in bocca vi passa il capo giudicano che il fanciullo abbia dodici anni: Se non vi passa, giudicano che non abbia dodici anni.

118 Adì 21 Sbr 1668

Caraggio

Relazione di Mehemet Bostangi

Disse che i Cristiani in tutto l'Imperio Turchesco pagano il caraggio a ragione di 7 pezze per testa. Disse che qti caraggi son comprati da caracì dal defterdar, e i caracì gli vanno poi a riscuotere. Disse che, se in un luogo vi sieno due mila caraggi e non vi sien più che mille teste, disse che la gente di quel luogo supplica al defterdar a volere scemar i caraggi e che molte volte l'ottengono. Disse che per i cristiani poveri pagano il caraggio i cristiani ricchi acciochè i poveri non si abbiano a far Turchi.

Disse che i caracì comprano in appalto qti caraggi per guadagnarvi.

Disse che nell'età di dodici anni si comincia a pagare il caraggio e che lo pagano sinche vivono ancor che fossero storpiati, ciechi o decrepiti.

Disse che se talvolta muore qualche greco ben ricco, che gli fanno pagare il caraggio anco tre o quattr'anni dopo la morte.

119 Bostangi Meemet disse che non era vero che i Giannizzeri nell'odà avenero le spese, ma che se volevan mangiare, bisognava che se lo comprassero da loro co' loro denari. Egli è ben vero che andando quattro volte la settimana al divano, quegli che vi vanno, per quelle mattine anno da desinare.

Si domandò come facevan a campare que' Giannizzeri che anno solamente tre aspri di paga ; rispose che s'approvecciavano col mercantare, vendendo tabacco cupones (?) e altre mercanzie.

Disse che i Giannizzeri anno un vestito per uno ogni anno.

Disse che quando i Bostangi e l'altre genti del Serraglio anno di paga nel Serraglio un aspro e mezzo, quando escon fuori di detto Serraglio e son fatti giannizzeri, gli assegnano tre aspri il giorno. Se dentro al Serraglio avevano tre aspri il giorno, quando escon fuori Giannizzeri, allora anno sett'aspri. E se nel Serraglio avevano sett'aspri il giorno, quando son mandati fuori e son fatti giannizzeri è loro assegnato otto aspri il giorno e qui non crescono, se non muore qualche Gran Signore.

120 Adi 2 Xbre 1668

Relazione del Caraggio per la relazione di Helias de Babilonia, fratello dell'Arcivescovo di Babilonia.

L'ordine di pagar il caraggio in Babilonia è di tre piastre e un quarto per testa e questo va al Gran Signore. Ma i Bascià fanno pagare in tutto cinque piastre per testa e questo di sopra più va al bascià e suo agà. E di più ogni anno fanno pagare due piastre per lo spengi o ducegasaci che per i letti del bascià. E di più il bascià domanda il saragaciasi, cioè la permissione a Cristiani di poter portare il turbante e questo saragaciasi si paga il meno cinque piastre l'anno, e quei cristiani che non lo pagano non posson porsi turbante, ma un berettino come per gli ebrei, il che i Turchi non vogliono, ma vogliono che portino il turbante e gli necessitano a pagare, e gli strapazzano malamente. Di più la Chiesa di Babilonia paga ducento scudi l'anno al Bascià, se questo non fa avania, ma se egli fa avania paga molto più, fino a due mila piastre e più.

I monaci non pagan caraggio, ma i preti lo pagano. Di dodici anni i maschi cominciano a pagar il caraggio e lo pagano tutto il tempo di lor vita ancorche vecchissimi e storpiati. Le femine non pagan caraggio.

I cristiani poveri che non anno da pagar il caraggio sovvenzionati con l'elemosine da piu ricchi.

La Babilonia non va il caraci da Costantinopoli a riscuotere il caraggio, ma lo fa riscuotere il Bascià di Babilonia.

Di più i Cristiani pagano l'avani ogn'anno, e qta avani, o avania, la pagano anco i Turchi e s'impone sopra le case, e chi non ha case o altri beni non paga l'avani.

Se un cristiano fa un mestiere o un'arte, paga ogn'anno quel tanto che pagano i Turchi di quel mestiere, e qto sta a discrezione del bascià.

Quando Sultan Amurat prese Babilonia non vi trovò più che 73 Cristiani Babilonesi e così impose il numero di 73 caraggi a quella città ! In oggi i Cristiani Babilonesi son cresciuti; il sopra più se gli mangia il bascià.

I forestieri cristiani che capitano in Babilonia pagano anco loro il caraggio ancorchè vi sieno per passaggio. Anzi se bene vi stanno un sol giorno o una sol ora, anno da pagare il caraggio, e quei lavorano o stanno in ascolta.

Quando qto Elia andò da Babilonia in Costantinopoli, andò con un agà, onde non pagò per tutti i luoghi il caraggio, ma arrivato in Bursa lo pagò, di poi lo

pagò a Scutari, e arrivato in Costantinopoli lo pagò la terza volta e vissevi due mesi. Quando si partì di Costantinopoli non pagò niente perche si partì in compagnia di un Bascià e non pagò niente perche non fu conosciuto.

Quando il cristiano paga il caraggio, colui che lo riscuota fa la ricevuta. Se il cristiano perde la ricevuta può esser forzato a pagar un'altra volta.

Se quando andò da Babilonia in Costantinopoli se non fosse stato in compagnia di quell'Agà gli avrebbon fatto pagar il caraggio a Ninive, di poi a Meiardim, di poi a Diarbeccher, di poi a Tucat, di poi a Saivas, di poi a Genghisar, che vuol dir città nuova, di poi a Bursa, di poi a Scutari ecc.

Quando qui si nomina piastre si deve intendere pezze da otto.

### 130 Babilonia

Se i mercanti prestano cento pezze se ne fanno pagare venti per cento.

Se prestano i Giannizzeri se ne fanno pagare quaranta per cento, ma perche è vietato a Maomettani il dare a usura, si trovano questo compenso che colui il quale da a usura cento piastre, vende una mercantia a colui che piglia, ma gli vende un oggetto che vale due pezze, e gli la fa pagare d'accordo quaranta.

La minor moneta d'argento che si trova in Babilonia è il Parà che vale due aspri grandi, e ne va quaranta alla pezza di quattro parà. In Babilonia non usano aspri. La moneta sopra il parà si chiama sciai e ne va otto alla pezza.

La moneta di rame di Babilonia si chiama mancar in lingua turca e in araba filur e ogni parà vale dodici di qti mancar; nel Cairo gli chiamano mansur.

Si batte in Babilonia la moneta e d'ogni moneta ha stampato il nome di Bagdat.

La maggior moneta è la pezza da otto e la chiamano Crus. Vi anno ancora gli abucchetti che vaglion mezza giulio meno dalla pezza di otto, e questi abbucchetti con i tallari di Germania.

## II

### 122 Ordine de nomi delle cariche di un odà

ciorbagi  
odabagi  
vechilkapi  
Bairactar  
Basciachi

### 123 Ordine col quale entrano i capi de giannizzeri al Divano

Seiman basci capo dell'odà di seiman  
Giannizzero agà  
Chihaiia bei, cioè luogotenente  
Chihaiasek quello che introduce al Giannizzero Aga i Tuiungi basci  
Zagargi basci, cioè capocauia

Samsongi basci, cioè de samsoni  
 Tuiungi basci, quello che mette lo pitre in capo al Gr.Sig.  
 Assechi basci quelli che vengano la velba al Gr. Sig. quando va fuori  
 Chiaia Bey uno che interviene a tutte le cariche

124 Il numero di tutti i giannizzeri è di 45 m. i quali si divisano in 162 odà o compagnie: Trenta quattro odae quali sono di seimen che sono come gli altri con un segno che portano sopra il turbante. Queste odà non sono tutte di un medesimo numero ma chi più chi meno.

Tutte queste odà anno il loro quartiere fino a 500 insieme in una gran piazza e ci 0a un ognuno di esse una casa propria dove deve dormire. Gli scapoli però di loro sono obbligati a dormirci. Gl'amogliati anno licentia di andare alle loro case. Ogni odà ha una sola insegna, ha di comandanti il Bolucbagi, o Sciorbagi che non può pigliar moglie; l'odabagi, lo spenditor maggiore il quale è obbligato a combattere, l'alfier e sotto alfiere. L'autorità dell'odobagi non si estende a dare a giannizzeri pena maggiore che di bastonare; cometendo cosa degna di castigo maggiore, l'odabagi lo consegna al bolucbasci e questo lo consegna al Giannizzero Aga o a suo luogotenente, accio lo castighi secondo merita.

I giannizzeri cominciano con un aspro il giorno di paga, e ben presto salgono a 3, i quali si danno nelle loro proprie mani acciò se ne servino a lor piacere avendo dal Gran Signore il vestito ed il vitto, il quale costa 12 aspri il giorno. Queste paghe si fanno ogni tre mesi una volta, nel qual tempo solamente si contano insieme queste odà. Quei gianizzeri che anno meno paga di 10 aspri al giorno alla creazione del Gr. Sig. che si trovano salgare subito fino a 7 e dipoi a ogni creatione vi è a trovare ne crescono uno.

Quelli poi che anno la paga di manco d'otto aspri il giorno possono comprarli, e il Gianizzero Effendi vi fa bottega perche dovendo di quelle provisioni accarpate de gianizzeri morti dare augumenti ad altri, mostra il Gianizzero Effendi di mostrare al Gr. Sig. i piu meritanti.

I Gianizzeri, oltre la paga ed il diritto di sopra, anno ad ogni tempo di paga dal Gran Sig-re quale la vendono a prezzi straordinari.

125 La paga de Gianizzeri da principio è di un aspro il giorno e ben presto salgano a 3. Quelli che anno la paga di manco di 7 aspri il giorno alla creazione del primo Gran Sig. alla quale si trovano ad un tratto arrivare alla paga di 7 e da sette in su ogni nuovo Gr. Sig. gli accresce un aspro il giorno.

Quelli che pure anno la paga di manco di otto aspri il giorno non avendo augumento di gratia se non le sopradette, possono comprare l'augumento fino a otto aspri e questo è venduto dal Gianizero Effendi o de la re vale cinque pezze per aspro e vende lor degli avanti di gianizeri morti in queste odà, i quali che poi diventano propriamente ocultati al Gran Signore e questi avanzi il Gianizero Efendi propone accarpamento a quei Gianizeri che si portano bene, e lui se li fa pagar come gia si è detto.



Nelle odà ogni 30 persone ano un padiglione e tre cavalli; da quali uno porta al sopradetto padiglione e gl'altri due i loro bagagli.

I quartieri di tutte queste odà, ciascheduno delli quali ha il suo portinaio che lo apre e chiude secondo il bisogno, sono tutti insieme in una gran piazza distante dal palazzo del Gran Sig-re un ora di camino.

Il Gianizero Aga ha il suo giudice e avendo caso di avere da condannare qualche gianizero, lui non giudica di suo capriccio, ma col parere del giudice.

Ogni odà ha un gianizero dotto il quale tiene per loro sacerdote ed è quello che gli raccomanda l'anima.

Il numero di quelli Gianizeri in Costantinopoli cala sopra di [le chiffre manque] Quelli Gianizeri vanno al palazzo del Gran Sig-re ogni volta che si fa divano e in quei giorni il Gran Sig-re gli da a mangiare. Il Gianizero Aga essendo Visir entra anche egli in Divano. ... Le guardie delle porte del Seraglio sono bostangi.

126 La paga de Gianizzeri è sempre la medesima spesa per il Gran Sig-re, vero è che quando muotano Gianizzeri di quelle provisioni che si dovrebbero accarpare per il Gran Sig-re, lui si convenia di donarne parte al Gianizzero Efendi. Le odà de Gianizzeri anno il loro Gianizzero Efendi o Mantovale, il quale tiene la licora de tutti gli Gianizzeri e remanda il numero di essi in tutte odà degl'avanzi dei morti Gianizzero Efendi propone al Gran Sig-re gl'augumento agl'altri e quei per ottenere quello augumento dato al Giannizzero Efendi 2 pezze per aspro di augumento.

126 continua

I Turchi al comando dell'artiglieria non hanno che due persone, cioè quello che gli fonde o fabbrica, e quello che gli comanda in guerra.

I Gianizzeri che cadono schiavi non anno dal Gran Sig-re soldo nessuno per il riscatto. Questo è che essendo schiavi, fino a 6 mesi gli è mantenuto il loro posto, e gli corre la paga, ma quando i 6 mesi son tanti, il loro luogo è dato a un altro, ma la paga fino a 6 mesi gli è scusata.

Un sultanino vale due pezze e 10 aspri, cioè 190 aspri.

Il zecchino veneziano vale due pezze e 20 aspri.

127 – Se i gianizeri di un odà siano obligati di andare al luogo dove sta il loro odabagi per mangiare solamente o vero siano obligati a comparire ad un tal tempo determinato per unirvi insieme, e se attino luogo apporta per dormire o vero unirsi ai tempi determinati vadino poi ognuno a loro vantaggi.

– Li Gianizzeri scapoli di un oddà tutti dormono a casa e gli scapoli alle loro case; Il bolucbagi può dormire dove gli piace. Le odde non se lavorano che al tirar della paga che è ogni tre mesi una volta.

– Se l'odabagi anche per viaggio gli faccia le spese, e se questi gianizzeri dianno al odabagi tuta la loro paga per mangiare, overo quale ne dia parte e il terzo

lo serbino per loro servitio, e se questo odabagi ci guadagni in spesare queste odde e quanto, o pure se ci rispettino, o quanto.

– Ogni odda ha una sola insegna, e queste odde non son tutte di un numero fermo, ma chi di più e chi di meno, e vi si è di numero fino a 500.

– Quale autorità e fino a che segno arrivi di poterli gastigare e se in tempo di quattro mesi questi giannizzeri siano pure comandati da medesimo odabagi, d'un allora rispetti dirvisi sotto il comando d'altri capitani o colonelli.

– Ogni odda a'l suo bulucbasci o vero sorbagi e l'odabasci; la prima persona però è il bolucbasci, che non può pigliar moglie.

Il numero dell'odde de gianizzeri sono 162, trenta quattro delle quali sono di seimen che sono come gianizzeri e tirano la medesima paga e questi si distinguono da un segno che portano sopra il turbante.

La paga d'ogni gianizzero in tempo di guerra è di tre aspri al manco il giorno i quali li danno in loro proprie mani per servirsene, avendo dal Gran Signore il vestito e il vito; costa al Gr. Sig-re 12 aspri il giorno.

L'autorità dell'odabagi sopra i Gianizzeri si estende fino al gastigo d'un delitto che non meriti pene peggiore che di bastonare. Essendo poi un Gianizzero che meriti pena maggiore, l'odabagi lo consegna al bulucbasi e questo lo consegna al luogotenente del Giannizero Aga acciò gli dia il meritato gastigo.

Gli spaij sono al n-ro di 23 m. Anno questi 25 aspri il giorno di paga, coll'obbligo però di tenere alle loro spese un cavallo e in tempo di guerra avendo la med-ma paga, senza altro sollievo.

128 – Se alla quella di Naiasel vi si trovasse.

– Quante galere sono in tutto le turchesche, quante siano quelle de Bey e quante si diceva che vi uscirebbero quest'anno

– Le galere sono 40 e le Beyleve 50 tenendone ogni Bey 3,4,5 per ciascheduno

– Se a questi soldati di nuove leve gli si dia un tanto per la prima levata, e quanto, o pure se s'acolino alla prima alla solita paga.

– I Gianizzeri non anno niente per prima entrata di soldato, e quante leve sono di tutti i mestieri e tornando dalla Guerra ognuno porrà alle sue botteghe.

– Se è permesso a Gianizzeri di un odà poter entrare in un'altra a loro eletione.

– Un Gianizzero non puote da un odà uscire per entrare in un'altra. Quei Gianizzeri che [sono] immischiati nel servizio del Gran Sig-re non possono più servire, godono anche a casa loro la paga che godeva quando servivano.

– Se i Gianizzeri invecchiando al servizio del Gran Sig-re possino aver licentia e ottenendola, se gli si dilacci loro paga, o che trattamento abbino se ai parenti di un Gianizzero che muore al servitio del Gran Sig: gli si usi carestia alcuna.

– Quei Gianizzeri che muoiono in guerra, il Gianizzero Aga gli piglia in consegna quanto egli ha per retribuirlo poi ai suoi parenti.

Sotto Candia non puoi stare. Il Gran Visir con meno numero de Gianizzeri 25 m fra quali ora ve ne sarà 13 m de vecchi, e gl'altri sono di quelle nuove leve, delle quali sempre si va tempo essendo il numero che ne va mancando.

Il numero de tutti i Gianizzeri e 45 m, i quali vi sono sotto ogni premere secondo il servitio chi più e chi manco, e importa al Gran Sig-re 360 borse ogni paga.

Questi ognuno vive a suo modo fuorché nel capo che deve aver passato un contrattegno.

Gli chiaussi sono soldati di proecidio; vivano col aga, come qualche ogni anno questi avendo la paga cinque aspri, e sopra questo anno 60 oca di grano ogni paga e 120 aspri per companatico.

128 verso In ogni odà il primo comandante che è l'aga e il bolucbagi e poi l'odabagi e poi lo spenditor maggiore il quale in tempo di combattimento non è obbligato a combattere, di poi l'alfiere e sottalfiere.

I Gianizzeri sopra la paga solito anno dal Gran Signore ogni tre mesi qualche officio a caso de positione che possono venderli e con questo straordinario con la paga solita importa a un gianizzero 20 aspri al giorno.

In ogni odà vi è un depositario che tien conto di tutti i Gianizzeri che si adunano la sera e la mattina a mangiare, e quelli che mancano si defalca dalla somma che ha il bolucbagi per il vitto di queste odà.

L'armamento delle galere del Gran Sig-re è tutto di Gianizzeri e ne son 120 per galera

130 Disse che i Giannizzeri anno mattina e sera da mangiare nell'odà, e di qui tanti aspri il giorno. E ben vero che se un Gianizzero muore tutto il suo avere va all'odà non anno mai moglie, perche quando anno moglie apron casa.

130 v. Milizia di Gianizzeri

Il primo lor capo e generale è il Gianizzero agà che sta sempre in Costantinopoli in ogni luogo dove son odde di Giannizzeri a quell'odde coprintendo un aga luogotenente del primo aga.

Ogni odda ha un corbagi, dopo di lui è l'odabasci, dopo qto è il Vechilalargi che tiene il denaro e spende per il mangiare dell'odda. Dopo di lui il Bairacdar che è l'alfiere dell'odda.

Dopo l'alfiere, e il chiaus e qto chiaus posta i comandi de capi e ufficiali sudditti, e quando bisogna far bastonare un giannizzero, il chiaus è quello che lo bastona. I Gianizzeri son bastonati di notte dentro l'odda. Qti chiaus anno un capo che sta in Costantinopoli e si chiama Baschiaus, ed è sottoposto all'aga de Giannizzeri:

131 Per il mangiare de Giannizzeri il G.Signore da tutto il grano e tutta la carne a ragione di mezzo libbra per testa. Per il riso, per la manteca, per le legne e altre spese spende l'odda.

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129 Gennaio – Regeppe, in questo mese fù preso il Bagdat dal Sultan Amurat  
febraio – Sciaban  
marzo – Bamotku  
aprile – Scianat  
maggio – Zilchade  
giugno – Zilhigge  
luglio – Muharrem  
agosto – Sefer  
settembre – Rebi ul evvel  
ottobre – Rebi ul achir  
novembre – Gema dai ula  
dicembre – Gema dai achir

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## THE WAR OF THE ANTIOCHENE SUCCESSION. LEWON I'S GAME OF DIPLOMACY<sup>1</sup>

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The year 1198 marks the renaissance of the Armenian kingship for the last time. After only a year from his coronation, Lewon I sent a letter to Innocent III trying to secure his help in a war for the Antiochene succession which opposed his nephew, Raymond-Rupen, to Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli. The present article seeks to present and analyse Lewon's foreign policy during this conflict, especially his diplomatic approaches towards the papacy.

**Keywords:** Lewon I, Bohemond IV, Cilicia, Antioch, Innocent III.

On 6<sup>th</sup> January 1198, Lewon II, *prince of the Mountains*<sup>2</sup>, was crowned “*Dei et Romani imperii gratia, rex Armenie*”<sup>3</sup>, an event which marked the rebirth of the Armenian kingship for the last time. A year after his coronation, Lewon sent a letter to Innocent III, complaining about a problem regarding the right of his nephew, Raymond-Rupen, to the governance of Antioch. At first glance it seemed to be a small local problem, but it was just a glimpse of a much more complex war which monopolized Lewon I's whole reign.

In 1193, Lewon, still just an Armenian prince, lured Bohemond III of Antioch to the castle of Baghras. When the Latin prince arrived there, Lewon seized him and sent him to prison in Sis. Henry of Champagne<sup>4</sup> intervened and convinced Lewon to release Bohemond in exchange for a marriage between Alice, daughter of Lewon's deceased brother, Rupen III, and Raymond, Bohemond's

<sup>1</sup> This article is an improved version of a chapter from my master's dissertation, *The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia and the Papacy (1198–1226)*, coordinated by Lect. univ. Marian Coman.

<sup>2</sup> Lewon appeared bearing this title in the German chronicles of the Third Crusade, see *The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick*, in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa. The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, G.A. Loud (trans.), Farnham and Burlington, 2010, p. 114; *The Chronicle of Magnus of Reichersberg*, in G.A. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 163; *The Chronicle of Otto of St. Blasien 1187–1197*, in G.A. Loud, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Victor Langlois, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie ou cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des roupéniens*, Venise, 1863, V, p. 115 (Hencefort-Victor Langlois...). This phrase appeared in many other documents issued by the royal chancery during Lewon's rule.

<sup>4</sup> Henry of Champagne was married to Isabella I of Jerusalem, but had never been crowned as *king of Jerusalem*, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 82–83.

oldest son and heir to the Antiochene principality. If this union produces a male child, he would have inherited the principalities of Armenia and Antioch<sup>5</sup>.

Raymond married Alice, but soon he died while his wife was pregnant with a boy, who was named Raymond-Rupen. Bohemond III died too in 1201 and his son, Bohemond IV, seized the power in Antioch<sup>6</sup>. In that moment, Lewon considered that the latter usurped Raymond-Rupen's right to inherit Antioch, thus starting the War of the Antiochene Succession.

Although it was a local conflict, its impact on the Latin politics in the Orient drew also the involvement of the pope, the German emperor, and even the Muslim rulers from the Levantine territories. The Papacy was preparing another crusade, thus a war in Syria might have endangered this future expedition. Also, usually, every oriental crusade was conducted together with the Christian forces from the Levant<sup>7</sup>. Thus, Innocent III wanted to conclude peace between Lewon I and Bohemond IV as soon as possible<sup>8</sup>.

The War of the Antiochene Succession has captured the attention of historians. Leonce Alishan (Ghevond Alishan) mentioned different episodes of this war in his work, *Léon le Magnifique*<sup>9</sup>, which was focused on Lewon I's reign. Claude Cahen presented the evolution of this war in a chapter of his book, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades*<sup>10</sup>. Steven Runciman resumed the conflict in a few pages when he spoke about the political situation of the Principality of Antioch at the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>11</sup>. Mary Nickerson Hardwicke presented this war as part of the history of the crusader states in the first half of the thirteenth

<sup>5</sup> Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, Robert Bedrosian (trans.), New Jersey, Long Branch, 2005, p. 41, online at: <http://attalus.org/armenian/cssint.htm> last accessed on 14.03.2019 (Henceforth – Smbat-Bedrosian...); Smbat Sparapet, *Chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, in *RHC. Documents arméniens*, tom. I, Paris, 1869, p. 631–632 (Henceforth – Smbat-RHC...); Smbat Sparapet, *Taregirk*, Venetik, 1956, p. 206–207 (Henceforth – Smbat-Armenian...); *Annales de Terre-Sainte*, Reinhold Röhrich and Gaston Raynaud (eds.) in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, tom. II, Paris, 1884, p. 434 (Henceforth – *Annales de Terre-Sainte*...); *Chronique de Terre-Sainte*, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIII<sup>e</sup> & XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Gaston Raynaud (ed.), Genève, 1887, p. 15 (Henceforth – *Chronique de Terre-Sainte*...); *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, M.L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), Paris, 1871, p. 321 (Henceforth – Ernoul...).

<sup>6</sup> *Annales de Terre-Sainte*, p. 435; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 16; Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 99; Smbat-Armenian, p. 214; Ernoul, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> During the Second Crusade, the Western kings (Conrad III and Louis VII) had united their armies with the Jerusalemite forces and had laid siege to Damascus, see Christopher Tyerman, *God' War. A New History of the Crusades*, London, 2007, p. 329–335. Theoretically, the Westerners had coordinated their actions with the Latins from Outremer during the Third Crusade, although this cooperation was disturbed by the conflicts between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, on the one hand, and between Richard I and Philip II, on the other hand, see Christopher Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 403–474.

<sup>8</sup> Innocent III lamented in his bull *Post miserabile* that the European kings and princes were busy living a sinful life and waging war one against the other, while nobody seemed to be moved by the loss of the Holy Land, see Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (eds.), *Crusade and Christendom. Annotated Documents in Translations from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, Philadelphia, 2013, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Leonce M. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arménocilie*, George Bayan (trans.), Venise, 1888.

<sup>10</sup> Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades*, Paris, 1940, p. 596–623, 624–635.

<sup>11</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 135–139.

century<sup>12</sup>. Sirarpie der Nersessian spoke briefly about this matter in an article which overviewed the history of the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia<sup>13</sup>. Claude Mutafian<sup>14</sup> and Jacob Ghazarian<sup>15</sup> presented briefly this conflict in their books on the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia. Christopher Tyerman only mentioned this war when he spoke about the situation of Outremer in the thirteenth century<sup>16</sup>. Joschen Burgtorf discussed about the military history, the legal debates and the alliances of this war<sup>17</sup>. All these works presented this conflict from different perspectives as part of the Armenian kingdom or of the Crusader states. In this study, I want to offer a new perspective on this war, analysing it as Lewon I's game of diplomacy, emphasizing the involvement of Western power-brokers and how the Armenian king used various instruments in his search for allies.

Lewon had not been at good terms with Bohemond III of Antioch since he succeeded his brother, Rupen III, as ruler of the Armenian principality of Cilicia. Smbat Sparapet noted that „he took for a wife the daughter of the brother of the wife of the prince of Antioch [...] Lewon gladly took her since he feared the prince and had always distrusted him and felt that having a wife who was the prince's relative would preserve him from any wickedness on the prince's part. And indeed, this turned out to be the case”<sup>18</sup>. Maybe, Lewon suspected that Bohemond wanted to extend his authority over the Armenian lands. According to Vahram of Edessa, the prince of Antioch had seized Rupen by treachery and had held him as prisoner because he had desired to conquer Cilicia<sup>19</sup>.

Joschen Burgtorf emphasized that Lewon inherited his brother's conflict with the Principality of Antioch. Regarding the fight for influence and power in Northern Syria between Lewon and Bohemond III, both have developed royal ambitions. The Latin prince payed homage in 1190 to Frederick VI of Swabia, which consolidated the links between Antioch and Western rulers. Lewon became nervous, because he realized that Bohemond's power was growing, thus, in 1191, he seized the castle of Baghras. Also, in 1193, he imprisoned the Latin prince in Sis, to revenge

<sup>12</sup> Mary Nickerson Hardwicke, *The Crusader States, 1192–1243*, in *History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, Robert Lee Wolf and Harry W. Hazard (eds.), Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969, p. 522–556.

<sup>13</sup> Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia*, in *History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, p. 630–659.

<sup>14</sup> Claude Mutafian, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie, XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1993, p. 45–50. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to read Mutafian's book *L'Arménie du Levant (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Jacob G. Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia during the Crusades. The integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latin, 1080–1393*, London and New York, 2014, p. 126–128.

<sup>16</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 716.

<sup>17</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *The Antiochene War of Succession*, in *The Crusader World*, Adrian J. Boas (ed.), London and New York, 2016, p. 196–211.

<sup>18</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 91; Smbat-RHC, p. 629–630; Smbat-Armenian, p. 201.

<sup>19</sup> Vahram d'Edesse, *Chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, in *RHC. Doc.arm.*, tom. I, p. 510. These chronicles were written in the thirteenth century. Thus, the relation between Bohemond III and Lewon II before 1193/94 might have been presented in the light of the War of the Antiochene Succession.

Bohemond's kidnaping of Rupen III<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, the War of the Antiochene Succession had its roots in the fight for power and influence between the Armenian princes of Cilicia and the Latin princes of Antioch.

The actors of this war can be placed on multiple levels. At the centre of this war were Lewon and Raymond-Rupen, on the one hand, and Bohemond IV, on the other. Their stake was represented by asserting control over the Principality of Antioch. On the next level were the military orders: the Templars were Bohemond's allies, while the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights sided with Lewon and Raymond-Rupen. The Templars wanted to reassert their control over the castle of Baghras<sup>21</sup>, while the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights considered this war as an opportunity to receive properties in Cilicia as a reward for supporting Raymond-Rupen's cause. The inhabitants of Antioch can be placed on the same level. According to Joshua Prawer, the Latin burgesses had religious reasons for supporting Bohemond against Lewon, regarding that they considered the Armenian Church as being autonomous, not being submitted for real to the authority of the pope, while the Greeks were not at good terms with the Armenians<sup>22</sup>. On the same level may be placed too the local Muslim rulers, like the Emir of Aleppo or the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm, who exploited the weaknesses of the Armenian kingdom and the Antiochene principality in order to conquer new territories. Also, they wanted to check the potential ascension of either Lewon I or Bohemond IV, thus, at certain moments, they allied with one of them against the other<sup>23</sup>. On the last level are the popes, the kings of Cyprus and the German emperors. Innocent III wanted to keep the Armenian Church under his authority, but did not want to encourage a war between Christians, regarding his preparations for the Fourth and the Fifth Crusades<sup>24</sup>. Although he did not have claims to material gains, unlike Lewon, Bohemond, the military orders or the Muslims rulers, he was actively involved in this conflict, as it appears from his letters, thus emphasizing his parental role for the Christians. Henry VI and Otto of Brunswick supported Lewon I in an attempt at maintaining a faithful vassal in the Orient, in order to block any attempts of the Byzantine emperors to recover Cilicia or reinstate their influence there<sup>25</sup>. Also, they wanted to emphasize

<sup>20</sup> Joschen Burgdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 198–199.

<sup>21</sup> In 1191, Lewon occupied the fortress of Baghras, which had been controlled by the Templars, and because of its strategical importance, the Armenians could have endangered the security of the principality, thus Bohemond IV determined the military order to side with him in order to retrieve their castle, *see* Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

<sup>22</sup> Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> Az-Zahir of Aleppo supported Bohemond IV against Lewon I until he received news about a new crusade, which determined him to unite with nal-Adil I, Sultan of Egypt, against their common enemy, *see* Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 620–621.

<sup>24</sup> As Steven Runciman said, it was essential for Innocent III to settle this conflict as soon as possible, because it might have endangered the crusading movement, *see* Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 135.

<sup>25</sup> For Henry VI's reasons for offering royal crowns to Amalric of Lusignan and Lewon II, *see* Edgard Johnson, *The Crusades of Frederick I and Henry VI*, in *A History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, p. 116–119.



the power and prestige of the empire and to consolidate their authority<sup>26</sup>. The kings of Cyprus were only episodic actors in this conflict. For instance, Amalric I chose to support a Latin prince who rebelled against Bohemond IV<sup>27</sup>.

As I have said earlier, in 1193/94 Lewon imprisoned Bohemond III in Sis and Henry of Champagne mediated this conflict by concluding a marriage between Bohemond's heir, Raymond, and Lewon's niece, Alice<sup>28</sup>. According to Ernoul, Lewon was freed from his vassalage owed to Bohemond, while the latter had to pay homage to the Armenian prince<sup>29</sup>. Before Henry of Champagne mediated this conflict, Lewon had sent some nobles to occupy Antioch, but the population rejected the Armenians and constituted a *commune*, supported by the Latin burgesses and the Greeks<sup>30</sup>. It seemed that the conflict was over, but in 1198, Bohemond IV of Tripoli, one of Bohemond III's sons, casted his father away from Antioch, identified with the commune and determined its members and the military orders, especially the Templars, to support his rule<sup>31</sup>. Thus, he violated the agreement between Lewon and Bohemond III.

The Templars chose to support Bohemond IV of Tripoli, because by doing this, they hoped to reassert their control over the fortress of Baghras. They had received this castle, alongside Darbsak and La Roche Guillaume, from Raynald of Châtillon, after his victory against Thoros II, Lord of Cilicia between 1144/45–1169, in 1155<sup>32</sup>. Saladin conquered Baghras and demolished its walls in 1191, and in the same year Lewon seized the castle and fortified it, but did not retroceded to the Templars<sup>33</sup>. Baghras, Darbsak and La Roche Guillaume guarded the gorges which linked Cilicia with the Principality of Antioch and the Emirate of Aleppo<sup>34</sup>. Thus, in the context of the conflict between Lewon and Bohemond III, whoever controlled Baghras might have easily invaded either Cilicia, or Northern Syria. Thus, it is understandable that as the War of the Antiochene Succession has developed, Lewon has continued to assert his control over this fortress<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>27</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

<sup>28</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 94; Smbat-RHC, p. 631–632; Smbat-Armenian, p. 206–207; *Annales de Terre-Sainte*, p. 434; *Chronique de Terre-Sainte*, p. 15; Ernoul, p. 321.

<sup>29</sup> Ernoul, p. 321: *Li pais fu tele que li princes quita l'omage al seignor d'Ermenie et devint ses hom.*

<sup>30</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 583–584; Joshua Prawer, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Some barons accepted the Armenian rule, given that they were not fond with Bohemond and many of them might have had Armenian blood, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> Joshua Prawer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>32</sup> Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les forteresses des ordres militaires en Arménie: un atout indispensable dans l'accomplissement de leur mission*, in *Castelos das Ordens Militares*, Isabel Christina Ferreira Fernandes (ed.), vol. II, Lisbon, 2014, p. 206.

<sup>33</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

<sup>34</sup> Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les forteresses des ordres militaires en Arménie: un atout indispensable dans l'accomplissement de leur mission*, p. 208.

<sup>35</sup> The first fief-holder from the coronation list which appeared in Smbat Sparapet's chronicle is Adam of Baghras, see Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 96; Smbat-RHC, p. 636; Smbat-Armenian, p. 209: *իշխանն Պաղքապ Սաաւիւն*. If the enumeration of the fief-holders was based on their rank in the kingdom, this may prove that, at least for Lewon, Baghras was, maybe, the most important fief from the Armenian kingdom. Still, there is the possibility that the order in which the ranks were presented was based on other criteria.

Bohemond IV's gesture to occupy Antioch was perceived by Lewon as a violation of Raymond-Rupen's right to inherit the Latin principality. He sent a letter to Innocent III in 1199 asking for the pope's judgement regarding the Antiochene succession. According to it, Raymond-Rupen, who had been baptized by the archbishop of Mainz, was acknowledged as Raymond's successor by the Antiochene nobles. However, the count of Tripoli, together with the Templars and the Hospitallers, have occupied Antioch, thus violating Raymond-Rupen's right as heir to the principality, and they might have even wanted to invade the Cilician kingdom<sup>36</sup>. Innocent III replied to Lewon's letter, saying that he could not judge this matter in the absence of a representative from the other party. Thus, he urged Lewon to wait for the judgement of the papal legates and refrain from any military action against his fellow Christians. Rather, he should have concentrated his war effort against the Saracens, placing the cause of the Cross above his own problems<sup>37</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Lewon followed a trend in Latin Europe, namely, to address succession problems to the papacy. For example, Blanche of Navarre acted in the same way when she tried to secure the County of Champagne for her son. Thus, she asked the papacy to investigate Isabella I's subsequent marriages to Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne in order to exclude her daughters, Alice and Philippa, from the inheritor's line of the county<sup>38</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that before this letter, Lewon had sent another one where he spoke about his desire to bring all Armenians under the authority of the Roman Church: „In vestri vero luminis gratia salutaribus monitis reverendissimi patris nostri archiepiscopi Maguntini instructi et informati, omne regnum nobis a Deo commissum amplissimum et spatiosum et omnes Armenios huc illuc in remotis partibus diffusos, ad unitatem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, divina inspirante clementia, revocare cupimus et exoptamus”<sup>39</sup>. This letter is dated on 23 May 1199 and Innocent replied to it on 8 December 1199. Lewon's second letter, about the Antiochene succession, is not dated, but the pope wrote his reply to it on 16 January 1200. Most likely, Lewon sent these two letters one after the other and I think that he said in the first one that he wanted to unite all Armenians with the Roman Church because he was trying to pave the way for the second one, hoping that in this way he would have convinced Innocent to support Raymond-Rupen's claim to Antioch.

It seems that Innocent III was favourable to Lewon's cause, as it appeared in his letter: „cum etsi etiam nobis de veritate constaret”<sup>40</sup>. Still, for the pope it was more important to settle this problem and to convince Lewon not to attack the

<sup>36</sup> *Innocentii III romani pontificis. Regestorum sive epistolarum*, lib. II, CLII, in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCXIV, J.P. Migne (ed.), Paris, 1891, p. 810–812 (Henceforth – *Innocentius III...*).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, CCLIII, p. 813–814; In English, see *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, James M. Powell (trans.), Washington D.C., 2004, p. 206–208 (Henceforth – *The Deeds of Innocent III...*).

<sup>38</sup> Sara McDougall, *Royal Bastards. The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800–1230*, Oxford, 2017, p. 244.

<sup>39</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. II, CCXIX, in *PL*, p. 778.

<sup>40</sup> See note 37.

count of Tripoli. Innocent's attitude is explainable. Cilician Armenia had enjoyed a prestigious position in the Levant at the end of the twelfth century, as can be seen from a letter which Clement III addressed to Lewon, encouraging him to help the Christians in their attempts to free the Holy Places<sup>41</sup>. Innocent III has continued to consider the Armenians as crusaders, thus he sent to Lewon the standard of Saint Peter and offered the Armenians the remission of sins in exchange for their effort to fight against the enemies of the Cross<sup>42</sup>. Still, the pope offered only the spiritual privileges of the crusade. The absence of the material ones may be explained by Innocent's reluctance not to further complicate this war<sup>43</sup>. If Lewon had received a guaranty from the Church regarding the safety of his kingdom, he would have used it against Bohemond IV: any attack conducted by the latter against Lewon would have been perceived as an action against crusaders, thus Bohemond would have been excommunicated. Regarding that Lewon did not receive the privilege of having his kingdom protected by the Church, he had to be more careful and had to avoid any reckless attack against the Latins.

After Saladin had captured Jerusalem, Bohemond III concluded a truce with him<sup>44</sup>. The Prince of Antioch did not have any contribution to the Third Crusade

<sup>41</sup> It seems that this letter was preserved only in its Armenian translation, see Zara Pogossian, *The Letter of Love and Concord. A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and English Translation*, Leiden – Boston, 2010, p. 14, n. 30. Leonce Alishan published this letter in French in his work, *Léon le Magnifique*, p. 162–165, n. 2. According to it, Clement III encouraged Lewon to fight against the enemies of the Cross: “Que Dieu t'épargne, toi, à qui il a confié un peuple ignorant, en te plaçant comme une lumière au milieu de ce pays afin que tu les éclaires! Observe ce douloureux et terrible événement et viens-lui en aide chaque jour par ton énergie; réconforte le peuple qui t'a été confié, afin qu'en te voyant zélé, tous les peuples de l'Arménie qui sont placés sous ta tutelle se préparent à la délivrance des Lieux-Saints, soit par l'aide de leurs armes, soit par des dons sur leurs biens, soit par l'appui de leurs personnes, pour vaincre et abaisser les fiers dans des batailles”. Moreover, Clement III offered the remission of sins to the Armenians who were ready to fight for the deliverance of the Holy Land: “Nous qui sommes le vicaire de Jésus-Christ et qui avons le pouvoir de remettre les péchés à tous les Chrétiens de faire pénitence pour leurs péchés”.

<sup>42</sup> *Innocentius III*, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, lib. II, CCLV, p. 815; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXII, p. 208–209.

<sup>43</sup> For the material privileges, see Christopher Tyerman, *How to plan a crusade*, London, 2016, p. 138: “[...] *crucesignati*, their families and possessions received ecclesiastical protection and were allowed to postpone litigations in courts, avoid repayment of debts, acquire interest-free loans, enjoy certain tax exemptions, and freely sell or mortgage property.

<sup>44</sup> Bohemond met with Saladin and asked the sultan to give him Antioch. Saladin agreed and, moreover, provided him with food for himself and the Antiochene citizens. Smbat-Armenian, p. 203: „Եւ նսա սսէ. ինդիրս ունիմ առ քեզ, եթէ կատարեցես՝ Նտայց. և սսէ՝ կատարեալ է գոր ինդրես, սսսս. և սսէ բրինձն. ինդրեմ ի քն պարգեւել ինձ զԱնտիոք: Եւ սսէ սուլտանն՝ պարգեւեալ է, և ի վերայ այդորիկ զ ամաց կերակուր քեզ և քաղաքին քո ես տաց: Եւ արար սեր կատարեալ և դարձաւ յԱնտիոք, և լցաւ քաղաքն առատութեամբ և կերակրոք”. In English, Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 92: «And [the prince] said: ‘I have a request to make of you, and will be seated if you grant it’ [The sultan] answered: ‘What are you requesting will be granted. Say what it is. The prince spoke: ‘I request that you grant me Antioch.’ The sultan replied: ‘I grant that. And further, I will give three months’ worth of food to you and

and in 1192 signed a ten-year truce with Saladin<sup>45</sup>. Thus, it seemed that Lewon was the only Christian ruler from the East, besides the Syrian nobles and the king of Cyprus, who could have helped the crusaders against the Muslims. It is important to say that besides the two letters mentioned above, by which Innocent advised Lewon not to go to war against Bohemond IV and sent him the standard of Saint-Peter, there is one more, addressed to the nobles, soldiers and common people from the Armenian kingdom. This last papal letter praised the effort of the Armenian Christians in their struggles with the unbelievers and granted them the standard of Saint Peter and the remission of sins<sup>46</sup>. In this way, Innocent III wanted to convince the Armenians to continue their fight against the Muslims and, most likely, to support the new crusade which was in preparation. It is very interesting how Innocent handled all these matters. The pope wanted to speak about the Antiochene succession in a private letter, addressed only to Lewon. But when it was about exhorting the Armenians to fight against the Muslims, Innocent addressed the letter to all the Armenians from the Cilician kingdom. It is important to emphasize that the pope sent two different letters to Lewon: one was about the Antiochene succession and the other one offered him the standard of Saint-Peter, encouraging him to use it against *inimicos crucis*. Thus, Lewon had to wait for the judgement of the papal legates and in the meantime, he should have fought against the enemies of the Cross, regarding that the Armenians received the standard of Saint-Peter and the remission of sins. Innocent hoped that by doing this, he would have convinced the Armenian king to refrain from any military activity in northern Syria. For the moment, the pope's policy worked.

In 1201, Bohemond III died, and his son, Bohemond IV of Tripoli, became prince of Antioch<sup>47</sup>. Some Antiochene nobles left Antioch and took refuge to the Cilician court. Their names are the following: Olivier the Chamberlain; Roger du Mont; Louard; Thomas Masleburn; Bohemond Lair; Guillaume de l'Isle<sup>48</sup>. It is interesting that in Smbat's coronation list appeared a Latin name, Tancred, prince of Kapan<sup>49</sup>. But *Tancred* seems to have been a Norman name, thus it is possible that he might have left Antioch before Lewon's coronation in 1198. Soffredus, Cardinal of Santa Prassede and one of the papal legates who have mediated the Antiochene Succession said that Bohemond IV „had unjustly occupied Antioch and with the help of a majority of the citizens had ejected the nobles from most of the city, because they were unwilling to violate the oath of fidelity that they had sworn

the city` [Bohemond] made complete friendship [with the sultan] and returned to Antioch, and the city filled up with plentitude and food`».

<sup>45</sup> Malcom Barber, *The Crusader States*, New Haven – London, 2012, p. 354; Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades*, London – New York, 2006, p. 78.

<sup>46</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. II, CCLIV, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 814–815; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXII, p. 208–209.

<sup>47</sup> *Annales de Terre-Sainte*, p. 435; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 16; Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 99; Smbat-Armenian, p. 214; Ernoul, p. 321. Steven Runciman considered that Bohemond IV had reconciled with his father before his death, see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 100.

<sup>48</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 97; Smbat-RHC, p. 639; Smbat-Armenian, p. 211.

<sup>49</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 96; Smbat-RHC, p. 636; Smbat-Armenian, p. 209: իշխ. Կապանն Տանկրի

to the firstborn son of their prince”<sup>50</sup>. Most likely, these were the nobles who took refuge at Lewon’s court. There were also other Antiochene nobles who had entered Rupen III’s service in 1180, when Bohemond III married with Sibyl. Regarding that she was suspected to be one of Saladin’s spies, some members of the nobility did not agree with this marriage and moved to Cilicia. According to William of Tyre, these nobles were Giscard of Lille, Bertrand, son of Count Gislebert, and Garinus Gainart<sup>51</sup>. Most likely, Tancred had also left Antioch with this group of discontented nobles.

Lewon sent another letter to Innocent III, lamenting about the anti-Christian actions undertaken by the count of Tripoli, who had allied with Rokn ed-Din Soleiman II, sultan of Konya, against the Cilician kingdom. The Armenian king wanted to create two opposite images: a *bad* one, represented by the count of Tripoli who worked with Muslims against Christians, and a *good* one, represented by himself, who asked for troops to fight off the Saracens, regarding that they were battling each other, thus the Christians would have had the upper hand over them. Lewon emphasized that failing to fight the Muslims would have increased their power, because they might have concluded peace among them and in this context, the Christians wouldn’t have a chance to resist them<sup>52</sup>. Thus, the Armenian king created this anti-thesis between him and the count of Tripoli, because it seemed that he was concerned more with the fate of the Levantine Christians, than with the Antiochene Succession.

Furthermore, the Armenian king agreed with Innocent’s idea of judging this matter via his legates, but he mentioned that he would have been very happy if Conrad of Wittelsbach, the archbishop of Mainz, would have received this task<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, Lewon said that he knew about a letter which Innocent had sent to Bohemond asking him to withdraw *from the right of another*<sup>54</sup> and he thanked the pope for his attitude. The archbishop of Mainz had crowned Lewon in 1198<sup>55</sup> and had baptized Raymond-Rupen in the same year<sup>56</sup>. Thus, Lewon was trying to

<sup>50</sup> *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVIII, p. 221.

<sup>51</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey (trans.), vol. II, New York, 1943, p. 454–457. Andrew Buck considered that these nobles who left Antioch in the rebellion, which took place between 1180–1182, were, actually, Bohemond’s allies and were forced to leave by the rebels. Their departure represented a clause in a resolution concluded between the prince of Antioch and the rebellious barons, see Andrew D. Buck, “The Noble Rebellion at Antioch, 1180–82: A Case Study in Medieval Frontier Politics”, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 60, 2016, p. 112–113.

<sup>52</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. III, XLIII, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 1003–1006; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXIII, p. 209–213.

<sup>53</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. III, XLIII, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 1005; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXIII, p. 211.

<sup>54</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. III, XLIII, in *PL*, tpm. CCXIV, p. 1005: „Scripsistis etiam nobis quod per litteras vestras misistis comiti Tripolitano, ut de alieno jure se subtraheret”; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent*, p. 211.

<sup>55</sup> *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 435; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l’Île de Chypre*, René de Mas Latrie, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1884, p. 54 (Henceforth – Florio Bustron. . .); *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. II, CCLII, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 811.

convince Innocent to send as papal legate a bishop which could have supported Raymond-Rupen's claim to the Antiochene principality.

In order to fight the Muslims, Lewon hoped that the Templars would help him, regarding that they had possessions in Cilicia valued up to 20.000 bezants. He received from the Grand Master some letters which Innocent had sent to the Templars by which he demanded Lewon to hand over Baghras to its former masters. In order to solve this problem, he met with the Grand Master and proposed him to send embassies to the Holy See, but he refused. Lewon made another offer: he would keep Baghras and would have helped the Templars to acquire the castle of Darbsak. Still, the Grand Master refused this proposal and, moreover, he ordered the retreat of the Templars from Cilicia, regarding that he heard that a Muslim army was preparing to invade the kingdom<sup>57</sup>.

Lewon combined the crusading rhetoric and the refusal of the Templars in an attempt to carve out a positive image of himself, a victim of the plot mastered by Bohemond IV and the Order of the Templars against the Armenian kingdom. Thus, he allowed himself to ask for a favor from the papacy, namely, to place the kingdom under Innocent's direct authority, such that nobody else could have excommunicated him or the Armenian Christians from Cilicia<sup>58</sup>. Most likely, Lewon did this because he was afraid that he might have been excommunicated by the clerics from Bohemond's entourage<sup>59</sup>. It is important to say that Lewon was not the only monarch who wanted to place himself under the authority of the pope. Peter II of Aragon<sup>60</sup>, Emeric of Hungary<sup>61</sup>, Johannitsa<sup>62</sup> and John Lackland<sup>63</sup> became also vassals of Innocent III.

Lewon started to gather allies, thus by two chrysobulls he offered various privileges to the Genoese<sup>64</sup> and Venetians<sup>65</sup>. Most likely, this decision had the purpose of countering Bohemond IV's support of the Italian cities, regarding that on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1199, he had offered privileges to the Pisans<sup>66</sup>. Lewon had also the support of the Antiochene nobles who took refuge in Cilicia, thus it seems that he was preparing for a future clash with Bohemond IV. However, Innocent III hoped

<sup>57</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. II, XLIII, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 1005–1006; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, p. 211–212.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>59</sup> Marie-Anna Chevalier, *La correspondance entre les élites arméniennes et la papauté pendant la règne de Lewon premier*, in „Eurasian Studies”, nr. XI, 2013, p. 238.

<sup>60</sup> Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III. Les royautés du Saint-Siège*, Paris, 1908, p. 50–58.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66–67.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 104–105.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 223–224.

<sup>64</sup> Victor Langlois, I, p. 105–108.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, II, p. 109–112.

<sup>66</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, Reinhold Röhrich (ed.), Oeniponti, 1893, 758, p. 202 (Henceforth-*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*...): „Boemundus IV, princeps Antiochiae, comes Tripolis, DCCC bisantiis acceptis, indemnitate pro variis damnis ipsi et civibus illatis concedit Pisanis et jura ac privilegia sigillo confirmat”.

that Lewon would refrain from attacking the Latin prince and sent him a letter in 1202, offering him the privilege of not being excommunicated but by the pope, his legate or a special mandate<sup>67</sup>. Also, in the same year, the Roman pontiff sent another letter to the Armenian catholicos, asking him to explain to Armenians the remission of sins and to exhort them to fight against the enemies of the cross<sup>68</sup>. Although Innocent did not send Conrad of Wittelsbach as papal legate, he still fulfilled one of Lewon's desire. It seems that the Armenian king formulated two requests: the Antiochene Succession to be judged by the archbishop of Mainz – this was the maximal request; to receive the privilege of being excommunicated but by the pope – this was the minimal request. Most likely, he knew that it was difficult to convince Innocent III to send Conrad of Wittelsbach as his legate in the Orient, but Lewon hoped that by formulating these two requests, he could have obtained at least the minimal one.

In the fall of 1202, a papal legate, Soffredus, cardinal priest of Santa Prassede, arrived at Acre with the mission to end the conflict between Lewon and Bohemond. But he did not manage to bring this conflict to an end, regarding that Bohemond had been excommunicated by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch because of a disagreement regarding the Hospitallers' revenues earned from the usage of Krak des Chevaliers<sup>69</sup>. In this context, Bohemond said that as an excommunicated man, he couldn't speak with the legate about the Antiochene Succession<sup>70</sup>. The situation got complicated, because in 1203 some groups of crusaders arrived in Syria. John of Nesle and Nicholas of Mailly had changed their mind and did not travel to Constantinople, to meet with their master, Baldwin of Flandre, and moved instead to Syria<sup>71</sup>. There, John of Nesle sided with Lewon, while Nicholas of Mailly supported Bohemond IV<sup>72</sup>. According to a letter written by Soffredus and Peter of St. Marcellus, it seems that Lewon had begun to ignore Innocent's advice to not start a war. Soffredus arrived at Antioch right on time, because the Armenian king had already invaded the territories of the principality,

<sup>67</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. V, XLIV, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 1007: „Unde petebas tibi per litteras apostolicas indulgeri ut, praeter Romanum pontificem nullus Latinus in te vel regnum tuum vel homines regni tui, sive Latinos, sive alios cujuscunque conditionis, excommunicationis aut interdicti possit sententiam promulgare”; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXIV, p. 213.

<sup>68</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. V, XLVI, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 1012: „Monemus igitur fraternitatem tuam et exhortamur attentius et per apostolica tibi scripta mandamus quatenus, in divini nominis timore persistens et in apostolicae sedis reverentia perseverans, praedictum regem et universam Armeniorum Ecclesiam in lege Domini et nostra devotione confirmes, et eis, sicut per alias litteras nostras mandavimus, formam apostolicae remissionis exponas, et exhorteris ipsos attentius, ut se murum pro domo Domini opponant ascenditibus ex adverso nec dubitent, si opus fuerit, pro illo fundere sanguinem, qui pro eis crucis non dubitavit subire tormentum”; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXV, p. 215.

<sup>69</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

<sup>70</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

<sup>71</sup> *The Chronicle of Geoffry de Vilehardouin*, T. Smith (trans.), London, 1829, p. 47–48.

<sup>72</sup> Ernoul, p. 353: John of Nesle met with Lewon while the latter was besieging Antioch: „Jehans de Niele ala au signeur d'Ermenie, a .I. siege qui fu devant Antioce ; et furent veus ses banieres sour les murs d'Antioce, si comme aucunes gens disent”.

thus he was threatening its capital. The papal legate managed to conclude an armistice for nine days, waiting for the arrival of the king of Jerusalem<sup>73</sup>.

In his letter, Soffredus noted that Lewon promised to send 20.000 soldiers to fight against the Muslims, but this proposal was opposed by the ones whom the papal legate hoped to support his mediation<sup>74</sup>. Soffredus did not achieve anything and his place as Innocent's legate was taken by Peter, cardinal priest of St. Marcellus. In the meantime, Lewon has attacked again the principality and has even entered Antioch but did not manage to hold it for more than three days<sup>75</sup>. Moreover, he intensified his attacks and assaulted the Templar possessions in Cilicia, producing damages worth of 50,000 besants<sup>76</sup>.

Lewon sent a letter to Innocent III to justify his actions, saying that the Templars had attacked him and had allied with the count of Tripoli, the Antiochenes and the sultan of Aleppo, az-Zahir I, and they shed Christian blood, thus acting against their own mission as a military order. Therefore, he seized their properties and chased them away from Cilicia<sup>77</sup>. In this context, Peter of St. Marcellus organized a council and promulgated a sentence of excommunication on the Armenian kingdom. The confessions of the sick, the baptism and the burial of the dead were the only religious services which could be practiced<sup>78</sup>. But as it appears in a letter written by the catholicos to the pope, there couldn't have been any ecclesiastical council on a matter which concerned the Armenian Church in the absence of its patriarch or one of his representatives<sup>79</sup>. Thus, this excommunication was fruitless. In the end, the Armenian king concluded peace with the Templars by Soffredus's mediation but asked the pope to exclude Peter from any judge panel concerning the Antiochene Succession<sup>80</sup>.

According to the letter written by the two papal legates, Peter of St. Marcellus obliged Lewon and Bohemond to submit themselves to their judgement; otherwise, they would have been excommunicated<sup>81</sup>. Theoretically, Lewon had already been

<sup>73</sup> *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVIII, p. 221–222; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 794, p. 211–212.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>75</sup> *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 435; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 16.

<sup>76</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VI, CLXXXIX, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 504. „Gravem in praesentia nostra dilecti filii...magister et fratres militiae Templi, deposuere querelam, quod tu, quaedam casalia eorum sine rationabili causa succendens, bestias et bladum suum ipsis per violentiam abstulisti, damnum eis ad valens quinquaginta millia bisantiorum pro tuae voluntatis arbitrio inferendo” [...].

<sup>77</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, CXIX, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 689–690; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVI, p. 218–219.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>79</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, CXX, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 692: „et in conciliis cismarinis interesse, et quod in eisdem ecclesiastica celebrari, nobis absentibus, vel nuntio nostro, concilia non deberent, ab utraque parte statutum est”; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVII, p. 220.

<sup>80</sup> Lewon accused Peter of St. Marcellus of siding with the Templars against him and working in every way to eliminate him from the Antiochene Succession: „quamquam, dominus P. cardinalis ab ea nos eliminari laboret”, see *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, CXIX, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 691; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVI, p. 219.

<sup>81</sup> *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXVIII, p. 224–225.



excommunicated by Cardinal Peter, thus the presence of this threat meant that in the meantime, he was received back in communion with Rome<sup>82</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that Lewon thought that the Templars should not be his enemies, regarding that he was fighting for his nephew's right, thus they should have followed the example of the Hospitallers and other religious men, who were not opposing his effort to achieve justice for Raymond-Rupen<sup>83</sup>. This would imply that the Hospitallers might have already been supporting Lewon in the War of the Antiochene Succession. They received properties in Cilicia in 1210<sup>84</sup>, but it is possible that they might have supported the Armenian king since the first years of this war and they were awarded with properties later<sup>85</sup>. The fact that in 1207, Raymond-Rupen, as *princeps Antiochenus*, offered to the Hospitallers *civitatem Gibel*<sup>86</sup>, might indicate upon closer links between the Armenians and the knights which might have been established from the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is important also to mention a letter from 1205, written by Innocent III and addressed to Philip II of France, where the pope mentioned the War of the Antiochene Succession: „inter comitem Tripolitanum et regem Armeniae variae contentiones exortae sint, templarii et Antiocheni priori, hospitalarii et patriarcha Antiochenus alteri faveant, ac filius Saladini, soldanus Aleppiae, partes prioris sequitur”<sup>87</sup>. Thereby, while in 1199 Lewon had complained to Innocent III that the Hospitallers, together with the Templars, had helped Bohemond III to enter Antioch<sup>88</sup>, around 1205, they changed sides and allied with the Armenian king. It is worth mentioning that throughout the different conflicts from the Levant, the Hospitallers had a legitimist policy and supported the ones who had a stronger claim based on their legitimacy. During the war of the Antiochene succession, the knights chose to side with the group which had a better support, namely the Armenians, regarding that the nobles from the Principality of Antioch and the pope sided with Raymond-Rupen<sup>89</sup>. Also, the knights had a dispute with Bohemond IV regarding some revenues<sup>90</sup>, thus this might have been another reason which determined them to side with Lewon and Raymond-Rupen.

<sup>82</sup> Claude Cahen, *op.cit.*, p. 607, n.19. Most likely, this happened because, as I have just said, the Armenian catholicos had the right to participate at every ecclesiastical council where would have been discussed problems regarding the Armenian Church. Regarding that Peter of St. Marcellus had excommunicated Lewon at a council to which the catholicos had not been invited, this sentence was not available.

<sup>83</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, CXIX, in *PL*, CCXV, p. 691: „Et ut Templariis per apostolica scripta mandando praecipitatis, ne de facto Antiocheno justitiae et dictionis nepotis nostri sint adversarii, sicuti non sunt Hospitalarii, nec alii viri religiosi”.

<sup>84</sup> Victor Langlois, III, p. 112–114; IV, 115–117.

<sup>85</sup> Marie-Anna Chevalier, *L'Ordre de l'Hôpital et la défense de l'Arménie: Enjeux d'une présence et moyens mis en œuvre*, in Claude Mutafian (ed.), *La Méditerranée des Arméniens : XIF–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2014, p. 54–55.

<sup>86</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 841, p. 224–225.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, 808, p. 216.

<sup>88</sup> See note 36.

<sup>89</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309*, Basingstoke, 2012, p. 54–55.

<sup>90</sup> See note 69.

Bohemond IV had been excommunicated earlier by the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, but it did not appear to have been affected at all<sup>91</sup>. In 1204, Marie of Champagne, wife of Baldwin I, arrived in the Levant and the count of Tripoli paid homage to her<sup>92</sup>, placing the principality of Antioch under the protection of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. However, Lewon did not appeal to his suzerain, the German emperor, except for the embassy from 1210 which went to Germany and Rome to request a crown for Raymond-Rupen<sup>93</sup>. Joschen Burgtorf considered that by placing the principality under the authority of the Latin Emperor, Bohemond forced the German suzerain of the Armenian kingdom to take part in this conflict<sup>94</sup>. It is possible that Lewon might have waited for the opportunity to request a crown for Raymond-Rupen, thus placing his nephew under the suzerainty of the emperor. In this context, he answered to Bohemond's challenge only in 1210. It is worth mentioning that Lewon tried to consolidate his links with the German Empire by strengthening his ties with the Teutonic Knights<sup>95</sup>. Thus, instead of negotiating directly with the emperor, he sent the Teutonic Knights as his ambassadors. Most likely, by paying homage to Marie of Champagne, the count of Tripoli tried to encircle Lewon by gathering allies in Syria and Asia Minor. And, as Steven Runciman said, Bohemond did this to prove to the pope that Antioch was outside papal jurisdiction<sup>96</sup>.

Up to this point, Lewon has achieved almost whatever he had wanted. Of course, he did not convince Innocent III to support unconditionally Raymond-Rupen's claim to the throne of Antioch. However, he obtained the privilege of not being excommunicated but by the pope, his legates or a special mandate. Also, it seems that one way or another, his desire of replacing the legates, especially Peter of St. Marcellus, was fulfilled. Innocent sent Peter and Soffredus to Constantinople and the Antiochene Successions was committed to a new court panel, formed up by

<sup>91</sup> As Alexander Murray pointed out, the excommunication was a very complex problem the Catholic Church had to cope with, and in the High and Late Middle Ages, this punishment lost its power. This is why there were many cases when the excommunicated Christian despised this decision and continued to live as nothing happened, see Alexander Murray, *Conscience & Authority in the Medieval Church*, Oxford, 2015, p. 163–197.

<sup>92</sup> Albericus de Trium Fontanum, *Ex Chronico Alberici Trium-Fontanum Monachi*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Léopold Delisle (ed.), tom. 18, Paris, 1879, p. 769: "Cum Imperator Balduinus Comitissam Flandriae mandasset, et illa ad eum venisset, facta de eo gravida, ad partes transmarinas abiit, ubi cum esset in Acra, Princeps Antiochiae ad eam venit, et ibi vice mariti sui tamquam Imperatrici Constantinopolitanae homagium fecit: quo recepto, illa in Acra obiit".

<sup>93</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 101; Smbat-Armenian, p. 217.

<sup>94</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>95</sup> The first contacts between Armenians and the Teutonic Order may be dated in 1190', when the knights established in the Levant, see Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les chevaliers teutoniques en Cilicie: «les maccabées» du Royaume arménien*, in „Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi”, 2004, series secunda, anno VI, Spoleto, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, p. 139. Lewon even became a *confrater* of the order, a practice followed up by his successors. The good relations between the Armenian monarchs and the Teutons were part of their policy of consolidating their alliance with the German emperors, see *ibidem*, p. 150–151.

<sup>96</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 136.

the abbot of Mount Tabor and two nobles, the count of Katzenellenbogen and Gerard of Furneval<sup>97</sup>. According to a papal letter addressed to Lewon, Innocent wanted to fulfil his desire<sup>98</sup>, namely, to commit the Antiochene Succession to other legates. It is important to say that Peter and Soffredus were not proper judges, but, rather, mediators. Thus, instead of judging this matter in order to decide who was the legitimate heir of Antioch, they tried to solve it as not to harm either Lewon, or Bohemond.

This new court panel did not achieve anything, thereby Peter of St. Marcellus returned in Syria as papal legate in 1205<sup>99</sup>. In the meantime, Bohemond had tried to gather new allies, thus he offered privileges to the Genoese in 1204<sup>100</sup> and 1205<sup>101</sup> and encouraged the Hospitallers to attack Latakia<sup>102</sup>, and in 1206 offered them some properties<sup>103</sup>. This time, the Latin prince seems to have acted as to determine the knights to support his cause, instead of siding with Lewon<sup>104</sup>. The Armenian king tried to counter his enemy's plans, thus he supported Renoard of Nefin, a noble from the County of Tripoli, who rebelled against Bohemond<sup>105</sup>. Peter's return to Syria proved to be favourable to Lewon. The papal legate conflicted with Peter of Angoulême, the Latin patriarch of Antioch and he excommunicated the latter. Bohemond IV took profit from this and pillaged or seized the ecclesiastical properties, regarding that he was not at good terms with the Latin patriarch<sup>106</sup>. In this context, Peter of Angoulême sided with Lewon, thus in 1208, he led a revolt against Bohemond IV and forced him to retreat to the citadel. However, the count of Tripoli managed to reassert his control over Antioch<sup>107</sup>. Mary Nickerson Hardwicke considered that Lewon took part in this revolt and entered Antioch with some of his troops<sup>108</sup>. However, it is interesting that in *Annales de Terre Sainte* and *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, Lewon's contribution was not mentioned at all<sup>109</sup>. Paul

<sup>97</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, I, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 555–557; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, CXIX, p. 226–228.

<sup>98</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, II, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 558: „Petitioni tuae satisfacere cupientes”.

<sup>99</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

<sup>100</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 792, p. 210–211.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*, 807, p. 215–216.

<sup>102</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 608–609.

<sup>103</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 816, p. 218.

<sup>104</sup> See note 87 for Innocent's letter to Philip II of France where it is written that the Hospitallers were Lewon's allies.

<sup>105</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 611–613.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 613; Jochen Burgdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 201. Claude Cahen considered that this rebellion took place in 1207, see Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

<sup>108</sup> Mary Nickerson Hardwicke, *op. cit.*, p. 535–536.

<sup>109</sup> *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 436 : “En l'an M. CC et VIII, se revela le commune d'Antioche contre le prinche, et fu par le conseil le patriarche”; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 17 : “A M. CC. VIII, desconfist le prince Baymont d'Antioche les chevaliers & la coumune qu'il avéent faite, & prist la patriarche qui estoit lor consentant, & le mist en sa prizon où il morut, & vindrent les chevaliers à sa mercy”.

Bedoukian studied some coins minted at Sis in 1208 and considered that the presence of Latin inscriptions together with Lewon's name on them might indicate upon the king's desire to annex Antioch, rather than placing Raymond-Rupen on its throne<sup>110</sup>. Still, as I will argue a few pages below, it would have been too dangerous for Lewon to add Antioch to his possessions, given that he couldn't have legitimised this action at all.

After the rebellion was over, Bohemond IV threw Peter of Angoulême in prison, where he died<sup>111</sup>. Innocent III condemned Bohemond's actions<sup>112</sup>, but did not have any power to act against him. In a letter written in 1209, the pope tried to persuade the count of Tripoli to refrain from any actions against the patriarch of Antioch and he did this by using a rhetorical and philosophical discourse, which is a proof that he did not have any instrument at his disposal which could have helped him to force Bohemond to obey his commands<sup>113</sup>.

Lewon attacked against the Antiochene territories in 1209 and continued to do this for the entire year, trying to force Bohemond to give up his claim to Antioch, but all was in vain<sup>114</sup>. In the same year, the Armenian king designated Raymond-Rupen as successor and he made all the nobles to pledge their support to his nephew. To be sure that there weren't any other contenders to the Armenian throne, he blinded Gorg, Mleh's illegitimate son<sup>115</sup>, „who was a brave man and liked by many”<sup>116</sup>. In this period, Raymond-Rupen became an adult<sup>117</sup> and this explains why Lewon appointed him officially as heir to the Armenian throne. Also, in 1210, the king and his heir offered to the Hospitallers territories and privileges<sup>118</sup>. The fact that Raymond-Rupen appears next to Lewon in documents, means that the king wanted to create a link between the military order and his new heir, thus ensuring that the alliance with the knights will hold even after his death.

<sup>110</sup> Paul Z. Bedoukian, “A Unique Billon of Lewon I of Cilicia Armenia and Its Historical Significance”, *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1966–), ser. VII, II, 1967, p. 189–197, here p. 194.

<sup>111</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 613.

<sup>112</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. XI, CX, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 1428: “Quasi non suffecissent Antiochenae provinciae impietatum scelera sclerumque impietates quibus graviter iram Domini provocavit, apposuit Tripolitanus comes mittere manum suam in christum Domini, piae memoriae patriarcham Antiochenum patrem ac dominum suum carceri mancipando, in quo tandem miserabiliter exspiravit. O nobilis Antiochia, urbs perfectae decoris, et terrae quasi gaudium universae, quam graviter esse cerneris per tam grave ignobilitata flagitium, quam turpiter per tam turpe facinus offuscata”.

<sup>113</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. XII, XXXIX, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 48: “Caput Ecclesiae Jesus Christus, qui se honorari fatetur in membris et etiam molestari, tunc feliciter diriget actus tuos cum piis locis et viris ecclesiasticis, qui ejus sunt obsequio specialiter deputati, tuum exhibueris auxilium et favorem. Sic utique Regi regum, qui dominatur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrae, gratum te ac devotum ostendis, si ad nominis ejus gloriam et utilitatem Ecclesiae sponsae suae commissa tibi usus fueris potestate. Si enim gloriam tuam quaeris et finem tui laboris ponis commodum temporale, formidare non immerito poteris ne, quod absit! is te reddat inglorium qui te fecit successibus temporalibus gloriosum”.

<sup>114</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 101; Smbat-Armenian, p. 217.

<sup>115</sup> Mleh was prince of Cilicia before Rupen III.

<sup>116</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 101; Smbat-Armenian, p. 216.

<sup>117</sup> Claude Cahen, p. 615.

<sup>118</sup> Victor Langlois, V, p. 115–117.

In this way, Raymond-Rupen had a personal relation with the Hospitallers, without the mandatory mediation of his uncle.

As I have said earlier, Lewon supported Renoard's rebellion against Bohemond. It is important that Aimery of Cyprus, who was both King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, did the same thing, regarding that he disliked Bohemond's claim to autonomy in the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch<sup>119</sup>. Thus, most likely, this political choice created some sympathies between Lewon and Aimery of Cyprus. In this context, the relations with the Cypriote monarchy were consolidated by two marriages<sup>120</sup>: Lewon took as wife the sister of the king of Cyprus, Sybilla, and her sister married Raymond-Rupen<sup>121</sup>. According to Claude Mutafian, Lewon's second marriage, which happened after he had repudiated his first wife, Isabella, marked the end of the privileged role of Antioch compared to Cilicia in Outremer. Its place was occupied by Cyprus and the Lusignans from there started to strengthen their links with the Cilician royal dynasty<sup>122</sup>. It is important to mention that Helvis, who became Raymond-Rupen's wife, had been married to a noble from Cyprus, Eudes de Dampierre and was taken or fled from him and married to the Armenian prince. Innocent III wrote a letter to the patriarch of Antioch and said that Eudes accused Raymond-Rupen of having sexual relations with Helvis while she was still married with her former husband<sup>123</sup>. However, I haven't found yet other documents which would suggest an investigation regarding the validity of the marriage between Helvis and Raymond-Rupen. It is worth mentioning that according to Sara McDougall, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century appeared many accusations of illegitimacy. The purpose was to disinherit and discredit potential claimants to royal or noble titles, as well as property. This type of accusations was new and, usually, had a far more limited impact than it is credited for<sup>124</sup>. It is possible that the above-mentioned letter falls in this category of new accusations. By marrying the sister of the Cypriote king, maybe Raymond-Rupen could have reclaimed the throne for himself, regarding that in 1210, Hugh has just been crowned king of Cyprus and he was still minor and did not have any heirs until

<sup>119</sup> Mary Nickerson Hardwicke, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

<sup>120</sup> Natasha Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>121</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 101; Smbat-RHC, p. 643; Smbat-Armenian, p. 217; Kirakos Gandjaket's'i, *History of the Armenians*, trans. Robert Bedrosian, New York, 1986, p. 123, online at: <http://attalus.org/armenian/kg1.htm>, last accessed on 14.03.2019 (Henceforth – Kirakos-Bedrosian...); Kirakos de Gantzac, *Histoire d'Arménie*, M. Brosset (transl.), lib. I, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 79 (Henceforth – Kirakos-Brosset).

<sup>122</sup> Claude Mutafian, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>123</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. XIV, CV, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 466: "Querelam dilecti filii nobilis viri O. de Dempera recepimus continentem quod, licet ipse nobilem mulierem E. sororem charissimi in Christo filii nostri Hugonis Cyprî regis illustris legitime duxerit in uxorem, et inter eos matrimonium consummatum exstiterit commistione carnali, nobilis tamen vir. R. nepos illustris regis Armeniae sibi eandem illicite copulans, in animae suae periculum ispsam detinere praesumit".

<sup>124</sup> Sara McDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

1218<sup>125</sup>. Also, maybe Bohemond IV gained the support of Eudes, and by accusing Raymond of committing adultery, he hoped to discredit him. But there are no proofs for these ideas, thus it is also possible that Eudes was just angry that Helvis married Raymond-Rupen.

As I have said earlier, in 1210 the Armenian king made his first donation to the Hospitallers. The knights received the city of Saleph<sup>126</sup>, the castles of Norbert and Camardiensum<sup>127</sup> and the city of Laranda<sup>128</sup>. In the case of Laranda, they had the right to start a war and make peace<sup>129</sup>. In 1207, Raymond-Rupen had offered them, as *princeps Antiochenus*, the castle of Giblet, a donation which was confirmed by Lewon<sup>130</sup>. How could Raymond-Rupen offer territories to the Hospitallers regarding that he was not controlling Antioch? Raymond-Rupen entered Antioch only in 1216<sup>131</sup>, but he has used the title of *princeps Antiochenus* since 1207 in order to legitimize his claim over the principality. In 1198, Raymond-Rupen was recognized as Bohemond III's heir in a council of the Antiochene nobles<sup>132</sup>, thus he had a solid argument for his claim and considered that he was the legitimate prince of Antioch. Of course, in 1207, as the document says<sup>133</sup>, he was not sole ruler, Lewon acting as unofficial regent, but this did not stop him from offering privileges to the Hospitallers. By using this rhetoric, he hoped to forge a stronger claim over Antioch. The syntagma „nondum suae potestatis” disappeared from the documents written from 1210 up to 1216. As I have said above, Raymond-Rupen became an adult in 1210, thereby his name started to appear in Cilician royal documents next to Lewon I<sup>134</sup>. Moreover, he styled himself as *princeps Antiochenus*, as he had done in 1207, and granted two

<sup>125</sup> When Hugh died, in 1218, his son, Henry, was eight months old see Elizabeth Chapin Furber, *The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191–1291*, in *A History of the Crusades*, Kenneth M. Setton (ed.), vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, Robert Lee Wolff and Harry W. Hazard (eds.), Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969, p. 605.

<sup>126</sup> The Hospitallers attributed significant importance to these new acquisitions. In the following years, Selefke became the headquarter of the knights in Cilicia and started to represent a springboard for a future career in the order, see Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274*, Woodbridge, 2005, p. 18.

<sup>127</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 841, p. 224-225.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, 843, p. 225.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibidem*: “ut bellum et pacem cum Laranda et aliis marchiiis facere possint et, quaecunque bello ceperint, cum aliquo partiri nullatenus cogantur”.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibidem*, 820, p. 220.

<sup>131</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 219; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 436; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 19. It is interesting that the edition of Smbat's *Chronicle* from *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniennes* noted only how Lewon captured Antioch and it did not say anything about Raymond-Rupen; see Smbat-RHC, p. 643.

<sup>132</sup> Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia*, T.S.R Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, Edinburgh – London, 1978, p. 99; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309*, p. 54.

<sup>133</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 820, p. 220: “Rupinus, Antiochiae princeps nondum suae potestatis”.

<sup>134</sup> Victor Langlois, V, p. 115.

castles to the Hospitallers in 1210<sup>135</sup>. I think that up to this point, Lewon considered Raymond-Rupen as prince of Antioch, but acted as his regent. Once the latter reached full age, the king did not need any more to be his official guardian, thus Raymond-Rupen granted privileges from the office of prince of Antioch, without Lewon's confirmation. This did not mean that he acted on his own, but rather that Lewon wanted to promote him, at least in an official way, as sole ruler of Antioch. Also, at this point, he couldn't confirm anymore the documents without weakening his authority. However, the king appeared in some documents among the witnesses<sup>136</sup>. It is important that in this case, but also in subsequent documents, Raymond-Rupen appears along his wife, Helvis of Cyprus<sup>137</sup>. In my opinion, he wanted to legitimize his claim over Antioch, and by adding his wife's next to his, he created a link with Aimery of Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

In this context, I will analyse the documents issued by the princes of Antioch, in order to see if it was customary to mention their consorts or not. Bohemond I<sup>138</sup>, Tancred of Hauteville<sup>139</sup>, Roger I<sup>140</sup> and Bohemond II<sup>141</sup> appeared as sole issuers of documents. Fulk I of Jerusalem was regent for Constance of Antioch, thus he appeared along her<sup>142</sup>. Raymond of Poitiers became prince of Antioch through his matrimonial alliance with Constance, thus she appeared along him in documents<sup>143</sup>. Raynald of Châtillon did the same thing, regarding that he too became prince by marrying Constance<sup>144</sup>. He was followed by Bohemond III, who, in most documents, appeared as sole issuer<sup>145</sup>, except for those in which appeared his wife's name, Orgueilleuse of Harenc<sup>146</sup>. From 1181, the name of his third wife was mentioned next to his in documents<sup>147</sup>. Sibylla is linked only with documents by which the

<sup>135</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 845, p. 226.

<sup>136</sup> Victor Langlois, XII, p. 132–133; XIII, p. 133–134.

<sup>137</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 845, p. 226: *Raymundus Rupinus, princeps Antiochenus, Hospitalis socius ac frater factus, assensu uxoris Helovisiae filiae Hemerici II, regis Hierosolymitani et Cypri*; *Ibidem*, 877, p. 236: *Ropinus, princeps Antiochiae, Raimundi principis filius, consensu uxoris Helois [...]*; *ibidem*, 878, p. 237: *Ropinus, princeps Antiochiae, consensu uxoris Heluise [...]*. Even after Raymond-Rupen entered Antioch, in 1216, he continued to add his wife's name next to his in documents, *see Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 885, p. 238: *Rupinus, princeps Antiochiae, consensu uxoris suae Heluisae, Leonis II regis Armeniae, avunculi, Ugonis, regis Cypri, sororii [...]*. *See also*, Victor Langlois, XII, p. 132–133; XIII, p. 133–134; XIV, p. 135–136; XV, p. 136–137; XVI, p. 138–139.

<sup>138</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 10;12;14;16, p.2.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibidem*, 35, p. 5; 36, p. 5–6; 53, p. 11.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, 76, p. 17; 86, p. 20.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibidem*, 119, p. 29–30.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibidem*, 149, p. 37.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibidem*, 195, p. 48–49; 228, p. 57; 253, p. 63–64.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibidem*, 282, p. 72; 292, p. 74; 314, p. 81; 347, p. 91.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibidem*, 387, p. 101–102; 388, p. 102; 392, p. 104; 424, p. 110; 428, p. 111–112; 434, p. 113; 451, p. 118; 471, p. 124; 478, p. 125–126; 493, p. 130; 511, p. 135; 523–524, p. 139; 550, p. 146; 555, p. 147–148; 574, p. 152; 586, p. 156; 610, p. 162; 632, p. 167; 632–633, p. 167–168; 649, p. 171–172; 663, p. 176; 680, p. 181–182.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibidem*, 478, p. 125–126; 493, p. 130; 511, p. 135; 523, p. 139; 524, p. 139.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*, 629, p. 166–167; 689, p. 183; 695, p. 185; 753–754, p. 200.

prince offered privileges. I think that Bohemond linked her with these privileges or donations in order to secure her position as consort of the prince of Antioch. Some Antiochene nobles were against the marriage between them, thereby she was not so popular in Antioch. But also, it is possible that Bohemond III did this only to continue a tradition, regarding that he had mentioned in documents also the name of his second wife, Orgueilleuse of Harenc. Bohemond IV, for the most part, appeared alone in documents<sup>148</sup>, the only exception being the ones issued in 1198 and 1199, where he included his wife's name, *Paceltiae/Plazentiae*<sup>149</sup>. As Joschen Burgtorf said, his marriage with Plaisance Embriaco secured his legacy in Tripoli<sup>150</sup>. Most likely, Bohemond chose to appear together with his wife in his first documents issued in order to consolidate his authority over the principality and show to the Antiochenes that he had the backing of the Tripolitans. Thus, Raymond-Rupen only chose to follow in the footsteps of the previous princes of Antioch. He really needed a strong claim, regarding that he wasn't in control of the city, being a prince in exile.

In 1210, Lewon sent an embassy headed by Hethum of Lampron to the Pope and the German emperor, requesting a crown for Raymond-Rupen, which he received it<sup>151</sup>. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who travelled to the Holy Land and passed through Cilicia, said that Rupen was even crowned<sup>152</sup> and named him *iunior rex*<sup>153</sup>. This means that Raymond-Rupen became, as Lewon had done, a vassal of the German emperor. Moreover, the prince had been baptized in 1198 by Conrad of Wittelsbach, the papal legate who brought Lewon the royal crown<sup>154</sup>. Rupen's coronation was meant, probably, to counter-balance Bohemond's gesture of paying homage to Baldwin of Flanders' wife, in 1204, thus placing himself under the authority of the Latin emperor of Constantinople. It is important that Lewon did not have any relation with the new Latin empire. Moreover, in 1212, he concluded a matrimonial alliance with Theodor I Laskaris, the emperor of Nicaea<sup>155</sup>. According to Claude Cahen, Lewon established connections with the Empire of Nicaea to counterbalance Innocent's excommunication from 1211<sup>156</sup>. It seems that the Armenian

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, 758–759, p. 202; 769, p. 205; 772, p. 206; 792, p. 210–211; 799, p. 213; 807, p. 215–216; 839, p. 224.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibidem*, 742, p. 197–198; 757, p. 201–202.

<sup>150</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

<sup>151</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 101; Smbat-Armenian, p. 217.

<sup>152</sup> Wilbrandi de Oldenburg, *Peregrinatio*, in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quator*, J.C.M. Laurent (ed.), Leipzig, 1864, p. 174: "Cuius nepotem Otho Imperator ad petitionem Leonis, senioris regis, coronavit".

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 178: "Quem dominus Rupinus, iunior rex, quem, ut ante dixi, Otho Romanorum Imperator ad petitionem seriori regis nuper coronauerat, cum nobilibus terre illius et cum multis militibus pulchre indutis subsequebatur".

<sup>154</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. II, CLII, in *PL*, tom. CCXIV, p. 811: "[...] filium nomine Rupinum genuisse, quem in honore Dei venerabilis Maguntius arhiepiscopus baptizavit"; Marie-Anna Chevalier, *La correspondance entre les élites arméniennes et la papauté pendant la règne de Lewon premier*, p. 241.

<sup>155</sup> George Akropolites, *The History*, Ruth Macrides (trans.), Oxford, 2007, p. 148.

<sup>156</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 617–618.



king was, somehow, *conservative* in his politics. He preferred to maintain relations with his German suzerain and the emperor of Nicaea, maybe because he perceived the latter as the continuator of the Byzantine *basileis*.

Up to this point, Innocent III had been at good terms with Lewon. Although the Armenian king had been excommunicated earlier, the pope said in a letter from 1205 that this had been done for a minor reason and still named him *our beloved son in Christ*<sup>157</sup>. Moreover, in the papal letters wherever is mentioned something about Bohemond IV, the latter is named only count of Tripoli<sup>158</sup>, although he presented himself as prince of Antioch<sup>159</sup> and even the master of the Hospitallers, Godefroy, named him *B(oamnudo IV), principe Antiocheno et comite Tripolitano*<sup>160</sup>. This might indicate that up to a certain point, Innocent III favoured, indirectly, Raymond-Rupen's claim to Antioch. However, Lewon did something that angered the pope. He seized the Templars' possessions from his kingdom and attacked them, wounding the Grand Master and some knights and even killing a Templar. Therefore, Innocent asked the patriarch of Jerusalem to publish the excommunication against Lewon<sup>161</sup>. Innocent sent similar letters to the patriarch of Antioch<sup>162</sup> and John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem<sup>163</sup>. Lewon was not impressed by the pope's threats and even expelled the Latin clerics from Cilicia<sup>164</sup>, because they had applied the excommunication against him<sup>165</sup>. In this context, Innocent threatened the Armenian king with the extension of the excommunication over his nephew, Raymond-Rupen<sup>166</sup>. This proved to be fruitful, because Lewon backed down and made peace with the Templars, which determined the pope to raise the sanctions and to receive him back in communion with Rome<sup>167</sup>. Lewon did not want the excommunication to be extended over Raymond-Rupen, because this would have prevented him from being ordained prince of Antioch. When the two of them finally entered Antioch, the Latin patriarch took Rupen to the cathedral of St. Peter and ordained him prince, an act which determined everybody to swear obedience to

<sup>157</sup> *The Deeds of Innocent III*, p.227; *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, I, in *PL*, tom. CCXV, p. 556: "charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Leonem regem Armeniorum".

<sup>158</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. VIII, CXXV, tom. CCXV, p. 698–699; lib. XI, CX, tom. CCXV, p. 1148; lib. XII, VIII tom. CCXVI, p. 18; lib. XII, VIII, tom. CCXVI, p. 18–19; lib. XII, XLV, tom. CCXVI, p. 54–56; lib. XIII, CXXIII, tom. CCXVI, p. 510; lib. XVI, VII, tom. CCXVI, p. 792; lib. XVI, VII, tom. CCXV, p. 792–793; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 802, p. 214; 805, p. 215; 842, p. 225.

<sup>159</sup> *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 792, p. 210–211; 799, p. 213; 807, p. 215–216; 839, p. 224.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibidem*, 816, p. 218.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibidem*, 851, p. 227.

<sup>162</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. XIV, LXV, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 431–432.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. XIV, LXVI, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 432. John of Brienne had the task of assuring that no pilgrim or local Christian would have helped Lewon. It seems that even in the thirteenth century, the king of Jerusalem had the task to solve the problems which appeared in Northern Syria, thus continuing a tradition which had developed in the twelfth century.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. XVI, II, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 785: „et Latinis clericis expulsis penitus ab eadem, in ipsa Graecos quosdam intrudere praesumpsisti”.

<sup>165</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

<sup>166</sup> *Innocentius III*, lib. XVI, II, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 784–786.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. XVI, VII, in *PL*, tom. CCXVI, p. 792–793.

him<sup>168</sup>. Although Bohemond had controlled Antioch for some years, he failed to determine the patriarch to do this for him. After all, Peter of Angoulême died because he refused to write a statement legitimizing Bohemond's occupation of Antioch and presenting him as rightful prince of the city<sup>169</sup>.

But there was also another reason which determined Lewon to conclude peace with the Templars. Alexander Murray studied the subject of excommunication and said that this sentence could have been extended from a person to his or her whole family. The problem is that according to a bull from 1198, a heretic's descendants were disinherited, if the excommunication was extended over them. Although heresy and excommunication were not the same thing, they overlapped<sup>170</sup>. Thus, Rupen's excommunication would have excluded him from the inheritance of the kingdom. At that moment, Lewon was childless, thus if anything would have happened to him, the kingdom would have remained without a king.

As I have said earlier, among the ones who had the task to enforce the excommunication against the Armenian monarch was the king of Jerusalem. Most likely, this is one of the reasons which determined Lewon to conclude a matrimonial alliance between his daughter from his first marriage, Rita/Stephanie, and John of Brienne, in 1213<sup>171</sup>. Also, as Charles A. Frazee said, he wanted to prove to the pope his enthusiasm towards a new crusade and his availability to fight against the Muslims<sup>172</sup>. Elizabeth Chapin Furber said that when Amalric I of Cyprus died, the throne was occupied by his minor son, Hugh, thus the latter needed a regent. This office was occupied by Walter of Montbéliard, who was constable of Jerusalem. When Hugh reached majority, he demanded from Walter an accounting of his administration, but the latter refused to do so, fled Cyprus and decamped with his family and valuables to Acre, where he was welcomed by his cousin, John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem<sup>173</sup>. Lewon had concluded, as I have said earlier, a double marriage with the king of Cyprus in 1210. Thus, by allying with the Cypriots, he may not have been perceived as a friend by John, regarding his cousin's problem with Hugh. Corroborated with Innocent's letter by which he asked the king of Jerusalem to enforce the excommunication against Lewon, John of Brienne might have been a dangerous opponent for the Armenian monarch<sup>174</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> Smbat Sparapet, p. 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 219.

<sup>169</sup> *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 17; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 436; Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 611–613.

<sup>170</sup> Alexander Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 172–173.

<sup>171</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 218.

<sup>172</sup> Charles A. Frazee, "Church and State in the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, 1198-1375", *Byzantine Studies* 3, part 2, 1976, p. 36. Jean of Brienne doubted that the truce from 1211 with the Muslims would hold and asked for a new crusade; see Christopher Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

<sup>173</sup> Elizabeth Chapin Furber, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

<sup>174</sup> According to Jonathan Riley-Smith, John of Brienne received from the pope the right to lead a punitive expedition against the Armenians. But he did not do this. Rather, John sent 50 knights to fight under the banner of the Templars, who devastated the Armenian territories together with the Antiochene troops, see Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia*, p. 106.

Thus, by arranging a marriage, Lewon solved some of his problems: he became a *friend* of John of Brienne and presented himself as a Christian ready to fight against the enemies of the Cross<sup>175</sup>. Claude Cahen considered that the reconciliation between Lewon and John was part of Innocent's plan of subordinating the oriental politics of the papacy to this goal: a new holy expedition that he began to organize since the failure of the Fourth Crusade in 1202-1204<sup>176</sup>. Indeed, in *Quia maior*, Innocent pleaded for good relations between Christians: „Therefore, dearly beloved sons, changing dissensions and fratricidal jealousies into treaties of peace and goodwill, let us gird ourselves to come to the aid of the Crucified, not hesitating to risk property and life for him who laid down his life and shed his blood for us; likewise certain and sure, that if you should be truly penitent, through this temporal labour, as if by certain shortcut, you will arrive at eternal life”<sup>177</sup>. But his hopes were in vain, because neither Lewon I, nor Bohemond IV ended the war between them<sup>178</sup>. It is important to mention that although the pope approved and encouraged this marriage, according to Smbat Sparapet<sup>179</sup>, Lewon was the one who engaged in negotiations with John of Brienne in order to conclude it. Thus, the Armenian king might have had the initiative in consolidating his links with the Latin monarch.

At this point, Lewon was in a better position than Bohemond IV. He secured a friendship with John of Brienne. By offering territories and privileges to the Hospitallers, he gained their support. Also, he got close to the Teutonic Knights and offered them various territories in Cilicia<sup>180</sup>. It is important to say that a brother of the Teutonic Order acted as Lewon's emissary in 1209, speaking on the behalf of the Armenian king during a meeting with Innocent III<sup>181</sup>, and Lewon himself

<sup>175</sup> Lewon did not have enough money for Rita's dowry, thus he leased the port of Canamella to the Hospitallers for two years and received from them 20.000 Sarasin besants. Also, he gave them the castle of Vaner and the surrounding territories near the port of Mallos, gaining another 10.000 besants, see Marie-Anna Chevalier, *L'Ordre de l'Hôpital et la défense de l'Arménie: Enjeux d'une présence et moyens mis en oeuvre*, p. 55.

<sup>176</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

<sup>177</sup> Jessalyn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 109. This was not the first time when Innocent III wanted to solve a conflict between Christian rulers. The pope sent a decretal letter, *Novit ille*, to the French king claiming that he had the task of arbitrating the conflict between the French monarchy and the English one. In this way, Innocent III articulated clearly the rhetoric of papal primacy, see Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States*, New York, 2013, p. 210.

<sup>178</sup> Innocent prepared carefully the new crusade. He even said that crusading vows may be commuted or redeemed, thus increasing the numbers of the *crucesignati* and assuring that there would be enough money to support the crusade, in case that some of the crusaders couldn't fight in this endeavour, see Christopher Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 614. Also, according to canon 71, *Ad liberandam*, of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), all the Christian princes should have observed mutual peace for four years, and those who would not have obeyed this command would have been excommunicated, see Jessalyn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 129; Christopher Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

<sup>179</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 218.

<sup>180</sup> Victor Langlois, VI, p. 117–120.

<sup>181</sup> Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Templars and the Teutonic Knights in Cilician Armenia*, p. 113.

became a *confrater* of the order<sup>182</sup>. Above all, as I have shown, the Armenian king escaped Innocent's excommunication and was received back in communion with the Roman church. If fate started to smile him, the situation was different in Bohemond IV's case.

Bohemond's son, Raymond, bail of Antioch, was killed by the Assassins, and he attacked them. The Assassins asked for help from as-Zahir of Alep and he offered to assist them and even created a diversion, attacking Latakia. Thus, the alliance between the prince of Antioch and the emir of Aleppo went cold. Also, the news of a new crusade determined the Muslim rulers to unite themselves<sup>183</sup>. Thus, this offered Lewon a chance to occupy Antioch.

In 1216, Raymond-Rupen entered Antioch with the help of Acharius, the seneschal of the principality<sup>184</sup>. If in 1203 and 1208 the Antiochenes did not accept to be governed by Armenians, now they were exhausted by this conflict and even the garrison from the citadel surrendered when it understood that Bohemond couldn't help them<sup>185</sup>. The Latin prince did not even live in Antioch, but preferred to stay in Tripoli<sup>186</sup>, thus it was very difficult to organize an attack which would have helped the Antiochene garrison. It is worth mentioning that Honorius III named Raymond *princeps Antiochenus*<sup>187</sup>, a title which Bohemond IV had never received. Moreover, the same pope named him *legitimus Armeniae regni successor*<sup>188</sup>. Thus, Lewon's plan was fulfilled: with Raymond-Rupen as prince of Antioch, he could have united, unofficially, Armenia and Antioch. I consider that Honorius III' using of the syntagma *princeps Antiochenus* for Raymond-Rupen, and the absence of it from the letters addressed to Bohemond IV, means that, up to a certain level, the papacy supported the cause of the Armenian prince. Most likely, Raymond-Rupen was recognized as legitimate heir of Bohemond III. The fact that the count of Tripoli managed to ally with the Templars is explained only by the problem between the Order and Lewon, namely the castle of Baghras. After the knights received back the castle, they were no longer enemies for Lewon or Raymond-Rupen. The military orders did not side with Raymond-Rupen or Bohemond only because they had a strong claim over Antioch. As Joschen Burgtorf said, there were also pragmatic reasons at stake. The war could have

<sup>182</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>183</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 620–621.

<sup>184</sup> Smbat Sparapet, p. 102; Smbat-RHC, p. 643; Smbat-Armenian, p. 219; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 436: "En l'an M. CC et XVI, fu rendue Antioche à Rupin par le senescal d'Antioche"; *Chronique de Terre-Sainte*, p. 19: "en sel an fu rendue Antioche à Rupin par le trait de Acairyte, seneschau d'Antioche".

<sup>185</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>186</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 621.

<sup>187</sup> *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, Petrus Pressutti (ed.), vol. I, Rome, 1888, 675, p. 118. Raymond-Rupen minted some coins which were analysed by Gustave Schlumberger, see Gustave Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1878, p. 55.

<sup>188</sup> *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. I, 677, p. 118.

affected the economical or strategical interest of the knights. Thus, the Templars fought against Lewon until Raymond-Rupen retroceded Baghras to them<sup>189</sup>.

This victory came at a cost for the Armenian monarchy. In 1216, the Seljuks of Rum attacked the western territories of Cilicia and conquered them<sup>190</sup>. Lewon gathered an army and placed it under the command of Constantin of Lampron, the constable of Armenia, but the Christians were defeated, and the commanders captured. In order to free them, the king had to surrender some fortresses to the Seljuks<sup>191</sup>. The relationship between Lewon and Raymond-Rupen went cold in the following years. The Armenian king had an argument with his nephew and had to leave Antioch, ironically, with the help of the Templars<sup>192</sup>. In this context, Raymond-Rupen lost the support of the Armenian monarchy. Thus, Lewon named another heir: his new-born daughter, Zabel. Smbat Sparapet presented this event in a positive way. The Armenian nobles from Cilicia approved Lewon's idea of naming Zabel as heir: "When the Lord God grants you a child, make it your heir, and we shall dissolve the compact which we made with Ruben and establish one with your daughter, and we shall serve her as though she were a man. What you have done for Ruben is sufficient, since you have established him on the throne of their [Rubenid] patrimony"<sup>193</sup>. Most likely, this story had the purpose of covering a conflict between Lewon and Rupen, but still, it offers an interesting perspective about naming Zabel as heir: by invoking the divinity and saying that the child was a gift from God, Smbat wanted to legitimate Zabel's position and the act of her father, namely annulling Raymond's right as heir. The latter had been baptized by Conrad of Wittelsbach and crowned with a crown sent by Otto VI<sup>194</sup>. Thus, Smbat wanted to create a rhetoric which could have rivalled with Raymond-Rupen's support from the German emperor. Next, the nobles said that they would have served Zabel "as though she were a man"<sup>195</sup>. This might indicate that the nobles favoured a man to rule over them<sup>196</sup> and Lewon, most likely, knew about this

<sup>189</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 207–208.

<sup>190</sup> Smbat-RHC, p. 644–645.

<sup>191</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 103; Smbat-Armenian, p. 221–222; Smbat-RHC, p. 645.

<sup>192</sup> Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

<sup>193</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 220.

<sup>194</sup> See n. 26, 133.

<sup>195</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 220 „և մեր ծառայելը նմա որպէս արու զաւակի”.

<sup>196</sup> In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, there were queens who ruled the state, or associated Latin princes to the reign. For example, queen Melisende appeared along Fulk I of Jerusalem: *Fulco, rex Hierosolymitanus, consensu Milesendis reginae sigillo confirmat* (*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, 174, p. 43–44). Guy of Lusignan did the same thing, regarding that he was Sibilla's king-consort: *Gwido de Lysanan, rex Hierosolymitanus, et Sibilla uxor regina* (*Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, 650, p. 172–173); *Guido, rex Hierosolymitanus, assensu Sibillae uxoris* (*Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, 653, p. 173–174). The queen Melisende is the best-known example of a female-ruler in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Still, after her husband's death, she associated her son, Baldwin, to the throne, because the Latin barons couldn't accept her sole rule, see Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, vol. II, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 233. Most likely, it was the same situation in Armenia. Zabel was the legitimate heir, but she could not rule alone.

weakness regarding Zabel's legitimacy. This explains why he wanted to conclude a marriage with the son of the Hungarian king in 1219<sup>197</sup>. Lastly, Smbat Sparapet said that Rupen was established on the "throne of their [Rubenid] patrimony"<sup>198</sup>. This implies that Antioch was part of the patrimony of the Rubenid family, although there are no arguments to support this idea. It is intriguing that by using this phrase, Smbat wanted to create a separation between Lewon and Rupen. Although the king was a member of the Rubenids and it seems that he was not linked to their patrimony. Smbat was a brother of Hethum I, thus a member of the Hethumid family and the latter became king through the marriage with Zabel, in 1226<sup>199</sup>. Thus, I think that Smbat deliberately separated Lewon, and implicitly Zabel, from the Rubenids: she became a Hethumid for him and the Hethumids ascension to power started from the moment when Zabel was named Lewon's heir. For Smbat, this marked the end of the Rubenid domination in Cilicia. Up to the end of the chronicle, Smbat did not include anymore the Rubenids in his story. He did not even say that Raymond-Rupen contested Zabel's legitimacy and tried to conquer the Armenian throne. Rather, he chose to present the War of the Armenian Succession as a rebellion of some Armenian and Greek princes from Cilicia<sup>200</sup>.

Natasha Hodgson suggested that Lewon decided to name another heir in Armenia because he did not want to unite the Cilician kingdom with the Principality of Antioch<sup>201</sup>. This is a strategy employed by Amaury I of Cyprus. He was king of Cyprus and king-consort of Jerusalem, but he ruled the two kingdoms as separated monarchies. He never accepted to use the revenues from Cyprus for different

<sup>197</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian p. 103; Smbat-Armenian, p. 221 „զի տացէ գորդին իւր փեսայ թագաւորին Լեւոնի՝ լինել ժառանգ պառոյնն նորա". According to this fragment, Lewon's son-in-law would have become his heir. Honorius III approved this marriage, see *Regesta Honori Papae III*, Petrus Pressutti (ed.), vol. I, Roma, Typographia Vaticana, 1888, p. 316, 1912: „<<A(ndreae) regi Vngarorum illustri.>> Adprobat matrimonium inter filium ipsius et filiam L(eonis) regis Armeniae ita pactum ut eidem regi Armeniae ratione filiae prout haeres succedat in regnum" (Henceforth – *Regesta Honorii Papae III*).

<sup>198</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 102; Smbat-Armenian, p. 220: „և բաւական է Հռովբիի գոր արարեր և հաստատեցեր զնա յաթոռ հայրենեաց իւրոց".

<sup>199</sup> Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 105; Smbat-RHC, p. 648; Smbat-Armenian, p. 225; Kirakos-Bedrosian, p. 151-152; Kirakos-Brosset, p. 93; Kirakos Gandjakets'i, *Patmut'yun hayots*, K.A. Melik Ohanjanyan, Erevan, Haykakan SSD Gitut'yunneri Akademiayi Hratarakjut'yun, 1961, p. 189; Vardan Arewelts'i, *Compilation of History*, Robert Bedrosian (trans.), ch. 84, online at: <http://attalus.org/armenian/va4.htm>, last accessed on 29.04.2019; Vartan le Grand, *Extrait de l'histoire universelle*, in *RHC. Doc. Arm.*, tom. I, p. 443; Samuel of Ani, *Extrait de la Chronographie*, in *RHC. Doc. Arm.*, tom. I, p. 460; *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, E.A. Wallis Budge (trans.), London, p. 454–455, online at: [r.bedrosian.com/BH](http://r.bedrosian.com/BH), last accessed on 28.02.2018; Jean Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, in *RHC. Doc. Arm.*, tom. II, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1906, p. 10; Michael the Syrian, *Extrait de la chronique de Michel le Syrien*, in *RHC. Doc. Arm.*, tom. I, p. 408. None of the Latin chroniclers mentioned this marriage. In *Annales de Terre Sainte* Het'um appeared as king only in 1252, see *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 445. Philippe de Navaire mentioned Hethum I as king in 1232, see Philippe de Navaire, *Récit*, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIII<sup>e</sup> & XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Gaston Raynaud (ed.), Genève, 1887, p. 105. Florio Bustron mentioned a king of Cilician Armenia only in 1266, see Florio Bustron, p. 111.

<sup>200</sup> Smbat Sparapet, p. 104; Smbat-Armenian, p. 223–224.

<sup>201</sup> Natasha Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

projects in the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>202</sup>. Natasha Hodgson's hypothesis may be plausible, if there are proofs that Lewon adopted Aimery's policy. But I think that Lewon wanted to unite, unofficially, the two states. This did not mean that he hoped to become prince of Antioch. Although he was powerful, Lewon did not have any legitimacy which could have helped him to impose as ruler of Antioch. Paul Z. Bedoukian analysed some coins minted in Sis in 1203 and ascertained that they were probably meant to legitimate the Armenian annexation of Antioch<sup>203</sup>. This is available also for coins issued in Armenia around 1208 which had Latin inscriptions and Lewon's name on them. The presence of the name of the Armenian king on these coins suggests, as Bedoukian said, that Lewon wanted to annex Antioch for himself, rather than securing the throne for Raymond-Rupen<sup>204</sup>. Bedoukian's argument has a weakness, namely that in 1203 and 1208, Raymond was still minor and even if he would have remained in Antioch, he would have needed a regent. His hypothesis might be confirmed, but from another perspective. Rather than saying that Lewon wanted to rule Antioch, most likely, he hoped to be recognized as Raymond-Rupen's suzerain.

In 1216, Raymond-Rupen was an adult, but it is possible that Lewon wanted to act as regent for him and this was the reason which led to the conflict between the king and his nephew<sup>205</sup>. He always said that he wanted to fight for Rupen's cause, not for his own interest. If he would have tried to impose his will over Raymond and even stay in Antioch, maybe his reputation would have been damaged and he would have been rebuked by the Latin Church. When the Antiochenes formed a commune in 1193 and blocked an Armenian occupation of Antioch, they had several reasons: they considered the Armenian Church as being autonomous and the Greeks, who were a political force within the principality, were not at good terms with the Armenians<sup>206</sup>. It is possible that Lewon might have acknowledged the antipathy of the Antiochenes towards Armenians and might have decided not to push forward his intentions. Although Raymond-Rupen was half-Armenian and the war had been fought, from the Armenian perspective, in his name, Lewon was the one who conducted all the military actions against the principality. Thus, the king was not popular in Antioch.

Raymond-Rupen continued to gather support to consolidate his authority in Antioch. In 1216, he offered privileges to the Genoese<sup>207</sup> and confirmed some to

<sup>202</sup> Elizabeth Chapin Furber, *op. cit.*, p. 604; Jonathan Phillips, "The Latin East, 1098–1291", in *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), New York, 2002, p. 126.

<sup>203</sup> Paul Z. Bedoukian, *op. cit.*, p. 192–193.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192–194.

<sup>205</sup> Claude Cahen said that Lewon I and Raymond-Rupen had a dispute, which determined the king to leave Antioch. This meant that Rupen lost the support of the Armenian monarchy. Still, Cahen did not provide a reason for this conflict. He only said that „dans des conditions mal connues, le jeune prince se brouilla avec Léon, qu'il aurait arrêté si les Templiers, en le prévenant, ne lui avaient permis de fuir", Claude Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

<sup>206</sup> Joshua Prawer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>207</sup> Victor Langlois, XV, p. 136–137.

the Pisans<sup>208</sup>. It is important that in both documents appeared Lewon's name. Most likely, they were written before the Armenian king left Antioch for Cilicia. Raymond-Rupen did not manage to last long in his new position as prince of Antioch. Bohemond IV married in 1218 with Melisande of Lusignan, thus strengthening his links with the Cypriote monarchy<sup>209</sup> and after he realized that the young man did not have many allies, he reoccupied Antioch in 1219 with help from a certain Guillaume Farabel<sup>210</sup>. Now Raymond-Rupen was left without his principality and his kingdom, because Lewon had appointed Zabel as his heir. Still, Raymond-Rupen was named in 1220 *princeps Antiochiae*<sup>211</sup>, although Antioch was governed at that time by Bohemond IV<sup>212</sup>.

The documents by which Raymond-Rupen offered privileges to the Genoese and Pisans may answer to the following question: was Lewon recognized officially as suzerain of Antiochene prince? In the first one, Lewon I appeared along the Latin patriarch of Antioch as guarantors: "[...] et ut hec donation mea atque confirmatio rata et stabilis omni tempore permaneat, presens privilegium in presentia domini patriarche Antiochie et domini regis Armenie, sigillo meo plumbeo jussi roborari, attestacione proborum virorum partier et muniri [...]"<sup>213</sup>. In the second document, Lewon seems to have had an elevated position, along Rupen's wife, Helvise: "[...] Rupinus, Dei gratia princeps Antiochie, Raimundi principis filius, voluntate et consensu domine Helvise uxoris mee principisse, nec noc et domini Leonis, illustrissimi regis Armenie, avuncoli mei, et rogatu piissimi domini Hugonis, illustris regis Cypri, mei sororii, atque consilio hominum meorum, dono, concedo et confirmo in perpetuum hereditatem et juramento Pisanorum [...]"<sup>214</sup>. The syntagma *voluntate et consensu* seems to indicate Lewon I's position as suzerain of Antioch. Still, in a document from, 1214, by which Lewon granted the castle of Vaner<sup>215</sup> to the Hospitallers, appeared the same phrase: "Ego Leo, Dei gratia rex Armenie [...] consensu etiam et voluntate domini Rupini, principis Antiochie [...]"<sup>216</sup>. This did not mean that Rupen was Lewon's suzerain<sup>217</sup>. Rather, it may imply that this was a writing formula used by the local chanceries. Also, there is the possibility that Raymond-Rupen appeared along Lewon in this

<sup>208</sup> *Ibidem*, XVI, p. 138–139.

<sup>209</sup> Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>210</sup> *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 437 ; *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, p. 20.

<sup>211</sup> *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, vol. I, 2876, p. 476.

<sup>212</sup> Bohemond IV's excommunication was lifted only in 1233, see Joschen Burgtorf, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

This explains why Raymond-Rupen was still named *princeps Antiochiae* in 1220, although he had lost the control of the principality.

<sup>213</sup> Victor Langlois, XV, p. 137.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibidem*, XVI, p. 138.

<sup>215</sup> Vaner was a castle located in the royal plain of Cilicia; see Victor Langlois, p. 122, n. 1. Also, this castle appeared in Lewon's coronation list; see Smbat-Bedrosian, p. 98; Smbat-RHC, p. 637; Smbat-Armenian, p. 210.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 122.

<sup>217</sup> There are many documents in which Lewon presented himself as „rex gratia Romani imperii”; see Victor Langlois, p. 105; p. 112; p. 115; p. 117–118.



document, because the king wanted to consolidate his nephew's authority and to create a strong link between him and the Hospitallers.

In this context, there are two possible hypotheses. The first one is that Lewon was acknowledged officially as Rupen's suzerain. The second one is that *voluntate et consensu* was a writing formula used by the Armenian and the Antiochene chanceries. Paul Z. Bedoukian's analysis may imply that the first hypothesis is available. Still, he did not speak about Raymond-Rupen's coins. According to Gustave Schlumberger, on these coins appeared only his name, RVPINVS, and the name of the city, ANTIOCHIA<sup>218</sup>. Thus, it seems that initially, Lewon wanted to present himself as suzerain of Raymond-Rupen. This would fit Bedoukian's conclusion regarding the coins from 1203 and 1208. After 1216, Raymond-Rupen presented himself as sole ruler of the principality. Thus, the syntagma *voluntate et consensu* may represent just a writing formula, and not a proof of Lewon's suzerainty over Antioch. However, given the conflict between the Armenian king and Raymond-Rupen, it is possible that, somehow, Lewon might have wanted to assert his authority over Antioch even after 1216, although the Antiochenes might have not accepted this and the papacy might have considered that the king had lied about his intentions to wage this war, a fact which would have worsened the relations between Cilician Armenia and the Holy See. Still, I don't think that Lewon wanted to annex Antioch and rule it by himself, as Paul Bedoukian said. As it happened in 1193, the Antiochenes would have rebelled against the establishment of the Armenian rule. Also, the king did not have any legitimacy to act as sole ruler of the Latin principality. However, the fact that Raymond-Rupen had been Lewon's heir until 1216 may indicate that the Armenian king had hoped to unite Cilician Armenia and the Principality of Antioch under the rule of his nephew and to respect the agreement from 1193/94. As I have said earlier, most likely, in 1216, Raymond-Rupen might not have accepted Lewon's suzerainty, because he wanted to rule alone. Thus, this determined the king to choose another heir and to abandon his plan of uniting his kingdom with the Antiochene principality.

Lewon fought a war that affected both Cilicia and northern Syria but did not achieve so much. He hoped to unite the Cilician Kingdom with the Latin principality, or, at least, to exert a certain degree of authority over Antioch, but Raymond-Rupen did not seem to agree with this plan. The Armenian king used all instruments at his disposal to secure Raymond the position of prince of Antioch, but all was in vain. His nephew governed the principality for roughly three years, being the last representative of the Rubenids in Antioch, because from 1219 and until 1268<sup>219</sup>, the principality was governed only by Latin princes. His policy of matrimonial alliances only strengthened the links between his kingdom and the Cypriote monarchy. Ironically, after his death, the war of the Antiochene succession was succeeded by a war of Armenian succession. Zabel, under the

<sup>218</sup> Gustave Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>219</sup> In 1268, the Mamluks conquered Antioch.

regency of Adam of Baghras and Constantin of Lampron, Raymond-Rupen and John of Brienne<sup>220</sup> fought for their rights, hoping to secure the throne of Armenia. This game of diplomacy was almost fruitless for Lewon. Maybe his only profits were the close relations with Cyprus, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights and Innocent III's good opinion about him, regarding his stated desire to fight against the enemies of the Cross.

The war of the Antiochene succession ended, practically, in 1219, when Bohemond IV occupied Antioch. Still, in the following decades, there were a few more clashes between Armenians and Antiochenes. In 1225, Bohemond IV attacked Cilicia to revenge Philip's death, his son which had been married with Zabel between 1222–1224/5<sup>221</sup>. Theoretically, the conflict ended in 1254, when through the mediation of Saint Louis, Bohemond VI married Sibylla of Armenia, daughter of Hethum I<sup>222</sup>.

Lewon proved that he could be an important political actor in the Orient and a skilful diplomat and rhetorician. He used every instrument at hand to gather as many allies as possible. It is important to say that Lewon had a dynamic diplomacy, which indicate that he did not set his foreign policy from the beginning, but rather acted as the war developed and his enemy gathered more allies. His correspondence with the Holy See shows that although he was a new member of the Latin family of kings and princes, he knew how to exploit Innocent III's sensitivities towards the crusades in order to convince the pope of his most honest intentions regarding his involvement in the War of the Antiochene Succession. And he managed to carve out a positive image of himself, regarding how careful have Innocent III mediated this conflict, trying to do everything so as not to be accused by Lewon of supporting Bohemond's claim to the Antiochene principality. Of course, when the Armenian king attacked the Templars in 1211, Innocent had to act as an uncompromising father, thus he punished Lewon. Still, Lewon had attacked the Templars before, but Innocent had tried to temper him without appealing to the toughest penalty. This is Lewon's merit: he knew how to employ such a rhetoric as to determine Innocent to have this attitude.

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<sup>220</sup> John of Brienne took part in the Fifth Crusade and when he heard that Lewon had died, he left the crusade and went to Armenia to claim the throne, see Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta*, in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (eds.), *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 198–199.

<sup>221</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309*, p. 56–57.

<sup>222</sup> Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 278.

THE ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT OF THE STRAHOV LIBRARY  
(STEPHANYAN'S *GRAMATICE*)

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This paper aims to present the only Armenian manuscript of the Library of the Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov (Czech Republic). It is being studied for the first time (Bibliotheca regiae canonice Strahov-Pragae, Num 536, Sign D.C.V.8.). It is the so called Stephanyan's Gramatice (author is Stephanos Stephanyan Roshka), which is rewritten in 1726 in Stanislavov by scribe Martiros Senienc. The Stephanyan's Gramatice is a variation of Gramatice of the Armenian language. This is the fifth known manuscript of the Stephanyan's Gramatice all over the world.

**Keywords:** Armenian art, Stephanyan's Gramatice, Stephanos Stephanyan Roshka, Strahov Library, unpublished Gramatice, Polish Armenians, Stanislavov.

In the heart of the Czech Republic's capital in Prague is located the Library of the Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov – or the Strahov Library, as it is known among scholars. The library is one of the oldest in Czech and its development, virtually uninterrupted, can be traced back to the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the Premonstratensian monastery was established at Strahov. For ages Strahov Library is famous for its collection. At present there are more than 3,000 manuscripts and 1,500 incunbula; the overall number of volumes is estimated at roughly 200,000.<sup>1</sup>

In 2018 I was in Prague on the occasion of the “Treasures of the earliest Christian nation: Spiritual Art and Music in Mediaeval Armenian Manuscripts” exhibition, which took place in the Theological Hall of the Strahov Library from October 8<sup>th</sup> to November 6<sup>th</sup>. And it find out, that there is an Armenian manuscript in Strahov's collection, which has been recently discovered by the library staff<sup>2</sup>. There is no information when and how the Armenian manuscript came to the library.

<sup>1</sup> Brodsky P., Parez J., *Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Strahov Library*, Praha, 2008, pp. 33–36.

<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to the responsible for the libraries and museums of Strahov Monastery C. Shidlovsky, who told us about the Armenian manuscript and let me study it.

Studying the manuscript one finds out, that it is so called Stephanyan's *Gramatice*, which is rewritten in 1726 in Stanislavov by scribe Martiros Senienc. The Stephanyan's *Gramatice* is a variation of *Gramatice* of the Armenian language.

The author of the *Gramatice* is Stephanos Stephanyan Roshka Kamenatsi, who is known as Stephanos Roshka. Theologian, philosopher, grammatologist, reformer of the Armenian Catholic Church and calendar in Poland Stephanos Roshka (1670–1739), perhaps, is the latest Polish Armenian, who is a author of many works not only in Armenian, but also in many foreign languages.<sup>3</sup> Although many of Roshka's works have been published during his life and after his death, some works were not published yet. This fact makes the handwriting examples more important, which are kept in the many collections.

The *Gramatice* is one of non-published works of Roshka. Before our study it had been known only four handwritten examples of this work all over the world.<sup>4</sup> One, which is an autograph manuscript written in 1718 in Stanislavov, is in the collection of Matenadaran Scientific Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts named after Mesrop Mashtots (Yerevan, Armenia, Mns. 10813)<sup>5</sup>. The one from others, which is a copy of 1723, is in the collections of Vatican (Borgian library, Mns. Olim. L. II 16).<sup>6</sup> The second one is in the collection of the Foundation of the Polish–Armenian's Culture and Heritage in Warshava.<sup>7</sup> The last one is in the private collection of Khachik (Qristaphor) Lukach in the Gerla.<sup>8</sup>

So the only Armenian manuscript of the Strahov Library is the fifth example of the *Gramatice* of Armenian language of Stephanos Roshka, which is an interesting interpretation of the *Gramatice*, what is known among scholars, even it has not been published yet.

<sup>3</sup> About life and the heritage of S. Roshka see Woskyan H., *A. Step'anos Roška, b. Mateos v. Julayec'i* [A. Stephanos Roshka, b. Matevos Jughaetci], Vienna, 1968, pp. 3–106; Mnacakanyan P., *Lehahayer: Jêragakan žaràngutyun* [Polish Armenians: Manuscript Legacy] (in Armenian and in Polish), Yerevan, 2017, pp. 32–34, 40–69.

<sup>4</sup> Mnacakanyan P., *Lehahayer: Jêragakan žaràngutyun* [Polish Armenians: Manuscript Legacy], p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Malkhasyan A., *C'uc'ak jêragrac' Maštoc'i anvan Matenadarani* [Catalogue of manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran], v. III, Yerevan, 2007, p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> Tisserant E., *Codices Armeni Bybliothecae Vaticanae Borgiani, Vaticani Berberiani chisiani*, Rome, 1927, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Mnatsakanyan P., *Kultura języka ormiańskiego w dawnej Polsce*, Krakow, 2015, p. 167. About this example we know from our colleague of Matenadaran Piruz Mnacakanyan, who is the author of the book "Polish Armenians: Manuscript Legacy", to whom we are grateful.

<sup>8</sup> Woskyan H., *A. Step'anos Roška, b. Mateos v. Julayec'i...*, p. 49; Woskyan H., *C'uc'ak jêragrac', vor i Handes amsorya* [Catalogue of manuscripts, published in the Handes monthly], Vienna, 1976, pp. 268–269.

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Num 536  
Sign D.C.V.8.

STEPHANYAN'S GRAMATICE<sup>9</sup>

STANISLAVOV

1726

SCRIBE: Martiros Senienc.

FOLIOS: 184 (unwritten: 1r--2v, 184rv). PARTS: I to 23 x 8. MATERIAL: paper watermarked with lines and an incomprehensible image with Russian cross into the rectangular frame. SIZES: 14.8 x 9.6 cm. WRITING: one column (13 x 7,4 cm). SCRIPT: notrgir. LINES: 20. BINDING: (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, odded during the restavration)<sup>a</sup> white leatherette over carton boards, lining from unwritten white paper. Marginal sides: with red and black splashes. PROTECTIVE SHEET: 1 + 1: unwritten white paper, parts of the linings, odded during the restavration.

STATE: Satisfactory, the binding's leatherette is dirty. The paper in some parts is changed its color and yellowished from moisture. The manuscript was renovated and rebounded in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

C O N T E N T S

3r–183v Stephanyan Gramatice Քերականութիւն Ստեփանեան

A. 3r–75v **Part I:** About the Declension of Nouns and Conjugation of Verbs

Գիրք առաջին. Յաղագս հոլովման անուանց եւ լծորդութեան բայից

1. 3r–9v Chapter I: The 1<sup>st</sup> declension with “այ” (**ay**) Genitive case

Գլուխ Առաջին. Առաջին հոլովումն, որոյ սեռական եղիցի այ – Եզակի. Անուանական՝ Աղամ, Աղամի, սեռական Աղամայ, Աղամին... ժամ երեկոյին, ծով ահեղ:

2. 9v–15v Chapter II: About the Declension of the Irregular Nouns and the Numerals

Գլուխ Բ. Յաղագս հոլովման անուանց անկանոնաց եւ թուականաց – Եզակի. Ան.՝ հայր, սեռ.՝ հոր... կամ բոլորեցունց եւ այլն, ամէնքը:

3. 15v–20v Chapter III: About the Declension of the Pronouns

Գլուխ Գ. Յաղագս հոլովման դերանունաց նախագաղափարաց – Ես դերանուն առաջին դիմի այսպէս հոլովի. Եզակի. Ան.՝ ես, ես, սեռ. իմ, իմը... Այդ – այդորիկ, այն – այնորիկ:

<sup>9</sup> We are grateful to our colleague of Matenadaran Tatevik Manukyan (PhD in Philology), who is mentioned in the Armenian *Gramatice*, and help us with this manuscript.

4. 20v–4r Chapter IV: About the Derivative Pronouns

Գլուխ Դ. Յաղագս ածանցական դերանունաց – Իմ, քոյ, իւր, մեր, ձեր, այլ, միւսն հոլովին որպէս անունք... ամենայն իրիք եւ այլն, այլ իմն:

5. 24r–58v Chapter V: About the Conjugation of Verbs

Գլուխ Ե. Յաղագս լծորդութեան բայից – Եմ. եղանիմ եւ լինիմ բայք գոյականք չունին... զարթուցեալ ի զարթուցանեմ եւ զարթնում եւ այլն:

6. 58v–75v Chapter VI: About the Irregular Verbs

Գլուխ Զ. Յաղագս անկանօն բայից – Սահմանական եղանակին ժամանակ ներկայ՝ գամ, գաս, գայ, գամք, գայք, գան... ներկայ եւ անկատար՝ թուիլ, ապառնի՝ թուիլոց:

B. 76r–134r **Part II**: Primary education or about eight Parts of Speech

Գիրք երկ[ր]որդ. Նախակրթութիւնք կամ յաղագս ութից մասանց բանի – Քերականութիւնն կամ գրականութիւնն բաղկանայ ի բանէ, ի բառից, ի վանգից եւ ի գրոց... նախադրութիւնն, մակբայն, միջարկութիւնն, շաղկապն ոչ հոլովին:

1. 77r–83v Chapter I: About the Noun

Գլուխ Ա. Յաղագս անունն - Անուն է մասն բանի, որ զհոլովս ունի եւ զժամանակս ոչ... ութերորդն, որոյ սեռականն եզերի յու, որպէս՝ ժամ, ժամու:

2. 83v–108v Chapter II: About the Declension of the Nouns

Գլուխ Բ. Յաղագս հոլովման անունաց - Անունք բաղադրեալք իբր ու միշտ որպէս պարզքէն հոլովին... եւ ի յոգնական առ երկրորդ հոլովումն վերաբերին, տէ ս անդէն:

3. 108v–10r Chapter III: About the Pronoun

Գլուխ Գ. Յաղագս դերանունն – Դերանուն է, որ փոխանակ անուն եղեալ, զհաւաստի եւ զորոշեալ դէմ առնշանակէ... բարդ. որպէս՝ իմային, քոյին:

4. 110r–24r Chapter IV: About the Verbs

Գլուխ Դ. Յաղագս բայի – Բայ է մասն բանի, որ զեզականս եւ զժամանակս ունի, բայց զհոլովս ոչ ընդունի... ու պահելով զլինն. որպէս՝ թողուլ, թողլոյ, թո[ղ]լով եւ այլն:

5. 124r–9r Chapter V: About the Participles

Գլուխ Ե. Յաղագս ընդունելութեանց – Ընդունելութիւն է մասն բանի, որ եւ զհոլովս եւ զժամանակս ընդունի... իսկ ուսած վերջացեալքն միշտ են գոյականք. որպէս՝ Աստուած, հայցուած, ստեղծուած:

6. 129v–30r Chapter VI: About the Preposition

Գլուխ Զ. Յաղագս նախադրութեան – Նախադրութիւնն է մասն բանի, որ յայլոց մասանց բանի կամ զատուցեալ կամ բաղադրեալ... յաղագս զատուցեալ նախադրութեանցն գտցես ի շարադրութեան գրգին:

## 7. 130v–2v Chapter VII: About the Adverb

Գլուխ Է. Յաղագս մակբայի – Մակբայն է մասն բանի, որ բառից առադրեալ, զնոցին նշանակութիւնն բացատրէ եւ որոշէ... երբեմն գիրն օփոխի յա կամ Ե. որպէս՝ յունարէն, հայերէն:

## 8. 132v–3r Chapter VIII: About the Interjection

Գլուխ Ը. Յաղագս միջարկութեան – Միջարկութիւնն է մասն բանի, որ զգանազան իղձս ոգոյ նշանակէ եւ ունի զբազմակերպ նշանակութիւնս... յորդորական. որպէս՝ տէհ, օն:

## 9. 133r–4r Chapter IX: About the Conjunction

Գլուխ Թ. Յաղագս շաղկապի – Շաղկապն է մասն բանի, որ զայլ մասունս բանի շաղկապէ եւ կարգաւորէ... միջինք կամ հասարակքն են, որք է՝ ւ նախադրին, է՝ ւ սորադրին բառիցս. որպէս՝ իսկ, ուրեմն եւ այլն:

## C. 134r–83v Part III: About the Syntax of eight Parts of Speech

Գիրք երկրորդ (=երրորդ). Յաղագս շարադրութեան ութից մասանց բայի

## 1. 134r–7v Chapter I: About the Agreement

Գլուխ Ա. Յաղագս համաձայնութեանց – Համաձայնութիւնք են չորք. առաջինն է անուան ընդ բային... որ է պատկերս կայսեր:

## 2. 137v–43r Chapter II: About the Agreement of the Noun

Գլուխ Բ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան անուան - Երկուք գոյական կամ երկուք ածական անուանք ոչ շարադրին ի բանի ընդ նոյն հոլովի առանց շաղկապի... ամենասուրբդ ի մեղաց:

## 3. 143r–5r Chapter III: About the Agreement of the Pronoun

Գլուխ Գ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան դերանուան – Դերանուանքն նախագաղափառք սեռական հոլովին՝ իմ, քո, իւր, իւրեանց, մեր, ձեր... եկի առ Պետրոս եւ առ հայր նորա, եւ ոչ ասի՝ առ հայր իւր:

## 4. 145r–152v Chapter IV: About the Agreement of the Verb

Գլուխ Դ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան բայի – Բայն գոյական ոչ միայն յառաջ, այլեւ զկնի իւր զանուականն խնդրէ... լծեցէ՛ք զերինջսն ի սայլին:

## 5. 152v–4v Chapter V: About the Agreement of the Passive Verb

Գլուխ Ե. Յաղագս շարադրութեան կրաւորական բային – Կրաւորական բայն յառաջ իւր զանուանական հոլովն եւ զկնի իւր զառողականն պահանջէ... թափեցան ձկունքն ի ծովն:

## 6. 154v–8v Chapter VI: About the Agreement of the Middle Verb

Գլուխ Զ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան չեզոքական բային – Առաջին կարգ չեզոքականաց. ամենայն չեզոքական բայ, մանաւանդ, գոյական եւ բաձարձակն յառաջ եւ ետ իւր զանուանականն ունիլ կարէ... յերիվարս ոչ հեծցուք:

## 7. 159r Chapter VII: About the Agreement of the Passive Verb

Գլուխ Է. Յաղագս շարադրութեան հասարակ բային – Սակաւ բայք առ հայս գտանին հասարակք, որք զներգոյականն եւ զկրաւորականն ունիցին զնշանակութիւն... այսօր ծնաւ յամուլ յարգանտէ:

## 8. 159r–62r Chapter VIII: About the Agreement of the Active Verb

Գլուխ Ը. Յաղագս շարադրութեան ձայնակրական բային – Զսեռական հոլովն ոչ որ բայ ձայնակրական ըստ ինքեան պահանջէ... որ նստիս յաթոռ փառաց:

## 9. 162r–3v Chapter IX: About the Agreement of the Impersonal Verb

Գլուխ Թ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան անդէմ բայից – Բայն անդէմ կոչի այն, որ միայն զերրորդ դէմն եզական թուոյն ունի եւ զայլ դէմսն ոչ ունի... զի լինի եւ կատարի, զօր խօսեցան:

## 10. 163v–7v Chapter X: About the Ordinary Agreement of the Verbs

Գլուխ Ժ. Յաղագս հասարակ շարադրութեան ամենայն բայից – Զյատուկ շարադրութենէ բայից մինչեւ յայս վար ասացաք, այսուհետեւ զհասարակ շարադրութենէ, որ ամենայն բայից պատահիլ կարէ, ասելոց ենք... զայլն տէ ս ի նախադրութիւնն յաղագս հոլովմանց:

## 11. 167v–8v Chapter XI: About the Agreement of the Indefinite Verbs

Գլուխ ԺԱ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան անորոշական բայի – Անորոշական բայք զկնի իւրեանց պահանջեն զնոյն հոլովս, զորս որոշականքն... երանելի է տալն, քան առնուլն:

## 12. 168v–70r Chapter XII: About the Agreement of the Participle

Գլուխ ԺԲ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան դերբայից – Խրատ Ա. Դերբայքն զհոլովս իւրեանց բայիցն ընդունին... ընդ հանգչիլ Շապուհոյ ի պատերազմաց, եւ ի գնալն Տրդատայ ի Հոմ:

## 13. 170r–1v Chapter XIII: About the Agreement of the Participle

Գլուխ ԺԳ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան ընդունելութեանց – Ընդունելութիւնք զնոյն հոլովս ունին, զորս բայքն, որոց ելանեն... բայց արդ ընտրելի է քեզ մի յայցանէ:

## 14. 171v–5v Chapter XIV: About the Agreement of the Prepositions

Գլուխ ԺԴ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան նախադրութեանց – Խրատ Ա. Բայք բացաւրիւնակք թէպէտ ընդ ինքեանց անհոլովք են, սակայն նախադրութեանցն օժանդակութեամբ զհոլովս առնուն... շուրջ յամենայն սահմանս նորա:

## 15. 175v–8v Chapter XV: About the Agreement of the Adverb

Գլուխ ԺԵ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան մակբայի – Խրատ Ա. Ահա, ահաւասիկ, ահաւաղիկ, ահաւանիկ եւ այլ նմանք զանուանական հայցեն... երանի թէ ոչ էաք:



## 16. 178v–9r Chapter XVI: About the Agreement of the Interjection

Գլուխ ԺԶ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան միջարկութեան - Ա զկոչական առնու. Մեւ. Ե. Ա՛ շուն, ա՛ յոպէս խօսիս... վա՛ շ՛ հինձ, զի ջեռայ:

## 17. 179r–80r Chapter XVII: About the Agreement of the Conjunction

Գլուխ ԺԷ. Յաղագս շարադրութեան շաղկապի – Խրատ Ա. Շաղկապք շաղկապականք եւ տրոհականք, յորժամ առ նոյն բայն պատկանին, զմմանիս հայցեն հոլովս... սակայն էարկ զիս ի բանտին:

## 18. 180r–1r Chapter XVIII: About the Diction

Գլուխ ԺԸ. Յաղագս առոգանութեան – Առոգանութիւնն է, որով արտաբերութիւնն կառավարի եւ չափաւորի... կամ երկարն սուղ, եւ սուղն՝ երկար:

## 19. 181v–3v Last chapter (=XIX): About the Punctuation

Գլուխ վերջին (=ԺԹ.) Յաղագս կետից – Որպէս շնչառութեամբ զբանն խօսելով տրամատենք... որպէս տարբերութիւն, որ առանց ենթամնայի գրի: Ի լրումն արհեստիս քերթողութեան հարկ էր աստանօր եւ զբանաստեղծութենէն ըստ ոճոյ հայոց լեզուին շարագրել, բայց զի գործս այս զերկար ժամանակ պահանջէ եւ իմ գոլով զբազմօր պանտաղեցեալ, բաւական լիցի ուսումն աս իրին շարադրեալն յայլոց: Եւ այսքանս ի փառս նորին, յորմէ ամենայն սուրբ, բարիք եւ պարգևք կատարեալք իջանեն, բաւականեցի: Վերջ:

COLOPHON ABOUT THE TIME OF WRITING  
BY THE SCRIBE

183v It was rewritten by Martiros Senienc by the son of Agsent at the city Stanislavov on 1726 and on 1176 of the Armenian era (=1726) on 14 february, on Thursday.

Գրեցաւ ձեռամբ Ագսենտի որդոյ բան Մարտիրոսի Սէնիենց ի Սդանիալաւօվ քաղաքին թ՛՛ին Փր[կչի]. 1726 եւ Հայոց ՌՃՀԵ. (1726) ի փետր[ուարի] 14 ըստ լատին, օրն հինգշաբթի:

STAMP: at the glued paper on the lining A. “Bibliotheca / regiae canonice / Strahov-Pragae / Num 536 / Sign D.C.V.8.”.

ANNOTATION: 2v “536”. At the glued paper on the banding B. “D.C.V.8.”.

**TABLE OF THE TRANSMISSION FROM ARMENIAN**

Ա ա – A a	Կ կ – K k	Ս ս – S s
Բ բ – B b	Հ հ – H h	Վ վ – V v
Գ գ – G g	Ձ ձ – J j	Տ տ – T t
Դ դ – D d	Ղ ղ – Ł ł	Ր ր – R r
Ե ե – E e	Ճ ճ – Č č	Յ չ – C' c'
Զ զ – Z z	Մ մ – M m	Ի ի – W w
Է է – Ē ē	Յ յ – Y y	Փ փ – P' p'
Ը ը – Ǿ Ǿ	Ն ն – N n	Ք ք – K' k'
Թ թ – T' t'	Շ Շ – Š š	Օ օ – Ō ō
Ժ ժ – Ž ž	Ո ո – O o	Ֆ ֆ – F f
Ի ի – I i	Չ չ – Č č	Ու ու – U u
Լ լ – L l	Պ պ – P p	
Խ խ – X x	Ջ յ – J j	+ւ – ew
Օ օ – C c	Ռ ռ – Ř ř	

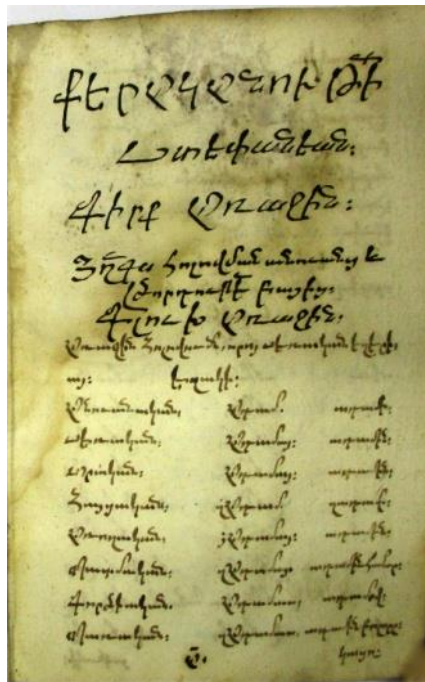


Figure 1. The title of the Stephanyan's Gramatice 1726, Stanislavov, scribe: Martiros Senienc  
Bibliotheca regiae canonicae Strahov-Pragae, Num 536, Sign D.C.V.8.

## THE STYLISTIC AND PICTORIAL PECULIARITIES OF “THE LAST SUPPER” AND “WASHING OF THE FEET” ENGRAVINGS IN THE VANANDETSI PUBLICATIONS

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This paper aims to present the Armenian printing houses in Amsterdam, where starting from 1660 the printing of the Armenian books continued till 1760 for consequent 57 years and finally stopped its activity. In the history of Saint Etchmiadzin and Saint Sargis printing houses Tovma Vanandetsi Nurijanyan the bishop of St. Kach in the area of Goght distinguished for his publishing activities. During twenty-two years (1695–1717), Vanandetsi's have published 20 books and one map. Vanandetsi's first publication was the so called “Worldwide View” map printed in 1695. All books are marked by their perfection and usefulness. The most important part of the iconographic system, published by Tovma Vanandetsi, also compiles thematic, page-made images. The author of the thematic images is German Christoffel van Sichem the Younger. In 1702 from the engravings of Hymnarium, published by the Vanadians, their distinctive features and performing skills are characterized by the last two important episodes of Christ's earthly life with his disciples “The Last Supper” and “Washing of the Feet”, which also used to be illustrations of some manuscripts.

**Keywords:** Armenian printed books, Armenian printing house in Amsterdam, book illustration, iconography, Tovma Vanandetsi Nurijanyan, Christofel van Sichem, engraver, The Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Jerome Nadal.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century a very important event – the beginning of the Armenian printing, took place in the Armenian cultural life. After the Gutenberg invention fast-growing printing business in Europe could not have left behind the Armenian cultural figures. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Armenian manuscript book continued to develop and play an essential role in this field. However, from the beginning of the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a new era in the history of the Armenian book began – the period of printing. No matter how long the manuscript book tradition would continue its existence and how it would develop, during the printing period it gradually had to concede its place to the printed book. In the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries one of the most prominent Armenian printing houses in the Western Europe was in Amsterdam, where the printing of Armenian books began in 1660 and with a temporary pause continued until 1716 – 57 years. After that it eventually stopped its activity. In the history of Saint Etchmiadzin and Saint Sargis printing houses Tovma Vanandetsi Nurijanyan the bishop of St. Kach in the area of Goght

distinguished for his publishing activities. In 1694 the latter became the head of the printing house. Before his arrival to the Netherlands his nephews Mikael Vanandetsi, Luka Vanandetsi, and his cousin Mattheose Vanandetsi reached Amsterdam<sup>1</sup>. In 1678 and in 1679 the Vanandetsi bishop set off to Europe taking with him his nephews who joined their cousin on their way from Venice to Marseille<sup>2</sup>. During twenty-two years (1695–1717), Vanandetsi's have published 20 books and one map. Vanandetsi's first publication is the so called "Worldwide View" map printed in 1695. All books are marked by their perfection and usefulness. The most important part of the iconographic system, published by Tovma Vanandetsi, also compiles thematic, page-made images. Until the 18<sup>th</sup> century the works of European engraving masters were used in the Armenian printed books, especially the German motifs by Christoffel van Sichem the Younger. Christopher van Sichem was born in 1581 in Basel, died in 1658 in Amsterdam<sup>3</sup>. He was the elder son of Christoffel van Sichem the Elder, Carl van Sichem's brother, and the student of the prominent Dutch artist Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). Between 1602 and 1606 he worked in Leiden, and between 1606 and 1658 in Amsterdam<sup>4</sup>. In 1603 together with Goltzius, he traveled to Leiden, got acquainted with the works of the local carpenter master Hendrick Goltzius. In 1596 he studied graphics at Titian's school in Venice<sup>5</sup>. Titian's art influence was vividly seen in his art, especially in the images of the four evangelists (in 1593 in the Rotterdam Boymans van Beuningen museum), which was later inspired by Christoffel van Sichem. Christoffel van Sichem or "Dutchman Durer" was known as a book illustrator (with about 1200 wooden engravings). He had a number of independent works, the best of which were in the collection of portraits published in Amsterdam in 1609 (*Iconica Haeresiarcharum*). His illustrations were published in "The Childhood of Christ" printed in 1617, as well as several Bible publications, two of which were published in Amsterdam (1646), the New Testament, published in Antwerp (1646), and more<sup>6</sup>. *Biblia Sacra*, published in 1657, had 797 images printed by Christoffel van Sichem, most of which were used in the publications of Voskanyan and Vanandian<sup>7</sup>. These caricatures are duplicated from famous paintings by Albrecht Durer, Martin van Heemskerck, Abraham Bloemaert and

<sup>1</sup> In one of his travels, Tovma Vanandetsi (1670) took the son of his uncle, Mattheose Hovhannisyan, to Europe with him and handed over to Voskan Yerevantsi to study art of printing.

<sup>2</sup> Grigoryan M., *The new materials and comments about publisher Vanandetsi*, Vienna 1963, p. 14–15.

<sup>3</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christoffel\\_van\\_Sichem](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christoffel_van_Sichem)

<sup>4</sup> F.G. Waller, *Biographisch woordenboek van Nord Nederlandsche graveurs*, Netherlands, 1938, p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Helmut Lehman-Haupt, *An introduction to the woodcut of the seventeenth century*, New York, 1977, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> Bryan M., *A biographical and critical dictionary of painters and engravers*, II Vol., London 1816, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.smu.edu/Bridwell/SpecialCollectionsandArchives/Exhibitions/First4CenturiesIllustratedBible/17thCentury/vanSichem>.

other European masters. Part of Christoffel van Sichem’s engraving paintings were also direct copies of the works by Jerome Nadal (1507–1580) from the Illuminated Gospel, the master of the Wierix famous dynasty<sup>8</sup>. The Gospel was to be published at the Christopher Plantin publishing house (Christopher Plantin, 1520–1589), but it did not happen because of the death of Jerome Nadal. Later, after the death of Jerome Nadal, in 1593–94, it was published in Antwerp, at Martinus Nuntius’s publishing house<sup>9</sup>. The full title of the Gospel is *Evangelicae historiae imagines adnotationes et meditationes*<sup>10</sup>. 153 carved images were used in the book, mostly made by famous Dutch carpenters Hiernymus and Johannes Wierix<sup>11</sup>, and the other part by Italian painter Bernardino Perse<sup>12</sup>. The engraving images, made in baroque style, reflect the life of Christ. J. Nadal’s “Illustrated Gospel” had a tremendous impact on the design of the iconographic system of later printed spiritual books, including Christoffel van Sichem’s works. He carved the initials of these painters in his paintings: AD-Albrecht Durer<sup>13</sup>, HG- Hendrick Goltzius, at the same time putting his signature - CVS<sup>14</sup>. We also note that Christoffel van Sichem, besides the above-mentioned masters, also made copies of famous Flemish Engravers of the 15<sup>th</sup> century such as Johann Sadeley, Crispin van den Broek, Hans Mamling, Marten de Vos, Hugo Van der Goes. Christoffel van Sichem’s engraving images have been reflected in the Armenian printed book. The latter started their painting work as artists and were well-known as skilled masters of academic painting. Christoffel van Sichem’s engravings were made with longitudinal xylography techniques<sup>15</sup>. He inherited the art of engraving from his father, Carl van Sichem (1546–1624), in the professional literature, known as Christoffel van Sichem the Elder<sup>16</sup>. Christoffel van Sichem, being a skilled carpenter, was able to master the works of prominent artists of his time masterly and purely. Unlike his father, Sichem the Younger did not embrace his art of painting but thanks to his high mastery and elegance of his images even surpassed his father. “I have been the most talented of four of our four family artists, who also made a great

<sup>8</sup> William V. Bangert, Thomas M. Mccoog, *Jerome Nadal, 1507–1580, Tracking the first generation of Jesuits*, Chicago, 1992.

<sup>9</sup> John F. Moffitt, *Francisco Pacheco and Jerome Nadal: New Light on the Flemish Sources of the Spanish Picture-within-the-Picture*, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Dec. 1990), p. 631–638.

<sup>10</sup> Buser T., *Jerome Nadal and early Jesuit Art in Rome*. *The Art Bulletin*, p. 424–433.

<sup>11</sup> The family of the famous Flemish engravers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, who have been active in Brussels and Antwerp.

<sup>12</sup> Thoms Buser, *Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome*, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Sep., 1976), p. 424–425.

<sup>13</sup> Such a brief handwriting is called an ekslibris book mark (“The Writer”) (from the Latin *ex libris* book), which is usually expressed in the initials of the author’s name. The homeland of Enschelvis is Germany, where it emerged after the invention of printing. A. Durer is considered to be the first artist who created his exhibition (1523) with his first name and last name.

<sup>14</sup> *Niederlandisches Künstler – lexikon*, Amsterdam 1968, p. 583.

<sup>15</sup> Kyurtyan Y., *Woodworking miniature painting and miniature painting in Armenian printing*, Venice, 1939:

<sup>16</sup> Helmut Lehman-Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 39.:

contribution to the development of the century Dutch engraving, “Christoffel van Sichem the Younger said<sup>17</sup>. The name of Sichem is also related to the *Kindsheyd onses Heeren Jesu Christi* book, describing the scenes of depicting Christ’s childhood, published in 1671.

Later in 1646, the Holy Gospel or *Biblia Sacra* was republished in 1739 with the titles of Rotterdam and in 1743 in *Bibelshe prenten* and *Bibels Lust-Hof*<sup>18</sup>. Vandandetsi’s have already used the printed formulas of Christoffel van Sichem’s engravings in their publications, adapting them to the contents of their books. Christoffel van Sichem was also familiar with the engravings of the Frankish-Flemish engraver, the jeweler Theodor de Bry (1561–1623) in the Latin Bible. The Bible was published in 1609 in Mainz, Germany. On the basis of this, we can say that the art of illustration of the Armenian printed books was formed on the basis of the artistic masterpieces of the period, and the publications of Voskan Yerevantsi and Tovma Vanandetsi became the main source of the European painting influence. It has a great artistic effect not only on the creation of an Armenian printed book, but also on the late medieval Armenian miniature painting, especially the Biblical illustration. It is interesting to note how European engravings found their expression in the late Armenian manuscript art. Illustration of Armenian Bibles in the style of European engravings began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – in the first quarter of the century. We have reached a number of Bibles and Gospels, which have been the prototypes of European paintings for illustrations. This movement of European art started from Poland and passed to K. Constantinople. The most important representative of this movement was the scribe-miniaturist Lazar Baberdatsi<sup>19</sup>. The movement even spread on the frescoes of the Armenian churches, the best example of which is the Church of the Holy Cross of New Julfa, the frescoes of the Joseph of Arimathea church of the Savior Monastery. It can be assumed that still in 1658, the selection of engraving by Matthew Tseratsiin Amsterdam, and then by Avetis and Voskan Ghlichentsi’s, was not an accident but rather preferable for Armenian figures. Let’s not forget also that the Amsterdam printing house was founded by the order and initiative of Hakob Jughayetsi Catholicos and financed by merchants from Julfa. Thus, the Amsterdam publications are directly linked to New Julfa, where churches were painted in the 1650s with frescoes repeating fragments of European print books<sup>20</sup>.

The Voskanyan Bible contains about a dozen of thematic engravings, which are widely distributed in the illustrations of not only published but also the

<sup>17</sup> Reznicek E.K.J., Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later: Supplement to the 1961 “catalogue raisonné”, *Master Drawings*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Autumn, 1993), p. 215–278.

<sup>18</sup> Van Der A.J., *Biographisch Woordenboek Der Nederlanden*, Amsterdam 1969, p. 1030.

<sup>19</sup> MM 351, Lvov the Catholic Church of Lvov in the Holy Mother of God Monastery 1616–1619, scribe Toros, miniaturist Lazar Baberdatsi.

<sup>20</sup> Lang D. M., *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* by John Carswell, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1969), p. 622–623.

manuscript gospels of Costantinapole, Isfahan<sup>21</sup>. In terms of illustration the Bibles illuminated in New Julfa and Constantinople in the 17<sup>th</sup> century are divided into two groups. The first group was illustrated by Albrecht Durer and his followers, including the Amsterdam edition, and the other by Theodor de Brie’s Bible. Man’s hand held at the Mashtots Matenadaran MM 201 (Isfahan, 1660, scribe Astvacatur, miniaturist Hayrapet), MM 204 (New Julfa, XVII<sup>th</sup> century, scribe Gaspar’s elder, Harutyun, Sargis of Van (Մարգիս Վանեցի), miniaturist Stepanos), MM 349 (Constantinople, 1686, miniaturist Malak’ia of Polis (Մաղաքիա Կոստանդնուպոլսեցի), Markos the Painter (Մարկոս Պատկերահան) MM 6772 (New Julfa, 1658-1692, scribe Vardan, miniaturist Astvacatur). A number of miniature paintings placed in the Gospel and the Bible directly replicate the same engravings of the Voskanyan Bible and the Vanandetsi’s publications, especially the illustrations of John the Baptist, is conditioned by the fact that only European versions were the prototypes of the Apostle’s illustrations, as in the Armenian book history we do not encounter any illustrations of Apocalypse till the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup>.

In 1702 from the engravings of Hymnarium, published by the Vanadians, their distinctive features and performing skills are characterized by the last two important episodes of Christ’s earthly life with His disciples – “The Last Supper” and “The washing of the Feet”, which also used to be illustrations of some manuscripts.

### THE LAST SUPPER

(Matthew 20–29; Mark 12: 24–25; Luke IV: 7–23; John 13):

Before Christ’s death, Christ consecrates his 12 disciples into an Easter dinner, during which he washes their feet, orders them, commits the testimony of Judah, and confirms the sacrament of communion, in honor of the so-called “Supper Dinner”<sup>23</sup>. The “Last Supper” scene has two types of iconography – historical, in which emphasis is placed on the influence of Christ’s words to the apostles and the ritual, which confirms the sacrament rituals by bread and wine. The “Last Supper” scene in the Hymnarium of 1702 is interesting because it represents the historical and ritual types of this scene at the same time, although the importance is given to the ritual (p. 110, Hymnarium Fig. 1) Christoffel van Sichem duplicated this scene with almost no changes from the Jerome Nadal

<sup>21</sup> Silvie L. Merian, *Illuminating the Apocalypse in seventeenth-century Armenian manuscripts: The transition from printed book to manuscript: The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition A Comparative Perspective*. Essays presented in honor of professor Robert W. Thomson on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, Edited by Kevork B. Bardakjian and Sergio la Porta. Brill, Leiden/Boston. p. 612–613.

<sup>22</sup> Simonyan A., *Iconographic realtions between Voskan’s Bible and the Armenian handwritten Bibles of the 17<sup>th</sup> century*, “Echmiadzin”, 2016, 10 (Ճ), p. 63:

<sup>23</sup> Maikapar A.E., *New Testament in Art*, Moscow, 2003, p. 212–213.

illustrated Gospel<sup>24</sup> (1507–1580), Bernardino Passari<sup>25</sup> (Bernardino Passari, 1540–1596) (Fig. 2), and Hieronymus Wierix engraving (Fig. 3). The difference is only in the image of the apostles. In the work of Passari there are no candles and vases for the Golden Horn, which we see in the works of other masters. According to the Western Diagram, the rectangular table (the eastern pictogram is pictured in the sigma wood) is depicted by the 12 apostles in the center of which Christ, with the bread in one hand (which symbolizes Christ's body) gives it to one of his disciples, and the other hand is raised out for the sacrament. The cup of wine is the symbol of Christ's blood, and the fish that is considered one of the earliest symbols of Christianity is missing here. Peter and John the Apostles are on his right side. In Jerome Nadal's Gospel, John is portrayed as a young man, and in Siche's illustration he is almost not visible. Judas is depicted in a semi-skirt, hiding a purse with a slippery cover and sitting on his knee with a rat that is a very interesting novelty from the author, which we do not meet in any other works. Rat symbolizes destruction, fall, and Judah – the idea of sin and death of this world<sup>26</sup>. Among the characters in the scene there are also the characters of Christ, Peter, John, and Judas, each bearing a certain advice, which implies the form of their image. People around the table are suspicious of each other, and the hand movements, as if they are pointing to their thoughts, distrust toward their neighbors. Next to the table there is a candle, which speaks of the event being held in the evening. The picture above shows a round mirror in which the view of the last supper is reflected. In the later monuments of the Western European art, along with the apostles, women, children, and even servants were depicted<sup>27</sup>. The backplane of the rug is depicted by a single person who serves everyday work. In the right corner of the image there are a water-hinged cone and chairs, symbolizing the "Ceremony of Washing of the feet". All these are already European innovations. The spatial resolution of the image is also linked to the new European realistic art. The interior of the room has been enlarged with a lighted entrance and exit, and is masterfully painted by a carpet maker. In this scene, it is important to present the spirit of the apostles. The episode is reflected when Christ speaks of his betrayal. So that is what comes to the man who gets wealth for himself, and has not wealth in the eyes of God. And he said to his disciples, "for this reason I say to you, take no thought for your life, about what food you will take, or for your body how it may be clothed. Is not life more than food, and the body than its clothing?" (Luke 12: 21–23). In our example, though the scene is very small, as a result of which the apostles are depicted as

<sup>24</sup> Yenokyan A., *The illustration of Voskan Yerevantsi's printed books and their influence of Armenian publishing art*, "Voskan Yerevantsi. From the materials of the conference on the Armenian crossroads of travel", Erevan 2016, p. 79.

<sup>25</sup> Thoms Buser, *Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome*, *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (Sep., 1976), p. 426–427.

<sup>26</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, Moscow 1991, p. 321.

<sup>27</sup> Elbern V. H., Gastmahl M., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, volum 3, L-R, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1976, s. 129:



generalized, without the personality of the faces, the author has been able to express some of the apostles’ mental confusion caused by the words of Christ, which were masterly depicted by the masters. Christoffel van Sichem portrayed the operation according to his own time, painting a modern table with his furniture and equipment. He has shown a great deal of mastery in the image of human faces that are extremely natural, as if they were characters from real life. Especially when speaking, Christ’s look was quiet and unobtrusive. As we mentioned earlier, some European images were prototypes for some Bibles and Gospels of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, one of which is this engraving. For example, in MM 389 Missal (Fig. 4) „The Last Supper” miniatures are interpreted in the same way, with only a difference that in the Missal Jewish kneeling instead of a rat is a pouch.

#### WASHING OF THE FEET (John 13. 1–20)

During the Last Supper, before the Eucharist confirmation, Jesus washes the feet of the disciples. Christ climbed up from the supper table, tied the towel, picked up the water-filled hip and began to wash the feet of the disciples, cleansing them from the sins of Adam<sup>28</sup>. This scene first meets in the sculptured sarcophagus of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>29</sup>. Washing of the feet was interpreted as an expression of humility and like all religious consecrations it also meant purification of sins before the Last Supper. The prototypes for this engraving were the homonymous images of Johannes Wierix<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 6), Jerome Nadal (Fig. 7) and Albrecht Durer (Fig. 8). The replica of Christoffel van Sichem seems to be a combination of the works of these three masters in one image. J. Nadal, in contrast to Wierix and Sichem’s engraving, has distributed several historical episodes through architectural elements. Nadal’s engraving mirror reflects the mysterious supper, which almost does not detect Wierix and Sichem. In the left-hand corner is the image of Christ, accompanying the apostles. This episode is missing in Sichem’s work. In Sichem’s engraving, inside the modern building, Christ is depicted by his ascension (1702 Hymnarium, p. 264, Fig. 5). Peter is in front of him, and his feet are placed in a large bush like a baptismal pool<sup>31</sup>. Like all the disciples, Peter is surprised to see that he is trying to stop Christ in his hand. In this scene in the Armenian miniature, Peter usually manifests his head, which expresses his words. “Lord not my feet only but also my hands and my head” (John 13: 9). One of the prominent figures of Armenian commentator writing, Archimandrite Sargis Kund writes about this phrase that

<sup>28</sup> Schiller G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, Vol. 2, London 1972, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> Maikapar A., *E. New Testament in Art*, Moscow 1998, p. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin C. Tilghman, *Divinity in the details: Minutization and meditation in a passion cycle by Johannes Wierix*, *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, Vol. 68/69, A new look at old things: Revisiting the medieval collections of the Walters art museum (2010/2011), p. 129–130.

<sup>31</sup> Chazaryan V., *The plot miniature in Cilicia*, Erevan 1984, p. 49.

Peter wanted to say – how your hands that decorated the heaven and earth, that is, they have made the creation, can wash my feet<sup>32</sup>. In parallel with Christian counseling, Baptism and Virtue are held. Both are made with water, and in both cases, Christ serves as a model of humility. In the first case, John the Baptist did not hide his surprise. „He who comes after me is mightier than I, before whom I am not worthy to bow down, to untie his shoes. I baptized you with water, and he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit” (Mark 7: 7–8). Here Peter goes on to say: “Lord, you wash my feet” (John 13: 6). In the paintings of the second group of paintings parallel to Baptism-Virtue, Peter blessed Jesus with his hand as John the Baptist baptizes in the Baptist scene<sup>33</sup>. The other students are picked up by Peter. Christ is distinguished from the other apostles by his humble position, ready to serve his friends. Here, behind Christ, there are two people, one of them is a young man with long hair, with a hand in a jug of water, and the other with a towel. Behind the group there is a group of people. This person is probably John. We do not see painting in the form of John in miniature painting. For the first time we see Albrecht Durer’s engravings, from which the masters of various districts, including Hieronymus Wierix and Christoffel van Sichem, have been imitated. The basis for the latter was the same image of A. Durer, but with a difference. In Durer and Hieronymus Wierix’s versions, Peter put his hand on his head, while in Sichem and Nadal’s version he clung to his hand toward Christ. Durer has chosen a wider space for the portrait to emphasize the individuality of each apostle<sup>34</sup>. There are also candlesticks, pointing out that the event took place in the evening. Only John the Apostle is portrayed as a young man, the other apostles have no distinctive features, and the importance is given to the fact that they are gathered around Jesus. Judas is depicted next to Peter with a purse in his hand. In the background we see the table of Easter, on which there is the symbol of the sacrament of the main ritual of the Christian church, established for the supper. The engraving has some similarities with the same manuscript of MM 6765 (Fig. 9).

The view has been removed from a regular illustration and is rich in many household elements that are characteristic of a new Western European graphic. These two caricatures of Christoffel van Sichem have a westernized iconography that is well-known in the regular image of the scene with the characters or other details imported by the author, with more rich advice (the West has more freelance).

The portrait images have a great deal of expression on the line. In the case of wood engraving technique, depending on the material, the engravers worked on the line, not the stain, so the line was thicker, black and emphasized than metal engraving<sup>35</sup>. The compositions represent diverse, sophisticated structures where the

<sup>32</sup> Sarkis Kund, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, by work Yeznik Bp. Petrosyan, St. Echmiadzin 2005, p. 507.

<sup>33</sup> Schiller G., *Iconography of Christian Art*, Vol. I, London, 1972, p. 42.

<sup>34</sup> Angela Hass, *Two Devotional Manuals by Albrecht Durer. The Small Passion and the Engrved Passion. Iconography, Context and Spirituality*, *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, 63, Bd, H. 2 (2000), p. 179–180.

<sup>35</sup> Kislyha G., *The Essays on the History and Technique of Engraving*, volume 2, Moscow 1987, p. 74.

balance is distorted by the images placed in the diagonal. The essay is made in the straight forward rules, in detail, from the distant architectural structures to the major images of the main figures depicted in the first section. The patterns are also well reproduced in the background, where human groups are seen, which, according to the rules of straight perspective, are depicted smaller. Despite the saturation of the composition, even the tiniest detail has been developed in every detail, as we have already mentioned each piece of space used by the engraver. The characters are depicted in complex positions. Character interpretation is different: one is mild, natural, with more restrained reproduction of emotions; the other is furious, restless, described with clothes and hairdressing characteristic of the Baroque period. The sculpted skirts of the stylish clothes give an unprecedented movement to the entire crest of the carving. The beads have rich, highlighted lampshade solutions. Especially notable are the faces of the main characters, with a glamorous design. Through the angular, rounded lines used in engraving, as well as lampshades, the engraver has been able to create expressive characters. In the “Last Supper” engraving, the author seemed to have moved the action in his time by commenting on the modern architectural structure or inside the building to portray him into a contemporary and familiar environment, to convey the true nature of the Bible scene.

The books published by the Vanandetsis were considered to be the fine taste of their artistic design, and were considered as the best examples of the time for the next printers. From the point of view of printing art the publications of Vanandetsis are even one step ahead of Voskanyan publications. Christoffel van Sichem’s engraving images have been reflected not only in the Armenian printed book, but also in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Armenian manuscript art, especially in Bibles, as well as frescoes (St. Holy Savior Cathedral of New Julfa), silverware and church outfit.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

Collections of Manuscripts

MM– Matenadaran” Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.



*Fig. 1. Hymnarium, 1702, p. 110.*



*Fig. 2. Hieronimus Wierix, The Last Supper Christoffel van Sichem, The Last Supper.*



*Fig. 3.* Bernardino Passari, The Last Supper.



*Fig. 4.* MM 389, The Last Supper.



Fig. 5. Hymnarium, 1702, p. 264.

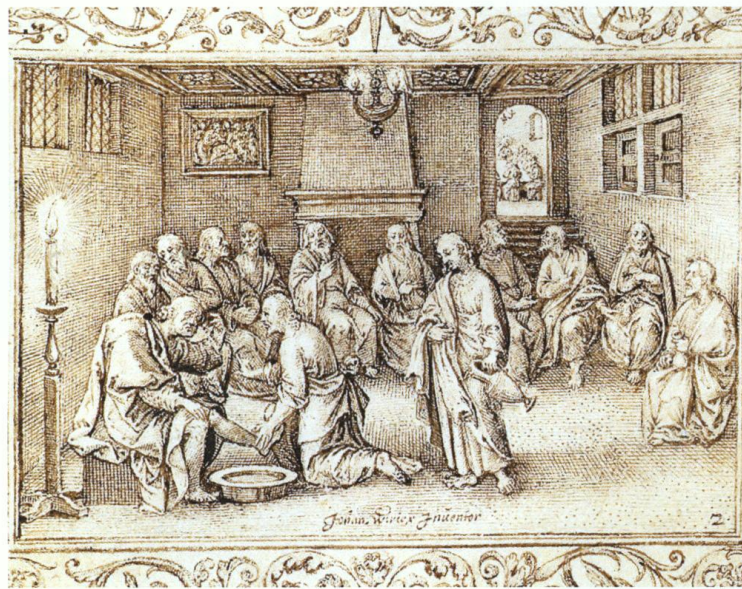


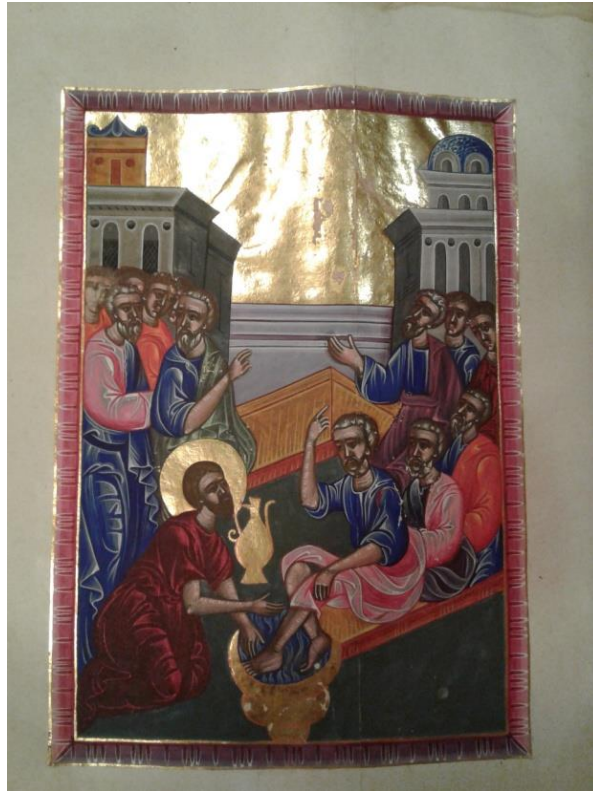
Fig. 6. Johannes Wierix, Washing of the Feet Christoffel van Sichem, Washing of the Feet.



*Fig. 7. Jerome Nadal, Washing of the Feet.*



*Fig. 8. Albrecht Durer, Washing of the Feet.*



*Fig. 9. MM 6765, Washing of the Feet.*



## BYZANTINISCHE ARZTGELEHRTE (IATROSOPHISTEN) IN POSTBYZANTINISCHER ZEIT

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The Late Antique Alexandrian tradition of physician-philosophers (*iatrosophists*), following Galen's *dictum* about the excellent physician being also a philosopher, had a great impact on Byzantine medicine. Since Middle Byzantine times Byzantine iatrosophists stand in close relation to a highly developed and transcultural hospital system. After the Ottoman capture of Constantinople (1453) and the following migration movement of Byzantine scholars Italian university cities, like Padua, Bologna and Ferrara, evolved into centers of a newly developed Byzantine-Italian iatrosophism. This paper aims to outline the merits of some notable Postbyzantine iatrosophists in the preservation and further development of Byzantine medical traditions.

**Keywords:** Arztgelehrte; Iatrosophistentum; konstantinische Textsammlungen; christliche Anthropologie; byzantinisches Gesundheitswesen; spätbyzantinische Psychosomatik; Gelehrtenmigration; italienische Studienzentren.

### EINLEITUNG: DAS BYZANTINISCHE IATROSOPHISTENTUM UND SEINE REZEPTION

Galens Ideal, ein Arzt müsse zugleich auch Philosoph sein,<sup>1</sup> fand seine erste differenzierte Umsetzung im spätantiken Alexandria (ca. 4.–7. Jhd. n. Chr.), als die dort ansässigen Arztphilosophen (*Iatrosophisten*) medizintheoretische und didaktische Richtlinien festlegten und solcherart ein Bildungsideal schufen, das während der gesamten byzantinischen, aber auch der postbyzantinischen Zeit verbindlich bleiben sollte.<sup>2</sup> In den byzantinischen medizinischen Handschriften

<sup>1</sup> Galen, Ὅτι ὁ ἄριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος (Quod opt. med.), ed. V. Boudon-Millot, Galien: Tome I: Introduction générale. Sur l'ordre des ses propres livres. Sur ses propres livres. Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe, Paris 2007, 235–314; vgl. ferner Ch. Erismann, Meletius Monachus on individuality: a ninth-century Byzantine medical reading of Porphyry's Logic, BZ 110/1 (2017, zit. als Erismann 2017) 37.

<sup>2</sup> Zum alexandrinischen Iatrosophistentum und seiner Tradition vgl. O. Overwien, Der medizinische Unterricht der Iatrosophisten in der ‚Schule von Alexandria‘ (5.–7. Jh. n.Chr.): Überlegungen zu seiner Organisation, seinen Inhalten und seinen Ursprüngen (Teil I–II), Philologus 162 (2018, zit. als Overwien 2018), 2–14 (I) und 265–290 (II) sowie I. Garofalo, Galen's Legacy in Alexandrian Texts Written in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, in: P. Bouras-Vallianatos – B. Zipser (Hrsg.), Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen, Brill's Companions to Classical Reception 17, Leiden 2019 (zit. als Brill's Companion to the

begegnet die Bezeichnung *Iatrosophistes* sehr häufig, wobei epochenspezifische Schwerpunkte auszumachen sind, so z.B. in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit, in Zusammenhang mit dem „Byzantinischen Humanismus“<sup>3</sup> und den von Kaiser Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenetos (905–959, reg. 913–959) in Auftrag gegebenen kollektiven Wissenssammlungen.<sup>4</sup> Eine entscheidende Rolle in der Entwicklung und Formation des byzantinischen Iatrosophistentums spielen die insbesondere ab der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit florierenden Krankenhausinstitutionen als Zentren des byzantinischen Gesundheitswesens, der praktisch-therapeutischen Patientenfürsorge, aber auch der ärztlichen Ausbildung und des transkulturellen wissenschaftlichen Dialoges.<sup>5</sup> Gerade in Verbindung mit diesem Krankenhauswesen lässt sich eine sukzessive Schwerpunktverlagerung innerhalb der Definition des Iatrosophistentums konstatieren, da es nunmehr zunehmend praktisch-klinisch orientiert ist. Sein medizintheoretischer Aspekt hingegen zentriert sich nun verstärkt um das Konzept der christlichen Anthropologie,<sup>6</sup> wodurch seit mittelbyzantinischer Zeit die Medizintheorie und insbesondere die Analyse vom (anatomischen) Aufbau und der Struktur des menschlichen Körpers vermehrt in den Fokus theologisch-philosophischer Debatten rückte.<sup>7</sup>

Reception of Galen 2019), 62–85; eine dezidierte Quellenanalyse zum byzantinischen Iatrosophistentum und seiner Tradition fehlt nach wie vor.

<sup>3</sup> P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au 10e siècle*, Paris 1971.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. L. Cohn, Bemerkungen zu den Konstantinischen Sammelwerken, *BZ* 9 (1900) 154–160; J.A.M. Sonderkamp, Theophanes Nonnos: Medicine in the circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DOP* 38 (1984) 29–41; A. Hohlweg, Medizinischer ‚Enzyklopädismus‘ und das Πόνημα Ἰατρικόν des Michael Psellos, *BZ* 81 (1988) 39–49; P. Schreiner, Die enzyklopädische Idee in Byzanz, in: P. van Deun – C. Macé (Hrsg.), *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 212*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2011, 13–16.

<sup>5</sup> D. Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals. A study of the extant formularies, Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean 7*, London – New York 2017 (zit. als Bennett 2017); D.C. Bennett (†) – P. Horden: Kap. 13.4. Xenōniká biblíá, in: F. Daim (Hrsg.): *Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch. Der Neue Pauly, Supplemente Band 11*, Stuttgart 2016, cols. 1031–1034; vgl. ferner <https://equihsam.hypotheses.org/seminaires/projets-en-cours/formation-du-medecin>.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hohlweg, Seelenlehre und ‚Psychiatrie‘ bei dem Aktuaros Johannes Zacharias, in: R. Wittern – P. Pellegrin (Hrsg.), *Hippokratische Medizin und antike Philosophie. Verhandlungen des VIII. Internationalen Hippokrates-Kolloquiums in Kloster Banz/Staffelstein vom 23. bis 28. September 1993, Medizin der Antike 1*, Hildesheim et. al. 1996 (zit. als Hohlweg 1996), 513–529; I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Θεοφίλου περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς / Theophilus, *Der Aufbau des Menschen in fünf Büchern. Kritische Edition des Textes mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar. Diss. München 2008* (<http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/9393/>; zit. als Grimm-Stadelmann 2008) 50–53; Erismann 2017, 37–60; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, Galen in Byzantine Medical Literature, in: *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Galen 2019*, 86–91. Außerdem vgl. I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Galens Ὑπερὶ χρῆμας μορίων als Quelle der byzantinischen christlichen Anthropologie. Zur Editionstechnik byzantinischer medizinischer Kompilationen, in: M. Witt (Hrsg.), *Sammlung und Fragmentierung: Medizinische Kompilationen des Morgen- und Abendlands und ihre Quellen. Akten der Internationalen medizinhistorischen Tagung Berlin, 30.09.2017 – 02.10.2017* (Brill, in Druckvorbereitung), und I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Middle Byzantine Christian Anthropology, Hospital Culture and Ioannes Zacharias’ Psychosomatic Pneumatology, in: F. Lauritzen (Hrsg.), *Atti dell’ Colloqui Storico „Filosofia e Medicina Bizantina da Oriente a Occidente, La Custodia di Venezia“*, 28. Febbraio 2019 (Venedig, in Druckvorbereitung).

<sup>7</sup> Erismann 2017, 46–55.

Die medizinphilosophischen Argumentationen der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Zeit fanden auch in postbyzantinischer Zeit ihre unmittelbare Fortsetzung auf der Grundlage der im humanistischen Italien zwischen dem 15. und 17. Jhd. angefertigten und in hoher Dichte verbreiteten lateinischen Übersetzungen der byzantinischen Textvorlagen. Deren zentrale Fragestellungen konstituierten schon sehr bald einen wesentlichen Faktor des intellektuellen und politischen Lebens im humanistisch geprägten Italien: die lateinischen Übersetzungen der griechischen Originale kamen in aktuellen Diskussionen gezielt zum Einsatz.<sup>8</sup> Einen wesentlichen Anteil an dieser Entwicklung hatten der Paduaner Medizinprofessor Francesco Frigimelica (1491–1559)<sup>9</sup> sowie dessen Schüler und späterer Nachfolger auf dem Lehrstuhl, Paulus Iunius Crassus (gest. 1574). Frigimelica hatte die lateinische Übersetzung der mittelbyzantinischen, unter dem Namen eines Theophilus überlieferten christlichen Anthropologie *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς*<sup>10</sup> angeregt, indem er Crassus auf die Bedeutung dieses Textes hinwies und ihm als Übersetzungsgrundlage eine heute leider nicht mehr erhaltene<sup>11</sup> griechische Handschrift aus seinem Privatbesitz<sup>12</sup> zur Verfügung stellte.<sup>13</sup> Die erste Auflage dieser Übersetzung (*Theophili Protospatharii de corporis humani fabrica libri quinque*, Venedig 1536) erschien gemeinsam mit der ebenfalls von Crassus angefertigten lateinischen Übersetzung der hippokratischen Schrift *De purgantibus medicamentis*, und diese Kombination aus einem medizinphilosophisch-theoretischen mit einem therapeutisch-praktischen Text in einer Ausgabe ist charakteristisch für

<sup>8</sup> Grimm-Stadelmann 2008, 96–99; N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, London 2017 (zit. als Wilson 2017) unter Betonung der Bedeutung der süditalienischen griechischen Gemeinschaften für die Tradierung genuin byzantinischer Bildungsideale; vgl. ferner K.Sp. Staikos, *Οἱ ἐλληνικὲς ἐκδόσεις τοῦ Ἄλδου καὶ οἱ ἔλληνες συνεργάτες του (π. 1494–1515). Εἰσαγωγή τοῦ Στ. Κακλαμάνη, Οὐμανισμὸς καὶ Κρήτη*, Athen 2015 (zit. als Staikos 2015 / engl. Übers. von K. Spathi: New Castle, DE 2016) 106–110.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Hirsch, *Biographisches Lexikon II*, 627; V. Urban, *Consulti inediti di medici italiani (Giovanni Manardo, Francesco Frigimelica) per il Vescovo di Cracovia Pietro Tomicki (1515–1532)*, *Quaderni per la Storia dell' Università di Padova* 21 (1988) 75–83 analysiert anhand überlieferter Korrespondenzen ein weiteres interessantes Gelehrtennetzwerk, nämlich zwischen Padua und Krakau, worin Frigimelica eine bedeutende Rolle spielte; Details zu Frigimelicas Biographie und Universitätskarriere vgl. S. 80 f.

<sup>10</sup> Editionen: G.A. Greenhill (ed.), *Θεοφίλου Πρωτοσπαθαρίου περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς βιβλία ε'* / *Theophili Protospatharii de corporis humani fabrica libri V*, Oxford 1842, und Grimm-Stadelmann 2008. Besagter „Theophilus“ ist in der mit diesem Namen verknüpften handschriftlichen Überlieferung u.a. auch als „Iatrosophistes“ ausgewiesen: Grimm-Stadelmann 2008, 11 f., 23, 27 f.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. dazu die Kollation der insgesamt acht griechischen Handschriften zu *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς* mit den einzelnen Fassungen der lateinischen Übersetzung: Grimm-Stadelmann 2008, 98 f.

<sup>12</sup> Weitere bzw. ausführlichere Angaben zu dieser Handschrift, ihrer Herkunft, Beschaffenheit und sonstiger Inhalte konnten bislang nicht in Erfahrung gebracht werden.

<sup>13</sup> Entsprechend den Angaben im Vorwort (1537) zu Crassus' lateinischer Übersetzung, die in den Jahren 1536–1581 in insgesamt 10 Auflagen mit z.T. nur geringfügigen Abweichungen sowohl als Monographie wie auch als Bestandteil medizinischer Sammelwerke publiziert wurde: „[...] superioribus mensibus liber Theophili Protospatharii de humani corporis apparatu in manus meas inopinato incidit, idque opera Francisci Frigimelii praeceptoris mei viri omnibus bonis artibus ornatissimi, sed praecipui Hippocraticae & Galenicæ medicinae illustratoris“, vgl. Grimm-Stadelmann 2008, 95 f.

die gesamtheitliche Schwerpunktsetzung des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums. Die zweite Auflage, die bereits ein Jahr später (1537) ebenfalls in Venedig erschien, wurde um ein ausführliches Vorwort ergänzt, das in Form einer *epistula nuncupatoria* dem Bischof von Brescia, Andrea Cornaro (1511–1551)<sup>14</sup>, gewidmet war. Dieser, ein umfassend gebildeter Humanist und Förderer der klassischen Bildungsideale, besaß hohen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Einfluss und wurde im Jahre 1544 von Papst Paul III. (1468–1549, pont. 1534–1549) zum Kardinal<sup>15</sup> ernannt. Seine Interessen standen in Einklang mit Crassus' Bestrebungen nach einer Anerkennung der wissenschaftlichen Anatomie als theologisch-philosophisches Argumentationsmittel:<sup>16</sup> gerade die mittelbyzantinische Form der christlichen Anthropologie, welche die Sonderstellung des Menschen innerhalb des Universums mit seiner herausragenden anatomischen Struktur begründete, erwies sich als überzeugendes Argument in den aktuellen theologisch-philosophischen Debatten gegen die Metempsychoselehre. Nach Crassus' Ansicht bestand die Aufgabe und zugleich auch die Legitimation der Anatomie darin, den Körper als würdige Behausung der unsterblichen Seele zu erweisen.<sup>17</sup> Die Rezeption des byzantinischen Iatrosophistentums im humanistischen Italien stellt somit die logische Konsequenz eines bereits in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit einsetzenden wissenschaftlichen Dialoges dar, welcher sowohl zwischen unterschiedlichen Fachdisziplinen (Medizin, Philosophie und Theologie) wie auch zwischen Vertretern verschiedener Kulturen und heilkundlicher Traditionen stattfand.<sup>18</sup>

#### DAS SPÄTBYZANTINISCHE IATROSOPHISTENTUM UND SEINE SCHWERPUNKTSETZUNG

Die ursprüngliche Fokussierung des spätantik-alexandrinischen Iatrosophistentums auf Medizintheorie und Didaktik wurde bereits in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit, im Kontext des Krankenhauswesens, um eine beträchtliche therapeutisch-klinische

<sup>14</sup> „[...] te namque Cornelia familia antiquissima, & totius Italiae, ne dicam Europae clarissima natum non ignorabam, ex qua omni laudum genere florentissimi viri prodire [...]“ (Crassus 1537)

<sup>15</sup> „In posterum tibi in celsissimo (quod Dii velint) humani generis fastigio posito ampliora munera nos etiam, quam nunc, ditiores offeremus, sacrificiaque adorantes maiora litabimus.“ (Crassus 1537)

<sup>16</sup> „[...] in animalis corpore latentium cognitioni necessarium esse duxi mortuorum corpora incidere [...]“ (Crassus 1537).

<sup>17</sup> „Quantum enim inter homines, bestiasque interest, id cuique hominis interiorem formam intuenti lucidissime patebit. eius vero singularis excellentia, virtus, atque divinitas ita demum intelligetur, exacteque habebitur, si erit tota humani corporis fabricatio perspecta, omnisque eius figura, atque perfectio: siquidem providens natura omnium parens aequissima cuique animanti corpus, prout animae dignitas ac vires postulant, clargitur.“ (Crassus 1537) Vgl. auch Grimm-Stadelmann 2008, 97.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. A. Berger – I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Tagungsbericht: Medical Traditions in and around Byzantium, 14./15. 07.2017 München, in: H-Soz-Kult, 02.11.2017 [www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7380](http://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7380), und ein weiterer Tagungsbericht vgl. <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/pdf/bulletin3/comst-bulletin3-2-114-116.pdf>. Die Publikation des Tagungsbandes ist in Vorbereitung.

Komponente erweitert, doch erst der spätbyzantinische *Aktuarios*<sup>19</sup> Johannes Zacharias (ca. 1275–1328) verband die beiden Elemente zu einer Einheit. Insbesondere in seiner zweiteiligen psychosomatischen Abhandlung über das Seelenpneuma<sup>20</sup> zieht er eine Synthese aus seinem sämtlichen bisherigen Schrifttum, indem er seine individuelle Neuinterpretation der mittelbyzantinischen christlichen Anthropologie (Buch 1)<sup>21</sup> mit eigener klinisch-praktischer Berufserfahrung und den daraus resultierenden nosologischen, diagnostischen, therapeutischen und pharmakologischen Erkenntnissen (Buch 2)<sup>22</sup> verknüpft. Johannes hatte diese Schrift auf Veranlassung seines Lehrers und „θεῖος πατήρ“, des Mönchsphilosophen Joseph Rhakendytes (ca. 1260–1330)<sup>23</sup>, aber auch zu dessen persönlichem Nutzen konzipiert. Joseph stand im Zentrum der zeitgenössischen philosophisch-theologischen Kontroverse, wobei er zwar konsequent sein asketisches Ideal verfolgte, sich dennoch aber den Bildungsinhalten (λόγοι τῆς ἐπιστήμης) gegenüber als aufgeschlossen zeigte und – in bewusstem Rückgriff auf mittelbyzantinische Traditionen – eine universale Wissenssammlung<sup>24</sup> im Stile der konstantinischen Sammelwerke plante. Diese Textsammlung beruhte grösstenteils auf Quellenkompilation, sollte aber zu einzelnen Wissensbereichen aktuelle Texte von zeitgenössischen Gelehrten enthalten, so auch von Johannes Zacharias als dem Fachvertreter für die Medizin. Mit der für dieses Sammelwerk bestimmten Abhandlung über das Seelenpneuma und der damit verbundenen Schwerpunktverlagerung innerhalb des byzantinischen Iatrosophistentums definierte Johannes Zacharias den Begriff des traditionellen Arztgelehrten nunmehr neu, indem er ihn als ἰατρὸς τ’ ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τε φιλόσοφος, als effektiven Arzt und gleichzeitig herausragenden Philosophen<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Der Titel impliziert sowohl die Funktion eines Leibarztes bei Hofe wie auch die eines weisungs- und entscheidungsbefugten Chefarztes an einem Krankenhaus, etwa im Sinne eines heutigen „Medizinalrates“: W. Leibbrand – A. Wettley, *Der Wahnsinn. Geschichte der abendländischen Psychopathologie*, Freiburg 1961 (Ndr. Erfstadt 2005) 174.

<sup>20</sup> Περὶ ἐνεργειῶν καὶ παθῶν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸ διαίτης λόγοι β’, vgl. J.L. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores I*, Berlin 1841, 312–386; vgl. auch P. Bouras-Vallianatos, Galen in Byzantine Medical Literature, in: Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Galen 2019, 100 f. Im Rahmen eines an der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, angesiedelten und von der DFG geförderten Forschungsprojektes wird derzeit eine kritische Edition des Textes vorbereitet, vgl. dazu I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Burnout auf Byzantinisch, in: Akademie Aktuell 2019/1, 52–55 und <http://jza.badw.de>.

<sup>21</sup> Hohlweg 1996, 516–522 und I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Middle Byzantine Christian Anthropology, Hospital Culture and Ioannes Zacharias’ Psychosomatology, in: F. Lauritzen (Hrsg.), *Atti dell’ Colloquio Storico „Filosofia e Medicina Bizantina da Oriente a Occidente, La Custodia di Venezia“*, 28. Febbraio 2019 (Venedig, in Druckvorbereitung).

<sup>22</sup> Hohlweg 1996, 523–529.

<sup>23</sup> Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (PLP), Nr. 9078; M. Treu, *Der Philosoph Joseph*, BZ 8 (1899) 2–64.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. R. Criscuolo, Note sull’ ‚Enciclopedia‘ del filosofo Giuseppe, *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 255–281; Hohlweg 1996, 519 f.

<sup>25</sup> A. Hohlweg, Johannes Aktuarios, Leben – Bildung und Ausbildung – De methodo medendi, BZ 76 (1983, zit. als Hohlweg 1983) 302–321 / engl.: John Actuarius’ De methodo medendi – On the new edition, in: J. Scarborough (Hrsg.), *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38 (1984)

verstand, wodurch er die wohl grösstmögliche Annäherung an das ursprünglich alexandrinische Ideal<sup>26</sup> einer ausgewogenen Verbindung von Theorie und Praxis, erreichte. Sowohl die von Johannes Zacharias initiierte Fokusverlagerung und Ausweitung des Iatrosophistenbegriffes auf den klinisch-therapeutischen Bereich, seine verstärkte Individualisierung sowie der bewusste Rückgriff auf die konstantinischen Sammelwerke der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit durch Joseph Rhakendytes sollte sich für die Vertreter des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums als prägend erweisen. Aus diesem Grunde lässt sich Johannes Zacharias zu Recht als Initiator und Wegbereiter eines postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums von transkultureller Prägung ansprechen.

### ITALIENISCHE STUDIENZENTREN

Sowohl auf die Organisation des Gesundheitswesens, auf die ärztliche Ausbildung sowie auf die medizinische Gebrauchsliteratur insgesamt hatte die osmanische Eroberung Konstantinopels im Jahre 1453 und die damit verbundene Dezentralisierung nachhaltige und gravierende Auswirkungen.<sup>27</sup> Die Vertiefung des bereits in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit einsetzenden Wissenschaftstransfers zwischen der byzantinischen und benachbarten Medizinkulturen konzentrierte sich nunmehr in erster Linie auf das humanistische Italien und insbesondere auf dessen Studienzentren, die nicht erst nach 1453, sondern bereits seit dem 12./13. Jhd. rege frequentiert wurden.<sup>28</sup> Die in dieser Zeit einsetzende Tendenz zum Auslandsstudium beschränkte sich jedoch nicht nur auf griechische Studenten an den westlichen Universitäten, sondern auch westliche Gelehrte hielten sich zu Studien- und Fortbildungszwecken in Konstantinopel auf.<sup>29</sup> Ein solches Beispiel ist

121–133; Hohlweg 1996, 514; S. Kuruses, *Τὸ ἐπιστολάριον Γεωργίου Λακαπηνοῦ – Ανδρονίκου Ζαρίδου (1299–1315 ca.) καὶ ὁ ἰατρός-ἀκτουάριος Ἰωάννης Ζαχαρίας (1275 ca.–1328<sup>3</sup>)*, Μελέτη φιλολογική, Athen 1984–1988, ersch. 1989, 108–115.

<sup>26</sup> Overwien 2018, I, 3 f. Zur mutmaßlichen Lehrtätigkeit des Johannes Zacharias vgl. Hohlweg 1983, 309.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. I. Grimm-Stadelmann, Kapitel II/1.3.f: Byzantinische Medizin nach 1453, Textgattungen (Philosophie, Wissenschaft) und Kapitel II/4.3: Byzantinische Medizin nach 1453, ‚Performative Kultur – Therapeutik‘, in: *Handbuch zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, hrsg. vom Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung, Regensburg (in Druckvorbereitung: <http://www.ios-regensburg.de/iospublikationen/grundlagenwerke/handbuch-zur-geschichte-suedosteuropas.html>) sowie G. Karas, *Οἱ ἐπιστήμες στὴν Τουρκοκρατία. Χειρόγραφα καὶ ἔντυπα, Τόμος Γ΄: Οἱ ἐπιστήμες τῆς ζῶης*, Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν E.I.E 48, Athen 1994 (zit. als Karas 1994).

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. A. Hohlweg, *Διάδοση καὶ ἐπιδράσεις τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἰατρικῆς στοὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἄλωση χρόνους*, in: Th. Diamantopoulos (Hrsg.), *Ἱατρικὰ Βυζαντινὰ Χειρόγραφα*, Athen 1995 (zit. als Hohlweg 1995) 50–56.

<sup>29</sup> Aus solchen wechselseitigen Studienaufenthalten entwickelten sich sukzessive fachspezifische Netzwerke, die dann wiederum die Migrationsbewegungen nach 1453 effektiv unterstützen konnten, vgl. D. Stathakopoulos, *The location of medical practice in 13th-century Eastern Mediterranean*, in: G. Saint-Guillain – D. Stathakopoulos (eds.), *Liquid & Multiple: Individuals & Identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, Collège de France – CNRS, Monographies 35, Paris 2012, 135 f. und 147–149.

der italienische Humanist und ‚Iatrosophist‘ (er unterrichtete an der Universität Padua die Fächerkombination Medizin und Philosophie) Pietro d’Abano (1250 oder 1257–1316), der seinen Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel (zwischen 1270 und 1290) zum Erwerb umfassender Sprachkenntnisse im Griechischen und Arabischen nutzte.<sup>30</sup>

Die Kombination von Medizin und Philosophie, also die klassische iatrosophistische Ausbildung, war schwerpunktmäßig an den Universitäten von Padua<sup>31</sup>, Bologna und Ferrara<sup>32</sup> verankert, denen die zahlreichen Migranten aus dem ehemaligen byzantinischen Kerngebiet neue Impulse verliehen, die sich in erster Linie im Unterrichtswesen und akademischen Schrifttum bemerkbar machten.<sup>33</sup> Infolge der Migrationsbewegungen nach 1453 entwickelten sich insbesondere die genannten Universitäten zu Zentren des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums. Die griechischen Migranten standen hier in hohem Ansehen, da sie aufgrund ihrer Sprach- und Quellenkenntnisse direkten Zugang zu den Originaltexten besaßen und ihr fundiertes Wissen erfolgreich weitervermittelten. Hinzukam, dass puristische Tendenzen des 16. Jhds., die sich gegen den arabischen Einfluss innerhalb der Medizin richteten und eine entsprechende Bereinigung der griechischen Quellenbasis forderten, sich zunehmend der griechischen Migranten

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Wilson 2017, 2 und B.D. Haage, s.v. Petrus von Abano, in: W.E. Gerabek et al. (Hrsg.), Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte, Berlin 2005, 1131 f. und J. Harris, *Greek Émigrés in the West, 1400–1520*, Camberley 1995 (zit. als Harris 1995), 163 zu Konstantinopel als medizinischem Zentrum mit Magnetwirkung für westliche Gelehrte wie Pietro d’ Abano. Zur Frage nach dem Stellenwert der lateinischen Sprache in Byzanz und entsprechenden Sprachkenntnissen bei den Byzantinern vgl. Wilson 2017, 9–14 sowie B. Adamik, *Bemerkungen zur Problematik ‚Latein in Byzanz‘*. Über die lateinischsprachige Bevölkerung von Konstantinopel, in: H. Petersmann – R. Kettemann (eds.), *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif V* (Heidelberg, 5–8 septembre 1997), Heidelberg 1999, 69–79; B. Adamik, *Zur Problematik der lateinischsprachigen Bevölkerung in Konstantinopel. Das Zeugnis der lateinischen Texte in dem Werk ‚De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae‘ des Kaisers Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenetos*, in: H. Solin et al. (eds.), *Latin vulgaire – Latin tardif VI* (Helsinki, 29 août – 2 septembre 2000), Hildesheim 2001, 201–218; ferner P. Schreiner, *Latinité cachée à Constantinople (VI<sup>e</sup> – moitié XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* [Manuskript im Druck]. F. Tinnefeld, *Translations from Latin to Greek. A Contribution to late Byzantine intellectual history*, in: D. Searby (ed.), *Never the Twain Shall Meet? Latins and Greeks learning from each other in Byzantium*, Berlin–Boston, 2018, 9–19. Eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Wissens- und Sprachvermittlung dürften auch die griechischen Gemeinden in Süditalien gespielt haben, vgl. Wilson 2017, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson 2017, 129–139. Neben dem iatrosophistischen Ideal, der gegenseitigen inhaltlichen und methodischen Durchdringung von Medizin und Philosophie, beinhaltete der Lehrkanon an der Universität Padua auch einen praktisch-klinischen Teil, wohl nach dem Vorbild der byzantinischen ärztlichen Ausbildung; zu dieser vgl. ausführlich A. Hohlweg, *La formazione culturale e professionale del medico a Bisanzio*, *Koinonia* 13 (1989) 165–188.

<sup>32</sup> Zu Ferrara als medizinischem Zentrum in der Zeit des Humanismus vgl. V. Nutton, *The Rise of Humanism: Ferrara, 1464–1555*, in: *Renaissance Studies* 11/1 (März 1997) 2–19.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. N.M. Panagiotakis, *Ἡ παιδεία κατὰ τὴν Βενετοκρατία*, in: N.M. Panagiotakis (Hrsg.), *Κρήτη· ιστορία και πολιτισμός* (2 Bde), Herakleion 1988, II, 189 f. mit einer detaillierten Statistik der griechischen, insbesondere der kretischen Studenten in Italien um die Mitte des 16. Jhds., die sich insbesondere an den Universitäten von Padua, Bologna, Ferrara sowie Rom nachweisen lassen. Vgl. ferner Wilson 2017, 129–139; Hohlweg 1995, 42 f. und I.A. Ramoutsaki, *Οι ιατροί μέσα από τα κείμενα της περιόδου της Βενετοκρατίας στην Κρήτη*, *δέλτος* 15 (1998) 10–13 mit tabellarischem Verzeichnis der namentlich belegten Ärzte im 16. Jh. auf Kreta.

und deren Textkenntnisse zur Unterstützung ihrer Argumentation bedienten.<sup>34</sup> Die aus dieser Bewegung und in aktiver Zusammenarbeit mit den griechischen Migranten entstandenen Textredaktionen sollten die akademische Medizin und ihren Lehrbetrieb bis weit ins 19. Jhd. hinein maßgeblich prägen.<sup>35</sup> Die genannte Entwicklung nahm zwar ihren Ausgang von der Neuredaktion der entsprechenden Textgrundlagen, dehnte sich aber schon bald auch auf die praktisch-therapeutischen Bereiche der Heilkunde aus, wobei insbesondere Gynäkologie und Geburtshilfe, aber auch Pharmakologie, Botanik und Arzneimittelbereitung, besonders stark von den neuen Tendenzen dominiert wurden.<sup>36</sup>

### DAS PÄPSTLICHE GRIECHISCHE KOLLEG DES HEILIGEN ATHANASIUS

Zur Aufnahme und Erstorganisation der griechisch-orthodoxen Migranten gründete Papst Gregor XIII. (1502–1585, pont. 1572–1585) im Jahre 1577 in Rom ein spezielles Seminar, das Päpstliche Griechische Kolleg des Heiligen Athanasius (Ελληνικό Κολλέγιο Αγίου Αθανασίου / *Pontificio Collegio Greco di Sant'Atanasio*), dessen Aufgabe es war, den ankommenden Migranten eine Erstversorgung angedeihen zu lassen sowie ihnen diverse Orientierungshilfen für ihren weiteren Studienaufenthalt in Italien zu geben.<sup>37</sup> Zudem bot das Kollegium den Neuankömmlingen die Möglichkeit eines Grundstudiums in den Fächern Philosophie und Theologie, für dessen Dauer sie Unterkunft und Versorgung vor Ort erhielten. Unter den in Rom eintreffenden Migranten befanden sich auch zahlreiche Ärzte, die hier ihre Weiterreise nach Padua, Bologna oder Ferrara unterbrachen, um das Angebot des Kollegiums zu akzeptieren und, entsprechend der iatrosophistischen Tradition, von dem dort gepflegten transdisziplinären Dialog in hohem Maße zu profitieren. Das Päpstliche Griechische Kolleg in Rom leistete somit einen maßgeblichen Beitrag zur Etablierung des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums in Italien und förderte die entsprechenden Gelehrtennetzwerke in ähnlicher Weise und ergänzend zu dem Mäzenatentum Kardinal Bessarions (1408–1472, Kardinal ab 1439).

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. dazu P.E. Pormann, La querelle des médecins arabistes et hellénistes et l'héritage oublié, in: V. Boudon-Millot – G. Cobolet (Hrsg.), Lire les médecins grecs à la Renaissance. Aux origines de l'édition médicale. Actes du colloque international de Paris (19–20 septembre 2003), Paris 2004 (zit. als Pormann 2004), 113–141.

<sup>35</sup> Pormann 2004, 137–141.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Hohlweg 1995, 32 mit Anm. 2 sowie Pormann 2004, 124–133.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. C. Bianca, Le accademie a Roma nel Quattrocento, in: On Renaissance Academies. Proceedings of the International Conference (The Danish Academy in Rome, 11–13 october 2006) Rom 2011, 47–59. Eine parallele Erscheinung, quasi als „Gegenpol“ zum römischen Kolleg, entwickelte sich in Venedig in Verbindung mit der *Confraternità di San Nicolò dei Greci* und ihrem Oberhaupt, dem griechisch-orthodoxen Diaspora-Erzbischof Gabriel Seviros, einem gebürtigen Kreter: vgl. R.M. Piccione, Libri greci da Venezia a Torino e l'eredità di Gavriil Seviros, Medioevo greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina 17 (2017) 195.



Unter den in Rom eintreffenden griechischen Migranten befand sich um 1600 auch der von der Insel Chios stammende Gelehrte Leon Allatios (1586–1669)<sup>38</sup>, dessen Name untrennbar mit dem Kollegium verbunden blieb. Auch er profitierte von dem Studienangebot des Kollegiums und kehrte später als Professor dorthin zurück, während er gleichzeitig an der Vatikanischen Bibliothek tätig war, zunächst als Skriptor und später dann als ihr Kustos. Die erwähnten Gelehrtennetzwerke nützte Leon Allatios privat und beruflich in hohem Maße, indem er stets den Kontakt zum griechischen Festland, aber auch zu seiner Heimatinsel Chios<sup>39</sup> aufrecht erhielt, europaweite Kontakte mit namhaften Gelehrten, aber auch zahlreichen Bibliotheksinstitutionen unterhielt, wodurch es ihm gelang, den Bestand der Vatikanischen Bibliothek um eine Vielzahl von Handschriften zu ergänzen.<sup>40</sup>

### DIE PATRIARCHATSAKADEMIEN UND PRIVATES STIFTUNGSWESEN

In enger Verbindung mit den italienischen Studienzentren spielten ab dem 17. Jhd. die auf ehemals byzantinischem Gebiet entstandenen Patriarchatsakademien eine wesentliche Rolle in der akademischen Ausbildung. Zurückgehend auf eine Initiative des Patriarchen Kyrillos Loukaris (1572–1638) sorgten die Patriarchatsakademien in Smyrna und Konstantinopel für eine solide Grundausbildung anhand von strukturierten Studienplänen nach dem Vorbild westlicher Gymnasien und Lyzeen. Damit waren die Absolventen der Patriarchatsakademien mit den notwendigen Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen ausgestattet, um ihr Studium an den italienischen Universitäten erfolgreich durchzuführen und abzuschließen. Das Lehrangebot der Patriarchatsakademien wurde in hohem Maße von potentiellen Medizinstudenten genutzt: ab 1630 lassen sich zahlreiche Absolventen der Patriarchatsakademien an den italienischen Studienzentren nachweisen; insbesondere in den Fachbereichen Medizin und Pharmakologie ist ihr Anteil sehr hoch. Nach erfolgreichem Studienabschluss engagierten sich zahlreiche dieser Absolventen selbst wiederum in der Ausbildung des ärztlichen Nachwuchses, indem sie entweder selbst an den Patriarchatsakademien unterrichteten oder sich tatkräftig für die Fortbildung lokaler Arzt-Pharmazeuten

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. Leonis Allatii Hellas, ed. D. Rhodocanakis Princeps, Athen 1872; K.I. Amantos, *Τα γράμματα εις την Χίον κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν 1566–1822, Σχολεία και λόγιοι* [Βιβλιοθήκη Ιστορικών Μελέτων] Athen 1976 (zit. als Amantos 1976), 71–81.

<sup>39</sup> Zu seinem Engagement als Stifter und Mentor für das Schul-, Bibliotheks- und Krankenhauswesen auf Chios vgl. Amantos 1976, 44 f.

<sup>40</sup> Den schriftlichen Nachlass von Leon Allatios (Leone Allacci) beherbergt heute die Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rom. Er ist nach wie vor unedierte und auch nur rudimentär erschlossen, dürfte aber zahlreiche, für die Analyse der griechisch-italienischen Gelehrtennetzwerke des 17. Jhds. wertvolle Dokumente enthalten. Auch im Rahmen einer umfassenden Analyse des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums besitzt Leon Allatios' Nachlass hohen Quellenwert, insbesondere in Hinblick auf Chios und das dortige Gesundheitswesen, vgl. Amantos 1976, 44 f.

einsetzen.<sup>41</sup> Die Absolventen der westlichen Universitäten konstituierten in ihrer Heimat nicht nur eine Bildungselite akademischer Prägung, sondern ließen durch ihre privaten Initiativen zur Förderung des medizinischen Nachwuchses bzw. zur Fortbildung bereits arrivierter Heilkundiger das Lehrideal der alexandrinischen Iatrosophisten, zugeschnitten auf die aktuellen Gegebenheiten ihrer Epoche, wieder aufleben.<sup>42</sup> Eine spezielle Form dieser privaten Bildungsinitiativen lässt sich auf Kreta beobachten, wo finanziell gut situierte Ärzte, Akademiker mit westlichen Universitätsabschlüssen,<sup>43</sup> eine Art Studienstiftungen ins Leben riefen, welche kretischen Medizinstudenten Stipendien für ein Studium an einer der renommierten italienischen Universitäten gewährten. Die Studenten verpflichteten sich durch die Annahme eines solchen Stipendiums dazu, nach erfolgreichem Studienabschluss in ihre kretische Heimat zurückzukehren und ihr erworbenes Wissen der Optimierung des heimischen Gesundheitswesens zur Verfügung zu stellen.

In dieser Entwicklung spielten die griechischen Inseln insgesamt eine bedeutende Rolle, denn nicht nur auf Kreta, sondern auch auf der Insel Chios, der Heimat von Leon Allatios, entstanden vergleichbare, privat motivierte Initiativen zur Optimierung des Gesundheitswesens und der ärztlichen Ausbildung. Im Vordergrund dabei stand der Erwerb einer möglichst umfassenden akademischen Bildung gepaart mit weitreichender Berufserfahrung, wobei auch hier dem breit angelegten transkulturellen Fachdialog große Bedeutung beigemessen wurde. Beispielhaft für diese Entwicklung ist der aus Zakynthos stammende Arzt Michael<sup>7</sup> Hermodoros Lestarchos,<sup>44</sup> der um 1533 auf Chios als praktizierender Arzt und Lehrer belegt ist. Nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in Moldavien (heutiges Rumänien)<sup>45</sup> ist er dann als Lehrer an der Patriarchatsakademie von Konstantinopel nachgewiesen, um zwischen 1560 und 1562 wieder nach Chios zurückzukehren. Aus seiner Korrespondenz geht hervor, dass er auf Chios Mittelpunkt eines geradezu iatrosophistischen Zirkels war, bestehend aus

<sup>41</sup> P.A. Clark, *A Cretan Healer's Handbook in the Byzantine Tradition. Text, Translation and Commentary, Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean 3*, London – New York 2011 (zit. als Clark 2011), 7. Dieses Intensivtraining der lokalen Praktiker wurde allerdings nicht als qualifizierte Ausbildung angesehen, da ihm eine institutionelle akademische Verankerung fehlte.

<sup>42</sup> Amantos 1976, 8 erwähnt eine Spende seitens des 1596 in Venedig verstorbenen chiotischen Gelehrten Emmanuel Glyzounios für die Gründung einer Schule auf Chios, an der u.a. Medizin unterrichtet wurde.

<sup>43</sup> Um 1584 sind auf Kreta sind 68 Ärzte verzeichnet, von denen mindestens 20 in Europa studiert hatten, vgl. N.M. Panagiotakis, *Η παιδεία κατά την Βενετοκρατία*, in: N.M. Panagiotakis (Hrsg), *Κρήτη· ιστορία και πολιτισμός* (2 Bde), Herakleion 1988, II, 189 f.; Hohlweg 1995, 42 f. Generell zur beachtlichen Anzahl von remigrierten Ärzten im gesamten ehemals byzantinischen Gebiet, nicht nur auf den Inseln oder in den transdanubischen Fürstentümern, vgl. Hohlweg 1995, 35, sowie die ausführliche Analyse von Ramoutsaki 1998, 10 f. (mit tabellarischer Auflistung der Ärztenamen und Daten); vgl. ferner A. Pantopoulou, *Δύο λαϊκές ιατρικές συνταγές σε νοταριακό κώδικα του 17ου αιώνα*, in: *Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία Ρεθύμνης* (ed.), *Λαϊκή ιατρική: Διεθνές επιστημονικό συνέδριο, Ρέθυμνο 8–10 δεκεμβρίου 2000, Πρακτικά*. Rethymnon 2003, 365–372.

<sup>44</sup> Amantos 1976, 5 f.

<sup>45</sup> Die Quellenlage zu seiner dortigen Tätigkeit ist noch völlig unerforscht.

Gelehrten, Ärzten und (unspezifizierten) Schülern: εἰσὶν ἄνδρες σοφοί, ἰατροὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι, μαθηταὶ τοῦ μακαρίου ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου, Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἐρμούδου. Die ihm entgegengebrachte Wertschätzung gipfelte schließlich in einer fast hagiographischen Verehrung als Wohltäter der Insel Chios.<sup>46</sup> Die insbesondere auf den Inseln festzustellende Verbindung von Lokalpatriotismus mit einem ganz gezielten Bildungsauftrag zur Förderung des ärztlichen Nachwuchses ist ebenfalls eine speziell postbyzantinische Facette des traditionellen Iatrosophistentums.

Nicht nur die Auszubildenden selbst, sondern auch die medizinische Fachliteratur profitierte in hohem Maße von dem mit den wechselseitigen Migrationsbewegungen verbundenen Wissenstransfer: die traditionell byzantinische Quellenbasis und Fachterminologie<sup>47</sup> wurde laufend ergänzt und aktualisiert, neue Konzepte und Entwicklungen in vielen Bereichen der Heilkunde, so z.B. in der Diagnostik, Therapeutik, Arzneimittellehre, Botanik, bis hin zu Anatomie und Chirurgie, fanden europaweit unmittelbaren Widerhall und entsprechende Diskussion.<sup>48</sup> Mit dem graduellen Rückgang der postbyzantinischen Migrationsbewegungen im 19. Jhd. verlagerte sich auch der Studienfokus im Bereich der akademisch-wissenschaftlichen Medizin zunehmend von den westlichen Studienzentren nach Griechenland, an die Ionische Akademie (1824–1864) sowie an die im Jahr 1837 gegründete Universität von Athen,<sup>49</sup> um letztendlich ab 1860, dem Gründungsjahr der Universität von Konstantinopel, am ursprünglichen Zentrum des byzantinischen Iatrosophistentums wieder Fuß zu fassen.<sup>50</sup>

## KRETISCHES IATROSOPHISTENTUM UND NETZWERKE

Wie bereits in Zusammenhang mit den privaten Studieninitiativen erwähnt, spielt die Insel Kreta, wo sich die venezianische Regierung noch am längsten (bis 1648) halten konnte, in der postbyzantinischen Epoche eine bedeutende Rolle: einerseits als kulturelles Zentrum<sup>51</sup>, andererseits als Knotenpunkt für die Migration

<sup>46</sup> Amantos 1976, 6.

<sup>47</sup> So wurde z.B. sukzessive eine spezielle Aderlassterminologie für den professionellen Gebrauch im Krankenhauskontext entwickelt, vgl. Bennett 2017, 100 unter Bezugnahme auf Cod. Vaticanus graecus 299, f. 377v (14. Jhd.). Dieselbe Terminologie findet sich auch im Cod. Panorm. XIII.C 3, ff. 121r-278v (*ἀθολόγητον ἰατροσωφικόν*, 16. Jhd.), Kap. 311 (f. 188r-189r). Die *editio princeps* besagten *ἀθολόγητον ἰατροσωφικόν* war Gegenstand der Dissertation von Danilo Valentino, der mir freundlicherweise Einsicht in sein noch unpubliziertes Manuskript gewährt hat, wofür ich ihm sehr herzlich danke.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. Hohlweg 1995, 35 und 38–40 mit zahlreichen Belegen zum gesamten, ehemals byzantinischen Kerngebiet mit den Inseln, aber insbesondere auch zu den transdanubischen Fürstentümern.

<sup>49</sup> Bereits am 18. Mai 1835, zwei Jahre vor der offiziellen Universitätsgründung, wurde hier der Ausbildungsschwerpunkt in den Fächern Medizin, Chirurgie und Pharmakologie mittels königlichem Dekret fixiert, vgl. Clark 2011, 9 Anm. 22.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. I.K. Papageorgios, *Τὰ φαρμακεία ἐν Κρήτῃ*, *Κρητικά χρονικά* 21(1969) 241.

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. D.J. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*. Cambridge, Mass. 1962 (zit. als Geanakoplos 1962)

und Remigration griechischer Gelehrter. Unter venezianischem Patronat entstanden auf Kreta diverse Umschlagzentren für griechische Handschriften, die hier im Auftrag meist venezianischer Mäzene verhandelt und / oder professionell kopiert wurden,<sup>52</sup> darunter auch zahlreiche Handschriften medizinischen Inhalts.<sup>53</sup> Die Korrespondenzen zwischen den griechischen Gelehrten und ihren jeweiligen Auftraggebern enthalten häufig dezidierte Hinweise auf medizinische Handschriften, welche die etablierte iatrosophistische Quellenbasis mit Schriften Galens oder aus dem *Corpus Hippocraticum* überliefern;<sup>54</sup> die Kopiertätigkeit und Handschriftenakquise konzentriert sich damit primär auf Bewahrung und Erhalt der traditionellen Quellen.

Aus den kretischen Kopierzentren und deren Kooperation mit den beiden maßgeblichen Druckereien in Italien entwickelten sich zudem Gelehrtennetzwerke von weitreichendem Einfluss: sowohl Aldus Manutius (1449–1515)<sup>55</sup> in Venedig wie auch Zacharias Kalliergis (um 1473–nach 1524)<sup>56</sup> in Rom erarbeiteten ihre Drucke der griechischen Handschriftenoriginale in steter Zusammenarbeit mit den

48: “As a result of these various emigrations, Crete, in the years after 1453, may be said to have become the main center of Hellenism in the old Byzantine world”, sowie M.E. Detorakis, *Ιστορία της ιατρικής στην Κρήτη επί Τουρκοκρατίας (1645–1898)*, Heraklion 2010; Clark 2011, 1 und 11–22; I.E. Polychronides, *Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία (18<sup>ος</sup> – 19<sup>ος</sup> – αρχές 20<sup>ού</sup> αιώνα)*. Μέριμνα για την υγεία και την πρόνοια, Athen 2017, 499–515.

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. J. Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés*. Selected Essays, Collected Studies Series CS 485, Aldershot 1995; C. Bianca, *Da Bisanzio a Roma. Studi sul cardinale Bessarione*, R.R. inedita 15: Roma nel Rinascimento, Rom 1999; B. Mondrain, *Le cardinal Bessarion et la constitution de sa collection de manuscrits grecs – ou comment contribuer à l’intégration du patrimoine littéraire grec et byzantin en Occident*, in: C. Märkl – Ch. Kaiser – T. Ricklin (Hrsg.), *„Inter Graecos latinissimus, inter Latinos graecissimus“: Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen, Pluralisierung & Autorität*, hrsg. v. Sonderforschungsbereich 573 der LMU München 39, Berlin – Boston 2013 (zit. als Märkl – Kaiser – Ricklin 2013), 187–202.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Geanakoplos 1962, 49 f. Zu der aus Korfu stammenden Ärztfamilie der *Eparchoi*, die den Handschriftenhandel im 16. Jhd. dominierte, vgl. B. Mondrain, *Les Éparque, une famille des médecins collectionneurs de manuscrits aux XV<sup>e</sup> – XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in: N. Oikonomides (Hrsg.), *The Greek Script in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Athen 2000, 145–163. Zu byzantinischen Ärztfamilien vgl. E. Trapp, *Die Stellung der Ärzte in der Gesellschaft der Palaiologenzeit*, *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972) 230–234; zu der kretisch-venezianischen Ärztfamilie der *Sanguinazzi* (Rethymnon, 17.–19. Jhd.) vgl. G.I. Skampardonis, *Σαουνάτσοι: μια ιστορική ιατρική οικογένεια από το Ρέθυμνο*, δέλτος 9 (1995) 7–10.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Geanakoplos 1962, 89–93; R. Stefec, *Das Briefcorpus des Michael Apostoles*, Diss. Wien 2010; A. Riehle, *Kreta: ein ‚melting pot‘ der Frühen Neuzeit? Bemerkungen zum Briefnetzwerk des Michael Apostoles*, in: Märkl – Kaiser – Ricklin 2013, 167–186.

<sup>55</sup> Zu Aldus Manutius als Humanisten und Buchdrucker vgl. C. Dionisotti, *Aldo Manuzio*. Umanista e Editore, Mailand 1995, speziell zu seinen Kontakten mit den griechischen Gelehrten S. 67–76; vgl. ferner M. Davies, *Aldus Manutius. Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice*, Tempe, Arizona 1999, N.G. Wilson, *The Greek Classics, The Tatti Renaissance Library 70*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 2016, xiv f.; zur Entwicklung der griechischen Drucktype und den griechischen Aldinen vgl. N. Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the development of Greek script and type in the fifteenth century (...)*, Sandy Hook, Conn. 1985 sowie Staikos 2015, 83–114.

<sup>56</sup> C. Carpinato, *Crete in Venice*, in: L. Giannakopoulou – E.K. Skordyles (Hrsg.), *Culture and society in Crete: From Kornaros to Kazantzakis*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2017, 219 f.; ausführlich zu Kalliergis’ Biographie und Karriere vgl. S. Fogelmark, *The Kallierges Pindar. A Study in Renaissance Greek Scholarship and Printing I–II*, Köln 2015, I: 4–53.

griechischen Gelehrten und Kopisten.<sup>57</sup> Im Falle von Zacharias Kalliergis war die Verbindung nach Kreta besonders intensiv, denn er selbst stammte von dort, kam um 1490 nach Venedig, wo er zusammen mit einem anderen Kreter, Nikolaos Vlastos, als Kopist griechischer Handschriften für Aldus Manutius arbeitete. Die finanzielle Unterstützung des römischen Bankiers Agostino Chigi (1466–1520) ermöglichte es ihm, sich im Jahre 1514 mit einer eigenen Druckerei in Rom selbständig zu machen. Kalliergis' Offizin, die den byzantinischen Doppeladler als Signet führte, widmete sich ausschließlich der Publikation griechischer Werke, darunter auch etlicher medizinischer Manuskripte, und leistete damit einen ganz entscheidenden Beitrag zur Erhaltung und Tradierung byzantinischer Bildungsinhalte anhand ihrer Originalquellen.

Ein weiterer gebürtiger Kreter und postbyzantinischer Iatrosophist stand nicht nur in intensivem Kontakt zu beiden genannten Druckereien, sondern kann, zumindest zeitweilig, sogar als deren geistig-inspiratives Zentrum bezeichnet werden: der aus Rethymnon gebürtige Gelehrte und Arzt Markos Musuros (1470–1517), der nach einem *studium generale* bei Ianos Laskaris (1445–1535)<sup>58</sup> in Florenz (1490) in Ferrara Medizin studiert hatte; danach unterrichtete er selbst in Padua (ab 1503), Venedig (ab 1512) und schließlich, dem Ruf Papst Leos X. (1475–1521, pont. 1513–1521) folgend, in Rom. Noch während seines Medizinstudiums, in den Jahren 1494/95, engagierte er sich in der Offizin von Aldus Manutius und gab als leitender Redaktor für griechische Texte die entscheidenden Impulse für die Entwicklung der griechischen Drucktype.<sup>59</sup> In Rom stellte er sein Wissen und seine Erfahrung Zacharias Kalliergis und seiner Offizin zur Verfügung, wo er insbesondere die Publikation medizinischer Handschriften förderte.<sup>60</sup> Musuros' Lehrer in Ferrara war sehr wahrscheinlich der Arztphilosoph und Humanist Niccolò Leonicenso (1428–1524), der seit 1464 an der dortigen Universität Mathematik, Philosophie und Medizin lehrte.<sup>61</sup> In dessen Besitz befanden sich etliche griechische medizinische Handschriften, darunter auch eine Galenhandschrift zu den *Therapeutika*, die Musuros noch während seines Studiums eigenhändig kopiert hatte.<sup>62</sup> Über Leonicensos Handschriftensammlung berichtet Musuros in einem Brief an Zacharias Kalliergis, in dem er ihm deren Erwerb vorschlägt und auch eine Preisliste mitliefert, woraus hervorgeht, dass die diesbezüglichen Verhandlungen mit Leonicenso (im Juli 1499)

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. M. Sicherl, Griechische Erstausgaben des Aldus Manutius: Druckvorlagen, Stellenwert, kultureller Hintergrund, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums NF, 1. Reihe: Monographien 10, Paderborn et. al. 1997, 191–228.

<sup>58</sup> Wilson 2017, 112–114; Harris 1995, 15 und 101; N. Iorga, Byzance après Byzance, Bukarest 1971 (repr. Paris 1982, zit. als Iorga 1982), 30 f.

<sup>59</sup> Staikos 2015, 64–66, 72 f.

<sup>60</sup> Geanakoplos 1962, 122 f. und 208.

<sup>61</sup> Pormann 2004, 120–123.

<sup>62</sup> Geanakoplos 1962, 113 Anm. 11. Musuros hat die Handschrift sicherlich während seines Medizinstudiums in Ferrara kopiert, wo Leonicenso ja auch lehrte, und nicht in Florenz.

schon nicht mehr nur im Anfangsstadium waren.<sup>63</sup> Aus einem Brief des Musuros an Johannes Gregoropoulos vom 7. September 1499 geht hervor, dass die Verhandlungen wohl erfolgreich zum Abschluss gebracht werden konnten und sich die von Musuros noch während seiner Studienzeit kopierte Galenhandschrift, die *Therapeutika*, als erster medizinischer Druck der Offizin von Kalliergis zum Briefdatum bereits in Druckvorbereitung befand;<sup>64</sup> die Erstpublikation dieses Druckes erschien dann am 21. Oktober 1500 bei Kalliergis in Rom.<sup>65</sup>

### AGAPIOS LANDOS UND DAS *GEOPONIKON*

Ein weiterer Kreter, welcher die Entwicklung des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums nachhaltig prägte, war der Mönch Agaprios Landos (zwischen 1580 und 1600 – zwischen 1656/57 und 1671), der, ausgehend von der traditionellen byzantinischen Quellenbasis,<sup>66</sup> insbesondere den konstantinischen Sammelwerken, eine neuartige Form des universalen, gleichermaßen wirtschaftlich wie heilkundlich orientierten Ratgeber schuf, ähnlich den frühneuzeitlichen ‚Hausbüchern‘. Agaprios Landos war zunächst Sekretär des Historikers (?) Andreas Kornaros (1547–1616),<sup>67</sup> zog sich dann ins Lavrakloster auf dem Berg Athos zurück, wo er auch seinen ursprünglichen Namen, Athanasios, zu ‚Agaprios‘ änderte. Sein *Geoponikon* (Γεωπονικὸν περιέχον ἐρμηνείας τινὰς ὠφελιμοτάτας τῆς τε γεωργίας καὶ ἰατρικῆς [...]), Venedig, um 1620 oder 1636),<sup>68</sup> steht am Anfang der Entwicklung einer speziell kretischen Form des Iatrosophions, dessen Quellenbasis einerseits in den mittelbyzantinischen Textsammlungen, insbesondere den *Geoponika*<sup>69</sup> und der

<sup>63</sup> É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des grecs au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 4 Bde. Paris 1885–1906, Bd. II (zit. als Legrand II), 312; Firmin-Didot, 516 f. Vgl. auch Geanakoplos 1962, 122 f.

<sup>64</sup> Legrand II, 313; vgl. Geanakoplos 1962, 123; 208.

<sup>65</sup> Legrand I, 74 f. und Geanakoplos 1962, 124 Anm. 52. Sathas, *Neohellenic Philology* 120–123 bezweifelt dies allerdings, worauf Geanakoplos 1962, 208 Anm. 29 hinweist, da Kalliergis' Emblem, der Doppeladler, fehle und zudem in dem erwähnten Brief (Legrand I, 75) explizit nur Vlastos, nicht aber Kalliergis, erwähnt sei. Besagte Erstedition befand sich in der „Bibliothèque de M. le prince G. Maurocordato“ (Legrand I, 75).

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. Hohlweg 1995, 38–40.

<sup>67</sup> Vielleicht der Bruder von Vitsentzos Kornaros, dem Verfasser des kretischen Nationalepos *Erotokritos*, der an einer nie publizierten Geschichte Kretas gearbeitet haben soll? Dessen Todesdatum wird allerdings stets mit 1613 angegeben. Vgl. dazu M. Peri, *Malato d'amore. La medicina dei poeti e la poesia dei medici*, Soveria Mannelli – Messina 1996, 18–21, 60 Anm. 38.

<sup>68</sup> Edition: Γεωπονικὸν περιέχον ἐρμηνείας τινὰς ὠφελιμοτάτας τῆς τε γεωργίας καὶ ἰατρικῆς [...] συντεθὲν παρὰ Ἀγαπίου Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Κρήτος. Νέα ἔκδοσις, Venedig 1850 (Ndr. Athen 1979); D.D. Kostoula (ed. facs.), *Γεωπονικόν· Βενέτια 1643. Ἀγάπιος; ἐπιμέλεια κειμένου, εἰσαγωγή, σχόλια, γλωσσάριο* Δ.Δ. Κωστούλα. Βόλος 1991; vgl. auch D.D. Kostoula, *Ἀγαπίος Λάνδος ο Κρής. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του, Ερεῦνες στη Νέα Ἑλληνική Φιλολογία 5*, Ioannina, Panep. Ioann., Philos. Schol., 1983.

<sup>69</sup> Edition: H. Beckh (Hrsg.), *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici De re rustica eclogae*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1895; griech.-ital. Edition und Übers.: E. Lelli u.a. (Hrsg.), *L'agricoltura antica: i Geoponica di Cassiano Basso*, 2 Bde., *Atti classici* 3, 1–

medizinischen Textsammlung des Theophanes ‚Nonnos‘ Chrysobalantes,<sup>70</sup> liegt, andererseits aber auch auf frühbyzantinische Quellen, wie z.B. die *Therapeutika* Alexanders von Tralleis (6. Jhd.), zurückgreift, die normalerweise nicht zum typischen Quellenfundus der Iatrosophienliteratur<sup>71</sup> gehören. Agapios Landos' *Geoponikon* bereichert das postbyzantinische Iatrosophistentum als landwirtschaftliches und zugleich medizinisches Nachschlagewerk um einen neuartigen und wesentlichen Aspekt, was sich an seiner intensiven und dauerhaften Rezeption bis in das frühe 20. Jhd. deutlich zeigt: im Zeitraum zwischen 1623 und 1919 erlebte das Werk 26 Auflagen. In seinem Vorwort erläutert Agapios Landos einerseits explizit seine traditionell antik-byzantinischen Mustern verhaftete, also der byzantinischen iatrosophistischen Tradition folgende Quellenbasis, aber gleichermaßen auch die neuartige Konzeption als allgemeiner ‚Haushaltsratgeber‘ zur Klärung wirtschaftlicher und medizinischer Fragestellungen.

Der große Bedarf an derartigen Nachschlagewerken zeigt sehr deutlich die Auswirkungen der mit dem Fall Konstantinopels verbundenen Dezentralisierung, indem jede Wirtschaftseinheit nun primär auf sich selbst gestellt war und deshalb dringend einschlägige Nachschlagewerke mit praktischen Informationen zu sämtlichen Bereichen des Alltagslebens benötigte, da die entsprechenden Spezialisten in den meisten Fällen nicht (mehr) verfügbar waren. Diese Isolation, das Abgeschnittensein von den vormaligen Bildungs- und Informationszentren, bewirkte nun sukzessiv eine neue, stark individuell geprägte Form von Iatrosophistentum, die sich im Wesentlichen auf die Schaffung einer möglichst autarken, auf die jeweiligen sozialen Lebensbedingungen zugeschnittenen und benutzerfreundlichen Handlungsbasis konzentrierte. Auch in sprachlicher Hinsicht hatte diese Entwicklung weitreichende Auswirkungen, indem Übertragungen der traditionellen Quellen in die zeitgenössische Sprachform (απλή ρωμαϊκή<sup>72</sup>,

2, Sovenia Mannetti 2010; engl. Übers.: A. Dalby, *Geoponika: farm work, a modern translation of the Roman and Byzantine farming handbook*, Totnes 2011; franz. Übers.: J.-P. Grélois, *Géoponiques*, Monographies 38, Paris 2012.

<sup>70</sup> J.S. Bernard (Hrsg.), *Theophanis Nonni Epitome de curatione morborum graece et latine*. Ope cod. manuscr. rec. notasque adiec., 2 Bände, Gotha – Amsterdam 1794/95. Zur besonderen Bedeutung dieses Werks für die Krankenhaustexte (*Xenônika*) vgl. Bennett 2017, 35 f., 42, 63, 67–73 und öfter.

<sup>71</sup> A. Tselikas, *Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γιαιτροσόφια: Μία περιφρονημένη κατηγορία χειρογράφων*, in: Th. Diamantopoulos (Hrsg.), *Ἱατρικὰ Βυζαντινὰ Χειρόγραφα*, Athen 1995, 57–70; A. Touwaide, *Byzantine Hospital Manuals (Iatrosophia) as a source for the studies of Therapeutics*, in B. Bowers (Hrsg.), *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, Aldershot 2007, 147–74 und kürzlich: B. Zipser, *Galen in Byzantine Iatrosophia*, in: Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen 2019, 111–123 mit ausführlicher Bibliographie; vgl. ferner A. Touwaide, *Towards a Catalogue of Greek Medical Manuscripts*, in: P. Degni et al. (Hrsg.), *Greek Manuscript Cataloguing. Past, Present, and Future*, *Bibliologia*, 48, Turnhout 2018, 145–155 mit Ankündigung eines umfassenden und systematischen Kataloges sämtlicher griechischer medizinischer Handschriften unter Einschluss auch der postbyzantinischen *Iatrosophia*.

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. Karas 1994, 34 (εις την ἡμετέραν ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον), 35 (εις την ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἀπλὴν φράσιν) und öfter.

απλοελληνική<sup>73</sup> etc.) einen hohen Stellenwert bekamen. Nicht nur dem autarken Agieren in einem veränderten Lebensumfeld, sondern auch dem Schutz vor persönlichem Schaden und Betrügereien dienten solche verlässlichen, da traditionell verankerten Nachschlagewerke, um nicht den allgegenwärtigen Scharlatanen und ihrer Gewinnsucht zum Opfer zu fallen.<sup>74</sup> Vor diesem Hintergrund ist der Appell, den Agapios Landos gegen Ende seines Vorwortes an seine Leserschaft richtet, mehr als nachvollziehbar: die Lektüre seines Büchleins (βιβλιαράκι) sei wesentlich nutzbringender für Körper und Seele (auch hier der bewusste Rückgriff auf byzantinisch-iatrosophistische Strukturen) als sämtliche zeitgenössisch beliebte Belletristik, die er verächtlich als „φλυαρίσματα“ (bloßes Geschwätz) abqualifiziert.<sup>75</sup> Seiner Ansicht nach könne nur ein praktischer, zweckorientierter und benutzerfreundlicher Universalratgeber zu gesundheitlicher und wirtschaftlicher Prosperität verhelfen.

Den Erfolg zeigt die Rezeption des *Geoponikon*: so wurde 1930 sein landwirtschaftlicher Teil aus dem Gesamtwerk herausgelöst und in neugriechischer Übersetzung im *Agricultural Report* des griechischen Landwirtschaftsministeriums publiziert. Die im medizinischen Teil des *Geoponikon* vorgenommene Aktualisierung der traditionell byzantinischen Quellenbasis mit aktueller italienischer Fachliteratur, worunter insbesondere den Werken des Matheolus Perusinus (gest. 1480), eines italienischen ‚Iatrosophisten‘, der den Lehrstuhl für Medizin und Philosophie in

<sup>73</sup> Die Übertragung antiker, spätantiker und byzantinischer Quellen in απλοελληνική nimmt gegen Mitte des 17. Jh. beträchtlich zu, wie zahlreiche Quellenaussagen bestätigen; so berichtet z.B. Nikephoros Pringeleas, ein Mönch aus Athen, dass er um 1637 für seinen Freund, einen in Thessalien praktizierenden Arzt, eine Dioskurides-Handschrift (Athos, Koutloumou 239) in απλοελληνική übertragen habe: G.N. Plioudis, *Τυρναβίτες γιατροί κατά τον 17ο και 18ο αιώνα, δέλτος 9* (1995) 6.

<sup>74</sup> Eine Warnung vor solchen Erscheinungen findet sich z.B. in den Aufzeichnungen des französischen Reisenden Francis Pouqueville aus dem Jahr 1805, 425 f.: „Le peuple, le Moraïte, qui forme le corps véritable de la nation, est encore en possession de quelques méthodes simples, au moyen desquelles il triomphe des maladies ordinaires. Trop heureux s'il pouvait éloigner l'homicide Calo-iatros. J'ai été étonné de la sagacité des paysans pour conduire une fièvre putride. Quelques tasses de vin généreux mêlé avec de l'eau, des grenades, des limons, qu'ils présentaient aux malades, étaient leurs remèdes. Ainsi, sans l'appareil polypharmaceutique, en éloignant la divine lancette, la nature se relevait, et par quelques soins bien entendus le malade recouvrait sa première énergie. J'ai vu résister très-rarement les fièvres intermittentes à un mélange de café et de suc de citron ..., qui est le remède général du pays.“ (zit. nach Clark 2011, 7). Zu solchen Scharlatanen, Wunderheilern und Quacksalbern jeglicher Couleur (καλόγιατροι, κομπογιαννίτες) vgl. C.F. Skokos (ed.), *Ο ιατρός Κύρ Ανδρέας, Ήθογραφία κομπογιαννίτου, Έθνικόν Ήμερολόγιον τοῦ Ἔτους 1892*, Athen 1891, repr.: D.K. Vardouniotis (Hrsg.), *δέλτος 24* (2002), 38–45 und Z. Simandiraki, *Ιατρικές συνταγές στο αρχείο Παύλου Βλαστού*, in: *Ιστορική και Λαογραφική Εταιρεία Ρεθύμνης* (Hrsg.), *Λαϊκή ιατρική: Διεθνές επιστημονικό συνέδριο, Ρέθυμνο 8–10 δεκεμβρίου 2000, Πρακτικά*, Rethymnon 2003, 536–543; zu dem Phänomen der „ἐμπειρικοί θεραπευτές καταγμάτων“ vgl. G.N. Antonakopoulos, *Η εμπειρική θεραπευτική των καταγμάτων στην νεότερη Ελλάδα, δέλτος 25* (2003) 29–39 sowie ein allgemeiner Überblick zu diesem Phänomen bei G.A. Babaretos, *Κομπογιαννίτες, ματσουκάδες, οι ξακουσμένοι αυτοδίδακτοι γιατροί απ' το Ζαγόρι της Ήπειρου*, Βιβλιοθήκη Ηπειρωτικής Εταιρείας Αθηνῶν 35, Athen 1972.

<sup>75</sup> Agapios Landos, *Prooimion* (ohne Seitenzahlen): *Ἀγάπιος τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις* (1850/1979).



Padua innehatte und dort auch der Lehrer des Nürnberger Humanisten, Historikers und Arztes Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) war, der 1466 unter seiner Ägide in Padua zum Doktor der Medizin promovierte,<sup>76</sup> hoher Stellenwert beigemessen wurde, diente zahlreichen nachfolgenden medizinischen Abhandlungen zum Vorbild und Leitfaden. Der bislang bekannte letzte Vertreter des kretischen Iatrosophions unter deutlicher Bezugnahme auf Agapios Landos' *Geoponikon* und dessen Quellenbasis ist eine um 1930 entstandene entsprechende Kompilation des kretischen Heilers Nikolaos Konstantinos Theodorakis (1891–1979) aus Meronas im Amarital.<sup>77</sup> Der Text, dessen handschriftliche (?) Vorlage leider bislang nicht ermittelt werden konnte, zeichnet sich an manchen Passagen durch eine ganz erstaunliche Nähe zu byzantinischen Quellen aus, insbesondere zu Alexander von Tralleis, wo es vereinzelt sogar wörtliche Zitate gibt.<sup>78</sup> Die Vermischung iatromagischer Motive, volksmedizinischer Traditionen und Wunderkuren der κομπογιαννίτες mit den traditionellen Quellen des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophientums erweist Theodorakis' Iatrosophion zwar als eine sehr individuelle und persönliche, sicherlich auch auf die Bedürfnisse seiner Klientel ausgerichtete Spielart einer jahrhundertealten Rezeptionsgeschichte, deren Grundlagen stets unverändert im byzantinischen Iatrosophientum verankert blieben, ungeachtet zahlreicher, im Laufe der Zeit und unter dem Einfluss der politischen, gesellschaftlichen und geistesgeschichtlichen Veränderungen vorgenommener Modifikationen. Theodorakis selbst ist demnach vielleicht kein ‚Iatrosophist‘ im klassisch-byzantinischen Sinne gewesen, besaß aber ein Wissen über diese Tradition, das über die Kenntnisse eines κομπογιάννη weit hinausging.

### NIKOLAOS HIEROPAIS

Als beispielhafter Vertreter des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophientums ohne institutionelle Anbindung verfasste Nikolaos Hieropais (Namensvariante: Pappadopoulos) wohl in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jhds. eine Reihe einschlägiger medizinischer Nachschlagewerke unter Berücksichtigung der politischen,

<sup>76</sup> F. Fuchs, s.v. Schedel, Hartmann, in: NDB 22 (2005) 600–602.

<sup>77</sup> Edition: P.A. Clark, *A Cretan Healer's Handbook in the Byzantine Tradition. Text, Translation and Commentary, Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean 3*, Farnham – Burlington 2011.

<sup>78</sup> So z.B. Alexander von Tralleis, *De febr. 6* (I, 407 Pu.): „Ἄλλο περίσπτον, οὗ πολλὴν ἔσχον πεῖραν. Εἰς φύλλον ἐλαίας μετὰ κοινοῦ μέλανος ἐπίγραψον ἑκατόντα. λάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὸ φύλλον τῆς ἐλαίας πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ περίσπτε περὶ τὸν τράχηλον.“ und Theodorakis (ed. Clark 2011, 114, 25–28): “περὶ θερμασίας ἕτερον. πριχού ἀνατέλει ὁ ἥλιος σηκόσου καὶ πήγενε εἰς τόπον ἐλαιόνος καὶ γράψαν μετὰ κοινῆς μελάνης ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα, κ. α. ρ. ο. ι. α καὶ κρέμαστο εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ ἀσθενῆ καὶ θέλεις θαυμάσης.”, vgl. dazu I. Grimm-Stadelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Iatromagie in der byzantinischen Zeit. Zur Tradierung gräkoägyptischer und spätantiker iatromagischer Motive*, *Byzantisches Archiv* (in Druckvorbereitung). Die wörtlich aus Alexanders *Therapeutika* zitierte Passage ist insofern von besonderem Interesse, als sie nicht in Agapios Landos' *Geoponikon* überliefert ist, weshalb Theodorakis zumindest noch eine weitere, bislang unbekannte Vorlage benutzt haben muss.

gesellschaftlichen und sozialen Situation im osmanisch regierten Griechenland.<sup>79</sup> Seine eigene Herkunft aus Velisdoni, einem in dem mittelgriechischen Bezirk Agrapha gelegenen Bergdorf, und damit einer Region, die aufgrund ihrer schwer zugänglichen Lage politisch weitgehend autark geblieben, aber auch sehr von der Außenwelt abgeschlossen war, ließ ihn schon früh die Notwendigkeit umfassender Nachschlagewerke gerade im Bereich der Humanmedizin erkennen, worauf er folgerichtig sein späteres Schrifttum konzentrierte. Biographische Details zu seinem Werdegang lassen sich nur fragmentarisch aus seinem Werk erschließen:<sup>80</sup> so besaß er durch seinen Lehrer Eugenios Giannoulis (1597–1682) eine Verbindung zur Patriarchatsakademie von Konstantinopel, wo dieser seit 1636 unterrichtete. Bei Giannoulis erhielt Nikolaos zunächst eine fundierte Grundausbildung mit philosophischem Schwerpunkt, die Fortsetzung und Vertiefung seiner Studien absolvierte er dann, wie bereits seit spätbyzantinischer Zeit üblich (s.o.), in Italien. Aus einem seiner Werke lässt sich zumindest ein Studienaufenthalt an einem römischen Krankenhaus (?) erschließen, wenn er explizit auf dort erlebte Fallbeispiele Bezug nimmt: „Καθὼς εἶδα εἰς τοὺς Τρεῖς εἰς τὴν Ρώμην εἰς ἓνα ποταπὸν ἄνθρωπον [...]“.<sup>81</sup> In den Handschriften zu seinen Werken findet sich häufig der Titel *Iatrosophistes* mit seinem Namen verbunden, womit sein Werk explizit als Fortsetzung des byzantinischen Iatrosophistentums ausgewiesen wird, ferner begegnet gelegentlich auch der Titel eines βασιλικὸς ἰατρὸς, was als Hinweis auf eine – zumindest zeitweilige – Anstellung als Leibarzt am Hof des osmanischen Sultan zu verstehen sein dürfte.

Nikolaos' Gesamtwerk, bestehend aus insgesamt acht Einzelschriften, ist daraufhin ausgerichtet, den Ansprüchen eines weitgehend auf sich selbst gestellten Arztes in möglichst umfassender und konzentrierter Weise entgegenzukommen: die Grundlagen der Heilkunde erläutert ein vierteiliger didaktischer Leitfaden zum Einstieg in den Arztberuf (Ἐκδόσεις μερικαὶ εἰς ἀρχαρίον ἰατρὸν<sup>82</sup>) unter ausführlicher Darlegung der drei wesentlichen Teilbereiche der Medizin: Diagnostik (Buch 1), Therapeutik (Buch 2), Arzneimittelkunde und Pharmakologie (Buch 3 und 4). Die 51 Kapitel des ersten Buches erläutern eingehend diverse Symptomatiken und Krankheitsbilder *a capite ad calcem* unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Gynäkologie und Pädiatrie, die 14 Kapitel des zweiten Buches hingegen konkrete

<sup>79</sup> Zur fachwissenschaftlichen Literatur speziell dieser Epoche vgl. ausführlich und mit zahlreichen Beispielen Karas 1994.

<sup>80</sup> Ausführlich zur Biographie vgl. A. Tselikas – G.N. Ilioudis (Hrsg.), Νικολάου Ἱεροπαιδοῦ ἐξ Ἀγράφων ἐκδόσεις μερικαὶ εἰς ἀρχαρίον ἰατρὸν. Mit einem Prolog von G. N. Antonakopoulos, Βιβλιοθήκη νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων ἰατρῶν 2, Larisa 1997, ix–xii.

<sup>81</sup> Πραγματεία περὶ Φυσιολογίας καὶ Παθολογίας II, Kap. 15, ed. Tselikas – Ilioudis 1996, 148, 7–10. Eine sichere Identifikation und Lokalisierung dieser Institution (Tre Martiri Coronati ?) ist bislang noch nicht gelungen, vgl. Tselikas – Ilioudis 1996, 23.

<sup>82</sup> Edition: A. Tselikas – G.N. Ilioudis (Hrsg.), Νικολάου Ἱεροπαιδοῦ ἐξ Ἀγράφων ἐκδόσεις μερικαὶ εἰς ἀρχαρίον ἰατρὸν. Mit einem Prolog von G. N. Antonakopoulos, Βιβλιοθήκη νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων ἰατρῶν 2, Larisa 1997; dazu die Rezension von W. Puchner, in: ÖZV 53/102 (1999) 243 f.

Therapiekonzepte und –maßnahmen, so z. B. in der Wundversorgung und bei dermatologischen Befunden sowie den Umgang mit diversen Fiebern. Der pharmakologische Teil der Gesamtdarstellung konzentriert sich zunächst (Buch 3) auf die *materia medica* und ihre vielfältigen Anwendungsformen, um dann näher auf die Herstellung, Dosierung und Verabreichung diverser Arzneimittel einzugehen. Die medikamentöse Syphilistherapie und damit der aktuelle Forschungsstand zur Bekämpfung eines bislang noch unbekanntes Krankheitsbildes, stellt einen der Schwerpunkte dieses Teiles der Abhandlung dar. Der vierte und letzte Teil dieses Grundlagenwerkes präsentiert weitere Medikamente und deren Zusammensetzung, mit namentlichen Verweisen auf zahlreiche Iatrosophisten der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.<sup>83</sup> Mit diesem Überblickswerk eng verbunden sind weitere ärztliche Handreichungen mit unterschiedlicher Schwerpunktsetzung, darunter eine zweiteilige medizintheoretische Abhandlung über Physiologie und Pathologie (Πραγματεία περί Φυσιολογίας και Παθολογίας<sup>84</sup>), sowie zwei primär therapeutisch-praktisch orientierte Schriften, ein allgemeines Handbuch der Medizin (Βιβλος ιατρική) und ein Kurztraktat über therapeutische Methodik.<sup>85</sup> Das weitere Schrifttum des Nikolaos Hieropais konzentriert sich ganz auf die ärztliche Praxis und die dazu erforderlichen pharmakologisch-botanischen Grundlagen und erweist Nikolaos als äußerst polyglotten Gelehrten: vielleicht bereits während seines Studienaufenthaltes in Italien hat er ein *Antidotarium* aus dem Italienischen übersetzt (die genaue Textvorlage konnte bislang noch nicht ermittelt werden, wäre aber vielleicht in Rom, im Umkreis der als Tre Martiri Coronati bezeichneten Institution zu vermuten?), auf das er in seinen Ἐκδόσεις μερικαὶ εἰς ἀρχάριον ἰατρὸν mehrfach verweist; bei einer weiteren pharmakologischen Schrift mit dem Titel *Morgenröte der Ärzte* handelt es sich vermutlich ebenfalls um eine Übersetzung eines orientalischen oder osmanischen (?) Originals (auch hier konnte bislang noch keine einschlägige Quelle eruiert werden);<sup>86</sup> von besonderem Interesse ist weiterhin Nikolaos' mehrsprachiges botanisches Lexikon (lateinisch/fränkisch/ osmanisch/alt- und neugriechisch).<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. Puchner 1999, 244. Die Struktur dieses Werkes und sein iatrosophistischer Hintergrund, gleichzeitig aber auch die vielfältigen aktuellen Bezüge, erinnern deutlich an das sechsteilige Handbuch Ἰατρικὴ σύνοψις bzw. Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος (*De methodo medendi*) des *Aktuarios* Johannes Zacharias, welches dieselben drei zentralen Gebiete der Heilkunde, Diagnostik (Buch 1–2), Therapeutik (Buch 3–4) und Pharmakologie (Buch 5–6), in jeweils zwei Büchern ausführlich darlegt. *De methodo medendi* ist nach wie vor nicht in einer modernen kritischen Edition erschlossen; J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores II*, Berlin 1842, 353–463 hat die ersten beiden, die diagnostischen Bücher, ediert, die eventuell zeitweilig als eigenständiges Werk im Umlauf waren, vgl. dazu ausführlich Hohlweg 1983, 314–321. Inwieweit Nikolaos Hieropais von den Schriften des Johannes Zacharias beeinflusst war, muss einer zukünftigen quellenkritischen Analyse vorbehalten bleiben.

<sup>84</sup> Edition: A. Tselikas – G.N. Plioudis (Hrsg.), Νικολάου Ἱερόπαιδος ἐξ Ἀγράφων (?) πραγματεία περί φυσιολογίας καὶ παθολογίας. Mit einem Prolog von G. N. Antonakopoulos, Βιβλιοθήκη Νεοτερῶν Ἑλληνῶν Ἰατρῶν 1, Larisa 1996.

<sup>85</sup> Beide therapeutischen Schriften sind nach wie vor noch unediert.

<sup>86</sup> Beide Werke sind noch unediert, ebenso auch ein weiteres Buch über Arzneien, Medikamente und *materia medica* (Ἐκλογή).

<sup>87</sup> Die Edition dieses Lexikons durch Agamemnonas Tselikas steht, laut mündlicher Mitteilung an Verf., kurz vor dem Abschluss.

Ursprünglich zwei- oder dreisprachig (griechisch/lateinisch bzw. griechisch/lateinisch/arabisch) entwickelten sich derartige botanisch-pharmakologische Lexika und Glossare ab dem 15. Jhd. zu groß angelegten, mehrsprachigen Nachschlagewerken, welche sämtliche während ihrer jeweiligen Entstehungsphase aktuellen Sprachen dokumentierten.<sup>88</sup> Sie sind damit zeit- und sprachgeschichtliche Dokumente von hohem Wert für die einschlägige Forschung, indem sie unterschiedliche Sprachebenen einer Sprache, wie z.B. des Griechischen, ebenso dokumentieren wie sprachgeschichtliche (der allmähliche Übergang vom Lateinischen ins Italienische) und fachterminologische (z.B. werden persische und arabische Termini zunehmend durch osmanische Synonymbildungen ersetzt<sup>89</sup>) Schwerpunktverlagerungen. Die Reisetätigkeit der griechischen Gelehrten und deren Konzentration auf bestimmte Gebiete spielte hier eine zusätzliche Rolle: während im 15. und 16. Jhd. Italien hauptsächliches Ziel für Studien- und Forschungsaufenthalte war, verlagerte sich der Schwerpunkt im 17. Jhd. zunehmend auf Südosteuropa: in direktem Zusammenhang damit stehen entsprechende Einträge in den pharmakologischen und botanischen Nachschlagewerken in slavischen Sprachen (häufig russisch oder serbisch).<sup>90</sup> Diese Entwicklung ist aber primär im Bereich der Arzneimittelkunde und Pharmakologie sowie deren einschlägiger Literatur zu beobachten; im Bereich der medizintheoretischen bzw. diagnostischen oder therapeutischen Literatur fehlen nach wie vor entsprechende Untersuchungen zu Wechselwirkungen mit der byzantinischen Tradition und deren Auswirkungen auf Migrationsstrukturen und fachspezifische Gelehrtennetzwerke.

<sup>88</sup> Vgl. M.-H. Congourdeau, Medical Art, Erudition, and Practice at the Byzantine Capital, in: B. Pitarakis (Hrsg.), *Hayat Kısa, Sanat Uzun. Bizants'ta Şifa Sanatı / Life Is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium*. Katalog zur Ausstellung „Life Is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium, 10.02.–26.04. 2015, Pera Museum, Istanbul 2015 (zit. als *Hayat Kısa 2015*) 95, 102. Botanische Glossare transkultureller Prägung und deren Terminologie stehen momentan vermehrt im Fokus des aktuellen Forschungsgeschehens, vgl. entsprechende Forschungsprojekte und einschlägige Publikationen: B. Zipser (Hrsg.), *Simon von Genua, Clavis sanationis*: online-Edition unter <http://www.simonofgenoa.org>; P. Bouras-Vallianatos, *Medical Practices, Health, and Disease: A Cross-Cultural Perspective Enrichment of the Medical Vocabulary in the Greek-Speaking Medieval Communities of Southern Italy: The Lexica of Plant Names*, in: B. Pitarakis – G. Tanman (Hrsg.) *Life is Short, Art Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium, New Perspectives*, Istanbul Research Onstitute Publications 38, Symposium Series 2, Istanbul 2018, 153–184; A. Touwaide, *Traducción y transliteración de nombres de plantas en la versión árabe de Hunayn b. Ishaq e Istifan b. Basil del tratado De materia medica de Dioscórides*, *Al-Qantara* 30 (2009) 557–580; I. Valiakos, *Das Dynameron des Nikolaos Myrepsos: Erstedition*, Heidelberg: Propylaeum 2019: <https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeum.455>. Vgl. ferner Papadogiannakis 2001 mit dem Hinweis auf die reziproke Interaktion zwischen den kretischen *Iatrosophia* und solchen botanischen Glossaren.

<sup>89</sup> Tselikas – Ilioudis 1996, 18 f.

<sup>90</sup> In dieser Hinsicht wäre es durchaus von Interesse, der Frage nachzugehen, inwieweit auch für volksmedizinische Traditionen im slavischen Sprachbereich Wechselwirkungen mit byzantinischen Überlieferungen existieren, ab wann diese belegbar sind und wie sie sich manifestieren; ein erster Versuch in diese Richtung ist das transdisziplinäre Editionsprojekt von Anna Jouravel (MLU Halle-Wittenberg) und Janina Sieber (München) zur Schrift *De lepra* des Methodios vom Olymp (Anfang 4. Jhd.), deren griechisches Original zwar nur fragmentarisch, eine altkirchenslavische Übersetzung davon aus dem 10. Jhd. hingegen vollständig erhalten ist.

Bislang war es nur in wenigen Einzelfällen möglich gewesen, die europaweite Rezeption byzantinischer iatrosophistischer Traditionen annähernd zu rekonstruieren, so beispielsweise wenn der postbyzantinische Iatrosophist Georgios Zaviras (1744–1804) die „medizinischen Fragestellungen“ des ungarischen Gelehrten, Physiologen und Anatomieprofessors Samuel Ratz (1742<sup>91</sup>–1807) ins Griechische übersetzte und diese Übersetzung unter dem Titel *Ιατρικαί παρανέσεις* wiederum Eingang in das medizinische Kompendium eines in den Quellen als ‚Europäer‘ bezeichneten Senior Andreas fand.<sup>91</sup>

### DIPLOMATISCHE MISSIONEN, MEDIZINISCHER FORTSCHRITT UND NEUE THERAPIEKONZEPTE

Ihre umfassende Bildung ermöglichte den postbyzantinischen Arztgelehrten nicht nur glanzvolle Karrieren als hochrangige Ärzte an renommierten Institutionen, bei Hofe oder im Dienst einflussreicher Persönlichkeiten sowie als angesehene Universitätsprofessoren, sondern eröffnete ihnen zudem eine Vielzahl weiterer Karrieremöglichkeiten in der Politik oder Diplomatie. Als exemplarisch für die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten und Tätigkeitsformen, welche die Politik für gelehrte Ärzte bereit hielt, mögen zwei Münchner Arztgelehrte des 16. Jhds. gelten, welche ihre wissenschaftlichen und diplomatischen Fähigkeiten in den Dienst des Wittelsbacher Herzogs Albrecht V. (1528–1579) stellten und an seinem glanzvollen Hof Karriere machten. Samuel Quiccheberg (1529–1567)<sup>92</sup>, der sein Medizinstudium an der Universität Ingolstadt 1553 mit einer öffentlichen Disputation über Fragen der hippokratischen Medizin<sup>93</sup> beendet hatte, richtete sein Augenmerk weniger auf die tatsächliche Ausübung des Arztberufes, als vielmehr auf zahlreiche Aufgaben des öffentlichen Lebens, die er in seinen beiden Hauptanstellungen bei Johann Jacob Fugger (1516–1575) in Augsburg, wo er für die Verwaltung und Betreuung von dessen Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung zuständig war, sowie bei Albrecht V. in München, den er auf zahlreichen Reisen begleitete und für dessen Sammlung er Handschriften und Kunstgegenstände in Italien erwarb. Aus dieser Tätigkeit heraus verfasste er das erste deutschsprachige

<sup>91</sup> Vgl. N.D. Schizas – A.I. Papaïoannou – D.N. Schizas, *Tò iatroσόφιον τοῦ ἱατροῦ Σεβιῶρ Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Εὐρωπαινοῦ*, *δέλτος* 24 (2002) 24 mit Anm. 13. Andreas' Kompendium ist zwar im Original nicht erhalten, konnte aber aufgrund von Abschriften, die an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jhd. entstanden sind, nahezu lückenlos rekonstruiert werden.

<sup>92</sup> Vgl. H. Zäh, s.v. Quicchelberg, Samuel, in: NDB 21 (2003) 44 f.; W. Locher, *Münchner Mediziner: Samuel Quicchelberg (1529–1567)*, *Münchner Ärztliche Anzeigen* 38 (2002) s.v. Titelbild.

<sup>93</sup> *Disputatio Medica Ingelstadij in publicum proposita, Medicinam ibidem praelegentibus, doctoribus Ioanne Agricola Ammonio, Hieronymo Leichthio, Ioanne Veltmullero, Anno post C.N. MDLIII*, Zusatz: Praeside & respondente Samuele Quiccelbergio. Vgl. M. Kahle, *Samuel Quiccheberg, „Disputatio Medica Ingelstadij“*, in: S. Ebbesmeyer et al. (Hrsg.), *Sol et homo. Mensch und Natur in der Renaissance. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag für Eckhard Keßler*, Humanistische Bibliothek. Texte und Abhandlungen Reihe I: Abhandlungen, Band 59, München 2008, 207–226.

museologische Handbuch,<sup>94</sup> worin er die Idealform eines Museums mit zugehöriger Bibliothek explizit darlegte, und das sich als wegweisend für sämtliche europäische Kunst- und Wunderkammern erweisen sollte.<sup>95</sup> Die Intention hinter diesem Handbuch, die Kunstkammer als Veranschaulichung eines repräsentativen Bildes des gesamten Universums (*Theatrum mundi*), eines Mikrokosmos in Analogie zum menschlichen Körper, zu zeigen,<sup>96</sup> erinnert deutlich an die zentralen Gedanken der byzantinischen christlichen Anthropologie, mit denen Quiccheberg als humanistisch gebildeter Arzt wohl vertraut war, und erweisen ihn damit zugleich auch als Vertreter einer weiteren Spielart des postbyzantinischen Iatrosophistentums. Auch die wohl bedeutendste Ärztpersönlichkeit Münchens im 16. Jhd., der „Bayerische Galen“, Thomas Mermann (1547/48–1612)<sup>97</sup>, der als herzoglicher Leibarzt und Berater in sämtlichen Staatsangelegenheiten am Hof von Albrechts V. Nachfolger, Wilhelm V. (1547/48–1626), eine hohe Position bekleidete, darf mit Recht als Vertreter eines Iatrosophistentums byzantinischer Prägung gelten: als universell gebildeter Gelehrter mit umfassender Bildung in den klassischen Sprachen und Wissenschaften war er im Gelehrtennetzwerk des humanistischen Europa weitreichend vernetzt. Neben seinem Arztberuf war er Herzog Wilhelms V. Ratgeber in nahezu sämtlichen politischen und diplomatischen Angelegenheiten und verfasste dessen offizielle Korrespondenz in lateinischer Sprache.

Wie seine beiden Münchner Vorläufer verband auch Alexandros Mavrokordatos (1641–1709) eine glänzende Karriere als hochrangiger und einflussreicher Arztgelehrter mit intensivem politischen Engagement, insbesondere im Bereich der osmanischen Außenpolitik.<sup>98</sup> Die Weichen hierzu stellte wohl bereits seine Herkunft aus einer politisch sehr aktiven Phanariotenfamilie<sup>99</sup>, so dass er von Anfang an, begleitend zu seiner wissenschaftlichen und beruflichen Ausbildung, die Politik nie aus den Augen verloren hatte. Sein Medizinstudium führte

<sup>94</sup> *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*, Oktober 1565: H. Roth (Hrsg. u. Komm.), *Der Anfang der Museumslehre in Deutschland. Das Traktat „Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi“ von Samuel Quiccheberg*, Lat.-Deutsch, Berlin 2000 (zit. als Roth 2000). Vgl. auch O. Hartig, *Der Arzt Samuel Quiccheberg, der erste Museologe Deutschlands, am Hofe Albrechts V. in München*, in: *Das Bayerland* 44 (30. Oktober 1933) 630–633.

<sup>95</sup> Umgesetzt wurde Quicchebergs theoretischer Ansatz schließlich in der zwischen 1563 und 1567 erbauten Kunstkammer Albrechts V., zusammen mit dem zwischen 1569 und 1571 entstandenen Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz sowie der angeschlossenen Bibliothek, vgl. W. Sauerländer (Hrsg.), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer*, Band 3: Aufsätze und Anhänge, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen. N.F 129, München 2008.

<sup>96</sup> Roth 2000, 2.

<sup>97</sup> Vgl. F. Stieve, s.v. Mermann, Thomas von Schönburg zu Aufhofen, in: *ADB* 1885 s.p.; W. Locher, *Münchner Mediziner: Thomas Mermann (1548–1612)*, *Münchner Ärztliche Anzeigen* 37 (2002) s.v. Titelbild.

<sup>98</sup> Dazu vgl. J. Irmscher, *Alexandros Mavrokordatos, Greek scholar and Turkish diplomat*, in: *XII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara: 12–16 Eylül 1994. *Kongreye sunulan bildiriler* 3, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara 1999 (zit. als Irmscher 1999) 1005–1008.

<sup>99</sup> Zu diesen Familien und ihrem politischen Einfluss vgl. Iorga 1982, 117–129, bes. 209 f. (zu Alexandros Mavrokordatos); speziell zur Familie Mavrokordatos vgl. Irmscher 1999, 1005.

Alexandros in die renommierten italienischen Universitätszentren Rom, Padua und Bologna, wo er im Jahre 1664 mit einer Untersuchung des Blutkreislaufs (*Instrumentum pneumaticum circulandi sanguinis sive de motu et usu pulmonum*, Bologna 1664) promovierte. Mit dieser, von William Harveys (1578–1657) vorausgegangenen Forschungen völlig unabhängigen Untersuchung konnte er dessen 1628 erstmals vorgetragene Erkenntnisse zweifelsfrei als zutreffend bestätigen.<sup>100</sup> Nach erfolgreicher Promotion kehrte Alexandros Mavrokordatos wieder nach Konstantinopel zurück, wo er zunächst eine Lehrtätigkeit an der Patriarchatsakademie innehatte und sich gleichzeitig als Leibarzt zahlreicher angesehener und einflussreicher türkischer Familien Respekt und berufliches Renommée erwerben konnte. Seine wissenschaftliche Karriere erreichte im Jahr 1689 mit der Aufnahme in die *Sacri Romani Imperii Academia Caesareo-Leopoldina Naturae Curiosorum*, die heutige ›Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher Leopoldina‹, ihren Höhepunkt; als ordentliches Akademiemitglied erhielt er den akademischen Beinamen ‚Alexander Magnus‘. In politischer Hinsicht war er bereits im Jahre 1673 zum obersten Dragoman und Großlogotheten des osmanischen Sultans aufgestiegen, wo er sensible diplomatische Aufgaben zu erfüllen hatte, so beispielsweise die Vermittlung zwischen dem orthodoxen Patriarchat und der osmanischen Regierung. Alexandros gewann zunehmenden Einfluss auf die osmanische Außenpolitik und selbst seine zunächst ausweglos erscheinende persönliche Situation nach der osmanischen Niederlage vor Wien (1683) – er wurde seines Amtes enthoben und zum Tode verurteilt – wendete sich schließlich zum Positiven, da Mavrokordatos nach einer einjährigen Haft schließlich rehabilitiert und wieder in seine Ämter eingesetzt wurde. Kurz nach seiner Rehabilitation verhandelte er im Auftrag des osmanischen Sultans mit dem österreichischen Kaiser Leopold I. (1640 – 1705, reg. 1658 – 1705) und war auch Mitglied der osmanischen Delegation zur Unterzeichnung des Friedens von Karlowitz am 26. Januar 1699.<sup>101</sup> Die außergewöhnlichen Leistungen des Alexandros Mavrokordatos im Bereich der Medizin und, parallel dazu, auch der Politik, sind ein singuläres Beispiel für politisch aktives Iatrosophistentum im 17. Jhd.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Vgl. K.N. Sathas, Βιογραφία τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερσίας (1453–1821), Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία, Athen 1868 (zit. als Sathas 1868) 385–389 mit ausführlichem Schriftenverzeichnis; Amantos 1976, 103–116; Hohlweg 1995, 51; Irmscher 1999, 1006 und M. Peri, Malato d’amore. La medicina dei poeti e la poesia dei medici, Soveria Mannelli – Messina 1996, 60 Anm. 38 mit einer Querverbindung der Harvey’schen Erkenntnis zum „Erotokritos“ und den Kornaros-Brüdern.

<sup>101</sup> Irmscher 1999, 1007.

<sup>102</sup> Die reichhaltige Privatbibliothek des politisch hochaktiven und einflussreichen Wirtschaftsmagnaten und Großgrundbesitzers Michael Kantakuzenos (1510–1578) mit dem Beinamen „Şeytanoğlu“, die zudem einen deutlichen Fokus auf Handschriften medizinischen Inhalts besaß, zeigt, dass das Interesse an medizinischer Literatur und der damit verbundenen Tradition gelegentlich auch bei Personen ohne tiefere iatrosophistische Bildung anzutreffen war – oder dass man medizinische Handschriften als Anlagewerte betrachtete? Zur Familiengeschichte der Kantakuzenoi vgl. T. Papademetriou, Render unto the Sultan. Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the early Ottoman Centuries, Oxford 2015 (zit. als Papademetriou 2015) 193–213 und speziell zu Michael

## BAHNBRECHENDE ERKENNTNISSE UND NEUE THERAPIEKONZEPTE

Lange vor den bahnbrechenden Erkenntnissen Edward Jenners (1749–1823) auf dem Gebiet der Pockenbekämpfung mittels Vakzination (Präventivimpfung gesunder Personen mit für den Menschen ungefährlichen Kuhpockenviren)<sup>103</sup> haben die experimentellen Forschungen zweier postbyzantinischer Iatrosophisten, Jakobos Pylarinos (1659–1718)<sup>104</sup> aus Kephalaria und Emmanuel Timones (1670–1718) aus Chios, erste gravierende Fortschritte im Kampf gegen die tödliche Infektionskrankheit erbracht: ihre Methode der Pockenbekämpfung durch Variolation (Präventivimpfung gesunder Personen mit intakten Pockenviren und deshalb riskant) beruhte auf entsprechenden Maßnahmen der thessalischen Landbevölkerung und konnte bereits auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken.<sup>105</sup> Pylarinos und Timones hatten gemeinsam in Padua ein Grundstudium absolviert, und während Timones sein Medizinstudium in Oxford fortsetzte, um nach Studienende eine feste Anstellung als Botschaftsarzt an der englischen Botschaft in Istanbul zu bekleiden, promovierte Pylarinos in Padua. Sein beruflicher Werdegang ist zunächst von einer regen Reisetätigkeit mit vielfältigen wechselnden Positionen im südosteuropäischen Gebiet gekennzeichnet.<sup>106</sup> nach einer ersten Anstellung (1680) als Hofarzt des Gouverneurs von Kreta, Ismail Pascha, steht er bald darauf als *Archiatros* in Diensten des moldoalachischen (rumänischen) Fürsten Kantakuzenos (Dumitrascu Cantacuzino?)<sup>107</sup>. Ungefähr drei Jahre später reiste er nach Deutschland und Russland, wo er eine neue Stellung als Leibarzt Zar Peters des Großen (1672–1725, reg. 1682–1721) akzeptierte, doch zwangen ihn gesundheitliche Schwierigkeiten schon bald zur Rückkehr in die Heimat. Nach seiner Genesung war er zwischenzeitlich Schiffsarzt des venezianischen

Kantakuzenos sowie der mit seinem Namen verbundenen Legendenbildung vgl. Iorga 1982, 118–121. Zu den konstantinopolitanischen Privatbibliotheken vgl. G.K. Papazoglu, Βιβλιοθήκες στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τοῦ 17<sup>ου</sup> αἰῶνα (Cod. Vind. Hist. Gr. 98), Thessalonike 1983, zur Bibliothek von Michael Kantakuzenos bes. S. 327–367 und Papademetriou 2015, 208 f. unter Bezugnahme auf das hohe Interesse der deutschen Humanisten Stephan Gerlach und Martin Crusius an der exzellenten Bibliothek Michael Kantakuzenos'; nach dessen Exekution erhielt die deutsche Botschaft eine generöse Schenkung seitens des osmanischen Sultans aus dieser Bibliothek.

<sup>103</sup> Vgl. Hohlweg 1995, 51–53. Zu Edward Jenner vgl. S. Riedel, *Edward Jenner and the history of smallpox and vaccination, Proceedings (Baylor University, Medical Center)* 18/1 (Januar 2005) 21–25; G. Plewig, Edward Jenner. An Inquiry, in: B. Magen (Hrsg.), „...Denn das eigentliche Studium der Menschheit ist der Mensch.“ Beiträge aus der Ägyptologie, der Geschichtswissenschaft [...] zu Ehren Alfred Grimms anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages, Wiesbaden 2018, 310–317. Erste Versuche Jenners mit Patienten datieren ins Jahr 1796; die Publikation seiner Forschungsergebnisse erfolgte in den Jahren 1798, 1799 und 1800.

<sup>104</sup> Sathas 1868, 428–430; Amantos 1976, 122 f.; S. Geroulanos, Iakovos Pylarinos (1659–1718) und sein Beitrag zur Variolation, *Gesnerus* 35, 3/4 (1978, zit. als Geroulanos 1978) 264–275 mit ausführlicher Zeittafel zur Geschichte der Pockenbekämpfung auf den Seiten 270 f.

<sup>105</sup> Geroulanos 1978, 264 mit Anm. 7.

<sup>106</sup> Vgl. Geroulanos 1978, 265.

<sup>107</sup> Zum rumänischen Zweig der Kantakuzenoi vgl. J.C. Filitti, *Notice sur les Cantacuzène du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Bukarest 1936, sowie J.M. Cantacuzène, *Mille Ans dans les Balkans: Chronique des Cantacuzène dans la Tourmente des Siècles*, Paris 1992; vgl. außerdem Iorga 1982, 210 Anm. 20.



Flottenkommandaten und späteren Dogen Francesco Morosini (1618–1694), um dann, etwa um 1700, eine finanziell hochdotierte Position als Leibarzt des serbischen Herrschers anzunehmen.

Bereits 1701 jedoch ist er wieder in Konstantinopel anzutreffen, wo er während einer verheerenden Pockenepidemie erste Erfahrungen mit der thessalischen Variationsmethode machte, nachdem ihn ein um seine Kinder besorgter Freund mit einer Thessalierin bekannt machte, die angeblich eine Vielzahl solcher Impfungen erfolgreich durchgeführt hatte. Pylarinos erprobte die Impfung zunächst an den Kindern seines Freundes, sodann an zahlreichen weiteren Probanden in Konstantinopel, beobachtete den in sämtlichen Fällen erfolgreichen Verlauf und notierte die unterschiedlichen Reaktionen der Patienten auf die Impfung.<sup>108</sup> Auch Pylarinos wandte sich zeitweise der Politik zu, nicht in so intensivem Ausmaße wie Alexandros Mavrokordatos, doch findet ihn das Jahr 1712 als Konsul der Republik Venedig in Smyrna, wo er seinen Studienkollegen Timones wieder traf und mit ihm seine Erfahrungen hinsichtlich der Variolation teilte.

Emmanuel Timones hatte ebenfalls bereits einschlägige Erfahrungen mit derselben Variationsmethode gemacht und publizierte seine Forschungsergebnisse im Jahr 1713 in den *Philosophical Transactions* der Londoner *Royal Society*, bei der er seit 1703 Mitglied war. Dieser ersten Publikation folgte ein Jahr später (1714) ein ausführlicher Bericht<sup>109</sup> über fünfzig erfolgreiche Inokulationen innerhalb von acht Jahren, wobei nicht ganz sicher ist, ob Timones die Impfungen tatsächlich sämtlich selbst durchgeführt hatte oder nur als Augenzeuge und Beobachter zugegen war. Ein weiteres Jahr später, 1715, publizierte auch Pylarinos seine Forschungsergebnisse als Monographie in lateinischer Sprache, die im Februar 1715 in Venedig gedruckt wurde.<sup>110</sup> In dieser Publikation geht Pylarinos nicht nur auf die Impfmethode selbst und deren präventive Anwendung ein, sondern schildert zudem ausführlich die eingehende Beobachtung der Probanden über einen längeren Zeitraum und deren unterschiedliche Reaktionen auf die Impfung, um schließlich als Ergebnis vorzutragen, dass die angewandte Variationsmethode eine lebenslange Immunisierung der Geimpften bewirke.<sup>111</sup> Eine Kurzfassung seiner Abhandlung wurde ebenfalls in den *Philosophical Transactions* der Londoner *Royal Society* gedruckt,<sup>112</sup> und in den folgenden Jahren, 1717 und 1718, erschienen weitere Auflagen der Erstpublikation in Nürnberg und

<sup>108</sup> Pylarinos' ausführliche Beschreibung dieser Methode zitiert Geroulanos 1978, 266 f.

<sup>109</sup> Timonis, Emmanuel: An Account, or History of the Procuring the Small Pox by incision or inoculation; as it has been for some time been practised at Constantinople; being the Extract of a letter dated at Constantinople, December 1713. In: *Philosophical Transactions* 339/29 (1714) 72–82.

<sup>110</sup> Pylarinos, Jacobus: Nova et tuta Variola excitandi per Transplantationem Methodus, nuper inventa et in usum tracta: qua ritè peracta, immunia in posterum praeservantur ab hujusmodi contagio Corpora, Venetiis 1715 apud Jo. Gabrielem Hertz. Vgl. Geroulanos 1978, 266 Anm. 5 sowie das Schriftenverzeichnis bei Sathas 1868, 430 mit geringfügigen Titelvarianten.

<sup>111</sup> Geroulanos 1978, 266 f.

<sup>112</sup> *Philosophical Transactions* 347/19 (1716) 393–399.

Leiden. In einem Brief vom 1. April 1717 an ihre Freundin Miss Sarah Chiswell berichtete Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), die Gemahlin des englischen Botschafters in Konstantinopel, aus Adrianopel über die Pockenimpfungen, die sie als „byzantinische“ oder auch „griechische“ Methode bezeichnet, die sehr erfolgreich und ihrer Kenntnis nach in keinem Fall letal verlaufen sei: „(...) und glaube mir, ich bin von der Sicherheit dieses Experimentes so vollkommen befriedigt, dass ich die Absicht habe, dasselbe an meinem lieben kleinen Sohn zu versuchen.“<sup>113</sup> Besagten Sohn von Lady Montagu hatte Timones dann kurz darauf erfolgreich inokuliert.

Verheerende Seuchen und Infektionskrankheiten mit erschreckendem Verlauf,<sup>114</sup> wie es bei den Pocken der Fall war, stellten zu jeder Zeit nicht nur eine verstärkte Herausforderung an die wissenschaftlichen Forschung dar, sondern förderten auch eine ganze Reihe von alchemistischen Experimenten mit dem Ziel, Patienten und Ärzten effektive Arzneimittel zur Verfügung zu stellen. So empfahl der Münchner Stadtarzt Malachias Geiger (1606–1671) eine spezielle Perlentherapie (*Margaritologia*) gegen die Pest, deren Anwendung sich aufgrund der hohen Kosten allerdings nicht durchsetzte, und der Leibarzt und Hofalchemist des englischen Königs Charles' II. (1630–1685, reg. 1660–1685), der aus Chios stammende Iatrochemiker Konstantinos Rodokanakes<sup>115</sup> (1635–1685), entwickelte eine spezielle Salzmischung als Universalheilmittel gegen sämtliche physische und psychische Leiden. Mit dieser Erfindung setzt Konstantinos Rhodokanakes gleich mehrere Traditionen fort: zum einen stützt er sich auf byzantinische Iatrosophienüberlieferungen, zum anderen folgt er Paracelsus' (1493/94–1541) iatrochemischen Therapiekonzepten. In der byzantinischen medizinischen Literatur, insbesondere in den *Iatrosophia* der postbyzantinischen Zeit, begegnen des öfteren Hinweise auf Salzmischungen von wundersamer Heilkraft, deren (stets geheimgehaltene) Rezepturen unterschiedlichen Heiligen und Kirchenvätern, manchmal sogar dem Evangelisten Lukas zugeschrieben wurden.<sup>116</sup> Geheim bleibt auch das Rezept von Rhodokanakes' Erfindung, die er unter dem Titel *Alexicacus: Spirit of Salt* publizierte.<sup>117</sup> Der *Alexicacus*<sup>118</sup> wird als

<sup>113</sup> Zit. nach Geroulanos 1978, 264.

<sup>114</sup> Vgl. die erschütternde Beschreibung, die der byzantinische Universalgelehrte Michael Psellos (1017/18 – 1078) vom Verlauf und tödlichem Ausgang der schweren Erkrankung, sehr wahrscheinlich eine Pockeninfektion, seiner neunjährigen Tochter Styliane gibt: R. Volk, Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 32, München 1990, 309–325.

<sup>115</sup> Amantos 1976, 68–71.

<sup>116</sup> So beispielsweise die Rezepte 250 und 251 des Iatrosophions Cod. Taur. B.VII.18: D. Valentino (Hrsg. / Übers.), *Das Iatrosophion des Cod. Taur. B.VII.18*, Münchner Arbeiten zur Byzantinistik 1, Neuried 2016, 170–173.

<sup>117</sup> Zwischen 1660 und 1670 sieben Auflagen; zum vollständigen Titel vgl. die überarbeitete und erweiterte 3. Auflage von 1664: *Alexicacus: Spirit of Salt of the World, Which vulgarly prepar'd is call'd The Spirit of Salt or The transcendent Virtue of the True Spirit of Salt Long look'd for, and now Philosophically prepared and purified from all hurtful or Corroding Qualities, far beyond any thing yet known to the World: being both safe and pleasant for the use of all Men, Women, and Children. By Constantine Rhodocanaces, Grecian of the Isle Chios, and one of his majesty's*

chemisches Destillat beschrieben, dessen Dosierung und Anwendung von den individuellen Lebensumständen der Patienten abhängig sei; seine Wirkung sei zudem experimentell getestet. In der Folge publizierte Rhodokanakes noch eine weitere Abhandlung, in der unterschiedliche Destillate als *Infallible remedy against the plague* (so der Titel der 1665 erschienenen Schrift) angepriesen werden, deren Wirksamkeit sich jedoch nicht allein auf die Pest beschränkt, sondern mit deren Hilfe sämtliche Krankheiten, mit denen das 17. Jhd. konfrontiert war, therapierbar seien, so beispielsweise Krätze, Syphilis, Malaria und sogar die Melancholie.

Der Überblick über das postbyzantinische Iatrosophistentum, seine Wurzeln, seine bemerkenswerten Vertreter sowie seine jeweils in Abhängigkeit von den politischen, gesellschaftlichen und sozialen Gegebenheiten variierenden Schwerpunkte, hat gezeigt, dass die byzantinische Quellengrundlage auch in postbyzantinischer Zeit ihre Signifikanz als Zentrum eines effektiven Wissenstransfers zwischen den benachbarten Medizintraditionen des Mittelmeerraumes und Südosteuropas bewahrt hat.

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Chymists, which is the sole author and inventor of the Spirit. In a Physical Laboratory in London, next door to the *Three Kings Inne* in *Southampton Buildings*, near the *Kings Gate* in *Holborn*. Where all manner of Chymical preparations are carried on without any Sophistication or abuses whatsoever. *This third Edition is enlarged with some extraordinary Testimonies, Advertisements, and rare Medicaments. By His Majesties special Direction and Allowance.* Πᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶ κοινῶνικόν. London, Printed by R.D. in the Year 1664.

<sup>118</sup> Zur Funktion von Wasser als *Alexikakon* bereits in der Spätantike vgl. B. Pitarakis, in: Hayat K1sa 2015, 53.



UN MONARCHISME FASCISTE: REPENSER LA NATURE  
DE LA DICTATURE ROYALE ROUMAINE  
DES ANNÉES 1938–1940

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In interwar Romania, the activism of a powerful monarchist political movement led to the emergence of the royal dictatorship (1938–1940) of King Carol II (1930–1940). Despite the major impact this regime had on Romanian society, scholars did not systematically explore its ideological, political and cultural background. Instead, they rather analysed it as a failed experience of personal rule. In this regard, I have tried to answer to a series of fundamental questions related to the modern and nationalist nature of the carolist monarchism. Therefore, I have studied the mechanisms which facilitated the diffusion of fascist ideas and practices, in order to demonstrate the fact that the Romanian royal dictatorship is largely influenced by the ideology and practice of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In this article, I first explore the development of the carolist political movement. Secondly, I discuss the issue of transnational fascist exchanges in Europe and in Romania. Thirdly, I examine the fascist orientation and practice of the authoritarian regime, as well as how this phenomenon generates an aestheticization of politics. Finally, in the last part of my analysis, I formulate a series of questions regarding the fascist nature of the Romanian monarchism.

**Keywords:** aestheticization of politics, fascism, interwar Romania, monarchism, the Carolist dictatorship.

Les dernières décennies ont vu l'intérêt des chercheurs pour la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres augmenter considérablement. Autrefois, les études sur cette période étaient peu nombreuses, car il fallait absolument franchir les cadres rigides de recherche imposées par l'idéologie et la censure communiste. Par contre, malgré cet intérêt croissant, on constate l'absence d'études détaillées sur la nature des initiatives réformatrices déroulées dans les années trente par le roi Carol II et ses partisans.

Parmi les chercheurs, le carlisme apparaît comme un épisode local en somme toute secondaire de la montée des régimes antilibéraux en Europe. L'affaire centrale, c'est l'évolution intérieure de l'Allemagne nazie et de l'Italie fasciste, la guerre civile d'Espagne, le régime de Salazar (en Portugal) ou bien celui de Mustafa Kemal (en Turquie). Tout le reste en découle. Pour la Roumanie, la Garde

de Fer, le plus puissant mouvement fasciste de l'Europe Orientale, est au centre des discussions<sup>1</sup>. L'autoritarisme carliste revête encore une importance secondaire.

L'absence de la mémoire en ce qui concerne les actions de ce souverain est vraiment frappante. Dès 1940, il est considéré comme le principal coupable pour la chute de la Grande Roumanie et devient un sujet tabou dans le champ de la recherche scientifique. Le plus souvent, les représentations liées à sa personne sont assez contradictoires. Soit on met en évidence ses efforts pour la modernisation du pays et le soutien accordé à la culture nationale<sup>2</sup>, soit il est durement accusé pour les tares de sa vie personnelle et pour l'incapacité de mener une résistance armée en 1940 pour défendre la Grande Roumanie<sup>3</sup>. La mémoire est toujours sélective, d'autant plus quand il s'agit de nations ou de personnalités politiques. Du coup, l'image commune sur la personne de Carol II le montre simplement comme un coureur<sup>4</sup>, un dictateur et un réactionnaire. À l'époque communiste, par exemple, le carlisme est tout simplement envisagé dans le cadre d'une « lutte de classe » menée par la monarchie et la bourgeoisie contre les paysans et les ouvriers<sup>5</sup>. Ensuite, après la chute du régime communiste, les études les plus complexes sur le carlisme examinent d'abord le parti unique créé à la fin des années 1930<sup>6</sup>. Même à cet égard l'analyse est plutôt descriptive qu'analytique. Le *style* politique et l'activisme réformateur

<sup>1</sup> Voir: Radu Ioanid, *The Sword of the Archangel: Fascist Ideology in Romania*, Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1990; Francisco Veiga, *Istoria Gărzii de Fier, 1919–1941*, ediția a doua, București, Humanitas, 1995; Leon Volovici, *Ideologia naționalistă și „problema evreiască”*, București, Humanitas, 1995; Irina Livezeanu, *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare 1918–1930*, București, Humanitas, 1998; Armin Heinen, *Legiunea „Arhanghelul Mihail”, mișcare socială și organizație politică: o contribuție la problema fascismului internațional*, București, Humanitas, 1999; Radu Ioanid, *The Sacralised Politics of the Romanian Iron Guard*, in « Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions », vol. 5, nr. 3, 2004, p. 419–453; Constantin Iordachi, *Charisma, Politics and Violence: The Legion „Archangel Michael” in Inter-war Romania*, Trondheim, Program on East European Cultures and Societies, 2004; Idem, *God's chosen warriors: Romantic palingenesis, militarism and fascism in modern Romania*, in *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives*, edited by Constantin Iordachi, London, Routledge, 2009, pp. 316–357; Valentin Săndulescu, *Fascism and Its Quest for the „New Man”: The Case of the Romanian Legionary Movement*, in « Studia Hebraica », nr. 4, 2004, p. 349–361; Rebecca Haynes, *Work Camps, Commerce, and the Education of the „New Man” in the Romanian Legionary Movement*, in « The Historical Journal », vol. 51, nr. 4, 2008, p. 943–967; Traian Sandu, *Un fascism roumain: histoire de la Garde de Fer*, Paris, Perrin, 2014; Zigu Ornea, *Anii treizeci: extrema dreaptă românească*, ediția a patra, București, Cartea Românească, 2015; Roland Clark, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară: activismul fascist în România interbelică*, Iași, Polirom, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Lilly Marcou, *Le roi trahi: Carol II de Roumanie*, Paris, Pygmalion, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Scurtu, *Istoria României în timpul celor patru regi*, vol. IV, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2004, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> Paul D. Quinlan, *Regele playboy: Carol al II-lea al României*, București, Humanitas, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, *Sub trei dictaturi*, București, editura Politică, 1970; Alexandru Gheorghe Savu, *Dictatura regală 1938–1940*, București, editura Politică, 1970; Florea Nedelcu, *De la Restaurare la Dictatura regală. Din viața politică a României 1930–1938*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1981.

<sup>6</sup> Florin Müller, *Metamorfoze ale politicianului românesc 1938–1944*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2006, p. 192–276; Radu Florian Bruja, *Carol al II-lea și partidul unic: Frontul Renașterii Naționale*, Iași, Junimea, 2006; Petre Țurlea, *Partidul unui rege: Frontul Renașterii Naționale*, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2006; Florian Grecu, *Construcția unui partid unic: Frontul Renașterii Naționale*, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2012.

du roi et de ses partisans sont également négligés par les travaux biographiques<sup>7</sup> ou par les histoires politiques qui portent sur son règne<sup>8</sup>. La nature fasciste du carlisme a été rarement remarquée ou analysée, sauf dans un livre paru en 2010<sup>9</sup>. L'auteur, Dylan Riley, discute franchement le caractère « fasciste » de la dictature royale<sup>10</sup>. Généralement, les historiens et les politologues ont saisi la montée de l'autoritarisme monarchique plutôt comme le résultat des aspirations antilibérales de Carol et de sa camarilla. À cet égard il faut également rappeler que tant à l'époque communiste que dans la période suivante les travaux universitaires ont envisagé l'échafaudage idéologique de l'autoritarisme carliste comme étant tout d'abord une création de la propagande.

Cette partie de la vérité est, certes, insuffisante. Cela rappelle d'autres regards, plus nuancés, plus complexes. En démontrant les limites théoriques des interprétations qui envisagent la montée du carlisme comme étant générée tout d'abord par la volonté d'un seul individu (voire de Carol), nous pouvons créer les cadres nécessaires pour le renouvellement de la recherche sur la manière de laquelle une série remarquable d'idées sur le *gouvernement* et la *modernisation* ont été avancées et pratiquées dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres.

La montée du carlisme roumain est étroitement liée au contexte politique, géopolitique et idéologique européen. À cette époque, la montée des dictatures est saisissable y compris dans les États voisins situés au sud du Danube. En Albanie, en Yougoslavie, en Bulgarie et en Grèce, les souverains montrent une forte volonté d'absolutisme. En 1929, un régime autoritaire est instauré en Yougoslavie, où le roi Alexandre dirige un État assez semblable avec la Grande Roumanie. Outre le fait que le roi Carol II est le beau-frère du roi Alexandre (marié à une des sœurs du monarque roumain), il existe quelques autres points communs : un ensemble politique hétérogène, un roi encore jeune, avancé comme symbole intégrateur et comme vecteur réformateur, mais également la difficulté de souder les régions englobées autrefois dans les anciens empires ottoman et austro-hongrois. Ensuite, en 1934, un régime autoritaire est instauré y compris en Bulgarie et deux années plus tard la politique de l'État grec se tourne elle-aussi vers l'autoritarisme. Le roi Georges II et son Premier ministre, le général Métaxas, effrayés par un mouvement de grèves qui se déclenche à Salonique en mai 1936, mettent en place une dictature militaire, qui emprunte quelques-uns de ses traits au fascisme : ainsi l'encadrement de la jeunesse ou une politique de grands travaux publics<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Maria Bucur, *Carol II of Romania*, in Bernd J. Fischer (ed.), *Balkan Strongmen: Dictators and Authoritarian Rulers of South Eastern Europe*, London, Hurst & Company, 2006, p. 87–117.

<sup>8</sup> Matthieu Boisdrion, *La Roumanie des années trente. De l'avènement de Carol II au démembrement du royaume (1930–1940)*, Parçay-sur-Vienne, Éditions Anovi, 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Dylan Riley, *The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain and Romania, 1870–1945*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> Serge Berstein, *Démocraties, régimes autoritaires et totalitarismes de 1900 à nos jours*, Paris, Hachette, 2007, p. 100. Voir aussi: Aristotle Kallis, *Neither Fascist nor Authoritarian: The 4th of August Regime in Greece (1936–1941) and the Dynamics of Fascistisation in 1930s Europe*, in « East Central Europe », vol. 37, nr. 2–3, 2010, p. 303–330.

Dans les dernières années, les chercheurs ont beaucoup étudié le caractère *transnational* du fascisme<sup>12</sup>, y compris celui de l'Europe centrale-orientale<sup>13</sup>. Certaines études portent sur la propagande fasciste diffusée en Europe orientale<sup>14</sup>, sur la Grande Bretagne<sup>15</sup> ou sur la région d'Alsace<sup>16</sup>. Mais le régime autoritaire dirigé par Carol II mérite à son tour d'être examiné dans le cadre des études sur le fascisme. À cet égard, Aristotle Kallis nous a fourni un modèle attractif quand il a analysé d'une telle manière la dictature du général Ioannis Metaxas en Grèce<sup>17</sup>. Entre le nationalisme fasciste et la collaboration transnationale il y a alors une relation étroite<sup>18</sup>. En effet, pour comprendre la nature du régime carliste l'étude de la diffusion des idées et des pratiques fascistes devient indispensable. L'emploi d'une perspective analytique comparative et transnationale peut éclairer le développement de ce régime et j'ai ainsi essayé d'intervenir d'une manière innovatrice et de présenter sa dimension *moderne* à travers un spectre *fasciste*, afin de mettre en évidence les caractéristiques originales d'un mouvement politique antilibéral peu connu.

Dans les années 1930, le modèle autoritaire mise en place en Italie et en Allemagne est extrêmement populaire en Roumanie et ce phénomène se produit parallèlement avec le rejet du paradigme parlementaire représenté autrefois (plus précisément, avant la Grande Guerre) par la France. Le fascisme est envisagé alors comme la seule dynamique capable d'engendrer un ordre nouveau : à la fois autoritaire, nationaliste et anticommuniste. Dans un article qu'il publie en 1938, Mihail Manoilescu explique ce changement de direction par le fait qu'à la différence de l'Italie et de l'Allemagne, la France n'a pas réussi à créer « *un style* » politique « *nouveau* » et « *original* », qui pourrait offrir des solutions aux défis politiques, culturelles et économiques de la modernité<sup>19</sup>. L'Italie fasciste et l'Allemagne nazie deviennent alors un modèle de palingénésie nationale pour de nombreux intellectuels

<sup>12</sup> Antonio Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis (eds), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Voir aussi: Patricia Clavin, *Transnational Communities in European History, 1920–1970*, in « Contemporary European History », vol. 14, nr. 4, 2005, p. 421–439.

<sup>13</sup> Constantin Iordachi, *Fascism in Interwar East Central and Southeastern Europe. Towards a New Transnational Research Agenda*, in « East Central Europe », vol. 37, nr. 2–3, 2010, p. 161–213.

<sup>14</sup> Stefano Santoro, *L'Italia a l'Europa orientale: diplomazia culturale e propaganda, 1918–1943*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005.

<sup>15</sup> Claudia Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism: Italian Fascists and Britain's Italians in the 1930s*, Oxford, Berg Publishers, 2003; Salvatore Garau, *The Internationalisation of Italian Fascism in the face of German National Socialism, and its Impact on the British Union of Fascists*, in « Politics, Religion & Ideology », vol. 15, nr. 1, 2014, p. 45–63.

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Huston Goodfellow, *Fascism as a Transnational Movement: The Case of Inter-War Alsace*, in « Contemporary European History », vol. 22, nr. 1, 2013, p. 87–106.

<sup>17</sup> Aristotle Kallis, *Neither Fascist nor Authoritarian: The 4th of August Regime in Greece (1936–1941) and the Dynamics of Fascistisation in 1930s Europe*, in « East Central Europe », vol. 37, 2010, p. 303–330.

<sup>18</sup> Arnd Bauerkämper, *Transnational Fascism: Cross-Border Relations between Regimes and Movements in Europe, 1922–1939*, in « East Central Europe », vol. 37, nr. 2–3, 2010, p. 214–246.

<sup>19</sup> Mihail Manoilescu, *Sterilitatea ideologică a Franței postbelice*, in „Lumea Nouă”, nr. 7–10, iulie-octombrie 1938, p. 195–198.



roumains. Parmi eux, Manoilescu est extrêmement actif, théoricien réputé à la fois du corporatisme et du parti unique<sup>20</sup>. Mais celui-ci est en même temps un monarchiste acharné, partisan (dès le début des années 1920) du prince Carol (fils du roi Ferdinand et de la reine Marie), devenu souverain de la Roumanie en 1930. Cet aspect est tout à fait important, puisque l'alliance forgée entre la monarchie carliste et les élites philofascistes (intellectuels, hommes politiques ou bureaucrates) va créer progressivement les cadres favorables pour la fascisation de la dictature royale des années 1938–1940.

Même si le carlisme des années 1930 est précédé par le carlisme des années 1920, quand les nationalistes monarchistes nourrissent une idéologie qui proclame la nécessité d'avoir un chef autoritaire destiné à faciliter par ses actions le processus de formation de l'État national<sup>21</sup>, la véritable période *carliste* commence en juin 1930. Bien qu'il renonce à sa qualité de prince héritier (à la fin de l'année 1925) pour partir à l'étranger avec Elena Lupescu (sa maîtresse), la mort du roi Ferdinand (en 1927), le manque de crédibilité de la Régence<sup>22</sup> et la crise économique qui frappe le monde à la fin de la décennie préparent alors le terrain pour le retour de Carol en Roumanie. On y cherche un *homme providentiel* capable de restaurer l'« ordre » tant désirée et Carol est ainsi projeté comme *Sauveur* de la nation et, ensuite, intronisé (le 8 juin 1930). Il s'agit d'un véritable tournant, qui marque bien pour ce pays une nouvelle époque, forte de nouveautés.

À partir de 8 juin (fêté dans les années 1930 comme jour de la « Restauration »), son image devient l'objet d'une attention particulière; en même temps, sa personnalité et son *style* le font la cible de nombreuses attentes de réforme. À cette époque, le mythe du *chef* – projeté sur Carol – dote le monarchisme d'une véritable vocation réformatrice et, du coup, par les réformes qu'il dirige, ce monarque prétend être devenu l'architecte d'un « État nouveau ». Le roi et ses partisans vont repenser le projet de l'État-nation afin d'essayer de renouveler profondément ses institutions et la société roumaine. À cet égard, le fascisme (soit-il italien ou allemand) est envisagé comme un véritable modèle à suivre, un exemple d'évolution positive et de perfectionnement. Sous le règne de Carol II, une forte politique réformatrice commence surtout à partir de 1933–1934, se poursuit avec la mise en place du régime autoritaire en 1938 et se clôt par les pertes territoriales de 1940<sup>23</sup> et l'abdication du roi<sup>24</sup>. Face à la guerre et aux pertes territoriales infligées à la Grande Roumanie, le mythe Carol perd rapidement de son efficacité. Le pouvoir

<sup>20</sup> Idem, *Le siècle du corporatisme: doctrine du corporatisme intégral et pur*, Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan, 1934; Idem, *Le parti unique: institution politiques des régimes nouveaux*, Paris, Les Œuvres Françaises, 1936.

<sup>21</sup> Florin Ţurcanu, *Néotraditionalisme et politique dans la Roumanie des années vingt*, in « Revue des études sud-est européennes, Bucarest, 1997, tome XXXV, nr. 1–2, p. 77–86.

<sup>22</sup> Son fils Michel, né en 1921, est alors trop jeune pour devenir roi.

<sup>23</sup> Dès le 28 juin 1940, la Bessarabie et la Bucovine du Nord sont annexées sans conflit armé par l'Union Soviétique). Ensuite, par le « Diktat » de Vienne de 30 août, le nord de la Transylvanie est rattaché à la Hongrie.

<sup>24</sup> L'abdication du roi, le 6 septembre, est suivie par son départ en exil, en Portugal.

central entre alors dans une phase de repli, où la monarchie est de moins en moins populaire.

Dans le cadre de cette étude, j'ai analysé le *carlisme* comme un mouvement politique moderne, à la fois nationaliste et monarchiste, antiparlementaire et antilibéral, avec une conception autoritaire sur le politique, doté d'une idéologie palingénésique et fondateur d'un régime politique qui imite généreusement les régimes fascistes italien et allemand, y compris en ce qui concerne l'esthétisation du politique. Cette définition (certes, inachevée et provisoire, comme toute définition) engloberait les plus importantes traits de ce mouvement politique. Bien que cela ne couvre pas « tous » les aspects du carlisme, elle nous facilite, à mon avis, la compréhension de ce phénomène.

Le *carlisme* est un terme qui se contente d'une histoire particulière. Il est utilisé (plus ou moins souvent) dès les années vingt tant par les partisans ou par les adversaires du roi que par les observateurs extérieurs ou par les chercheurs pour décrire l'activisme politique du monarque et de ses adeptes. En fait, ce mouvement politique – doté d'une idéologie qui soutient à la fois une image positive sur Carol et le renforcement de ses pouvoirs politiques – englobe un grand nombre d'acteurs : non seulement le monarque et sa camarilla, mais aussi de nombreux intellectuels (Nae Ionescu, Mihail Manoilescu, Nicolae Iorga ou Nichifor Crainic), hommes politiques (Constantin Argetoianu, Gheorghe Tătărescu, Armand Călinescu, Valer Pop), journalistes (Cezar Petrescu, Pamfil Șeicaru), militaires, industriels (Nicolae Malaxa, Ion Gigurtu) membres du clergé orthodoxe (Miron Cristea), universitaires (Dimitrie Gusti, Constantin C. Giurescu, Istrate Micescu) ou technocrates (surtout pendant le régime autoritaire)<sup>25</sup>. Le projet monarchiste est destiné à être achevé par l'entremise de Carol, mais il est beaucoup plus complexe que la personne et les actions de celui-ci. C'est à cause de ce fait que ma recherche porte non sur le philo-fascisme du roi, mais sur le *philo-fascisme carliste*.

Ainsi, j'ai examiné ce sujet à partir de trois perspectives différentes: comme une *idéologie* (autrement dit, comme un corpus d'idées), comme un *mouvement politique* et comme un *régime politique* (c'est-à-dire comme un système de gouvernement). En fait, la relation entre ces trois aspects met en évidence une métamorphose remarquable. Du coup, les acteurs du carlisme passent facilement de l'*idéologie* à la *pratique politique* (par la mise en place de leurs idées), dont l'apogée se déroule à la fin des années 1930, quand ce *mouvement politique* aboutit à instaurer un *régime politique* qui revendique le monopole du gouvernement. D'une part, l'idéologie renforce le régime politique et lui confère une certaine légitimité. D'autre part, l'idéologie n'est pas seulement un instrument du régime. Celui-ci peut-être envisagé à la fois comme une œuvre (certes, plus ou moins fidèle) de cette idéologie. Il ne faut pas négliger le fait que le changement politique

<sup>25</sup> À cet égard, voir : Doru Adrian Lixandru, *O dictatură în condominiu? Elitele tradiționale și monarhia în timpul regimului autoritar din România anilor 1938-1940*, in «Revista istorică», tom XXVI, nr. 3-4, 2015, p. 311-321.

de février 1938 est préparé et facilité y compris par une armature idéologique mise en place antérieurement. Envisagé ainsi, le carlisme englobe les acteurs du mouvement politique monarchiste qui fait l'objet de notre étude, c'est-à-dire leurs idées et leurs actions, voire la manière de laquelle ils donnent un sens à la « réalité » et façonnent cette « réalité ». Ce n'est pas la manière de laquelle ses acteurs se ressemblent dans le cadre d'une organisation politique cohérente qui fait la force du carlisme, mais c'est la façon dont ceux-ci parviendront à diffuser et matérialiser leurs idées. Pourtant, ce mouvement politique finit par s'emparer du pouvoir, en même temps que d'autres mouvements politiques ne le font pas.

Cet article ne représente pas une étude comparative entre le carlisme et les régimes fascistes européens de cette époque, mais il porte sur la façon dont le régime politique roumain des années 1938-1940 s'inspire de l'extérieur pour pratiquer sa propre idéologie. J'ai essayé également de franchir les cadres d'une simple analyse politique ou historique pour saisir premièrement l'aspect *heuristique* de ce fascisme monarchiste, voire ce que les acteurs du carlisme apportent de nouveau dans le contexte politique roumain et européen des années trente. La recherche est centrée sur la période 1938-1940 puisque cette tranche de temps fournit l'expérience carliste la plus profonde. Du point de vue chronologique, ce régime débute avec le coup d'État de 10 février 1938 et dure jusque le 6 septembre 1940, le jour de l'abdication du roi. À travers cette période, la Roumanie subit une série de réformes fondamentales, liées souvent à l'idéologie et à la pratique fascistes.

Ma recherche commence avec une courte introduction qui porte sur le mimétisme fasciste et sur la nature du courant idéologique italophile dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres, afin d'explorer le mimétisme philo-fasciste pratiqué pendant le régime autoritaire. Plus exactement, j'ai analysé tant les relations institutionnelles extérieures de ce régime que la façon dont se produit la diffusion des idées et leur mise en place; non seulement par rapport à l'Italie mussolinienne, mais aussi en relation avec l'Allemagne nazie. À cet égard, je me suis également intéressé au phénomène d'esthétisation du politique, c'est-à-dire à la manière de laquelle les rituels politiques diffusent alors une vision *fasciste* du monde dans l'espace public. La mise en scène d'un régime politique est toujours intéressante, chargée de symboles et d'intentions révélatrices de l'idéologie de l'époque. Enfin, dans la dernière partie du texte j'ai formulé une série de questions plus amples sur la nature du mimétisme carliste (fut-il politique, idéologique, esthétique, économique ou culturel). Je propose ainsi une possible intégration du monarchisme carliste roumain dans la famille des fascismes européens. Le fait d'envisager ce mouvement politique y compris dans un contexte politique continental nous aide à mieux comprendre le fait que le processus de personnalisation carliste du pouvoir et le régime autoritaire monarchiste établi en Roumanie ne peuvent être expliqués tout simplement comme un résultat arbitraire des ambitions personnelles de Carol II. Par contre, le nationalisme monarchique

peut être mieux saisi une fois examiné dans le cadre de la vague de bouleversements sociopolitiques et culturels qui traverse l'Europe de l'entre-deux-guerres et qui établit les cadres favorables pour la montée des projets politiques de « régénération nationale » à travers des méthodes antilibérales.

### MIMÉTISME ET ITALOPHILIE. AUX ORIGINES DU FASCISME MONARCHIQUE

Certes, le philo-fascisme qui fait l'objet de cette étude n'est pas un phénomène limité à la Roumanie. En effet, le mimétisme est un phénomène largement répandu parmi tous les régimes fascistes ou autoritaires de cette époque. Il s'agit d'une coopération extrêmement diverse, qui englobe non seulement les affaires militaires et l'idéologie, mais également l'économie, la propagande, le tourisme ou les événements sportifs<sup>26</sup>. Mussolini gagne tôt l'admiration d'Adolf Hitler, le chef de parti national-socialiste allemand. Au début des années 1920, Hitler possède un portrait du Duce dans son bureau de Munich. Une année après la « marche sur Rome », le dirigeant allemand essaye lui aussi de renverser le gouvernement bavarois par un putsch (en novembre 1923). Mais Mussolini a aussi ses disciples Portugais, Espagnols, Autrichiens ou Français. En France, en Belgique, mais également en Hollande et en Grande Bretagne on assiste à la création des mouvements qui identifient volontairement leurs idées et leurs postulats avec celles du fascisme italien<sup>27</sup>. En fait, c'est Mussolini qui est le premier dictateur de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres et de nombreux dirigeants autoritaires de cette époque vont imiter les pratiques consacrées par celui connu alors comme le « Duce »<sup>28</sup>.

Ensuite, il faut également ajouter le fait que l'Allemagne nazie s'inspire massivement de programmes sociaux et d'infrastructure pratiqués dans l'Italie fasciste. Imitateur de Mussolini, Hitler lance en 1934 un ambitieux programme de construction des *Reichsautobahnen*, les autoroutes du Reich qui font suite aux *autostrade* italiennes. Ensuite, ce n'est qu'après un voyage fait en Italie que Robert Ley (dirigeant du Front allemand du travail – *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*) mit en 1933 les bases de *Kraft durch Freude*, l'organisation nazie pour l'encadrement des travailleurs<sup>29</sup>. Non seulement les allemands imitent progressivement le modèle italien de l'*Opera Nazionale*

<sup>26</sup> Voir: Arnd Bauerkämper, *op. cit.*; Idem, *Ambiguities of Transnationalism: Fascism in Europe Between Pan-Europeanism and Ultra-Nationalism, 1919–1939*, in «German Historical Institute Bulletin», vol. 29, nr. 2, 2007, p. 43–67; Luca de Caprariis, *Fascism for Export? The Rise and Eclipse of the Fasci Italiani all'Estero*, in «Journal of Contemporary History», vol. 35, nr. 2, 2000, p. 151–183.

<sup>27</sup> Johann Chapoutot, *Fascisme, nazisme et régimes autoritaires en Europe 1918–1945*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2013, p. 136.

<sup>28</sup> Voir: *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians*, edited by Stephen Gundle *et al.*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013.

<sup>29</sup> Johann Chapoutot, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

*Dopolavoro* (créée en 1925), mais aussi des États autoritaires comme le Portugal (*Fundação nacional para a alegria no trabalho*), la Grèce (*Ergasia estia*) ou l'Espagne (*Educación y descanso*)<sup>30</sup>. Autrement, le régime de Mussolini s'inspire de l'expérience politique de Gabrielle D'Annunzio à Fiume sur l'esthétisation du politique<sup>31</sup> ou de l'épisode de la Révolution Française quand il adopte un nouveau calendrier. Ainsi, le moment de l'arrivée au pouvoir des « chemises noires » (1922) est consacré officiellement comme le début d'une « nouvelle ère » pour la nation italienne (ANNO I)<sup>32</sup>. En revanche, en 1938, c'est la législation raciale mise en place dans le Troisième Reich qui sert à son tour comme modèle aux fascistes Italiens quand ceux-ci adoptent une politique antisémite<sup>33</sup>.

En Roumanie, après la Première Guerre Mondiale, ce type de mimétisme est saisissable surtout par rapport à l'Italie fasciste. Le philo-fascisme des Roumains englobe d'abord le culte du *chef*, voire l'admiration pour la personne de Mussolini, rencontré personnellement par les monarchistes Mihail Manoilescu, Dimitrie Gusti, Pamfil Șeicaru, Nichifor Crainic, Nicolae Iorga ou Constantin Argetoianu. Chacun d'entre eux visite l'Italie dès les années 1920, afin d'être captivé par la personnalité du « Duce » et par les réformes qu'il dirige.

Pour de nombreux nationalistes roumains de l'entre-deux-guerres, cette nation devient un véritable exemple à suivre. Il n'y a probablement pas d'autres pays où le fascisme italien est si attentivement examiné comme en Roumanie. La mise en place de ce régime politique polarise le débat des idées en Roumanie de telle manière que les textes écrits sur l'Italie inondent les publications roumaines de l'entre-deux-guerres. Les italophiles agissent constamment pour renforcer les relations entre les deux nations latines. On voit ainsi dans la Grande Roumanie la naissance de nombreuses associations culturelles et revues italophiles. Ainsi, ce rapprochement ne doit pas être envisagé comme étant tout simplement le résultat d'une propagande. Le philo-fascisme s'inscrit aussi dans un contexte d'une forte coopération culturelle italo-roumaine. À cette époque, les professeurs italiens Ramiro Ortiz, Carlo Tagliavini et Mario Ruffini, ainsi que des Roumains comme Alexandru Marcu et Claudiu Isopescu ont eu un rôle important dans la présentation et le développement des relations culturelles et scientifiques entre les deux pays. Grâce à leurs recherches, aux études publiées en Italie et en Roumanie, mais

<sup>30</sup> Victoria De Grazia, *Dopolavoro*, in *Dizionario del fascismo*, a cura di Victoria De Grazia e Sergio Luzzatto, volume primo, Torino, Einaudi, 2005, p. 446.

<sup>31</sup> Emilio Gentile, *La religion fasciste. La sacralisation de la politique dans l'Italie de Mussolini*, Paris, Perrin, 2002, p. 43–44; Claudia Salaris, *À la fête de la Révolution: artistes et libertaires avec D'Annunzio à Fiume*, Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, 2006, p. 21–22; George L. Mosse, *The Poet and the Exercise of Political Power: Gabrielle D'Annunzio*, in « Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature », Indiana University, vol. 22, 1973, p. 33, 39; Michael A. Ledeen, *The First Duce: D'Annunzio at Fiume*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press, 1977, p. VII–VIII.

<sup>32</sup> George L. Mosse, *La révolution fasciste. Vers une théorie générale du fascisme*, Paris, Seuil, 2003, p. 115.

<sup>33</sup> Voir: Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci, *L'Italie fasciste et la persécution des Juifs*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2012.

également aux revues qu'ils avaient dirigées (*Roma*, 1921–1933; *Studii italiene*, 1934–1943), ces personnalités ont largement contribué à la bonne connaissance de l'histoire et de la culture des deux peuples et à l'enrichissement du dialogue culturel italo-roumain. À cet égard, les chercheurs ont justement remarqué le fait que l'époque de l'entre-deux-guerres a été la période de pointe dans l'évolution des recherches réciproques promues en Roumanie et en Italie<sup>34</sup>. D'ailleurs, la littérature et la culture italienne sont assez souvent discutées y compris dans les pages de la *Revue des Fondations Royales* (*Revista Fundațiilor Regale*), publiée à partir de 1934 avec le soutien du roi Carol II<sup>35</sup>.

Ensuite, le rapprochement entre les deux nations est facilité par le mythe de leurs origines latines ainsi que par l'anti-bolchévisme roumain, qui trouve dans le fascisme un pilier idéologique assez fort. Si l'Union Soviétique représente maintenant pour la Grande Roumanie l'altérité, le contre-modèle, alors l'Italie fasciste serait le contraire. D'ailleurs, dans la préface de la traduction roumaine du livre de Vincenzo Meletti sur la « civilisation fasciste », le carliste Nicolae Iorga oppose franchement le fascisme à la menace bolchévique<sup>36</sup>. En Roumanie, la fascination pour le fascisme italien est à la fois politique, intellectuelle et culturelle. Pour ses admirateurs Roumains, l'Italie de cette époque s'avère être une véritable nation transfigurée, pays de l'ordre et du travail créateur. Dans ce contexte, la coopération italo-roumaine est renforcée progressivement. En 1932, une « Librairie italienne » ouvre ses portes à Bucarest<sup>37</sup> et une année plus tard l'État roumain inaugure en Italie le nouveau siège de l'École roumaine de Rome, un événement où participe y compris Benito Mussolini, à côté de nombreuses personnalités roumaines et italiennes<sup>38</sup>. En revanche, l'État fasciste crée en Roumanie un « Institut de culture italienne ». Cet établissement déroule son activité non seulement dans la capitale, mais également dans les villes de Timișoara, Cernăuți, Chișinău et Galați.

Cependant, il ne faut pas négliger ni la façon dont les intellectuels et la presse carliste comptent alors parmi les plus importants vecteurs idéologiques du fascisme. Les centaines de textes parus dans les quotidiens *Cuvântul* (Le Mot), *Curentul* (Le Courant) et *Neamul Românesc* (La Nation Roumaine) ainsi que dans les revues *Calendarul* (Le Calendrier), *Lumea Nouă* (Le monde nouveau), *Gândirea* (La pensée) ou *Vremea* (Le Temps) forment une véritable radiographie du régime fasciste italien, peint d'une manière extrêmement positive, à partir d'une admiration qui est à la fois politique, intellectuelle et culturelle. Certes, les philo-fascistes expliquent ce régime selon leurs propres attentes. Les monarchistes

<sup>34</sup> Veronica Țurcuș, *Le rôle des bibliographies italo-roumaines dans la recherche des liens culturels-historiques entre les Roumains et les Italiens*, in «Transylvanian Review», vol. VII, nr. 1, 1998, p. 97–98.

<sup>35</sup> Voir: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară din București, *Revista Fundațiilor Regale: indice bibliografic adnotat*, București, 1995.

<sup>36</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Prefață la Vincenzo Meletti, Civilizația fascistă*, București, Tiparul Oltenia, 1931, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Vladimir Ionescu, *Librăria italiană din București*, in „Cuvântul”, anul VIII, 29 ianuarie 1932, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> „Calendarul”, anul II, 11 ianuarie 1933, p. 1.

roumains ignorent volontairement le radicalisme du fascisme italien. Attirés par son idéologie activiste, nationaliste et antiparlementaire, ceux-ci proclament à leur tour la nécessité d'organiser la nation d'une manière unitaire et hiérarchique. Il faut bien prendre en compte cet aspect, puisque ces personnes jouent un rôle clé dans le processus d'invention idéologique et ensuite de mise en place de la dictature carliste. En fait, à cette époque, entre la monarchie et cette catégorie sociale il y a une relation extrêmement étroite, autour de laquelle s'érige l'entier échafaudage du monarchisme autoritaire roumain.

Même si le carlisme roumain possède sa propre spécificité idéologique (nationale), ce n'est pas moins vrai que des idées et des institutions extérieures à la Grande Roumanie s'avèrent être des véritables sources d'inspiration et qu'à cet égard c'est le modèle fasciste qui séduit les acteurs de ce monarchisme. Les initiatives du régime politique qui fait l'objet de cette analyse s'inscrivent dans les cadres d'un paradigme politique devenu presque classique à cette époque, quand le parlementarisme et le libéralisme sont envisagés souvent comme une dynamique dévastatrice par rapport à la *planification* et au projet d'un Etat *omnipotent* dirigé par un *chef* capable. Les régimes de droite sont largement animés alors par l'ambition claire de reformer l'État et la société: ils promettent tous d'édifier des États nouveaux, dont les leaders – Mussolini, Hitler, Mustafa Kemal, Franco ou Salazar – revendiquent le statut de chefs absolus. En Roumanie, le discours et les pratiques réformatrices des monarchistes roumains sont centrés autour du même mythe palingénésique, mais cette fois sur l'idée d'une régénération nationale dirigée par la monarchie. Progressivement, ce mythe sera utilisé comme source d'inspiration pour une nouvelle forme de modernité politique<sup>39</sup>. Le *fascisme* forgé dans le cadre de ce régime mérite ainsi d'être saisi comme un phénomène qui surgit dans un contexte historique particulier, à la fois *national* et *européen*.

En Roumanie, l'attraction fasciste est née dans les années 1920 afin de s'intensifier graduellement dans la décennie suivante. Surtout au milieu des années 1930, quand la popularité de la dictature mussolinienne monte en flèche. Le régime politique des « chemises noires » semble d'être de plus en plus fort, notamment après la conquête de l'Éthiopie (1935–1936). Enfin, le mimétisme fasciste connaît son apogée pendant le régime autoritaire des années 1938–1940. Comme nous allons montrer, cette fois non seulement en relation avec l'Italie, mais également par rapport avec l'Allemagne nazie. La Roumanie n'échappe pas à la vague antilibérale qui secoue l'Europe. Le mimétisme carliste devient alors de plus en plus visible, parallèlement à une forte montée de l'autoritarisme monarchique. L'alternative d'un gouvernement autoritaire devient de plus en plus à la mode, elle semble de plus en plus moderne et attrayante.

<sup>39</sup> J'ai examiné la nature réformatrice du régime carliste dans un autre article. Voir : Doru Adrian Lixandru, *Le monarchisme comme idéologie de la palingénésie nationale dans la Roumanie des années trente*, in « Studia Politica », vol. XVI, nr. 3, 2016, p. 313–330.

### LA PRATIQUE DU MIMÉTISME PENDANT LE RÉGIME AUTORITAIRE

Le mouvement politique monarchiste aboutit à monopoliser le gouvernement dans la Grande Roumanie par un coup d'État mis en place le 10 février 1938, quand l'activité des partis politiques est interdite. La mise en place de la dictature royale est bientôt suivie par l'arrestation de Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu, leader de la Garde de Fer, qui subit un procès truqué. Celui-ci est accusé d'outrage contre un ministre en fonction (il insulte l'historien monarchiste Nicolae Iorga, alors conseiller royal) mais aussi d'avoir conspiré avec des « puissances étrangères » (plus précisément avec l'Allemagne nazie<sup>40</sup>) pour renverser l'ordre politique existante. Les légionnaires sont perçus alors par les autorités de l'État comme un nationalisme fasciste concurrent, sinon comme une organisation anarchiste. À l'occasion des élections de la fin de l'année 1937, leur parti politique – Tout pour le Pays (*Totul Pentru Ţară*) – réussit à obtenir 15,58 % des voix<sup>41</sup>, ce qui inquiète le roi et ses collaborateurs. Le monarque lui-même parle d'un coup d'État qui aurait été préparé par cette organisation fasciste, qu'il associe avec « *le complet renversement de l'ordre social et de notre politique extérieure traditionnelle* »<sup>42</sup>. Pour lui, ainsi que pour les élites traditionnelles avec lesquelles il collabore, les légionnaires représentent une forme dangereuse de radicalisme politique. Ainsi, Armand Călinescu, ancien ministre de l'Intérieur, monarchiste et adversaire acharné des légionnaires, les condamne pour le caractère « *révolutionnaire* » de leur mouvement<sup>43</sup>. En fait, en 1938, la plupart de l'élite de ce mouvement fasciste est enfermée. Parmi les « légionnaires », des milliers sont alors emprisonnés<sup>44</sup>. Ensuite, la même année, en novembre, quelques-uns de ses plus importants membres, y compris son chef, Codreanu, seront assassinés après avoir été accusés de vouloir s'évader. La mort de Codreanu affaiblit visiblement la Garde de Fer, dont l'activité se déroule dès maintenant en pleine clandestinité. Par ces actions, les carlistes essaient d'avancer l'idée de l'État fort. On y ajoute le fait que l'article 15 de la nouvelle Constitution prévoit la peine capitale pour certaines infractions (par exemple, pour les attentats menés contre les membres de la famille royale ou les

<sup>40</sup> Les accusateurs essaient non seulement de montrer les liens entre le Troisième Reich et les « légionnaires » roumains, mais dénoncent aussi le fait qu'en ce qui concerne la politique extérieure la Garde de Fer proclamait explicitement la nécessité d'une alliance avec l'Allemagne nazie et l'Italie fasciste.

<sup>41</sup> Voir: Kurt W. TREPTOW, « Alegerile din decembrie 1937 și instaurarea dictaturii regale », in *România și al doilea Război Mondial*, Iași, Centrul de Studii Românești, 1996.

<sup>42</sup> CAROL al II-lea, rege al României 1930–1940, *Între datorie și pasiune: însemnări zilnice 1904–1939*, vol. I, București, Silex, 1995, p. 150, 151, 232.

<sup>43</sup> Armand CĂLINESCU, *Însemnări politice 1916–1939*, București, Humanitas, 1990, p. 372.

<sup>44</sup> Zeev BARBU, « Rumania », in *European Fascism*, edited by S.J. WOOLF, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970, pp. 160–161 ; Rebecca HAYNES, « Reluctant Allies? Iuliu Maniu and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu against King Carol II of Romania », *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 85, nr. 1, 2007, p. 127.



« dignitaires de l'État »)<sup>45</sup>. Et on l'applique vraiment: le 21 septembre 1939, les 9 assassins du ministre de l'Intérieur Armand Călinescu (tous membres de la Garde de Fer) sont exécutés exactement à l'endroit où ils ont commis leur crime.

Du coup, Carol II joue le rôle du Sauveur pas seulement en 1930, mais aussi en 1938. Il se présente comme tel dans la proclamation qu'il prononce le 10 février, à l'occasion du coup d'État<sup>46</sup>. Alors, Carol II parle de sa « *volonté* » de « *sauver la Grande Roumanie* », présentant ses actions comme un « *affranchissement* » du pays des « *intérêts étroits des partis politiques* »<sup>47</sup>. Les acteurs de ce changement, parmi lesquels le roi s'affirme comme personnage principal, annoncent la rupture par rapport à l'ancien régime. Ensuite, ils s'emparent d'une rhétorique antiparlementaire et communiquent la préparation d'une nouvelle constitution.

On essaye ainsi d'imposer le nationalisme monarchiste comme idéologie d'État. En même temps, le mimétisme fasciste devient de plus en plus visible, d'une telle manière que la Roumanie carliste semble devenir de plus en plus un deuxième fascisme à la roumaine, après celui de la Garde de Fer. Ce mimétisme, à la fois institutionnel et idéologique, s'intensifie progressivement et il est saisissable pendant toute l'existence du régime. Chronologiquement, le premier moment qui semble trahir la sensibilité mimétique du nouveau régime c'est la mise en place d'un plébiscite national pour ratifier la Constitution autoritaire, le 27 Février 1938. Dans les années 1920 et 1930, une telle pratique est souvent utilisée dans l'Italie fasciste et dans l'Allemagne nazie pour légitimer les plus importantes réformes de l'État autoritaire<sup>48</sup>. Deuxièmement, le carlisme fonde un parti unique (appelé le *Front de la Renaissance Nationale*) et adopte le corporatisme pour l'organiser. Selon Antonio Costa Pinto, le corporatisme peut être envisagé parmi les plus importants facteurs qui trahiront le mimétisme des dictatures de l'entre-deux-guerres<sup>49</sup>. Pour le roi lui-même le corporatisme représente « *une voie nouvelle* », une voie à suivre, qui aura le mérite d'englober beaucoup plus de membres de la nation au gouvernement de l'État, y compris parmi les paysans, les intellectuels, ou les petits industriels ou commerçants<sup>50</sup>. Troisièmement, le culte du chef connaît alors en Roumanie une forte augmentation. Par l'article 30 de la nouvelle Constitution, le roi devient tout simplement le « *Chef de l'État* » (*Capul Statului*)<sup>51</sup>. Coïncidence ou pas, les statuts du Parti National Fasciste adoptés la même année désignent Mussolini avec le même titre. Le « *Duce* » est appelé alors « *Il Capo* »,

<sup>45</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVII, nr. 118, 24 mai 1939, pp. 3298–3299.

<sup>46</sup> *Cuvântările Regelui Carol II, 1930–1940*, vol. II, București, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă « Regele Carol II », 1940, p. 306.

<sup>47</sup> *Idem*, p. 306, 311, 314.

<sup>48</sup> Voir: Ralph Jessen, Hedwig Richter (eds), *Voting for Hitler and Stalin. Elections Under 20th Century Dictatorships*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 2011.

<sup>49</sup> António Costa Pinto, *The Nature of Fascism Revisited*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2012, p. 125.

<sup>50</sup> *Cuvântările Regelui Carol II, 1930–1940*, vol. II, București, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă « Regele Carol II », 1940, p. 312.

<sup>51</sup> *Constituțiunea „Regele Carol II”*, București, Tipografia „Lupta”, 1938, p. 10.

c'est-à-dire le « Chef » du P.N.F.<sup>52</sup>. Quatrièmement, en juin 1940, selon la mode consacrée en Italie et en Allemagne, le carlisme proclame la mise en place de l'État totalitaire. La dictature du parti unique par l'intermède de l'État et la dictature du chef sont alors deux aspects fondamentaux du nouvel autoritarisme.

En même temps, il ne faut pas oublier les relations institutionnelles nouées par la *Straja Țării* (établissement destiné à l'encadrement de la jeunesse), le Ministère de la Propagande et l'organisation *Muncă și Voe Bună* (Travail et Joie) avec les organismes similaires italiens (*Ministero della Cultura Popolare, Opera Nazionale Balilla, Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*) et allemands (*Reichministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, Hitlerjugend* ou *Kraft durch Freude*). Les structures destinées à encadrer les individus deviennent alors indispensables pour améliorer la relation entre le régime et les masses, entre le centre et la périphérie, voire entre la politique autoritaire et les efforts menés pour annihiler toute forme de résistance civique. Prenons, par exemple, l'organisme conçu pour encadrer les travailleurs. Créé en août 1938, *Muncă și Voe Bună* (Travail et Joie) trahit le mimétisme même par son nom. *Lavoro e Gioia* (Travail et Joie) et *Kraft durch Freude* (Force par la Joie) sont les noms donnés aux structures analogues en Italie et en Allemagne. Le résultat de leur activité se montre relativement attractif. En Italie, l'*Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* représente non seulement le plus important instrument pour contrôler les travailleurs, mais aussi la plus importante formule pour encadrer les individus<sup>53</sup>. En 1940, celle-ci englobe environ 4 millions de membres<sup>54</sup>. En ce qui concerne l'encadrement des ouvriers, Mihail Ralea (ministre du Travail) et ses collaborateurs discutent d'une manière explicite la nécessité d'imiter les établissements « *Dopolavoro* » et « *Kraft durch Freude* »<sup>55</sup>. À l'été 1938, Ralea va en Allemagne et en Italie précisément pour étudier leur échafaudage institutionnel, afin de le discuter ensuite avec le roi Carol II<sup>56</sup>. En revanche, des représentants italiens et allemands visitent à leur tour la Roumanie<sup>57</sup>. En fait, les visites bilatérales et les accords de collaboration facilitent la mise en place d'une forte coopération institutionnelle, y compris quand il s'agit de la propagande<sup>58</sup> ou de l'encadrement de la jeunesse<sup>59</sup>. De façon paradoxale, bien que

<sup>52</sup> Emilio Gentile, *Qu'est-ce que le fascisme? Histoire et interprétation*, Paris, Gallimard, 2004, p. 256.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 286.

<sup>54</sup> Victoria De Grazia, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

<sup>55</sup> Voir: Mihail Ralea, *Munca în noul regim*, in *Era nouă*, Asociația Publiciștilor Români, București, 1938, p. 7–8; Stavri Cunescu, *Muncă și Voe Bună*, in *Muncă și Voe Bună: folosirea timpului liber al muncitorilor*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 12–13; Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale (ANIC), fond Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale (MMSOS), dosar 1182/1938, f. 43. ANIC, fond MMSOS, dosar 980/1939, f. 11.

<sup>56</sup> Carol al II-lea, rege al României 1930–1940, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice, 1904–1939*, vol. I, Curtea Veche, București, 2003, p. 265, 274.

<sup>57</sup> „*Straja Țării: buletin*”, anul I, nr. 9–10, septembrie-octombrie 1938, p. 13–14; ANIC, fond MMSOS, dosar 1184/1938, f. 20.

<sup>58</sup> ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, volumul al III-lea: Carol al II-lea, dosar 13/1940, f. 1–3; ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Cinematografie, dosar 15/1940, f. 29, 47.

<sup>59</sup> Voir: *Straja Țării: cinci ani de activitate 1935–1940*, București, Vremea, 1940, p. 177–226.

la *Straja Țării* est envisagée par les dirigeants comme une alternative au fascisme autochtone représentée par la Garde de Fer, la jeunesse monarchiste devient elle-même de plus en plus *fasciste* par la manière de laquelle on imite alors les établissements similaires d'Italie (*Opera Nazionale Balilla*) et de l'Allemagne (*Hitlerjugend*). Par contre, la réforme administrative qui partage la Grande Roumanie en dix nouvelles régions (*ținuturi*) s'inspire clairement d'une réforme similaire faite en 1929 dans la Yougoslavie voisine par le roi Alexandre. Là, les anciens départements (*oblasti*) sont remplacés par neuf nouvelles provinces (*banovine*), auxquelles on ajoute un district qui englobe la capitale Belgrade et ses environs. Comme chacune de ces banovine, les *ținuturi* roumains portent le nom de leur principale rivière, à l'exception de celui qui englobe la ville de Bucarest. Ensuite, si chaque *banovina* yougoslave est dirigée par un « représentant du gouvernement royal » (*ban*), de la même manière les nouvelles unités administratives roumains ont à leur tête un « résident royal » (*rezident regal*)<sup>60</sup>.

Bien que les aspects discutés ci-dessous nous poussent à affirmer que le mimétisme est pratiqué surtout par rapport à l'Italie fasciste, il ne faut pas négliger le fait que l'augmentation des échanges économiques entre l'État roumain et l'Allemagne nazie implique alors y compris des rapports culturels et un rapprochement idéologique avec ce pays. D'une part, les acteurs du régime autoritaire carliste cherchent à trouver une source d'inspiration dans les techniques employées alors par la propagande du Troisième Reich<sup>61</sup>. À cet égard, en 1939, la visite de la fameuse réalisatrice allemande Leni Riefenstahl<sup>62</sup> n'est pas du tout faite par hasard. Les films allemands sont alors de plus en plus appréciés en Roumanie<sup>63</sup>. D'autre part, à cause du même rapprochement roumano-allemand, l'antisémitisme roumain commence à se fonder de plus en plus sur des bases raciales. Ce fait est d'abord visible dans le discours des acteurs du régime, comme c'est le cas du professeur de droit Ion V. Gruia, ministre de la Justice<sup>64</sup>. Même Carol II proclame alors « *le renforcement de la race roumaine* » comme une nécessité urgente pour faire face aux dangers qui auraient menacé la nation<sup>65</sup>. À cet égard, la législation antisémite introduite en 1940 en Roumanie imite les lois similaires appliquées déjà en Allemagne et en Italie<sup>66</sup>. Ensuite, la germanophilie se concrétise y compris par l'ouverture à Bucarest d'un Institut Scientifique Allemand et d'un Institut

<sup>60</sup> Christian Axboe Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs: Identity in King Aleksandar's Yugoslavia*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014, p. 100–107.

<sup>61</sup> ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Miscelane, dosar 812, f. 1, 2, 34, 37, 60; Ion D. Suchianu, *Locul cinematografului în organizația noastră*, in *Muncă și Voe Bună: folosirea timpului liber al muncitorilor*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1938, p. 71.

<sup>62</sup> Voir: ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Propagandă, dosar 2546, f. 1; Idem, dosar 2291; „Neamul românesc”, anul XXXIV, nr. 36, 16 februarie 1939, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Cinematografie, dosar 3/1939.

<sup>64</sup> ANIC, fond Frontul Renașterii Naționale, dosar 841, f. 2, 17, 18, 19, 20.

<sup>65</sup> Cité en: Simion Mehedinți, *Învățătorul în Straja Țării*, București, Cugetarea, 1938, p. 7.

<sup>66</sup> Voir: Lya Benjamin, *Naționalism și antisemitism în legislația regimului autoritar al regelui Carol al II-lea*, in « *Studia et Acta Historiae Judaeorum Romaniae* », nr. 4, 1999, p. 208–219.

d'Anthropologie<sup>67</sup>. Le dernier, organisé auprès de la Faculté de Médecine, mit à la disposition des étudiants une collection de 5.000 crânes pour étudier du point de vue « *anthropologique* » la nation roumaine<sup>68</sup>. À la fin des années 1930, la popularité du Reich allemand augmente d'une manière considérable. En fait, la germanophilie du régime carliste dure jusqu'à sa chute. À cet égard, l'Institut roumain de Berlin est fondé exactement à la fin de l'été 1940<sup>69</sup>.

Cependant, la Roumanie carliste s'aligne graduellement sur le « nouvel ordre » fasciste non seulement du point de vue politique et idéologique, mais aussi esthétique. Il y a de nombreux aspects qui nous poussent à mieux réfléchir sur la relation entre le carlisme et la théâtralisation du politique, un phénomène qui attire souvent l'attention des contemporains. Voilà un bref fragment du journal de Grigore Gafencu, homme politique et ministre des Affaires Extérieures à la fin des années trente : « *Dans la vitrine de „Julietta” (atelier photo de Bucarest, à la fois atelier photo officiel de la Maison Royale de Roumanie – n.n.) il y six photos. Le Roi Carol II en six uniformes différents. Au milieu, le voilà dans un uniforme de type „Kaiser Guillaume II” – casque, épaulettes, lacets, pantalons, bottes ... Un dieu, pas de la guerre, certainement, peut être ni de l'armée, mais, en tout cas, de l'uniforme. Le rythme nouveau ? Nouvelles épaulettes, nouvelles décorations, nouvelles bottes. Peut-être il y aura aussi des hommes nouveaux et des nouveaux accomplissements. Qui pourrait savoir ? En tout cas, il y a trop de photos* »<sup>70</sup>. Du point de vue symbolique, ce témoignage est très important, puisqu'il nous ramène à la manière de laquelle l'existence du carlisme roumain coïncide avec l'« âge d'or » de l'esthétisation du politique et de la propagande.

À cette époque, en suivant ce qui se passe en Italie et en Allemagne, les autorités du régime saisissent l'extraordinaire potentiel communicatif de l'esthétisation du politique. Le régime roumain se représente alors comme une dictature du pathos, en s'appropriant y compris le « style »<sup>71</sup> fasciste de gouvernement. Il ne faut pas négliger le fait que le fascisme exerce maintenant aussi une séduction sensible, manifestée par ce que Johann Chapoutot appelle un « ethos » particulier, rendu visible par la rhétorique et le décor<sup>72</sup>. D'ailleurs, des historiens comme George L. Mosse<sup>73</sup>, Stanley G. Payne<sup>74</sup>, Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi<sup>75</sup> ou Emilio Gentile<sup>76</sup> inscrivent l'esthétisation du politique parmi les traits standard du fascisme.

<sup>67</sup> „Curentul”, anul XIII, 9 aprilie 1940, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Idem, anul XIII, 22 iunie 1940, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVIII, nr. 189, 17 august 1940, p. 4210–4211.

<sup>70</sup> Grigore Gafencu, *Însemnări politice 1929-1939*, București, Humanitas, 1991, p. 18.

<sup>71</sup> Selon l'expression utilisée par l'historien Alexander J. De Grand. Voir: Alexander J. De Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The 'fascist' style of rule*, London, Routledge, 2004, p. 117–122.

<sup>72</sup> Johann Chapoutot, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> George L. Mosse, *La révolution fasciste. Vers une théorie générale du fascisme*, Paris, Seuil, 2003.

<sup>74</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*, London, Routledge, 1995, p. 12–13.

<sup>75</sup> Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: the Aesthetics of Politics in Mussolini's Italy*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997.

<sup>76</sup> Emilio Gentile, *La religion fasciste. La sacralisation de la politique dans l'Italie de Mussolini*, Paris, Perrin, 2002.

Pour définir les fascismes européens, Mary Ann Frese Witt propose même le concept de « *aesthetic fascism* », à côté d'autres caractéristiques génériques<sup>77</sup>. En revanche, quand il se réfère au style de gouvernement des régimes fascistes, Walter Benjamin parle d'une « esthétisation » du politique<sup>78</sup>. Les idées et les messages peuvent être exprimées aussi autrement que par les mots et le régime carliste utilise souvent les images, les gestes, les cérémonies ou l'architecture afin de déployer (tout d'abord, dans la seconde moitié des années trente) une véritable « *visual culture* », considérée par Stanley G. Payne comme une caractéristique fondamentale des fascismes européennes de cette époque<sup>79</sup>. L'État de la monarchie autoritaire utilise ainsi un riche répertoire de pratiques culturelles pour légitimer son gouvernement et projeter (esthétiquement) le consensus national tant proclamé. Certainement, ce régime politique n'est pas *si fasciste* comme le régime mussolinien ou l'État national-socialiste. Pourtant, il se montre de plus en plus *fasciste* et cela se passe y compris par un processus d'esthétisation du politique. Pour persuader les citoyens, on accorde une attention particulière au rituel, aux formes et aux représentations visuelles. À cette époque, on alloue de nombreuses ressources pour les cérémonies et les défilés, mais aussi pour les expositions ou les édifices monumentaux. On y ajoute la préoccupation particulière du roi pour les discours et les gestes symboliques, ainsi que la présence de plus en plus importante de l'Église orthodoxe dans le cadre des cérémonies nationales, avec toute l'opulence du rituel, des costumes et des ornements qu'elle partage. L'Église offre ainsi à la royauté une recharge sacrale, en tenant compte du fait que la monarchie représente par définition le sacré<sup>80</sup>. En s'affichant à côté de l'Église orthodoxe dans l'espace public, Carol II cherche à raffermir sa propre sacralité.

Tout d'abord, le roi lui-même montre un sens esthétique assez prononcé, d'où sa passion remarquable pour les formes et les images, pour les gestes symboliques et les discours. Par exemple, il est reconnu parmi les plus importants collectionneurs de timbres du monde. Selon le témoignage du premier ministre de l'Économie de son règne, au lendemain de la Restauration le monarque était plutôt préoccupé de choisir la nouvelle série de timbres que par les affaires concernant l'économie nationale, gravement affectée alors par la Grande Dépression<sup>81</sup>. D'ailleurs, Carol II change les uniformes de l'armée et introduit des nouvelles

<sup>77</sup> Mary Ann Frese Witt, *The Search for Modern Tragedy: Aesthetic Fascism in Italy and France*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001, p. 232.

<sup>78</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, edited and with an Introduction by Hannah Arendt, New York, Schocken Books, 2007, p. 241.

<sup>79</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> Voir: James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: a study in comparative religion*, London, Macmillan, 1900; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957; Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, Paris, Gallimard, 1987.

<sup>81</sup> Ion Răducanu, *Din amintirile unui septuagenar*, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 174.

décorations dès juin 1930<sup>82</sup>. Pourtant, sa passion esthétique ne se résume pas aux timbres, uniformes et décorations, mais concerne aussi les défilés, les cérémonies ou les expositions. Plusieurs témoins montrent l'engagement du monarque dans la mise en place de toutes ces actions<sup>83</sup>. Le plus souvent, Carol II établit lui-même le modèle des uniformes, des timbres, des décorations ou des cartes postales<sup>84</sup> ou la création de l'Office National de Tourisme comme instrument de propagande<sup>85</sup>. On discute avec lui y compris la structure des expositions (soient-elles nationales ou internationales)<sup>86</sup> ou le programme des fêtes nationales<sup>87</sup>. Chaque mise en scène de ce type (sous la forme d'un défilé, par exemple) a pour but de projeter l'image d'une foule fraternisée, mobilisée et forgée dans le cadre d'un mécanisme centré sur le monarchisme et le nationalisme. Le régime carliste montre ainsi y compris sa volonté de monopoliser le nationalisme. Bref, un nationalisme officiel cherche d'exclure les nationalismes qui ne sont pas reconnus, surtout celui de la Garde de Fer, présenté comme anti-systémique et donc dangereux pour la stabilité et l'unité nationale instaurées avec la mise en place du nouveau régime. Cependant, il ne s'agit pas simplement de « démonstrations de force contre la Garde de Fer », comme certains auteurs les ont considérées<sup>88</sup>. Il faut tenir compte du fait que l'engagement des individus et des masses dans ces actions au caractère national fait partie d'un style politique nouveau, largement répandu alors en Europe et propre aux régimes autoritaires, fascistes d'abord.

Cette esthétisation (centrée à la fois sur la nation et la personne du monarque) se cristallise d'une manière progressive. Au début de la décennie, elle est visible surtout dans le cadre des cérémonies ayant un caractère national, où participent

<sup>82</sup> Mihail Manoilescu, *Memorii*, vol. I, București, editura Enciclopedică, 1993, p. 258.

<sup>83</sup> Carol al II-lea, rege al României 1930–1940, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice 1904–1939*, vol. I, București, Silex, 1995, p. 187, 193, 194, 228; Idem, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice 1904–1939*, vol. I, București, Curtea Veche, 2003, p. 246, 247, 267, 341, 342, 347; Idem, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice 1939–1940*, vol. II, București, Curtea Veche, 2003, p. 158; Victor Slăvescu, *Note și însemnări zilnice*, vol. II, București, editura Enciclopedică, 1996, p. 405; Constantin Argetoianu, *Însemnări zilnice*, vol. IV, București, Machiavelli, 2002, p. 39; Idem, *Însemnări zilnice*, vol. VI, București, Machiavelli, 2003, p. 22–23.

<sup>84</sup> ANIC, fond Regele Carol II. Arhiva personală, dosar II/61, f. 1; ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, vol. III: Carol II, dosar 141/1939; Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, *Memorii*, vol. III, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1998, p. 190; Constantin Argetoianu, *Însemnări zilnice*, vol. I, București, Machiavelli, 1998, p. 459; Idem, *Însemnări zilnice*, vol. II, București, Machiavelli, 1999, p. 251.

<sup>85</sup> „România: revista Oficiului Național de Turism”, anul III, nr. 2, februarie 1938, p. 25.

<sup>86</sup> ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Propagandă, dosar 1780/1936, f. 1; Idem, dosar 2116, f. 26; ANIC, fond Președinția Consiliului de Miniștri, dosar 113/1938, f. 1, 20; ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, vol. III: Carol II, dosar 30/1937, f. 1, 6; Idem, dosar 130/1936, f. 1; ANIC, fond Fundațiile Culturale Regale. Centrala (1921–1946), dosar 100/1938, f. 1; Carol al II-lea, rege al României 1930–1940, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice 1904–1939*, vol. I, București, Silex, 1995, p. 155.

<sup>87</sup> Valeriu Pop, *Amintiri politice*, București, Vestala, 1999, p. 59; ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, vol. III: Carol II, dosar 127/1939, f. 136–138; ANIC, fond Fundațiile Culturale Regale. Centrala (1921–1946), dosar 37/1938, f. 63.

<sup>88</sup> Antonio Momoc, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice: școala gustiană între carlism și legionarism*, București, Curtea Veche, 2012, p. 202.

ensemble la monarchie et l'église orthodoxe. Ensuite, elle monte en intensité dans les années 1934–1935 (avec l'adoption du salut romain, la fondation de la *Straja Țării* ou la création des expositions annuelles régulières comme « Le Mois de Bucarest » – *Luna Bucureștilor* – ou « Le Mois du Livre » – *Luna Cărții*), pour atteindre son apogée pendant le régime autoritaire. Une fois inauguré en février 1938, on essaye alors de sacraliser la monarchie, la nation et l'État y compris à travers une esthétisation du politique.

Par rapport à l'esthétique fasciste, le mimétisme carliste devient visible par l'usage du salut romain, de l'uniforme, de l'architecture monumentale ou du serment de fidélité fait au chef. Sans soutenir que ces coutumes s'inspirent directement du dehors du pays, ce n'est pas moins important le fait qu'elles deviennent une pratique courante dans le cadre des fascismes européens. À cette époque, le salut romain<sup>89</sup> est de plus en plus utilisé à partir des années 1934–1935, avant d'être généralisé et officialisé pendant la dictature. Il était déjà répandu parmi les membres de la Garde de Fer, mais à partir du milieu de cette décennie il est employé de plus en plus souvent par les *străjeri*, par le souverain lui-même, et, ensuite, par les membres du parti unique. Carol II semble l'utiliser pour la première fois en 1934<sup>90</sup>. Deux années plus tard, l'historien Nicolae Iorga, toujours proche collaborateur du roi, est salué par le monarque d'une manière « romaine ». Accidentellement ou pas, les deux discutent alors sur les ambitions impériales de l'Italie fasciste<sup>91</sup>.

Pendant le régime autoritaire, le salut romain est utilisé comme un vecteur symbolique pour exprimer une discipline et une solidarité nouvelles. Son usage devient « obligatoire » pour les *străjeri* (les membres de la *Straja Țării*) en 1938<sup>92</sup> et ensuite, dès le 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1939, pour tous les « dignitaires » de l'État, les membres du parti unique et les fonctionnaires publics<sup>93</sup>. L'automne de la même année, une fois encadrés dans une organisation dénommée le « Front National Estudiantin » (*Frontul Național Studentesc*), les étudiants sont obligés eux-aussi de l'adopter<sup>94</sup>. Le régime cherche toutefois à accrocher un trait originel au salut romain, qui en Roumanie est accompagné aussi par le vœu « Sănătate! » (*Santé!*). « Sănătate! » est un salut protocolaire, mais aussi un appel symbolique. Il est fait au nom du roi est part de la monarchie pour renouveler et guérir une entière nation. En même temps, son usage devait permettre à repérer l'approbation ou la réserve par rapport au régime carliste.

<sup>89</sup> Voir: Allert Tilman, *Le salut allemand. Histoire d'un geste funeste*, Paris, Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 2006; Martin M. Winkler, *The Roman Salute: Cinema, History, Ideology*, Columbus, The Ohio State University Press, 2009.

<sup>90</sup> Armand Călinescu, *Însemnări politice 1916–1939*, București, Humanitas, 1990, p. 219.

<sup>91</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Memorii*, vol. VII, București, editura „Națională” S. Ciomei, 1938, p. 319.

<sup>92</sup> Teofil Sidorovici, *Straja Țării: circulara-directivă nr. 1*, București, Tipografia „Bucovina” I.E. Torouțiu, 1938, p. 55; ANIC, fond Frontul Renașterii Naționale, dosar 591, f. 59.

<sup>93</sup> Voir: *Noua uniformă a miniștrilor. A fost introdus salutul roman*, in „Curentul”, anul XII, 4 ianuarie 1939, p. 11; *Legea Frontului Renașterii Naționale*, București, Imprimeria Națională, 1940.

<sup>94</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVII, nr. 242, 19 octombrie 1939, p. 5873–5874.

Autrement, l'esthétisation carliste du politique ne se fait pas seulement par le salut romain, mais aussi par le port de l'uniforme et par la généralisation progressive des serments collectifs et publics. En dehors des militaires, l'uniforme est répandu graduellement parmi les membres du gouvernement et du parti unique, mais aussi parmi les *străjerei* et les fonctionnaires de l'État. Le port de l'uniforme et le rituel du serment occupent une place essentielle dans la liturgie fasciste dès ses débuts<sup>95</sup>. Ce dernier phénomène est fort important, d'autant plus qu'en Roumanie les serments sont prêtés à la personne du monarque. Le fait de prêter serment de fidélité au monarque, d'une manière solennelle et dans un espace public, acquiert dans les années 1938–1940 une importance particulière. Le régime autoritaire fait des efforts pour institutionnaliser cette pratique, appliquée alors à de plus en plus catégories sociales (militaires, anciens combattants, membres du gouvernement ou du parti unique, résidents royaux, fonctionnaires de l'État, instituteurs, agents de la Sureté, prêtres, étudiants ou *străjerei*). On y ajoute le clergé et le corps enseignant appartenant aux minorités nationales. Pour ceux-ci, le serment de fidélité fait au roi serait à la fois une preuve de loyauté par rapport à l'État roumain<sup>96</sup>. Souvent, cette pratique est sacralisée par la présence des prêtres orthodoxes.

Ensuite, le rapprochement symbolique entre carlisme et esthétique peut être saisi y compris à travers l'architecture. Dans les régimes totalitaires ou autoritaires des années 1930, l'architecture est souvent employée comme outil de persuasion idéologique, c'est-à-dire pour légitimer et renforcer le pouvoir des gouvernants<sup>97</sup>. À cette époque, le style moderniste s'épanouit en Roumanie (surtout à Bucarest<sup>98</sup>), le plus souvent influencé par les formules néoclassiques consacrées alors en Italie et en Allemagne. Cette influence est extrêmement visible tant dans la façon dont les autorités élaborent les plans d'urbanisme que dans le style des bâtiments érigés ou destinés à être érigés. Par exemple, par rapport aux plans envisagés pour aménager ou réaménager les plus importantes places publiques de la capitale :

<sup>95</sup> Emilio Gentile, *La religion fasciste. La sacralisation de la politique dans l'Italie de Mussolini*, Paris, Perrin, 2002, p. 57.

<sup>96</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVI, nr. 143, 25 iunie 1938, p. 3020; Idem, anul CVII, nr. 75, 29 martie 1939, p. 1620; Idem, anul CVII, nr. 256, 4 noiembrie 1939, p. 6137–6154.

<sup>97</sup> Voir: Barbara Miller-Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918–1945*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1968; Robert R. Taylor, *The Word in Stone: the Role of Architecture in National Socialist Ideology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974; Alexander Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture: the Impact of Classical Antiquity*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990; Pierre Boudon, *L'architecture des années 30 ou l'inversion des signes*, in Régine ROBIN (dir.), *Masses et culture de masse dans les années trente*, Paris, Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1991, p. 135–162; Franco Borsi, *L'ordre monumental. Europe 1929–1939*, Paris, Hazan, 1986; *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930–1945*, London, Hayward Gallery, 1995; Miguel Abensour, *De la compacité. Architectures et régimes totalitaires*, Saint-Herblain, Sens & Tonka, 1997; Emilio Gentile, *Fascismo di Pietra*, Roma, Laterza, 2007.

<sup>98</sup> Voir: Luminița Machedon, Ernie Scoffham, *Romanian Modernism. The Architecture of Bucharest, 1920–1940*, New York, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1999; *Modern Architecture in Interbellum Romania*, București, NOI Media Print, 2013; *București, anii 1920–1940. Între avangardă și modernism*, București, Simetria, 1994; Carmen POPESCU (coord.), *(Dis) Continuități. Fragmente de modernitate românească în prima jumătate a secolului al 20-lea*, București, Simetria, 2010.



place de la Victoire (*Piața Victoriei*), la place du Palais Royal (*Piața Palatului Regal*) et la place « 8 Juin » (dédiée à la Restauration). L'historienne Cathérine Durandin a légitimement remarqué le fait que la ville de Bucarest se dote assez rapidement d'une architecture monumentale impressionnante (voir : le palais Royal situé sur la Calea Victoriei, les nouveaux bâtiments des ministères des Affaires Étrangères ou de l'Intérieur, ainsi que les édifices de l'École Supérieure de Guerre et des Chemins de Fer Roumains<sup>99</sup>, de la Faculté de Droit, de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine ou de la Gare Royale de Mogoșoaia). Certes, le style architectural employé à cette époque est destiné à exposer aux regards le pouvoir et la dynamique d'un État renouvelé par la monarchie, mais celui-ci montre en même temps une sensibilité *fasciste* particulière.

Cela est perceptible aussi à travers les expositions et les diverses compétitions sportives. Ces dernières ne cessent pas de proliférer. Pendant le régime autoritaire, on organise non seulement la « Coupe du Roi Carol II » (football), le Grand Prix de l'Aviation « Carol II », la « Coupe de la Restauration » (cyclisme) ou le Prix Royal (hippisme), mais aussi le Grand Prix National pour le Tourisme « Le Roi Carol II » ou le « Concours National du Blé ». À la fin de ce dernier, le monarque accorde personnellement des prix aux meilleurs agriculteurs du pays<sup>100</sup>. En ce qui concerne les expositions, le règne de Carol II semble être un véritable « âge d'or » non seulement par rapport aux expositions nationales, mais aussi en ce qui concerne la participation de la Roumanie aux expositions internationales. Comme c'est le cas de l'Italie fasciste et de l'Allemagne nazie, le régime carliste emploie à son tour ces événements comme un vecteur destiné à propager son propre modèle de modernité.

L'accroissement du nombre des expositions commence à la moitié de la décennie, pour atteindre ensuite son apogée dans les années du régime autoritaire. Une attention particulière est accordée au « Mois de Bucarest » et au « Mois du Livre », mais aussi à l'Exposition Internationale « Muncă și Voe Bună » (*Travail et Joie*), organisée à Bucarest en 1939<sup>101</sup>. Toutefois, celles-ci n'épuisent pas la question des expositions carlistes. Elles sont en même temps une pratique des *străjeri*, mais le monarque inaugure, visite et patronne aussi des expositions de l'industrie ou du sport, de l'agriculture, des transports ou du tourisme. Carol II lui-même partage une vraie passion pour ces manifestations. En 1938, par exemple, il envisage même la mise en place d'une grande exposition destinée à montrer « tout » ce qui s'est réalisé dans la Grande Roumanie après la Grande Guerre<sup>102</sup>. En revanche, à l'époque de la dictature, l'État roumain participe également aux expositions organisées en Italie et en Allemagne. À Milan, en avril 1939, le pavillon roumain de la célèbre foire « Triennale » est abrité par un édifice érigé d'une manière extrêmement classique et romaine par l'architecte Constantin

<sup>99</sup> Cathérine Durandin, *Bucarest. Mémoires et promenades*, Paris, Éditions Hesse, 2000, p. 185.

<sup>100</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVI, nr. 26, 2 februarie 1938, p. 695.

<sup>101</sup> Voir: *Expoziția Internațională „Muncă și Voe Bună”: călăuză*, București, Atelierele Luceafărul S.A., 1939; ANIC, fond Ministerul Muncii, Sănătății și Ocrotirilor Sociale, dosar 1192/1938.

<sup>102</sup> ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Propagandă, dosar 2116, f. 26.

Moșinschi<sup>103</sup>, comme un symbole de la fraternité latine qui lie alors les deux nations. Autrement, la même année, à Berlin, le centre de propagande touristique roumaine présente environ 200 affiches et photos qui montrent les accomplissements de l'industrie roumaine, le patrimoine du pays et la beauté des régions qui mériteraient d'être visitées. Ensuite, on trouve le buste du roi Carol II, placé exactement au milieu de la « Maison de l'artisanat allemand » (*Haus des deutschen Handwerks*)<sup>104</sup>. La figure du *chef* est omniprésente non seulement aux expositions fascistes italiennes ou allemandes, mais également dans le cadre de celles organisées par la Roumanie carliste.

En fait, la mise en place des pavillons roumains semblent être de plus en plus confiées aux Fondations Culturelles Royales<sup>105</sup>. À Bruxelles (1935), Paris (1937) et New York (1939), la monarchie et ses initiatives (les Fondations Culturelles Royales, la Straja Țării, les politiques destinées aux villages et aux paysans, etc.) dominent l'image générale de la Grande Roumanie et les représentations du roi (statues et bustes monumentales) jouissent toujours d'une place centrale. Prenons l'exemple de l'exposition de New York, dont le thème est « La construction du monde de demain » (« Building the World of Tomorrow »). Là, les organisateurs consacrent au passé des Roumains une frise historique grandiose. Réalisée par le sculpteur Mac Constantinescu, celle-ci est destinée à montrer, à travers une esthétique monumentale, plus de deux mille ans de continuité historique « nationale », à partir de l'ancienne Dacie antique jusqu'au règne du Carol II<sup>106</sup>. Dans le même pavillon roumain, une fresque exécutée sur un mur nous montre le monarque au milieu d'un groupe d'intellectuels, de paysans et de travailleurs, peut-être une allusion faite aux « forces productives » de la nation. Parmi tous ces acteurs, le roi serre la main d'un paysan, signe de la fraternité qui unit Carol II et cette couche sociale mais aussi du souci que le monarque aurait montré pour sa nation paysanne<sup>107</sup>.

Il est évident que le régime carliste se rapproche du fascisme y compris par la façon dont il emploie ces initiatives pour des buts politiques et idéologiques. À l'Exposition Internationale « Travail et Joie » de 1939, les organisateurs roumains adoptent une architecture monumentale visiblement influencée par le style fasciste italien. Ce style totalitaire, qui frappe à la fois par sa monumentalité néoclassique et sa simplicité, devrait exprimer alors les nouvelles valeurs étiques et esthétiques de l'autorité et du nationalisme roumain. La mise en scène se montre révélatrice non seulement par la manière dont on montre le prestige de la monarchie et de

<sup>103</sup> ANIC, fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale – Propagandă, dosar 2409, f. 8–9; ANIC, fond Președinția Consiliului de Miniștri, dosar 254/1939, f. 152.

<sup>104</sup> ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, volumul al III-lea: Carol al II-lea, dosar 127/1939, f. 101–104.

<sup>105</sup> ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Diverse, dosar 12/1936; ANIC, fond Casa Regală. Oficiale, vol. III: Carol II, dosar 30/1937, f. 1, 6; *Monitorul Oficial*, anul CVI, nr. 112, 18 mai 1938, p. 2413; ANIC, fond Fundațiile Culturale Regale. Centrala (1921–1946), dosar 8/1938, p. 17, 18, 79, 81, 83, 107, 109; Idem, dosar 100/1938, f. 1.

<sup>106</sup> Raluca Preotu, *De la București prin New York la Cleveland – friza sculptată a Istoriei românilor de Mac Constantinescu*, in « Transilvania », 2014, nr. 1, p. 48–56.

<sup>107</sup> Pour une reproduction de cette image, voir: *Cele Trei Crișuri*, nr. 7–8, iulie-august 1939, p. 141.

l'État roumain « renouvelé » mais en même temps par le fait qu'on essaye de projeter l'image d'une Grande Roumanie bien intégrée dans le *nouvel ordre* des régimes autoritaires de droite. Tout d'abord, par la figure du dirigeant, qui se contente d'une centralité dans chaque pavillon roumain, Carol II devenant ainsi un homologue local du *Duce* italien et du *Führer* allemand. Ensuite, par le style architectural utilisé pour la construction des bâtiments, qui imite les formules consacrées alors en Italie et en Allemagne. Troisièmement, par la propagande destinée à montrer les similarités entre les trois États et l'admiration pour l'œuvre de « régénération » mise en place par les régimes de Rome et de Berlin<sup>108</sup>. Du coup, à l'occasion de l'ouverture de cette exposition, le roi Carol II reçoit personnellement une réplique en bronze de l'« Arc du Constantin »<sup>109</sup>, accordée par les représentants de l'État fasciste italien<sup>110</sup>. À Bucarest, l'Italie et l'Allemagne sont les invités les plus importants, à côté de la Grèce, de la Bulgarie et de la France. Après le pavillon de la Roumanie, leurs pavillons occupent les espaces les plus larges.

Chacune de ces expositions remplit une fonction idéologique. L'esthétisation du politique, la théâtralité, l'attention particulière accordée aux formes et aux symboles, la primauté de la communauté organique (totalitaire) sur l'individu, voilà quelques représentations qui révèlent le mimétisme pratiqué par les organisateurs. À cet égard, ces événements non seulement facilitent le mimétisme (soit-il politique, idéologique ou esthétique), mais représentent elles-mêmes une forme de mimétisme, puisqu'on s'inspire directement des manifestations semblables du fascisme italien et du national-socialisme allemand. À travers cette époque, les régimes politiques d'Italie et de l'Allemagne ont un impact majeur sur les mouvements nationalistes et autoritaires européennes y compris grâce aux performances qu'ils montrent dans la sphère de l'esthétisation du politique.

Par contre, le fascisme séduit parce qu'il propose un type de gouvernement où ce phénomène sert en même temps comme instrument pour nationaliser les masses. C'est ainsi qu'on peut envisager l'esthétisation du politique également au sein de la question plus large de la modernité du projet carliste. À partir des études de George Lachman Mosse sur la « nationalisation » des masses<sup>111</sup> et jusqu'aux recherches d'Emilio Gentile sur la « sacralisation » du politique<sup>112</sup> ou aux analyses des autres auteurs sur le style politique de l'Italie mussolinienne<sup>113</sup> ou de

<sup>108</sup> Voir: *Expoziția Internațională „Muncă și Voe Bună”*: călăuză, Atelierele Lucafașul S.A., București, 1939.

<sup>109</sup> Arc de triomphe situé à Rome, entre le Colisée et le Palatin.

<sup>110</sup> Carol al II-lea, rege al României 1930–1940, *Între datorie și pasiune. Însemnări zilnice, 1904–1939*, vol. I, București, Curtea Veche, 2003, p. 247.

<sup>111</sup> George L. MOSSE, *The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, New York, Howard Fertig, 1975; Idem, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism*, Hanover, Brandeis University Press, 1993; Idem, *La révolution fasciste. Vers une théorie générale du fascisme*, Paris, Seuil, 2003.

<sup>112</sup> Emilio Gentile, *La religion fasciste. La sacralisation de la politique dans l'Italie de Mussolini*, Paris, Perrin, 2002; Idem, *Politics as Religion*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2006.

<sup>113</sup> Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *op. cit.*; Mabel Berezin, *Making the Fascist Self. The Political Culture of Interwar Italy*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1997; Marla Susan Stone, *The Patron State*.

l'Allemagne nazie<sup>114</sup>, les chercheurs ont considéré les rituels de l'espace public parmi les plus importantes véhicules utilisés pour communiquer un certain sens politique. On ne doit pas négliger les rassemblements de foules, les cérémonies, les défilés, les uniformes, l'architecture, les concours, les expositions, les vœux ou les saluts officiels, parce que toutes celles-ci supposent une expérience politique. En fin de compte, tous les régimes politiques recourent plus ou moins à ce que Mabel Berezin appelle « une politique des symboles » pour orchestrer la dimension affective de la citoyenneté<sup>115</sup>. Ainsi, en Roumanie, la Place « 8 Juin » (inaugurée à l'occasion de la Restauration de 1936 sur l'endroit de l'ancienne Place de la Nation) est imaginée par des architectes comme Duiliu Marcu et Gheorghe M. Cantacuzino comme un espace destiné aux « *plus importantes cortèges, cérémonies et parades* »<sup>116</sup>, mais celle-ci devrait servir à la fois comme lieu d'emplacement pour les nouveaux établissements des Fondations Culturelles Royales ou de l'Opéra Roumaine<sup>117</sup>. Ensuite, sa charge symbolique aurait été mise en évidence par des différents édifices décoratifs. Par exemple, si le centre de la place est réservé à la statue de Carol II, alors à côté de celle-ci huit statues allégoriques sont destinées à représenter les provinces « sœurs » de la Grande Roumanie (la Valachie, la Moldavie, la Dobroudja, l'Olténie, la Bucovine, la Bessarabie, le Transylvanie et le Banat)<sup>118</sup>. Les travaux pour son aménagement commencent dès 1936 et ils sont largement popularisés à l'époque. Pourtant, celle-ci reste plutôt au stade de projet, jusqu'à la chute du carlisme. Par contre, bien que les initiatives supposées par son édification s'avèrent d'être trop coûteuses, surtout dans le contexte du déclenchement de la guerre, la Place « 8 Juin » se montre parmi les plus intéressantes inventions idéologiques du régime carliste. Dans le cas du carlisme roumain, l'État de la monarchie autoritaire s'appuie non seulement sur les ressources offertes par l'appareil répressif et sur la distribution des postes aux fidèles de la monarchie, mais il utilise également les ressources symboliques, voir la mise en scène des fêtes nationales et des cérémonies publiques, les expositions ou la généralisation progressive du salut romain et des uniformes, sans oublier l'attention accordée à l'architecture.

*Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998; Mary Ann Frese Witt, *The Search for Modern Tragedy: Aesthetic Fascism in Italy and France*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2001.

<sup>114</sup> Nadine Rossol, *Performing the Nation in Interwar Germany. Sport, Spectacle and Political Symbolism, 1926–1936*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010; Peter Reichel, *La fascination du nazisme*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2011; Andrew Rawson, *Showcasing the Third Reich. The Nuremberg Rallies*, Kent, Spellmount Publishers, 2012.

<sup>115</sup> Mabel Berezin, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>116</sup> Primăria Municipiului București, *Planul director de sistematizare al Municipiului București*, București, editura Institutului Urbanistic al României, 1934, p. 68.

<sup>117</sup> Voir: „Amenajarea Pieței 8 Iunie”, *Neamul românesc*, anul XXXII, 24 martie 1937, p. 4; „Piața 8 Iunie”, *Neamul românesc*, anul XXXII, 20 august 1937, p. 2; *Urbanismul*, anul XIV, nr. 9–10, septembrie-octombrie 1937.

<sup>118</sup> „Piață monumentală în Capitală”, *Realitatea ilustrată*, anul XII, nr. 579, 23 februarie 1938, p. 5.

## SUR LA NATURE DU RÉGIME CARLISTE

Par les réformes qu'ils pratiquent dans les années trente à travers une vision du monde fasciste, le roi et ses adeptes deviennent les vecteurs d'une série remarquable de projets avancés comme les preuves d'une véritable renaissance nationale. À cet égard, un fort mélange de monarchisme, nationalisme et fascisme distingue le carlisme dans le paysage européen de l'époque. Autrement dit, à la base du carlisme il y a un type particulier de *fascisme*. Le carlisme roumain, quant à lui, puise ses fondements dans la monarchie. À l'optique radicale du fascisme, les carlistes ajoutent leurs propres idées. On ne se préoccupe vraiment de mettre en place un changement fondamental du statu quo, mais de dresser une barrière contre la démocratie, opposant à l'héritage libéral du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle une vision du monde conforme à l'autoritarisme nationaliste des années trente. Prudent et conciliateur, le carlisme ne s'affiche pas d'une manière agressive sur la scène internationale; par contre. Pourtant, ses acteurs s'érigent en défenseurs de l'unité nationale à l'intérieur de la Grande Roumanie, justifiant constamment leur pratiques autoritaires y compris par le besoin de combattre les *forces centrifuges* qui auraient menacé cette unité (la Garde de Fer, les communistes, les hommes politiques démocrates ou les minorités, par exemple). Carol II et ses partisans façonnent ainsi l'existence de millions d'individus.

Dans le cadre européen de cette époque, la monarchie représentée par Carol II s'avère assez atypique. Celle-ci se montre dynamique et autoritaire, et pas apathique, conservatrice, ou partisane du statu quo démocratique, comme les monarchies constitutionnelles. À cet égard, une preuve révélatrice pourrait être la manière de laquelle cette institution ne se résume pas d'être un symbole de la nation (un parmi d'autres), mais elle devient un vecteur actif du nationalisme roumain (beaucoup plus qu'à l'époque de Carol I ou de Ferdinand I). À la fin des années 1930, Carol II devient de moins en moins un Roi et de plus en plus un *Chef*, en suivant d'une manière fidèle le modèle consacré alors en Europe, soit qu'il s'agit des États totalitaires (Allemagne – Hitler; Italie – Mussolini) ou autoritaires (Portugal – Salazar; Espagne – Franco; Turquie – Atatürk; Grèce – Metaxás).

De ce point de vue, il faut distinguer l'éclectisme qui caractérise l'idéologie et la pratique politique du roi. D'une façon surprenante, celui-ci agit non seulement en qualité de « Roi des paysans », « Gardien des frontières », « Roi de la culture », « Roi des jeunes » ou « Voïvode », mais remplit en même temps la tâche de véritable *chef* qui imite les *chefs* fascistes, en encourageant constamment la fascisation de son régime. On peut y remarquer un mélange assez particulier d'*ancien* et de *nouveau*, voir de *tradition* (on peut discuter, par exemple, ses rapports avec l'Église orthodoxe ou bien avec les paysans et les villages) et de *modernité* (à cet égard on peut mentionner à la fois son philo-fascisme et la façon dont il soutient de nombreux projets destinés à moderniser le pays).

Son régime est sans doute un phénomène assez complexe et originel. Certes, avec ses particularités, avec ses forces, avec ses faiblesses, avec ses contradictions aussi. Tout d'abord, il faut préciser que le roi Carol II n'a pas été, comme ses adulateurs le proclamaient, un chef héroïque, voire un noble protecteur de l'intérêt national. Il y a à plusieurs égards une différence considérable entre le vrai Carol et le personnage fictif inventé par les intellectuels carlistes et par la propagande. Deuxièmement, il faut aussi souligner que les politiques carlistes se heurtent à des nombreux obstacles, résistances et limites. Le régime autoritaire des années 1938–1940, par exemple, reste un plan inachevé ou incomplet. Comme c'est le cas de tous les régimes politiques, il y a toujours une différence considérable entre les représentations avancées par la propagande et la réalité, voire entre les ambitions officielles et les résultats palpables. Il faut donc envisager les idées et les pratiques associées à la monarchie comme un processus toujours en train de se faire, et pas comme un projet politique pétrifié et définitif.

Pour expliquer le visage fasciste du carlisme roumain, Martin Blinkhorn parle de l'existence d'une « contagion fasciste » (*fascist contagion*)<sup>119</sup> dans l'Europe de cette époque, en incluant Carol II dans la catégorie des « imitateurs fascistes » (*fascist imitators*), à côté de personnages comme Franco (Espagne), Metaxas (Grèce), Smetona (Lituanie), Salazar (Portugal) ou le maréchal Pétain (France)<sup>120</sup>. Par contre, le politologue Juan Linz désigne les régimes tels que celui dirigé par Carol II comme une forme de « pseudo-fascisme »<sup>121</sup>, alors que Roger Griffin les considère une forme de « Ersatz fascism » ou de « para-fascisme ». Griffin définit le « para-fascisme » comme une forme de conservatisme autocratique qui imite seulement « partiellement » l'appareil institutionnel et le « style » de gouvernement du fascisme italien ou du nazisme allemand (à voir : le parti unique, l'encadrement de la jeunesse, le culte du chef, le corporatisme ou la rhétorique qui promet l'accomplissement d'une palingénésie nationale)<sup>122</sup>. Griffin propose ainsi l'emploi de l'expression « para-fascisme » dont le préfixe « para- » dénote une altération, une corruption, une simulation du fascisme « réel »<sup>123</sup>. Selon son modèle d'interprétation, le carlisme ne représenterait pas une forme de fascisme parce qu'il ne poursuit pas vraiment le but de créer une nouvelle communauté nationale par une transformation radicale des structures politiques, idéologiques et sociales existantes. À la différence des régimes comme celui de la Roumanie des années 1938-1940, le fascisme serait ainsi une forme d'ultranationalisme véritablement

<sup>119</sup> Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919–1945*, London, Longman, 2000, p. 42.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 110.

<sup>121</sup> Juan Linz, *Régimes totalitaires et autoritaires*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2006, p. 22.

<sup>122</sup> Roger Griffin, *Staging the Nation's Rebirth: The Politics of Aesthetics of Performance in the Context of Fascist Studies*, in Günther Berghaus (ed.), *Fascism and Theatre. Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe 1925–1945*, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 1996, p. 19.

<sup>123</sup> Idem, *Foreword*, in António Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis (eds), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. IX.

centrée sur le mythe de la mort et de la renaissance, de la décadence et du renouvellement, mythe qui propose une transformation « totale » et « radicale » du « statu quo »<sup>124</sup>.

En bon droit on dirait que le réformisme carliste manque le dynamisme révolutionnaire spécifique à l'Allemagne nazie ou à l'Italie fasciste, qu'il tente d'imiter. Prenons l'exemple du parti unique. Dans le cas des dictatures comme celle que j'ai examinée, cette structure ne représente pas, comme en Italie ou en Allemagne, le plus important instrument de l'État autoritaire, mais seulement une institution de gouvernement parmi d'autres<sup>125</sup>. Certains auteurs ont défini ce type de mimétisme en utilisant le concept de « hybridation » pour expliquer le processus par lequel des idées, des discours, des expérimentations institutionnelles ou des décisions politiques nées dans un certain espace vont influencer les actions des individus et des communautés appartenant à d'autres espaces d'une telle manière qu'elles subissent une « *modification* » suite à leur « *mise en place dans un contexte différent* »<sup>126</sup>.

Il y a également de nombreuses raisons qui nous poussent à envisager le régime carliste en même temps comme une expérimentation des élites traditionnelles basée sur une appropriation sélective des pratiques consacrées alors en Italie et en Allemagne. C'est justement cette « appropriation sélective » de coutumes fascistes qui, selon Aristotle Kallis, aurait différencié le fascisme des régimes comme celui mis en place en Roumanie<sup>127</sup>. Ainsi, plutôt que d'offrir une véritable « voie nouvelle », les vecteurs de ces autoritarismes auraient préféré davantage le maintien du statu quo<sup>128</sup>, d'où l'accent mis dans le cadre de ce mouvement politique sur l'importance de la tradition (soit-elle religieuse, monarchique ou paysanne). À cet égard, il ne faut pas négliger le fait que les hommes politiques carlistes se recrutent le plus souvent parmi les membres de l'élite traditionnelle peu attaché à la pratique parlementaire et méfiante à l'égard de tout changement radical (ou révolutionnaire) du statu quo. Dans les années 1938–1940, le roi semble plutôt gouverner en condominium avec les élites traditionnelles. Ces élites sont toujours préparées à apporter leur soutien à la monarchie si elles réussissent en échange à garder leur influence, voire leurs privilèges. Il est vrai aussi que cette couche sociale emploie le monarchisme pour éloigner les masses de la séduction du radicalisme (soit qu'on parle de la Garde de Fer ou du communisme).

Par contre, une autre interprétation qui mérite également d'être discutée serait celle de Dylan Riley. Par rapport à la Roumanie de Carol II, Riley parle d'un « *statism fascism* », c'est-à-dire d'un régime fasciste produit par l'État, en opposition avec celui généré « de bas en haut » par un mouvement politique autonome (comme

<sup>124</sup> Idem, *The Nature of Fascism*, London, Routledge, 1991, p. 165, 166, 196.

<sup>125</sup> António Costa Pinto, *The Nature of Fascism Revisited*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2012, p. 91.

<sup>126</sup> António Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis, *Introduction*, in António Costa Pinto, Aristotle Kallis (eds), *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 5

<sup>127</sup> Aristotle Kallis, „Fascism”, „Para-fascism” and „Fascistization”: *On the Similarities of Three Conceptual Categories*, in « *European History Quarterly* », vol. 33, nr. 2, 2003, p. 220, 243.

<sup>128</sup> Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2004, p. 216–217.

c'est le cas en Italie et en Allemagne)<sup>129</sup>. Nous croyons qu'il faut bien réfléchir sur l'opinion de cet auteur, qui considère le régime autoritaire dirigé par Carol II n'est pas simplement une dictature prophylactique destinée à sauver la Roumanie de la menace représentée par la Garde de Fer, mais un essai évident d'imposer un régime fasciste « de haut en bas » (*from above*)<sup>130</sup>. En même temps, il ne faut pas négliger le fait que ce n'est pas facile d'évaluer le succès ou la viabilité du projet carliste puisque son existence a pris fin très tôt à cause du déclenchement de la guerre et de la chute de la Grande Roumanie<sup>131</sup>.

Cela nous pousse à réfléchir davantage sur la nature de l'ethos à la fois réformiste, autoritaire et nationaliste affiché en Roumanie par le mouvement politique monarchiste. Comme nous avons essayé de montrer, il est né aussi dans un contexte « roumain » particulier, indépendamment de la montée des fascismes européens, bien qu'il présente de nombreuses ressemblances avec la vision du monde partagée par ces mouvements politiques. Par rapport à cette question, l'historien Johann Chapoutot nous fournit une interprétation intéressante. Ainsi, sans essayer de définir le fascisme, cet auteur préfère discuter plutôt sur l'existence d'une « culture fasciste » exprimée par un certain état d'esprit et une certaine attitude, par ce qu'il appelle un « ethos ». C'est exactement cet « ethos » qui suppose une « vision du monde », c'est-à-dire un rapport particulier au temps, au corps, à l'autre et à la communauté qui serait propre au fascisme et aux fascismes italien et allemand. Cette vision sur le monde et sur le temps, ce rapport particulier à soi-même et à l'altérité c'est ce que Chapoutot définit comme culture fasciste. Elle répond aux défis et aux doutes générés dans le cadre des sociétés déstructurées par les bouleversements apportés par le XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle et par la Grande Guerre, à une époque où de nombreux européens cherchent de nouvelles valeurs et de nouveaux idéaux, ainsi qu'un nouveau sentiment d'appartenance à la communauté<sup>132</sup>. Les chercheurs peuvent également analyser le carlisme à partir de cette théorie sur la « culture fasciste ».

Certes, il y a plusieurs lectures possibles du carlisme et ces lectures ne s'excluent pas forcément l'une l'autre. À cet égard j'ai envisagé le fascisme monarchiste comme une structure d'idées et de pratiques qui se développent dans un contexte *national* particulier. Personnellement, je défends l'utilité du concept de *fascisation* proposé par Aristotle Kallis comme instrument d'analyse pour ce type de régimes. Il nous aide à mieux saisir non seulement la façon dont le régime monarchiste imite idéologiquement le paradigme politique consacré alors en Italie et en Allemagne, mais aussi la façon dont celui-ci pratique des politiques proprement *fascistes*. Bref, Kallis pense la « fascisation » (*fascistization*) d'un gouvernement autoritaire comme un processus d'adoption progressive d'idées et de pratiques *fascistes*<sup>133</sup>. En Roumanie, ce processus engendre ainsi un nouveau type

<sup>129</sup> Dylan Riley, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 146.

<sup>132</sup> Johann Chapoutot, *op. cit.*, p. 124–125.

<sup>133</sup> Aristotle Kallis, „Fascism”, „Para-fascism” and „Fascistization”: *On the Similarities of Three Conceptual Categories*, in « European History Quarterly », vol. 33, nr. 2, 2003, p. 233–234.



de *fascisme (roumain et monarchiste)*, qui mobilise, ou, pour dire autrement, qui « bouge » les individus et la communauté nationale, n'étant pas moins « vrai » que celui qu'on rencontre à cette époque en Italie, en Allemagne, en Portugal ou en Grèce. Pourtant, ce régime a été à plusieurs égards une expérience de gouvernement autoritaire qui englobe de nombreuses composantes fascistes fondamentales. Ensuite, à mon avis, dans le cas roumain, le monarchisme et le fascisme ne doivent pas être séparés artificiellement, mais, par contre, explorés ensemble comme les deux composantes fondamentales de la même formule de modernité politique et culturelle.

Le régime que j'ai examiné est un phénomène politique en mouvement, qui évolue face aux situations qu'il affronte, qui engendre des passions ou, au contraire, la haine, selon le public auquel il fait face. Certes, le carlisme se développe autour de quelques piliers fondamentaux, mais il est sensible aux reconfigurations sociales, politiques ou idéologiques. Autrement dit, jamais le carlisme n'est enfermé dans un paradigme idéologique qui le définirait de façon dogmatique.

Dans le cadre de cette étude, le *monarchisme fasciste* représente tout d'abord un concept analytique envisagé comme un *type idéal*. Selon une théorie proposée par le penseur allemand Max Weber, le *type idéal* (*ideal type*, en; *idealtypus*, ger.) serait un instrument (ou un modèle) conceptuel établi d'une manière consciente et utilisé dans la recherche scientifique de certaines réalités sociales<sup>134</sup>. Celui-ci est destiné ainsi à aider le chercheur à mieux comprendre et à mieux expliquer un tel sujet ou un tel problème. Selon Weber, le *type idéal* remplit pour le chercheur le rôle d'un « pont », bâti avant que celui-ci apprend à « naviguer » en sécurité sur le vaste « océan » des phénomènes empiriques<sup>135</sup>. La valeur d'un *type idéal* n'est pas descriptive, mais *heuristique*. Du coup, la question fondamentale liée au *type idéal* n'est pas s'il est « vrai » ou non, mais s'il est « utile » ou pas pour le chercheur.

Personnellement, j'ai voulu explorer le parcours *fasciste* du mouvement politique carliste dans un cadre cohérent et systématique, examinant entre autres les réseaux, les interactions, les processus de diffusion. J'ai essayé ainsi de ne pas seulement décrire systématiquement les grandes événements de ce parcours, mais en même temps de doter le texte de problématiques capables de répondre aux questions essentielles pour la compréhension de l'ensemble des pratiques fascistes déroulées pendant la dictature royale roumaine. Si autrefois ce sujet resta à l'écart des grands débats historiographiques, moi, j'ai voulu le ramener au premier plan, par une recherche destinée à montrer ses particularités, notamment son remarquable mélange de *monarchisme*, *nationalisme* et *fascisme*. Voilà, brièvement, le processus cognitif fondamental qui a dicté la structure de cette recherche.

Pour mieux comprendre la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres, je me suis proposé de désenclaver ce sujet pour le replacer dans une perspective de recherche

<sup>134</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978, p. 214. Voir aussi: Richard Swedberg, *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 119–120.

<sup>135</sup> Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, New York, The Free Press, 1949, p. 90.

plus vaste. J'ai essayé ainsi d'insérer le carlisme roumain non seulement dans un ensemble politique national, mais aussi international, puisque ce phénomène politique n'est pas un isolat. Par contre. Le mimétisme philo-fasciste devient progressivement une des composantes fondamentales du mouvement politique que nous avons étudié. Sans saisir sa dimension mimétique, il nous aurait été peut-être impossible de comprendre la nature moderne, voire moderniste du projet carliste.

Dans ma recherche, le concept de *monarchisme fasciste* s'est avéré d'être extrêmement utile. En fait, je veux en même temps proposer ce concept aux chercheurs comme un outil de compréhension et d'interprétation du nationalisme et de l'autoritarisme monarchique de la Roumanie des années trente. Le *carlisme* devient ainsi à la fois un *objet de recherche* et un *instrument conceptuel d'analyse*. Je me suis ainsi proposé de créer un cadre théorique et méthodologique destiné à faciliter à la fois la compréhension du phénomène de fascisation et une investigation beaucoup plus détaillée de ses particularités.

En fin de compte, en étudiant la diffusion des idées, les enjeux de pouvoir, les pratiques politiques et culturelles liées à la monarchie, je me suis également proposé d'ouvrir de nouveaux champs de recherche. Tout d'abord, je crois qu'il faut absolument analyser la nature idéologique et les pratiques du carlisme aussi selon une démarche comparative *internationale*, destinée à examiner ce mouvement politique dans un cadre historique, politique et géographique beaucoup plus large, soit-il lié à l'Europe orientale, à l'Europe centrale ou à la Péninsule balkanique. Exploré ainsi, le monarchisme roumain de cette époque devient, du point de vue scientifique, beaucoup plus intéressant et instructif.

Voilà une série d'idées et d'hypothèses sur la dynamique du nationalisme monarchiste qui attendent d'être validées ou réfutées par les chercheurs. Personnellement, je suis persuadé que la dimension *fasciste* du carlisme existe bien. Certes, il faut en retrouver les ruptures, les carrefours, les bifurcations, les initiatives carlistes s'éclairant quand ils sont replacés dans leur temps. Les idées ou les théories que j'ai proposées ne sont que les points de vue et les résultats d'une optique personnelle. Les conclusions de cette recherche sont critiquables et malléables, donc provisoires. Chaque chercheur dont l'intérêt scientifique porte sur les sujets examinés dans cette thèse peut apporter sa propre contribution à la recherche du carlisme.

LES CHRÉTIENS ORTHODOXES ARABES À L'ÉPOQUE OTTOMANE:  
VUE DEPUIS MOSCOU

Le livre *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans, 1516–1831*, version anglaise de la monographie de Constantin A. Panchenko parue en russe en 2012<sup>1</sup>, était attendu depuis quelque temps par la communauté des chercheurs voués aux études de la civilisation arabe chrétienne. Constantin Panchenko est diplômé de l'Université d'État de Moscou (1993), il a obtenu son diplôme de docteur ès lettres de l'Institut d'Études Asiatiques et Africaines de cette Université<sup>2</sup> et il y enseigne depuis 1996 l'histoire du Proche-Orient (Moyen-Âge et période moderne, histoire de l'Islam, historiographie des études du Proche-Orient etc.), tout en suivant son parcours persévérant d'historien de la chrétienté arabe. Ses participations à des conférences et colloques en Russie et ailleurs, suivies par la publication de ses contributions dans des volumes d'*Actes*<sup>3</sup>, ses nombreux articles parus en russe et en anglais, ainsi qu'une première monographie du sujet parue en russe<sup>4</sup> reflètent son intérêt constant pour les chrétiens arabophones, pour la culture de la Syrie et de Terre Sainte sous les Ottomans, pour les rapports entre les Églises orientales orthodoxes et le Patriarcat de Moscou.<sup>5</sup>

L'ouvrage comprend dix chapitres, structurés en raison de leur sujet, qui est arrangé à partir des recherches poursuivies par l'auteur les deux dernières décennies. Il commence par des questions de contexte – histoire, situation politique, géographie, démographie – pour aboutir à des questions complexes de confessionnalisme, spiritualité et culture.

<sup>1</sup> Constantin A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans 1516–1831*, traduction anglaise par Brittany Pheiffer Noble et Samuel Noble, Avant-propos de SS Jean X, Patriarche d'Antioche et de Tout l'Orient, Jordanville, New York, Holy Trinity Seminary Press, Holy Trinity Monastery, 2016, 688 p., illus. Version russe : *Bliznevostočnoe pravoslavie pod osmanskim vladychestvom. Pervye tri stoletija, 1516–1831 / The Middle Eastern Greek Orthodox Community under the Ottoman Domination. The First Three Centuries, 1516–1831*, Moscou, Indrik, 2012, 656 p., illus. En ce qui suit, la translittération des mots arabes cités par l'auteur est celle de son livre, tandis que la mienne suit le standard scientifique européen.

<sup>2</sup> Sa thèse de doctorat, soutenue en 1996, eut comme sujet: *Les relations entre le gouvernement ottoman et la communauté grecque-orthodoxe dans les provinces arabes, 1516–1914*.

<sup>3</sup> Voir, par exemple, *When and Where 'The Melkite Renaissance' Started? Metropolitan Uwakim of Bethlehem, a Forgotten Arab-Christian Scholar of the Late 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, dans *Travaux du Symposium International 'Le Livre. La Roumanie. L'Europe'*. III<sup>e</sup> édition, 20–24 septembre 2010, Bucarest, 2011, vol. 4, p. 469–481.

<sup>4</sup> K. A. Panchenko, *Osmanskaja imperija i sud'y pravoslavija na arabskom vostoce (XVI – nachalo XIX veka)*, Moscou, 1998, 160 p.

<sup>5</sup> V., dans la *Bibliographie* finale, les p. 637–639, qui comprennent une partie seulement de ses publications d'avant 2012.

Le lecteur apprend depuis l'*Introduction* les frontières géographiques des recherches dont les résultats seront présentés par la suite : « l'Orient orthodoxe » (*Orthodox East*) et « l'Orthodoxie proche-orientale » (*Middle Eastern Orthodoxy*)<sup>6</sup> se réfèrent, dans l'acception de l'auteur, à la région géographique comprenant l'Égypte, la Grande Syrie et l'Anatolie orientale, c'est-à-dire « les territoires des Patriarcats de Jérusalem, d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie ». La définition de « l'Orient chrétien » continue dans la note 1 (p. 505). Les Arabes chrétiens sont définis comme étant les populations chrétiennes plus ou moins arabisées, donc arabophones, de l'Égypte à la Mésopotamie.<sup>7</sup> Une liste des voyageurs, pèlerins et savants qui ont composé des notes de voyages au Proche-Orient, consultées par l'auteur, achève cette première section.<sup>8</sup>

L'époque où se situent les recherches de Constantin Panchenko est celle ottomane, dont il évoque à vol d'oiseau les sources principales composées dans les milieux grec et arabe. En signalant ici, pour la première fois dans une longue série de citations à suivre, le *Journal* de Paul d'Alep (*The Journey of Macarius*)<sup>9</sup>, Panchenko se réfère seulement au voyage du Patriarche Macaire III Ibn az-Za'im en Russie. En fait, Paul et son père, le Patriarche d'Antioche Macaire III, visitèrent au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle de vastes contrées de l'Europe orthodoxe (Moldavie, Valachie, Ukraine, pays de Moscou), ainsi que Constantinople et l'Anatolie.

Le Chapitre 1, *The Historical Context : Orthodox Christians Under Muslim Rule from the Sixth to the Fifteenth Century* (p. 1–69), comprend un résumé bien construit et utile de presque un millénaire de l'histoire des chrétiens du Proche Orient, en passant par les époques des conquêtes arabes, du califat Umayyade – qui est nommé par l'auteur *Byzantium After Byzantium* (« Byzance après Byzance »), concept dont on ne peut pas manquer de préciser ici qu'il a été utilisé pour la

<sup>6</sup> En m'adressant premièrement à un public francophone, j'emploie les expressions « Proche-Orient » et « proche-oriental/e » pour les angl. « Middle East » et « Middle Eastern », tout en adhérant à la définition de cette région que donne Constantin Panchenko dans ce chapitre.

<sup>7</sup> Je n'emploierais toutefois pas comme synonyme pour *Arab Christians* l'expression *Middle Eastern Christians* (cf. note 1, p. 505). Cette appellation, qui passe du critère ethnique/linguistique au critère géographique, est censée inclure les Coptes, les Géorgiens, les Arméniens etc. Aussi, une définition plus claire aurait dû être fournie pour le mot *melkite*, qui désignait les communautés chalcédoniennes (donc, orthodoxes) jusqu'en 1724, et seulement les chrétiens unis à l'Église de Rome après cette date. C'est un aspect noté aussi (p. 29) par le Pr. Archimandrite James Babcock, auteur d'un compte-rendu du livre de C. Panchenko paru en 2017 dans la revue « Sophia. Journal of the Eparchy of Newton » (Hiver, 2017, p. 29–34, 36).

<sup>8</sup> Une période où ils furent « actifs » est indiquée entre parenthèses pour chacun d'eux. Sûrement, leur activité a duré plus d'un an ou deux, comme il en résulte. Par exemple, pour Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney (03.02.1757 – 25.04.1820), l'indication est : *active 1783–1784*. De Volney voyagea en Syrie et Égypte en 1783–1785 et il rédigea son œuvre *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* après son retour, pendant deux ans, pour la publier en 1787 à Londres (*Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785*, vol. I–II). De même, pour Henry Maundrell l'indication est : *active 1697*.

<sup>9</sup> Ceci est l'une des variantes anglaises du titre de l'ouvrage de Paul d'Alep, inspirée du titre de la version russe de G. A. Murkos, *Putešestvie antiohijskago Patriarha Makarija v Rossiju v polovine XVII veka, opisanno ego synom arhidiaonom Pavlom Aleppskim*. Les manuscrits connus du *Journal* de Paul n'ont pas de titre. Par conséquent, les traducteurs en ont imaginé plusieurs.

première fois par l'historien roumain Nicolae Iorga pour décrire la continuité de la tradition byzantine après la conquête de Constantinople, y compris le rôle des Pays Roumains.<sup>10</sup> Le chapitre continue avec les Abbassides, les « Temps Ténébreux » des VIII<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles, où l'influence byzantine dépérit et les chrétiens embrassèrent l'arabité des conquérants musulmans. Le gouvernement Seljukide, les Croisades, le renouveau de l'esprit grec après le X<sup>e</sup> siècle sont rapidement esquissés. La vie monastique du Levant est décrite, évidemment, comme multi-ethnique : on le constate par la liste des monastères, avec leurs fondateurs et leurs habitants, que l'auteur consigne aux p. 54–57. Il en note, ici et dans d'autres chapitres (surtout le 5<sup>e</sup>), à peu près 50 (comme l'*Index* l'établit) : en Terre Sainte, Mar Saba, couvent de Saint-Jean Chrysostome, de Mar Chariton (toujours actif vers 1223), Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinaï, les nombreux couvents des Géorgiens et des Serbes au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les monastères du Patriarcat d'Antioche etc.<sup>11</sup>

Le 2<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *The Political Context : The Ottoman State and the Orthodox Church* (p. 70–87), retrace l'histoire des rapports entre le pouvoir ottoman et les Églises de Constantinople, d'Alexandrie, de Jérusalem etc. L'incontournable définition du système des *millet*s est formulée à partir des ouvrages classiques de Steven Runciman, Benjamin Braude et Bernard Lewis, en y ajoutant la vision d'un historien russe de l'Église, Alexei P. Lebedev, qui nota qu'« en dépit du joug ottoman, ou bien grâce à lui, les évêques grecs vivaient à l'aise ». Panchenko souscrit à la définition du mot *Rūm* comme le nom attribué par les gouverneurs ottomans aux « chrétiens slaves, romanophones, anatoliens et proche-orientaux », pour pouvoir les gouverner plus facilement en les réunissant dans un seul *millet-i rūm* soumis à l'autorité du Patriarche de Constantinople. L'impression que l'on pourrait retenir, comme quoi ceux-ci furent les seuls éléments qui lièrent ensemble toutes ces populations chrétiennes, sera corrigée par la suite, dans les chapitres qui démontreront les liens religieux, intellectuels, culturels qui unirent tous les héritiers du Commonwealth byzantin, défini par le prince Dmitri D. Obolensky en 1971.<sup>12</sup>

Dans le 3<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *Geography and Demographics* (p. 88–119), après une courte exposition du climat et de la nature propres à la Grande Syrie, l'auteur décrit la situation des communautés chrétiennes et orthodoxes du Mont Liban jusqu'au Kurdistan. En ce qui concerne les chrétiens de Damas, à part les notes de Paul d'Alep et de son père Macaire III, qui surveillèrent les aménagements du palais

<sup>10</sup> N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'„Histoire de la vie byzantine”*, Bucarest, 1935.

<sup>11</sup> Des sources utiles pour ce sujet seraient aussi le livre récent de Philip Penn *Envisioning Islam : Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World*, Philadelphia, 2015, et les nombreuses contributions concernant les relations entre chrétiens et musulmans au Levant comprises dans la série de Brill *Christian-Muslim Relations*, éditée depuis 2009 par David Thomas et ses collaborateurs.

<sup>12</sup> D.D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, Oxford, 1971. Pour la définition de l'appellation *rūm* l'étude de Samir Khalil Samir, SJ, me paraît fondamentale : *Quelques notes sur les termes RŪM et RŪMĪ dans la tradition arabe. Étude de sémantique historique*, dans *La nozione di 'romano' tra cittadinanza e universalità*, Napoli, 1984, p. 461–478.

patriarcal de la ville, l'auteur emploie des sources russes et polonaises: Vasily Grigorovitch-Barsky, Ippolit Vishenski, Andrei N. Muraviev, Miłoła Radziwiłł etc.<sup>13</sup>

Le 4<sup>e</sup> chapitre, *Shepherds and Flocks* (p. 120–171), comprend une histoire commentée des chrétiens de la Grande Syrie, tout en reprenant, souvent, le fils du récit commencé au chapitre précédent. Les divers groupes ethniques chrétiens qui habitaient la Terre Sainte – Grecs, Serbes, Russes, Géorgiens, Arabes palestiniens et Syriens antiochiens – sont présentés dans le cadre de leurs relations entre eux et avec le pouvoir musulman.<sup>14</sup> Une grande partie du chapitre concerne les relations entre hiérarques, les conciles locaux et les luttes entre les élites ecclésiastiques au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, au Liban et en Syrie. La présence des moines serbes et le monastère de Saint-Sabbas occupent une place de choix (p. 140–147) : l'auteur insiste sur les aides russes, surtout au temps des Tsars Fiodor Ivanovich (1584–1598) et Boris Godounov (1598–1605), qui permirent à la Lavra de s'épanouir.

Après plusieurs pages consacrées aux monastères de Terre Sainte et de Syrie aux XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, le 5<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *Monasteries and Monasticism* (p. 172–225), reprend l'histoire des monastères d'Orient depuis le V<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour mieux illustrer la vision de l'auteur sur le déclin de la vie monastique au Levant. D'autres voyageurs russes et ukrainiens sont invoqués, dont les journaux sont particulièrement détaillés : Trifon Korobeinikov, Arsenyi Sukhanov, Porphiri Uspenski, Agafangel Krimsky, I. Luk'ianov. À partir de la p. 181, le Monastère de Saint-Sabbas près de Jérusalem redevient sujet de discussion : l'auteur rappelle la force destructive des Arabes bédouins, évoquée à la p. 146. L'histoire continue jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec une mention finale des dépenses que fit le prince de Valachie pour restaurer la Lavra de Saint-Sabbas (p. 183).<sup>15</sup> Par la suite, Panchenko poursuit son récit des

<sup>13</sup> Le paragraphe dédié à la « prospérité d'Alep », qui conclut la première section du chapitre, aurait pu profiter du 4<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *Economic Welfare : The External Sources of Wealth and Subsistence*, du livre paru en 1991 *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity* d'Abraham Marcus, qui s'appuie en principal sur les registres de la Court de Justice d'Alep (*Siğill al-mahkamat al-šarī'iyyat*). V. aussi *Syria and Bilad al-Sham under Ottoman Rule. Essays in honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq*, éd. par Peter Slugget et Stefan Weber, Leiden – Boston, 2010, surtout dans *Part Two: The Economic History of Ottoman Rule in Bilad al-Sham*, les études signées par Thomas Philipp, Farouk Hoblos et Mohannad al-Mubaidin, ainsi que dans *Part III: The Ottoman State and Local Society in Bilad al-Sham*, particulièrement Stefan Weber, *The Making of an Ottoman Harbour Town: Sidon/Saida from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, et dans *Part IV: The Ottoman State and Local Society in Bilad al-Sham*, Steve Tamari, *Arab National Consciousness in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Syria*, et Massoud Daher, *The Lebanese Leadership at the Beginning of the Ottoman Period: A Case Study of the Ma'an family*.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Schunka, qui écrivit un compte-rendu du livre de Panchenko pour la revue « Journal of Ecclesiastical History » (69, 2018, no. 3, p. 654–655), remarqua que : *Orthodox interactions with Muslims play only a marginal role in the book*. En effet, des commentaires sur les relations entre les communautés chrétiennes et celles musulmanes au Levant sont présents plutôt dans ce 4<sup>e</sup> chapitre.

<sup>15</sup> Le prince auquel se réfère Panchenko est Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714), grand Mécène des monastères d'Orient. En fait, des dons commencèrent à être octroyés des Pays Roumains au monastère de Saint-Sabbas près de Jérusalem dès le début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, par Étienne le Grand (prince de Moldavie, 1457–1504), Pierre Rareș (en 1527), Ruxandra, la femme du prince Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552–1561, 1564–1568), Pierre le Boiteux (en 1583), Enache le Chambellan/Postelnic (en 1610) etc. Les *metokions* du monastère aux Pays Roumains lui apportèrent aussi des revenus constants pendant des siècles. À part la lettre du Patriarche Dosithée Notaras citée par l'auteur (*Gramota Dosifeia*, version russe de 1891), voir

troubles qui conduiront la vie monastique de Terre Sainte vers une impasse de longue durée, section intitulée *A Chronicle of Agony*.

Le sous-chapitre qui suit se réfère aux monastères de Syrie et à la hiérarchie qui les a gouvernés aux XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. De nouveau, l'appel aux sources russes permet à l'auteur de fournir des informations qui n'avaient pas été incluses dans le circuit scientifique. L'archive de Georges A. Mourkos (auteur de la version russe du *Journal* de Paul d'Alep, n. Damas, 1846 – m. Zahlé, 1911), qui est conservée aux Archives d'État des Actes Anciens à Moscou (RGADA, Fond 1608),<sup>16</sup> est, à ce que je sache, employée pour la première fois comme source de l'histoire de la chrétienté arabe. Les récits concernant les Monastères de Saydnaya, de Balamand, Mar Elias, celles de la région de Tripoli, Hamatoura, Ra's Baalbek, Saint-Georges de Houmayra etc. apportent des informations importantes portant sur leurs higoumènes, moines ou nonnes, leurs possessions, leurs relations avec l'extérieur, ainsi que sur des aspects de leur culture écrite : documents, manuscrits, livres anciens, avec leurs notes marginales, fascinantes parfois.

Le 6<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *A State Within a State : Intra-Imperial Connections in the Orthodox East* (p. 226–262), commence par une section dédiée à la question des pèlerinages en Terre Sainte, surtout depuis Moscou. Il faut remarquer que la Russie a suivi de près la situation des Églises orientales, avec plus d'intérêt pour celles du Levant après le milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, vu l'action missionnaire intense contrôlée et soutenue par la Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide et d'autres institutions missionnaires de l'Occident catholique (ainsi que des Protestants, plus tard). La traduction de certaines chroniques arabes en russe<sup>17</sup> servit aussi les desseins des hiérarques et des princes russes, qui ont œuvré pendant des siècles à approcher les Orthodoxes arabophones de l'Église de Moscou.

La deuxième partie du chapitre, *The Romanian Lands and the Orthodox East*, comprend une brève présentation des rapports entre les Pays Roumains et le pouvoir ottoman. Affirmer que *both the Middle East and Moldavia and Wallachia became part of the Ottoman Empire* sans expliquer les privilèges des Pays Roumains, qui ont bénéficié d'un statut spécial, engendré par les *'ahd names*

Marcu Beza, *Biblioteci mănăstirești în Palestina, Chipru și la Muntele Sinai*, ARMSL, S. III, t. 6, p. 197; M. Popescu-Spineni, *Procesul mănăstirilor închinat*, Bucarest, 1936, p. 129; M. Beza, *Urme românești în Răsăritul ortodox*, Bucarest, 1937 (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), p. 13–19; Hiéromoine Ioanichie Bălan, *Mărturii românești la Locurile Sfinte*, Roman, 1986, p. 176–184.

<sup>16</sup> V. Andreea Dunaeva, *L'Arabisant russe Georges Abramovič Mourqos, spécialiste de l'œuvre de Paul d'Alep*, dans *Relations entre les peuples de l'Europe Orientale et les chrétiens arabes au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Macaire III Ibn al-Za'im et Paul d'Alep. Actes du 1<sup>er</sup> Colloque international, le 16 septembre 2011*, Bucarest, Bucarest, 2012, p. 59–68.

<sup>17</sup> Par exemple, v. la *Bibliographie finale de Iz beirutskoi tserkovnoi letopisi XVI–XVIII vv.*, paru dans « *Drevnosti Vostochnyia* », 3, 1907, no. 1, p. 1–89 (citée par Panchenko *Beirut Ecclesiastical Chronicle*), ou Gavriil Nazaretskii (Gabriel, archevêque de Nazareth, milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle), *Povest' o Sviatykh i bogoprokhodnykh mestakh sv. grada Ierusalima...*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1900. La chronique des patriarches d'Antioche composée par Mikhail Breik fut publiée assez tôt en russe, à Kiev : *Spisok Antiokhiiskikh patriarkhov*, dans « *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* », 6, 1874, p. 346–457.

négociés avec le gouvernement ottoman, donne une image déformée de la réalité historique de leurs relations avec la Cour ottomane, pendant plusieurs siècles. Ces accords de paix permirent aux Valaques et Moldaves une certaine autonomie, inexistante en Syrie ottomane, qui fit que Paul d'Alep, par exemple, ne vit pas de mosquées aux Pays Roumains, mais il visita d'innombrables églises et monastères et il fut le témoin d'une liberté de foi et d'une richesse de l'Église orthodoxe inconcevables dans le Patriarcat d'Antioche. Panchenko suppose aussi que les donations octroyées au Saint Sépulcre auraient pu augmenter à l'époque des princes phanariotes des Pays Roumains, tout en regrettant l'inaccessibilité des sources en langue roumaine.<sup>18</sup> C'est probablement à cause de ce manque de sources que l'on emploie souvent (y compris dans le livre de Constantin Panchenko) le mot *donation* au sujet des *metokions* octroyés par des princes roumains aux Églises de Terre Sainte (ainsi qu'au Patriarcat d'Antioche). À peu d'exceptions, les possessions des Pays Roumains ont été données aux monastères appartenant à d'autres Patriarchies orthodoxes comme sources de revenus, non pas comme propriétés.<sup>19</sup> En 1863, lors de la sécularisation des biens monastiques qui soutenaient la vie chrétienne au Levant, des 69 monastères de la Valachie, 35 était des *metokions*, tandis qu'en Moldavie, des 122 monastères, 29 était des *metokions*, et la surface totale – agricole et forestière – administrée au profit des Patriarchies d'outre frontières approchait d'un quart de la surface totale des Principautés Roumaines.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> “Without being able to make use of Romanian sources...”, p. 240.

<sup>19</sup> Le sujet des aides octroyées par les princes, métropolitains et boyards des Pays Roumains aux Églises orthodoxes du Levant, qui furent de nature matérielle, politique et spirituelle, a été commenté dans beaucoup de livres et d'études, en plusieurs langues, voir N. Iorga, *Vasile Lupu ca următor al Împăraților de Răsărit în tutelarea Patriarhiei de Constantinopole și a Bisericii Ortodoxe*, AARMSI, S. II, t. XXXVI, 1913, p. 207–236; Marin Popescu-Spineni, *Procesul mănăstirilor închinat*, Bucarest, 1936; Teodor Bodogae, *Ajutoarele românești la mănăstirile din Sfântul Munte Athos*, Sibiu, 1940; P. Lemerle – P. Wittek, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque*, dans *Archives du droit oriental*, t. III, Paris, 1948; Petre Ș. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1654*, Rome, 1986; Constantin Șerban, *Vasile Lupu, domn al Moldovei (1634–1653)*, Bucarest, 1991; Ion Rizea, *Date noi privind activitatea Craioveștilor de cititori și binefăcători la Muntele Athos*, dans *Studia historica et theologica. Omagiu Prof. Emilian Popescu*, Iași, 2003, p. 409–423; *The Romanian Principalities and the Holy Places along the Centuries*, ed. E. Băbuș, I. Moldoveanu, A. Marinescu, Bucarest, 2007; Pr. dr. Ioan Moldoveanu, *Contribuții la istoria relațiilor Țărilor Române cu Muntele Athos (1650–1863) în întâmpinarea a 1045 de ani de la fondarea Muntelui Athos (963–2008)*, Bucarest, 2007. Le volume *Închinare lui Petre Ș. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, coord. Ionel Căndea, Paul Cernovodeanu et Gheorghe Lazăr (Musée de Brăila – Éditions Istros, Brăila, 2003), renferme plusieurs articles consacrés aux aides des Roumains aux Églises d'Orient: Boško I. Bojović (Chilandar), Marie Theoharis (Patriarcat de Constantinople), Florin Marinescu (Vatopedi, Iviron), Eleni Vlachopoulou-Karabina (Saint-Stéphanos des Météores, Doussikon de Trikala). En 2007, toujours aux Éditions Istros, parut la 3<sup>e</sup> édition d'un livre dédié au sujet : *Românii și Țara Sfântă (Les Roumains et les Lieux Saints)*, coord. Gheorghe Vasilescu et Ignatie Monahul (355 p.).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Secularizarea averilor bisericesti (1863). Motivații și consecințe*, Bucarest, 2013, p. 5.



Il faudrait noter aussi que le rôle des princes phanariotes des Pays Roumains vient d'être reconsidéré par l'historiographie roumaine, où leur image était, avant 1989, celle évoquée par Panchenko ici : « There came to be established within the Orthodox *millet* a stable structure of economic relations, in which Moldavia and Wallachia were financial donors to Athos, Palestine, Sinai, and other cultural and political centers of the Orthodox world, a heavy burden for the Moldavians and the Wallachians. The rulers, especially those of Phanariot origin, squeezed the very last juices out of their subjects for the needs of their clan, which included the patriarch of Jerusalem. » (p. 242). Pour expliquer la furie des Moldaves contre leur prince Basile Lupu, qui était d'origine grecque, Panchenko revient au récit de Paul d'Alep, témoin des événements de Moldavie de cette période. Il faut néanmoins ajouter que ce n'étaient pas tellement les dons envers les Églises d'Orient que le peuple et surtout les boyards reprochaient au prince Basile, et que Paul souvent relata les événements qu'il vécut par le biais de ses propres intérêts, ou ceux de son père, Macaire III, en tant que Patriarche d'une communauté comblée par les dettes et les adversités.<sup>21</sup> Enfin, des sources plus récentes que les écrits d'A.P. Lebedev (1896–1901) et de Steven Runciman (1968) sont à la disposition du lecteur intéressé par le Patriarche de Constantinople Cyrille Loukaris, tels les articles d'Ovidiu Olar, qui s'occupe depuis plus d'une décennie de l'histoire de cette grande et controversée figure de l'Église grecque.<sup>22</sup>

Le maintien d'une bonne connaissance de la langue et de la culture grecques – ecclésiastique et séculière –, en tant que facteur commun de tous les peuples héritiers de la civilisation byzantine, a permis aux chrétiens devenus arabophones de continuer à communiquer avec les peuples orthodoxes de tradition byzantine. Ce sujet important pour les relations externes des Patriarches d'Antioche, y compris avec les hiérarques, princes et hommes de lettres des Pays Roumains, est commenté, justement, à partir de la p. 253 : *Greeks versus Arabs in the Church of Antioch during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* et *The Greek Xenocracy in Damascus*. Quoique Sylvestre de Chypre soit déclaré ici comme ayant été à l'origine de la *Greek xenocracy* de l'Église d'Antioche, il est utile de rappeler que tous les patriarches précédents avaient été éduqués dans l'esprit de la civilisation de

<sup>21</sup> Basile Lupu a été l'un des princes dont les Syriens profitèrent, finalement, le moins, dans leur quête de finances pour soulager la vie des chrétiens de la Syrie ottomane. La cause en fut la perte de son trône plutôt que son caractère parcimonieux.

<sup>22</sup> V. Ovidiu Olar, *Kyrrillos Loukaris (1570–1638). Notes de lecture I. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, ms. 204 (1022), p. 49(33)–55(39), 20(6)–22(8)*, « *Archaeus* », 13, 2009, p. 199–226; idem, « *Je suis le bon pasteur...* » *Notes sur la pensée politique de Kyrrillos Loukaris, suivi par « Ego sum bonus pastor. » Un sermon prononcé au Caire par Kyrrillos Loukaris le 25 avril 1610, dans Trame controluce. Il patriarca 'protestante' Cirillo Loukaris / Backlighting Plots. The 'Protestant' Patriarch Cyril Loukaris*, éd. Viviana Nosilia et Marco Prandoni, Firenze, 2015, p. 3–30; idem, « *Un trésor enfoui.* » *Kyrrillos Loukaris et le Nouveau Testament en grec publié à Genève en 1638 à travers les lettres d'Antoine Léger*, « *Cahiers du Monde russe* », 58/3, juillet–septembre 2017, p. 341–370; aussi, sa thèse de doctorat, *La boutique de Théophile. Les relations du patriarche de Constantinople Kyrrillos Loukaris (1570–1638) avec la Réforme*, Paris, 2019.

Byzance et qu'ils connaissaient le grec, plus ou moins profondément. À plus d'un, la connaissance du grec et de la littérature patristique, hagiographique et théologique créées par les auteurs byzantins et post-byzantins leur permit de maintenir les liens avec les autres héritiers de l'esprit de l'Empire politiquement anéanti par les Ottomans, mais bien vivant par ses continuateurs.<sup>23</sup>

Le 7<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *The Holy Places* (p. 263–293), renferme une discussion sur les conflits des XV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles entre les diverses communautés qui habitaient les Lieux Saints et les façons employées pour les résoudre ou, au contraire, pour les attiser à des fins politiques. Au Patriarche Dositheos Notaras, déjà mentionné plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce point, est dédiée une brève section (p. 279–281) dans le contexte de ses efforts concernant la sauvegarde et l'entretien des Lieux Saints, y compris par une intervention auprès du Tsar de Moscou.

Du 8<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *Foreign Relations* (p. 294–363), une bonne partie est consacrée aux contacts de Moscou avec les Patriarchies orientales aux XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, en commençant par les missions de Vasily Poznyakov (1558–1559) et Boris Blagoy (août 1584). Les visiteurs orientaux à Moscou sont évoqués ensuite, surtout les patriarches de Jérusalem Theophanes et Paisius, figures centrales dans le système de relations du Levant orthodoxe avec Moscou. On retrouve les grands voyageurs Arsenyi Sukhanov et Porphiri Uspenski, dont les rapports et les notes de voyage restent des sources essentielles de ces recherches, à côté du *Journal* de Paul d'Alep, évoqué sur beaucoup de pages. Pratiquement, les années 1653–1658 de l'histoire de l'Europe orthodoxe, avec leurs batailles entre Polonais, Moldaves, Tatares et Cosaques, Russes et Suédois, Turcs et Valaques, sont commentées à partir de cette source arabe exceptionnelle. Suit l'histoire du deuxième voyage de Macaire III, en Géorgie et de nouveau à Moscou (1665–1669), dont on ne connaît pas de notes de voyage, comme pour le premier, mais des documents conservés à Moscou et à Damas en donnent beaucoup d'informations. Dositheos Notaras est ensuite évoqué encore une fois, à propos de ses contacts avec la Cour de Moscou (p. 328–337).

La situation de la Géorgie par rapport au Patriarche d'Antioche et au Tsar de Moscou est une section qui rajoute au tableau des relations entre les trois Églises jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle des informations puisées dans les missives diplomatiques, les rapports des missions et l'*Histoire des Géorgiens* que Paul d'Alep présenta au Tsar Alexis lors de la deuxième visite des Syriens à Moscou (1667–1668). Ensuite, le Patriarche Dosithee de Jérusalem est évoqué de nouveau, comme continuateur de Macaire III dans la voie des liens avec l'Église de Géorgie. Continuer la discussion sur les rapports entre la Géorgie et le Levant aurait peut-être donné un peu plus de cohésion au sujet, car on constate que trois sections plus loin, dans ce même

<sup>23</sup> Pour les traductions arabes des écrits des Pères grecs de l'Église, v. Alexander Treiger, *Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch. 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, « Le Muséon », 124, 2011, no. 3–4, p. 371–417. Pour le rôle de la langue grecque en Terre Sainte, v. Cyril Mango, *Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest*, dans *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, ed. G. Cavallo, G. de Gregorio et M. Maniacci, Spoleto, 1991.

chapitre (p. 361–362), l’auteur revient à la situation de la Géorgie – cette fois-ci, celle du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Les efforts du Patriarche Athanase III Dabbās d’obtenir du financement pour sa jeune typographie arabe d’Alep sont évoqués brièvement (p. 348), comme preuve de son intention de maintenir les contacts du Patriarcat d’Antioche avec l’Église Russe. Toutefois, en 1707–1714, quand Dabbās envoya plusieurs messages au Tsar Alexis (sans grand profit), il était toujours Métropolitain d’Alep, n’ayant pas réoccupé le siège patriarcal, et son but premier (et le seul, peut-être) était de continuer d’imprimer en arabe des livres ecclésiastiques, des homélies et des traductions d’ouvrages grecs, pour les chrétiens antiochiens. Ce sujet est, d’ailleurs, repris un peu plus loin (p. 350), en relation avec son appel pour des donations en provenance de l’Ukraine, dans ce même but. Ce fut le hetman Ivan Mazepa qui répondit à son appel, en finançant un des livres arabes les plus recherchés par les serviteurs de l’Église, l’*Évangélaire*.<sup>24</sup>

Panchenko revient souvent au *Journal* de Paul d’Alep, pour y puiser des informations sur la situation historique, politique et sociale de maints pays que l’archidiacre antiochien a bien connu, depuis Alep jusqu’à Moscou. Deux éléments méritent d’être remarqués à ce propos : premièrement, que voilà une preuve de plus quant à l’étendue du territoire où les chrétiens orthodoxes se retrouvaient en dialogue avec leurs coreligionnaires ; deuxièmement, que les notes de Paul d’Alep présentent beaucoup plus d’intérêt pour les historiens du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle grâce aux sections peu exploitées aux siècles passés, comme celle préliminaire, où il décrit la vie sociale et ecclésiastique de sa Syrie natale.

Un chapitre dédié à l’Union avec l’Église Latine s’imposait, compte tenu du rôle des missions catholiques au Levant, surtout au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Importateurs de la culture occidentale au Levant, les missionnaires qui s’installèrent après 1600 en Terre Sainte et par la suite à Alep, Damas et Sayda, à Tripoli et au Mont Liban, ont influencé si profondément la société levantine et la vie ecclésiastique des chrétiens arabophones qu’ils ne pouvaient pas être ignorés dans un tel ouvrage. Le 9<sup>e</sup> Chapitre, *The Catholic Unia* (p. 364–408), commence par une

<sup>24</sup> Le hetman cosaque Ivan Mazepa finança en 1708 la 2<sup>e</sup> édition de l’*Évangélaire* d’Alep de 1706. V. I. Feodorov, *Livres arabes chrétiens imprimés avec l’aide des Principautés Roumaines au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Répertoire commenté*, «CHRONOS, Revue d’Histoire de l’Université de Balamand», 34, 2016, p. 7–49. J’ai signalé par la suite (mais pas décrit, ne l’ayant pas vu), à la p. 188 de mon livre *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi. Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Silvestru al Antiohiei* (Musée de Brăila – Éditions Istros, Brăila, 2016), un exemplaire d’un 2<sup>e</sup> tirage de l’*Évangélaire* imprimé à Alep en 1706, en cours d’étude à l’Institut d’Études Orientales de Saint-Petersbourg, où il est conservé. V. aussi Dmitri A. Morozov, *Arabskoje Evangelije Daniila Apostola* (K istorii pervoj arabskoj tipografii na Vostoke), « Arkhiv russkoj istorii », Moscou, 1992, no. 2, p. 193–203; idem, *Vifilemskij ekzemplar arabskogo Evangelii Daniila Apostola*, « Arkhiv russkoj istorii », 2007, no. 8, p. 645–651; Carsten-Michael Walbiner, *The Christians of Bilād al-Shām (Syria): Pioneers of Book-Printing in the Arab World*, dans *The Beginning of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 24–25; idem, *Melkite (Greek Orthodox) approaches to the Bible at the time of the community’s cultural reawakening in the early modern period (17<sup>th</sup> – early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, dans *Translating the Bible into Arabic: historical, text-critical and literary aspects*, éd. Sara Binay et Stefan Leder, Beirut – Würzburg, 2012, p. 59–60.

brève histoire de la présence catholique au Levant depuis les Croisades, qui sont rapidement évoquées. Suivent des informations générales (et non-partisanes<sup>25</sup>) sur l'arrivée des différentes missions, ordres et fraternités en Palestine et en Syrie ottomane. En commençant à la p. 368, les contacts entre le Vatican et l'Église d'Antioche occupent tout le reste du chapitre. Les démarches des missionnaires jésuites, les activités des émissaires de la Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide après 1622, date de sa fondation par le Pape Urbain VIII, et celles des diplomates favorables aux desseins du Vatican sont ensuite relatées dans leur succession chronologique, aboutissant à 1724, année de la dislocation d'une Église Catholique du sein de l'Église Antiochienne.<sup>26</sup> Dans le titre de ce sous-chapitre, *The Schism* (p. 382 et suiv.), on saisit le point de vue orthodoxe que l'auteur maintient au fil des pages de son livre.

Le Patriarche Athanase III Dabbās est évoqué de nouveau par la suite, pour rappeler ses activités anticatholiques, y compris l'impression de livres polémiques traduits du grec. Nous restons de l'opinion qu'il était sincère dans ses options orthodoxes et que toute son activité intellectuelle et pastorale le prouve, même si l'auteur du livre commenté ici ne semble pas en être convaincu : « The personality of Patriarch Athanasius seems much more complex and contradictory than that of Cyril<sup>27</sup>. Intelligent and educated but unprincipled and spineless, he vacillated between his pro-Latin flock ... and pressure from the Phanar, which demanded that he combat Catholic influence » (p. 381). Le lecteur pourrait rester avec cette impression d'un hiérarque antiochien « dépourvu de principes et de colonne vertébrale », seulement, les informations qui suivent ne parviennent pas à convaincre qu'Athanase n'était pas un orthodoxe déterminé. Plus que ce que les uns et les autres ont dit de lui, ses actes en faveur de l'Orthodoxie de tradition byzantine et ses efforts constants d'opposer au Catholicisme missionnaire, surtout aux Jésuites, des actions d'un effet et d'un niveau semblables aux leurs (homélies, traductions d'écrits de valeur, livres

<sup>25</sup> Dans son compte-rendu susmentionné, le Pr. James Babcock s'affirmait d'emblée surpris du fait que la traduction anglaise ait été publiée par la Holy Trinity Seminary Press de Jordanville, NY, qui est sous la juridiction de l'Église Russe Orthodoxe d'Outre-Frontières, « la plus orthodoxe (et anticatholique) partie de l'Église Russe » (p. 29). Il se méfia donc du livre avant de l'avoir lu : *I suspected a possibly slanted report (ibidem)*. Par la suite, il jugea la démarche de Panchenko comme *the author's impeccable research*.

<sup>26</sup> V. des commentaires plus amples des circonstances et des conséquences de la division de l'Église antiochienne en 1724 chez Bernard Heyberger, *Les chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Liban, Palestine, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rome, 1994 (surtout : *Un siècle d'indétermination*, p. 390–398, et *De l'indétermination à la rupture*, p. 398–403) et J.-P. Valognes, *Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient. Des origines à nos jours*, Paris, 1994. Voir aussi Aziz S. Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity*, Piscataway, NJ, 2010; Carsten Walbiner, *Schmerzhafter Verlust bzw. Geburt einer neuen Identität. Das Schisma zwischen griechisch-orthodoxen und griechisch-katholischen Melkiten im Jahre 1724 im Spiegel der modernen Geschichtsschreibung der beiden Konfessionsgruppen*, « Journal of Eastern Christian Studies », 65, 2013, no. 3–4, p. 167–183; Hasan Çolak, *Catholic Infiltration in the Ottoman Levant and Responses of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates During the Late 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ARAM, vol. 25 (2013), 2016, no. 1–2, surtout p. 88–89.

<sup>27</sup> Le Patriarche Cyrille V, qui occupa le siège patriarcal d'Antioche en 1694, après une longue dispute avec Athanase Dabbās. Il mourut en 1720 et ainsi Dabbās réoccupa le siège patriarcal de l'Église d'Antioche, comme ils s'étaient entendus en 1694.

imprimés, disciples qui continuent son travail, tel ce Sylvestre de Chypre qui lui succéda, par sa propre volonté) parlent beaucoup plus fort. Les Roumains, qui l'ont bien connu, n'ont pas douté de son attachement à l'Orthodoxie. Ses œuvres accomplies en Valachie ou à l'aide de gens du pays – princes, hiérarques, boyards –, avant et après ses longs séjours à Bucarest (jusqu'en 1704), sont restés dans l'histoire de la culture arabe grecque-orthodoxe comme un moment des plus lumineux.<sup>28</sup>

Le récit des événements du début de la mission pastorale de Sylvestre d'Antioche est édifiant pour le climat confessionnel de la Syrie ottomane après la scission de 1724 : les catholiques d'Alep, soutenus par le consul de France, ont réussi en août 1726 à chasser le Patriarche de la ville et, par leurs pratiques habituelles, ils ont déterminé les autorités ottomanes à jeter en prison le vicaire du patriarche et les prêtres orthodoxes et ils ont saisi l'église des Orthodoxes. Le chapitre conclut avec des opinions de divers spécialistes de l'histoire de l'Orient chrétien quant aux raisons de la victoire de l'Église latine en Syrie ottomane et au Levant en général. Pour la plupart, ce sont les raisons économiques et sociales qui ont prévalu : progrès intellectuel et social incompatible avec le climat orthodoxe de la région, besoin de modernité, désir du rapprochement avec le Nouveau Ordre mondial, dominé par l'Occident. L'on retiendra surtout l'assertion de Robert Haddad : « L'Orthodoxie a été la première victime de l'expansion européenne dans l'Empire Ottoman. » (p. 408).

Le 10<sup>e</sup> et dernier chapitre, *The Culture of the Orthodox Orient* (p. 409–490), est le plus intéressant du point de vue de la civilisation arabe chrétienne, mise en relation, depuis le début, avec la culture grecque. Le sujet de l'imprimerie au profit des chrétiens du Levant, en grec et en arabe, sera repris plusieurs fois dans ce chapitre. Toutefois, l'information que le rapprochement des cultures grecque et arabe serait illustré, entre autres, par la naissance de l'imprimerie arabe dans les monastères grecs de la Valachie est inexacte.<sup>29</sup> Les imprimeurs de Valachie et de Moldavie imprimaient en *slavon*, en *roumain* et en *grec* dans des ateliers appartenant à des monastères *roumains*, tandis que les premiers livres arabes (langue et alphabet) furent imprimés en Valachie par le futur évêque et métropolitain Anthime l'Ibère (qui était d'origine géorgienne), qui employa, pour ses deux éditions bilingues de Snagov (1701) et Bucarest (1702), des versions grecques déjà imprimées en Valachie et des manuscrits arabes apportés de Syrie par Athanase Dabbās.

Le chapitre comprend de brèves commentaires sur l'architecture<sup>30</sup>, les arts (y compris l'art de l'icône arabe, illustré par les quatre générations de la famille

<sup>28</sup> V. Antoine César Debbas, Nakhlé Récho, *Tārīh al-ṭibā'a l-'arabiyya fī l-Mašriq. Al-Baṭriyark Atanāsiyūs at-tālit Dabbās (1685–1724)*, Beyrouth, Dar al-Nahar, 2008; Ioana Feodorov, *Dimitrie Cantemir, Salvation of the Sage and Ruin of the Sinful World*, TSEC, vol. VI, Leiden, Brill, 2016, p. 54–63: Athanasius Dabbās – The Hierarch, the Scholar.

<sup>29</sup> « As an example of the close intertwining of these two cultures, one can evoke the emergence of Arab printing in the Greek monasteries of Wallachia ... », p. 410.

<sup>30</sup> Les recherches accomplies au Liban pour la revalorisation du patrimoine architectural antiochien se sont concrétisées dans les deux dernières décennies par plusieurs volumes importants, dont je rappelle ici: *Monasteries of the Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate*, dir. Souad Slim, Université de Balamand, 2007

alépine Al-Muṣawwir), la littérature grecque de Palestine, l'activité littéraire du Patriarche Dosithée Notaras et l'imprimerie en langue grecque de Iassi, en Moldavie (que celui-ci fonda au Monastère de Saint-Sabbas, plus précisément), les bibliothèques de Terre Sainte, les « subcultures marginales » (Géorgiens, Serbes, les sciences exactes etc.) et la fin de l'écriture syriaque. Panchenko a employé, pour ses commentaires des p. 590 et suivantes, le livre *Icônes arabes, mystères d'Orient*, présentation et commentaires de Mère Agnès-Mariam de la Croix (Paris, 2006), qui est le résultat de la coopération exceptionnelle entre hiérarques et historiens de l'art maronites, grecs-orthodoxes, grecs-catholiques, moines de l'Ordre basilien (aleppin, chouéirite, salvatorien), du Liban et de Syrie. Il faudrait rappeler que les icônes arabes ont été présentées en première en mai 1969 dans une exposition de grande envergure au Musée Nicolas Sursock de Beyrouth, préparée par l'historien roumain Virgil Cândea et par Sylvia Agémian, curatrice au Musée. Le catalogue en est devenu un livre de référence (ainsi qu'un livre rare). Par la suite, plusieurs expositions ont été organisées en Europe, en Syrie et au Liban. Les catalogues de ces expositions composent un miroir de la beauté de ces chefs-d'œuvre de l'art religieux, qui révèlent l'héritage byzantin des peintres arabes.<sup>31</sup>

En commençant à la p. 443, la « Renaissance melkite » occupe le reste du chapitre final, avec une présentation des œuvres de Méléce Karma, Macaire III Ibn az-Za'īm et, finalement, de son fils l'archidiacre Paul, que l'auteur avait déjà mentionné et cité plus de cinquante fois jusque là. L'auteur raconte la vie, l'éducation, l'activité littéraire et les voyages de Paul, qui visita en 1652-1659 Constantinople, les Pays Roumains, l'Ukraine et le pays de Moscou (pas seulement la Russie, comme indiqué de nouveau à la p. 447). Des sept années du voyage, les Syriens passèrent quelques mois à Constantinople, à peu près quatre ans aux Pays Roumains, deux ans en Russie et quelques mois en Anatolie, sur le chemin du retour.

Plus loin, l'auteur est d'opinion que la chronique des hiérarques de l'Église Antiochienne (1268-1650) qui forme une section du *Journal* de Paul d'Alep a été composée par son père. Il présente comme argument des phrases telles que : « cette lettre existe en grec, et moi, l'humble [serviteur], je l'ai traduite en arabe », ou bien « des [livres] que moi, trouvant complets, j'ai copié pour moi-même. » Sa conclusion est : *It is obvious that only the patriarch could have been speaking of himself in this way*. L'on remarque toutefois que, au long des 600 pages du manuscrit le plus ample (*Ms. Arabe 6016* de la BnF, à Paris), Paul parle plusieurs fois de lui-même en employant l'expression 'anā al-faqīr (« moi, le pauvre ») et qu'il n'y a aucun indice

(anglais – arabe, richement illustré), et *Le Patrimoine architectural de l'Église orthodoxe d'Antioche. Perspectives comparatives avec les autres groupes religieux du Moyen-Orient et des régions limitrophes*, dir. May Davie, Université de Balamand, 2015. Un site dédié présente d'une manière scientifique bien articulée ce patrimoine exceptionnel : les archives ARPOA, à l'adresse <https://home.balamand.edu.lb/ARPOA.asp?id=11306&fid=2025>.

<sup>31</sup> Virgil Cândea a été aussi le curateur et le directeur scientifique du catalogue de l'exposition *Icônes grecques, melkites, russes. Collection privée du Liban*, organisée en mai – juin 1994 au Musée Carnavalet de Paris. Paru chez les Éditions Skira, Genève – Beyrouth, en 1994 (410 p.), le catalogue comprend une étude de Manolis Chatzidakis sur *Les icônes byzantines et post-byzantines*.

pour lui retirer la paternité d'une partie tellement importante de son propre journal. De plus, comme ses connaissances du grec étaient supérieures à celles de son père<sup>32</sup>, il me paraît clair que ce fut Paul qui réunit les informations en provenance de sources grecques qui n'avaient pas encore reçu de version arabe.

Le lecteur profitera beaucoup des pages dédiées à l'activité littéraire de la Syrie ottomane aux XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, tableau riche de nuances d'une époque de création et d'éducation dont les mécanismes étaient mus par la compétition entre les intellectuels et les formateurs orthodoxes et ceux d'inclination catholique (p. 451 et suiv.). Ici, l'histoire des débuts de l'imprimerie arabe en Orient, à l'aide des imprimeurs de Valachie (1701–1702), trouve sa place logique. La caractérisation d'Anthime l'Ibère, figure de proue de la vie religieuse de Valachie au temps du prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, comme *an extremely colorful personality* (p. 485) me paraît toutefois hardie.<sup>33</sup> Il faut rappeler ici qu'il a été moine, ensuite évêque de Râmnic et métropolitain de l'Houngrovalachie, qu'il encouragea l'emploi de la langue roumaine dans les services divins, qu'il imprima dans plusieurs langues et alphabètes, y compris l'arabe<sup>34</sup> (il manufactura lui-même des polices de caractères cyrilliques, grecques, arabes et géorgiennes)<sup>35</sup>, qu'il fonda un monastère et construisit une église splendide à Bucarest, où la vie religieuse continue aujourd'hui encore, et il composa des homélies d'une grande beauté, qui résistent toujours à la preuve du temps. Aussi, des informations puisées au livre d'Antoine César Debbās et Nakhla Recho à propos de certains livres parus, apparemment, après 1711 ont été déjà établies comme inexacts.<sup>36</sup> L'imprimerie d'Athanase Dabbās a cessé de fonctionner en 1711 et le dernier livre paru fut la *Brève épître sur la repentance et la confession* (*Risāla waḡīza tūḏīhu kayfiyyat aṭ-ṭawba wa-l-i'tirāf*, 170 p.).<sup>37</sup> Depuis la version de 2012 du livre de Constantin Panchenko, l'intérêt éveillé dans les cercles scientifiques par le projet de recherche initié en Roumanie au sujet de l'imprimerie arabe au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle a conduit à quelques découvertes importantes, ainsi qu'à la révision de certaines informations datées d'il y a un siècle. Ces nouveautés comprennent, entre autres, l'imprimerie orthodoxe de Beyrouth : la « piecemeal information » (p. 489) qu'il a pu glaner des sources disponibles en 2012 a été enrichie dernièrement par l'identification d'une édition du *Psautier* de Beyrouth, de 1752, dont on doutait qu'elle fut jamais imprimée.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Panchenko l'affirme lui-même, p. 445 : Macaire avait « a mediocre knowledge of Greek ».

<sup>33</sup> Dans la version russe de 2012 : *isklyuchitel'no koloritnoy lichnost'by* (p. 562).

<sup>34</sup> Voir I. Feodorov, *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi...*, p. 128 et suiv.

<sup>35</sup> En 25 ans d'activité typographique en Valachie il imprima lui-même 41 livres : 26 en grec, 8 en roumain, 3 en roumain et slavon, 2 en arabe et grec, 1 en grec et roumain, 1 en slavon. V. *Antim Ivireanul. Opera tipografică*, coord. Archim. Policarp Chițulescu, Bucarest, 2016, p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> I. Feodorov, *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi...*, p. 168, 171, 125.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>38</sup> I. Feodorov, *New Data on the Early Arabic Printing in the Levant and Its Connections to the Romanian Presses*, RESEE, LVI, 2018, p. 197–233.

Dans ses *Conclusions* (p. 491–498) Panchenko résume les points énoncés concernant les circonstances qui ont conduit à la dégradation de la vie des chrétiens orientaux à l'époque ottomane et les causes de la *Nahḍa* melkite de la période prémoderne. Finalement, en s'avancant au-delà de la frontière du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il formule quelques réponses possibles à la question : « Qu'allait devenir la culture arabe orthodoxe par la suite ? »

Les notes (p. 504–607) sont riches en détails et références aux nombreuses sources que l'auteur a employées pour ses recherches. Un *Glossaire (Glossary of terms)*, p. 608–613) fournit des définitions aux mots d'origine arabe, turque et russe du vocabulaire administratif ottoman, de l'Église Orthodoxe et de la vie sociale du Levant.

Le volume s'achève par une ample bibliographie (p. 614–644), où l'on retrouve premièrement la liste des archives et collections de manuscrits consultées, d'une grande richesse et diversité. Les recherches poussées de l'auteur dans les Archives d'État des Actes Anciens à Moscou lui ont permis d'éclaircir des événements et des attitudes que la consultation de documents du Levant, certains connus seulement par des commentaires anciens, ne permettait pas d'élucider.<sup>39</sup> À cela s'ajoutent des manuscrits arabes de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de Saint-Petersbourg, de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Russie à Moscou, le Fonds Ignatii Kratchkovsky de l'Archive de l'Académie Russe des Sciences à Saint-Petersbourg, l'archive de G.A. Mourkos de Moscou, le catalogue de Louis Cheikho des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Orientale à Beyrouth etc.

Vu le contenu riche en données historiques et chroniques patriarcales, l'*Appendix* des p. 499–504 (*Patriarchs and the Sultans*) est très profitable au lecteur, qui y trouvera les noms et périodes de mandat des patriarches de Jérusalem, d'Antioche, d'Alexandrie et de Constantinople, ainsi que les règnes des sultans du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à 1850. Le livre est complété par l'*Index* et les *Acknowledgements*. Entre les p. 468–469, un groupage de photos couleur illustre quelques moments, personnages et monuments mentionnés dans le livre, y compris les portraits des princes Basile Lupu de Moldavie et Constantin Brâncoveanu de Valachie.<sup>40</sup> La belle icône du Stylite Saint-Syméon le Jeune, qui se trouve à l'église

<sup>39</sup> Il a valorisé aussi les recherches de Vera Tchentsova, qui travaille inlassablement sur les fonds de RGADA et d'autres archives de Moscou. À part les publications citées par Panchenko (sous « Tchentsova », p. 629), v. ses études *Le fonds des documents grecs (F. 52. « Relations de la Russie avec la Grèce ») de la collection des Archives Nationales des Actes Anciens de la Russie et leur valeur pour l'histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, « Turcica », 30, 1998, p. 383–396; *Documents grecs des métoques roumains du Mont Athos et des Patriarcats orientaux conservés à Moscou à la lumière d'une analyse paléographique*, dans *Romanian Principalities and the Holy Places along the Centuries. Papers of the Symposium Held in Bucharest, 15–18 October 2006*, Bucarest, 2007, p. 157–174, ill. 1–18; *The Correspondence of Greek Church Leaders with Russia*, dans *Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. X. *Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600–1700)*, éd. par David Thomas et John Chesworth, Leiden, Brill, 2017, p. 485–491.

<sup>40</sup> Qui, toutefois, n'était pas le roi de la Valachie (*King of Wallachia*), mais le prince ou le voïvode.



grecque orthodoxe Notre Dame d'Alep, est seulement *attribuée* à Yusuf al-Musawwir.<sup>41</sup>

*Last but not least*, le livre de Constantin Panchenko débute par une brève *Préface* du Patriarche Jean X d'Antioche et de Tout l'Orient (*Foreword*, p. vi–vii), qui apprécia le plus les pages consacrées à la vie des moines antiochiens et aux centres monastiques du Patriarcat.

La version anglaise de Brittany Pheiffer Noble et Samuel Noble est si bien réalisée qu'on pense parfois que le livre a été composé originellement en cette langue. L'aise et la clarté de la lecture sont dues aux connaissances solides d'histoire (russe, arabe, ottomane – politique, diplomatique, ecclésiastique, culturelle etc.), de géographie et de langue (arabe, russe, anglaise) qui ont été mises en œuvre par les deux auteurs de la traduction. Ça arrive rarement que le lecteur se pose des questions à propos du sens des mots, comme par exemple dans le titre *Antiochian Strengthening in the Early Eighteenth Century* (p. 347), où le mot *strengthening* aurait du recevoir un complément (il s'agit, en fait, de la reprise des relations entre l'Église Antiochienne et Moscou). Aussi, les auteurs de la version anglaise auraient pu éviter une inadvertance à la p. 483 : « Another component of the chronicle [of Mikhail Breik], the Beirut city history of the 1740<sup>s</sup>, begins in the 1790<sup>s</sup> and centers.... ». *Ugro-Wallachia*, à la p. 242 (repris dans l'*Index* comme *Urgo-Wallachia*) est sûrement à lire *Ungro-Wallachia* (p. 685). Dans un livre d'une telle ampleur, ce genre d'écarts est inévitable : il faut admettre, en toute sincérité, qu'il arrive à tout auteur de littérature scientifique de s'en rendre coupable.

Quoique son titre ne le révèle pas, le livre de Constantin Panchenko est à la fois une histoire des chrétiens orthodoxes arabes et une histoire des relations des Églises orthodoxes d'Orient – surtout celle d'Antioche – avec l'Église de Moscou. Comme on a pu le saisir dans les commentaires précédents, le rôle des tsars et des patriarches russes dans le progrès des communautés arabes chrétiennes, ainsi que de celle grecques de Terre Sainte et de Constantinople, est souligné dans chaque chapitre, en partant de sources russes de première main. C'est une histoire entremêlée qui se déroule sous les yeux du lecteur, comme entremêlées ont été aussi les vies des Églises orthodoxes d'Europe et d'Orient pendant toute l'époque ottomane. Les influences, ainsi que les assauts de l'extérieur, conçus pour attirer l'une ou l'autre communauté vers l'un ou l'autre centre du pouvoir ecclésiastique – Rome, Constantinople, Moscou – sont bien illustrés dans ce livre, qui ne laisse de côté ni les solidarités, ni les trahisons.

*Le moment* de la publication de ce livre me semble également significatif. Depuis deux décennies les yeux du monde sont rivés, par moments, sur l'exode des

<sup>41</sup> Dont le nom serait, en anglais, *the Painter* plutôt que *the artist*, comme on l'indique dans la légende. En ce qui concerne l'École de peinture d'Alep, v. Charbel Nassif, *Ottoman and Arab influences on Melkite art in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*, dans *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 12, éd. David Thomas et John Chesworth, Leiden – Boston, Brill, p. 15–28. Aussi, sa thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université de Sorbonne en 2017, sous la direction du Professeur François Baratte, est en cours de parution: *L'Œuvre du peintre aleppin Youssef al-Musawwir. Contribution à l'essor de la peinture religieuse melkite au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

chrétiens du Proche-Orient, arabes pour la plupart, vers l'Occident. Les expositions<sup>42</sup>, les conférences, les livres, les projets scientifiques<sup>43</sup> dédiés à la chrétienté orientale se sont visiblement multipliés ces derniers temps. De nouvelles séries consacrées aux Églises d'Orient ont été initiées par de grandes Maisons d'édition.<sup>44</sup> Après une perte d'intérêt de la part des éditeurs qui a duré un demi-siècle, de nouvelles éditions de manuscrits arabes chrétiens sont publiées çà et là.<sup>45</sup> C'est donc à un besoin réel d'information exacte et bien documentée que ce livre répond, en présentant d'une manière claire, par thèmes et périodes, la situation des chrétiens des provinces proche-orientales de l'Empire Ottoman et leurs relations avec l'Église Orthodoxe russe.<sup>46</sup>

Pour conclure, le livre de Constantin Panchenko, essai d'une « histoire totale de la chrétienté orientale »<sup>47</sup> – et sa version anglaise – sont une lecture obligatoire

<sup>42</sup> À Paris, en 2018, à l'Institut du Monde Arabe, une énorme exposition a été organisée, qui fut transférée ensuite au Musée des Beaux Arts Eugène Leroy de Tourcoing: *Chrétiens d'Orient. 2000 ans d'histoire*. À Damas, en mars 2019, une exposition d'icônes arabes, *Et le Mot se fit Chair (Al-Kalimatu šāra ġasad<sup>m</sup>)*, a été ouverte au Centre culturel orthodoxe La Sainte-Croix, avec des pièces empruntées des monastères majeurs de Syrie, grecs-orthodoxes ainsi que grecs-catholiques. Aussi, l'anniversaire en 2019 d'un demi-siècle depuis la première exposition d'icônes arabes post-byzantines, que je viens de mentionner (mai 1969, Musée Nicolas Sursock, Beyrouth), a inspiré une exposition d'icônes organisée au Musée Audi de Beyrouth, près du Musée Surssock.

<sup>43</sup> Plusieurs projets sont financés en ce moment par le Conseil Européen pour la Recherche, tels celui dirigé par John-Paul Ghobrial à l'Université d'Oxford, *Stories of Survival. Recovering the Connected Histories of Eastern Christianity in the Early Modern World (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, et celui dirigé par Kiril Dmitriev à l'Université St Andrews du Royaume Uni (School of Modern Languages), *Language – Philology – Culture. Arab Cultural Semantics in Transition*.

<sup>44</sup> À Leiden, Brill vient de lancer, en 2019, la série *Arabic Christianity: Texts and Studies* (éd. Alexander Treiger). Le premier livre paru en est : D. Bertaina, S.T. Keating, M.N. Swanson, A. Treiger (éds.), *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*. À Istanbul, ISIS Publishing House a lancé aussi en 2019 la série *Ecclesiastica Ottomanica*, éd. Elif Bayraktar Tellan et Hasan Çolak. Le premier livre paru est celui de E. Bayraktar Tellan et H. Çolak, *The Orthodox Church as an Ottoman Institution: A Study of Early Modern Patriarchal Berats*.

<sup>45</sup> Voir, entre autres, Yahyā al-Anṭākī, *Cronache dell'Egitto Fāṭimide e dell'Impero Bizantino (937–1033)*, introduction, traduction italienne et notes par Bartolomeo Pirone, *Préface* de Samir Khalil Samir, 2<sup>e</sup> éd. revue et corrigée, Bologne, 2018 (1<sup>e</sup> éd., 1997); Alexander Treiger, *Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition (1): On the Origin of the Term "Melkite" and on the Destruction of the Maryamiyya Cathedral in Damascus*, « *CHRONOS, Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* », 29, 2014, p. 7–37; idem, *Unpublished Texts... (2): Miracles of St. Eustratius of Mar Saba – corr. Mar Chariton – (written ca. 860)*, « *CHRONOS, Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* », 33, 2016, p. 7–20; idem, *Unpublished Texts... (3): The Paterikon of the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Chariton*, « *CHRONOS, Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* », 38, 2018, p. 7–46.

<sup>46</sup> La situation actuelle des études concernant la civilisation chrétienne syriaque et arabe aux XX<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècles peut être constatée en parcourant les bibliographies: Alexander Treiger and Samuel Noble, *A Bibliographical Guide to Arab Orthodox Christianity (Updated 12/2014)*, accessible ici : [https://www.academia.edu/9757183/A\\_Bibliographical\\_Guide\\_to\\_Arab\\_Orthodox\\_Christianity](https://www.academia.edu/9757183/A_Bibliographical_Guide_to_Arab_Orthodox_Christianity), et Grigori M. Kessel et Nikolai N. Seleznyov, *Bibliography of Syriac and Christian Arabic Studies in Russian, 2018*, « *Journal of Syriac Studies* », 22, 2019, no. 1, p. 295–305, accessible ici : <https://hugoye.bethmardutho.org/article/hv22n1bib-russian>.

<sup>47</sup> Remarque de John-Paul Ghobrial à la p. 610 de son compte-rendu de la version anglaise, paru dans « *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* », 50, 2018, p. 610–613.

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pour quiconque s'occupe de l'histoire des Églises orthodoxes du Proche-Orient, de leurs rapports avec les Églises orthodoxes d'Europe, et surtout de leurs liens avec le Patriarcat de Moscou. Les recherches sur la diplomatie, la vie sociale, les arts, la culture écrite des chrétiens arabes orthodoxes, leurs contacts avec l'Église latine et les conséquences pour les fidèles levantins du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle sont tous des thèmes pour la recherche desquels ce livre s'avère être une lecture nécessaire. De plus, cette lecture est accessible aux spécialistes ainsi qu'au grand public, offrant à tous également l'opportunité d'enrichir leurs connaissances sur la chrétienté arabe en partant de sources de première main et des commentaires d'un expert du domaine.

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*Hommage au professeur Grigore Brâncuș à son 90<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, éditeurs Gh. CHIVU et Cătălina VĂTĂȘESCU, București, Editura Universității din București, 2019, 602 p.

Les volumes appelés à rendre hommage aux personnalités du monde contemporain à l'âge de 90 ans sont des parutions d'exception, puisqu'ils témoignent de la force humaine de création jusqu'à des âges qualifiés de « patriarcaux » laquelle aboutit assez rarement à telle performance. Mais les grands créateurs, dont l'activité force les limites, ont existé depuis toujours. Le génie humain a toujours aspiré à un vécu aussi long que possible et marqué de réalisations. Le fait de rendre hommage illustre le climat intellectuel de l'époque, puisqu'il reflète le lien entre les générations et la permanence dans la conscience des plus jeunes de la renommée dont la personnalité en question jouit parmi ses congénères. La circulation de son œuvre, combien elle est connue/citée, donne la mesure de la présence parmi les contemporains des personnes qui atteignent cet âge, tout en continuant leur activité scientifique, de recherche et d'enseignement. La plage très large des préoccupations scientifiques que celui auquel on rend hommage couvre par son œuvre en est définitoire, tout comme et surtout son excellence et son charisme.

Le professeur Grigore Brâncuș est cet illustre savant qui, depuis plus de 60 ans représente un point de référence pour la linguistique roumaine et sud-est européenne de différents domaines : histoire de la langue, grammaire, dialectologie, lexicologie/étymologie, philologie, histoire de la langue littéraire, stylistique et j'en passe. Il a été aussi un des rédacteurs fidèles du *Dictionnaire de la langue roumaine* élaboré par l'Académie Roumaine pour la vérification et la rédaction des étymologies. Et l'attention spéciale qu'il a accordée au fonds autochtone de la langue roumaine, pour la connaissance duquel le recours à la langue albanaise est absolument nécessaire, mais insuffisant, dessine, dans une perspective intégratrice, l'étendue de son esprit chercheur.

Ses écrits et ses réalisations sont connus par le monde académique international, c'est pourquoi nous laisserons de côté les informations que pourrait fournir un *curriculum*, pour insister sur ce qu'on veut transmettre ceux qui lui ont rendu hommage. Ils ont voulu mettre en exergue, par les résultats de leurs propres recherches, l'appartenance à l'école linguistique roumaine. On a eu la tendance de spécifier « l'école de Bucarest » pour nous rendre compte que cela signifierait restreindre les liens scientifiques que le professeur maintient avec les linguistes de toutes les provinces roumaines, tout comme avec des spécialistes d'autres pays. Ensuite ils ont présenté les projets de recherche en cours, les contributions inédites que chaque collaborateur considère éloquentes pour les propres réalisations. Nombre d'auteurs de ce volume sont d'anciens étudiants, des candidats à la maîtrise ou au doctorat, formés autour et en collaboration avec le professeur Brâncuș. Il y en a aussi ceux qui réclament être ses disciples ou ses admirateurs, bien que le connaissant seulement par le truchement de ses écrits. La communauté scientifique dévoile, à de telles occasions, une dynamique interne des liens entre les participants à la recherche, par la nature des sujets communs, mais aussi une polarisation de l'autorité qu'exercent les personnalités illustrant les domaines par leurs propres écrits.

Durant toute son activité didactique, le professeur Grigore Brâncuș a enseigné l'histoire de la langue roumaine et a tenu des cours d'albanais ; pendant 18 ans il a été le chef du département de langue roumaine de l'Université de Bucarest. Rien de plus naturel donc que le florilège des contributions de ce volume soit consacré à l'histoire de la langue roumaine et à ses liens, en particulier, avec l'albanais. La problématique de la morphologie est traitée dans les études sur la flexion nominale (Gabriela Pană-Dindelegan, *Despre flexiunea nominală. Substantiv vs adjectiv / Sur la flexion nominale. Nom vs adjectif*), les verbes de mouvement (Adnana Boioc, Adina Dragomirescu, *Verbele de mișcare construite cu un complement predicativ în limba română veche / Les verbes de mouvement construits avec un complément prédicatif dans le roumain ancien*), l'avenir hypothétique (Rodica Zafiu, *Viitorul ipotetic românesc [condiționalul sintetic]. Contexte și valori / L'avenir*

*hypothétique roumain [le conditionnel synthétique]. Contextes et valeurs*), le pronom (Andra Vasilescu, *Observații asupra cuantificatorilor indefiniți / Observations sur les quantificateurs indéfinis*), l'adverbe (Daniela Teleoacă, *Tipare propoziționale cu adverbul cum. Aspecte particularizatoare în context românesc / Mouldes propositionnels avec l'adverbe comment. Aspects particularisateurs en contexte romain*), l'article (Ștefan Găitănaru, *Articolul, operator de cuantificare în limba română / L'article, opérateur de quantification dans la langue roumaine*). Il convient aussi mentionner l'approche informatisée de l'annotation morphologique automatisée de la langue roumaine, avec des annotateurs : Verginica Barbu Mititelu, Dan Tufiș, *Prelucrarea morfologică automată a limbii române. Reușite și provocări / Le traitement morphologique automatisé de la langue roumaine. Réussites et défis*. Des corpus ont ainsi été créés pour servir à l'analyse des différents aspects morphologiques.

Mais les contributions d'étymologie sont les plus nombreuses (10 sur les 52 articles), complétées par celles approchant des problèmes de lexicologie, il serait donc difficile de les citer dans l'économie de cette présentation. Il convient d'observer que des hypothèses inédites apparaissent, soutenables, reposant sur des arguments scientifiques irréfutables et, grâce à une méthodologie interdisciplinaire, de large étendue informationnelle (par exemple, Dragoș Moldovanu, *Un cuvânt de origine veche iranică în limba română : stăpân / Un mot originare de l'iranien ancien dans la langue roumaine : stăpân*). Une amplification de la perspective étymologique est à remarquer dans l'étude de Oana Uță Bărbulescu et Mihaela Zamfir, *Noțiunea „a sfârși” în limba română. Problema straturilor etimologice (cu privire specială asupra familiei adverbului „gata”) / La notion „finir” dans la langue roumaine. Le problème des couches étymologiques (avec un regard particulier sur la famille de l'adverbe « prêt »)*. Les aspects dialectaux de la langue roumaine sont approchés à travers le prisme lexicologique ou grammatical. L'apport des études d'anthroponymie tend à devenir prépondérant dans la perspective de projets d'ampleur (Emanuela Dima, *Antroponimie românească în context românesc. Un proiect în derulare / Anthroponymie roumaine en contexte romain. Un projet en déroulement*).

L'histoire de la langue roumaine a toujours été élaborée par Grigore Brâncuș en partant de l'étude du substrat de la langue roumaine et de la comparaison entre les éléments roumains et ceux albanais. Et l'étude du substrat de la langue roumaine, la comparaison entre les éléments roumains et ceux albanais et l'analyse des données que fournit le récent atlas dialectal de la langue albanaise se sont concrétisées dans des contributions pérennes et précieuses concernant les relations entre les langues albanaise et roumaine. Les linguistes d'Albanie apprécient à leur juste valeur les écrits que le professeur Brâncuș a consacrés à leur langue, tel que le témoigne Viorel Stănilă dans l'article *Receptări albaneze recente ale operei acad. Grigore Brâncuș / Réceptions albanaises récentes de l'œuvre de Grigore Brâncuș, membre de l'Académie Roumaine* (p. 461–477). Viorel Stănilă, ancien ambassadeur de Roumanie en Albanie, a analysé, en s'appuyant sur une riche information, les études albanaises qui font valoir les contributions du savant roumain au développement des recherches de substrat sur la langue albanaise, en relation avec le roumain, considérées par les spécialistes d'Albanie comme ayant « de multiples dimensions et une valeur remarquable » (p. 472). D'autre part, sont saisies les mystifications concernant l'origine et l'histoire du dialecte macédo-roumain dans la littérature linguistique albanaise ; les arguments fournis par les études de Grigore Brâncuș servent pour combattre la distorsion délibérée de la réalité historique « qui est propre à certains auteurs d'Albanie ». Les contributions publiées dans le présent volume sont le résultat de recherches importantes sur les relations roumano-albanaises : Ina Arapi, *Concordanțe albanoromâne în formarea cuvintelor. Prefixele comune / Concordances albanoroumaines dans la formation des mots. Les préfixes communs* ; Bahri Beci, *Les traits communs aux langues balkaniques à la lumière des données de la langue albanaise*; Bardhyl Demiraj, *Inscripțiile în albaneză și în română de pe gravura de la Ardenița / Inscriptions en albanais et roumain sur la gravure d'Ardenița*; Gjovalin Shkurtaj, *Schimbările fonetice ale împrumuturilor în limba albaneză / Les changements phonétiques des emprunts dans la langue albanaise* ; Nicolae Saramandu, *Despre forma de feminin a numeralului trei în dialectul aromân și în limba albaneză / Sur la forme de féminin du numeral trois dans le dialecte macédo-roumain et dans la langue albanaise*. L'étude comparée des réalités des deux langues font l'objet d'étude de recherches de lexicologie, sémantique, onomasiologie ou stylistique : Cătălina Vătășescu, *Sensuri comune referitoare la realități de cultură tradițională în română și albaneză (rom.*

**a călca**, alb. *shkel*) / *Sens communs ayant trait à des réalités de culture traditionnelle en roumain et albanais (roum. a călca, alb. shkel)*; Manuela Nevaci, *Concordance lexicale în româno-albaneze pe baza Atlasului Lingvistic al Dialectului Aromân / Concordances lexicales roumano-albanaises sur la base de l'Atlas Linguistique du Dialecte Macédo-roumain*; Renata Topciu, *Metafora fonică ritmată, un procedeu stilistic comun în frazeologia română și albaneză / La métaphore phonique rythmée, un procédé stylistique commun dans la phraséologie roumaine et albanaise*. L'étude comparative est également illustrée par des articles sur les dialectes sud-danubiens et leurs relations avec le daco-roumain: Gh. Chivu, *Elemente aromânești în texte literare de la începutul sec. al XIX-lea / Eléments macédo-roumains dans des textes littéraires du début du XIXe siècle*; Maria Aldea, *Elemente lexicale sud-dunărene în Lexiconul de la Buda (1825) / Eléments lexicaux sud-danubiens dans le Lexique de Buda (1825)*.

*La langue roumaine (contemporaine)*. Manuel pour les étudiants étrangers de Grigore Brâncuș, Adriana Ionescu et Manuela Saramandu est, depuis plus de 40 ans, le principal moyen de diffusion de la langue roumaine, par des éditions successives, de grand succès. Manuela Saramandu illustre dans *Concordanțe frazeologice între română și franceză / Concordances phraséologiques entre le roumain et le français*, les préoccupations de ce manuel de présenter comparativement des situations similaires d'autres langues.

La problématique est complétée par des études ayant trait à d'autres préoccupations importantes de Grigore Brâncuș. Ramener dans l'actualité les contributions des précurseurs philologues et linguistes, voilà un des traits de dignité déontologique du professeur pour le milieu académique et pour les générations futures. Il a fait réimprimer dans des éditions critiques l'œuvre de Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, qui occupe sa place dans le panthéon de la culture roumaine grâce aux études du professeur Brâncuș. De la même manière, il a fait rééditer, avec étude critique, le *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue roumaine* de I.A. Candrea et Ovid Densusianu. En ce sens, il convient de rappeler les articles évoquant des personnalités: *Petru Maior* (Eugen Pavel), *B.P. Hasdeu* (Luiza Marinescu, Z. Mihail) ou, indirectement, les rédacteurs de la *Bible de Bucarest (1688)* (Mihaela Marin), l'identification et l'analyse de manuscrits inédits: Emanuela Timotin, *O redacție românească a Visului Maicii Domnului / Une rédaction roumaine inédite du Rêve de la Vierge* ou d'un Psautier en vers de 1846, de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine (Eugenia Dima).

Grigore Brâncuș a été également traducteur de l'albanais; ainsi faisait-il imprimer, en 1967, *Migjeni, Le fruit défendu*. Luan Topciu a illustré cette direction dans son article: *Biserica « Sfânta Sofia » – un simbol androgin al lumii creștine și musulmane. Despre proza « Sfânta Sofia » de Ismail Kadare / L'Église « Sainte Sophie » – un symbole androgyne du monde chrétien et musulman. Sur la prose « L'Église Sainte Sophie » par Ismail Kadare*.

Les éloges anniversaires d'Eugen Simion, ancien Président de l'Académie Roumaine, Alexandru Boboc, membre de l'Académie et de deux disciples, Maria Marin et Marius Dobrescu, sont imbus de cordialité collégiale et d'admiration sincère. Complétés par les hommages sous-entendus que lui ont adressés plus de 120 contemporains dans la *Tabula gratulatoria*.

Zamfira Mihail

P.P. PANAITESCU, Zamfira MIHAIL, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. III, partea I-a: mss. sl. 601–728, mss. sl. 729–822, ediție îngrijită și revizuită, studiu introductiv, notă asupra ediției și bibliografie de Zamfira Mihail, introducere de Ștefan S. Gorovei, ilustrații de Gabriela Dumitrescu, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2018, 503 p.

This is the much-awaited third volume of P.P. Panaitescu's catalogue of Slavo-Romanian and Slavonic manuscripts at the Romanian Academy Library. As noted by Ștefan S. Gorovei in his preface, this book was published more than 50 years after it had first been sent to the publishing house in its final form, following only "two years and several months" of work, per the original editor's words. The first volume, while saluted for its invaluable contribution to Romanian Slavistics,

had received some criticism in its reviews by Ioan Iufu in 1961 and Liviu Onu in 1963, both of whom suggested a complete revision for volumes II and III before publishing them, seeing how the author was rather unfairly accused of making several minor mistakes, some even linguistic in nature. The unfortunate development of P.P. Panaitescu's illness and his subsequent death less than 10 years after publishing the first volume ultimately meant that his work would have to be completed by other researchers. Indeed, the second volume would only be published in 2003, through the editorial efforts of Dalila-Lucia Aramă and Gheorghe Mihăilă. All in all, the preface gives a very edifying account of this catalogue's long and arduous path to publication.

Moving on to the catalogue itself, each manuscript is described in three sub-sections, as per P.P. Panaitescu's system: the first provides the palaeographical and codicological means by which one may identify said manuscript (i.e. its dating, the writing support, the number of pages, the format and all information pertaining to its integrity). The second sub-section describes its content: this includes titles (be they original or given by the editor), the span of each part of the manuscript, and, when needed, the *incipit* and the *desinit* of each page, as well as the notes left by copyists or other readers. The third sub-section, named "bibliographical" per P.P. Panaitescu's terminology, gives further information concerning the initials, the miniatures, the filigree, the ornaments, the writing style and, where possible, the number of writers.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that this volume is also a foray into uncharted territory, seeing how P.P. Panaitescu's original catalogue only went up to ms. sl. 728. For the description of the remaining 94 manuscripts (which had been added to the Library's collection after 1958), one should be grateful to the current editor, Zamfira Mihail, whose painstaking work to continue P.P. Panaitescu's work should not be underestimated. As earlier, each manuscript is described at great length, with the contents of every folio being accounted for.

Finally, it should be noted that the final thirty pages of this volume contain richly coloured illustrations of some of the manuscripts previously described. This small section is, one may say, a microcosm of the present volume: a modern contribution of the highest quality to a subject matter that deserves to be made known to a larger public. One may not recommend it enough to any researcher who may want to research the manuscripts in the Romanian Academy Library.

*Mihail-George Hâncu*

Ѓорѓи ПОП-АТАНАСОВ, *Словенски ракописи од Македонија во странски ракописни збирки X–XIX век. Книга прва: археографски опис*, Скопје, Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, 2017, 457 p.

This book offers an archaeological and palaeographical description of the various Church Slavonic manuscripts of Macedonian origin that can be found in foreign collections. The introductory chapter provides an interesting overview of the various directions in which these manuscripts circulated – one case is illustrated with the facsimile of Svetozar Tomić's handwritten description of parchment pages he sent to the Serbian Academy in 1905. The only regret one may have is that this volume, written completely in Macedonian (apart from Tomić's Serbian letter), lacks any summaries in foreign languages.

Moving on to the catalogue itself, the manuscripts are first classified according to the script: the first 16 use the Glagolitic script, covering the period between the late 10<sup>th</sup> century and the early 12<sup>th</sup>, whereas the rest use the Cyrillic script. The Glagolitic manuscripts described by the author include some of the most famous and the most ancient examples (such as the Codex Assemanianus, the Codex Zographensis and the Codex Marianus), but also several palimpsests.

As for the Cyrillic manuscripts, which add up to 798, they are divided according to their more-or-less approximate date. These cover the titular timespan between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, although one may note the author's scrupulousness in adding separate sub-sections for manuscripts belonging to one precise century (say, the 10<sup>th</sup> century) and those belonging to either one century or another (for example, from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries). As a result, the section containing Cyrillic



manuscripts has twenty sub-sections. There is one manuscript (namely a single parchment page from a *Menologium*) that could not be dated, albeit for a good reason: this page, like others, was destroyed following the German bombardment of the National Library in Belgrade in 1941, before it could be properly examined by Serbian palaeographers.

The format used in describing the 814 manuscripts is, unfortunately, not uniform: each entry contains information on the object's size and material, but the author alternates between offering information on the writing style or on the orthographical traits (namely the use of the *yus* and the *er* signs) or both. Most manuscripts contain a small summary of their contents, but this was not possible for manuscripts that had already been lost. Some information concerning the ornaments and the binding method is provided, but again, this is not a consistent feature. Finally, each entry is accompanied by a small list of works referring to said manuscript, which is, of course, of great use to the reader, regardless of his knowledge of Macedonian.

*Mihail-George Hâncu*

Аделина АНГУШЕВА, Маргарет ДИМИТРОВА, Мария ЙОВЧЕВА, Мая ПЕТРОВА-ТАНЕВА, Диляна (eds.), *Vis et sapientia: studia in honorem Anisavae Miltenova. Нови извори, интерпретации и подходи в медиевистиката*, София, Издателски център „Боян Пенев“, 2016, 800 p.

This book is a *Festschrift* in honour of Anisava Miltenova, one of the most notable Bulgarian specialists in Old Slavonic and Medieval Bulgarian literature. Even though this volume was not specifically intended to celebrate a round-number anniversary (except perhaps for the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her first publication, per the selective bibliography that opens this volume, unless one should assume that it was meant to celebrate her 65<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2015), it does nevertheless feature a *tabula gratulatoria* and, most notably, a text written by Vasilka Tapkova-Zaimova, in which she reminisces about her relationship with Anisava Miltenova. This text is of even greater interest to the current reader, given Professor Tapkova-Zaimova's unfortunate passing in September 2018, which makes it one of the last texts written by the great and venerable Bulgarian scholar.

What might amaze the reader even further is the sheer volume of this *Festschrift*, which contains an awe-inspiring amount of contributions. Nevertheless, the editors must be praised for distributing them in multiple sections, which contain about three articles each. Seeing how a proper description of all these contributions would be quite challenging, we will nevertheless present the fields covered by the many contributors. The first section refers to Byzantine and Slavic scholars, from an attempt to create a profile of the Bulgarian chronographers to a discussion of Leo the Mathematician's telegraph. The second one, containing just two articles, refers to Byzantine cosmogonic texts in Slavic tradition; the third one describes the position of biblical apocrypha in medieval Slavic culture. The fourth section is dedicated to the dating and identification of Slavic monuments (паметници being a more general term that encompasses manuscripts, inscriptions and the like). The fifth and the sixth sections are linked in their study of "archaeology" of language and texts, respectively, although one should note that the term is used with a broader meaning, i.e. that of studying antiquities – as a result, the archaeology of texts is more concerned with the editing of manuscripts.

The seventh section is quite notable, despite containing only two articles, as it refers to modern scholars' efforts to study medieval written heritage with the help of digital means. This particular section is reflection of Anisava Miltenova's own efforts in digitalizing Medieval Bulgarian texts, a topic that has interested her as recently as the International Congress of Slavists in 2018. The eighth section is concerned with *sborniks*, i.e. with miscellanies, as a macro-genre in Slavic literature. The ninth section is dedicated to Slavic translations of medieval texts; the tenth has a very particular theme, namely the representation of female saints in Byzantine and Slavic tradition; similarly, the following section is dedicated to hagiographical texts in Old Slavonic. The following two are dedicated to Bulgarian culture in the age of Hesychasm and Balkan saints respectively. The final two

sections refer to terminology, vocabulary and lexicography, on the one hand, and apocalyptic, apocryphal and apotropaic texts, on the other hand. This summary of the themes discussed in this volume should give the reader at least an inkling of the immense variety contained in its pages.

It should be noted that most of these articles are written in Bulgarian, with some being written in Russian and Serbian: nevertheless, there are quite a few articles written in English, which would be accessible to a greater number of researchers. Similarly, whatever articles were written originally in Slavic languages do benefit from an English summary, which will certainly help researchers get a general idea as to their contents.

To conclude, this voluminous *Festschrift* is most definitely a fine homage to the lengthy career of this Bulgarian scholar, whose interests span from the traditional study of Old Slavonic manuscripts to their modern digitalization. Consequently, the reader benefits from an exceptional panoramic view of contemporary medieval studies not only in Bulgaria, but also in neighbouring countries and even in the West. This volume is most definitely recommended to any researcher who is interested in the Slavic Middle Ages, seeing how there will certainly be at least one article in that great multitude that will serve him well in his own researches.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Andrei PIPPIDI, *Documente privind locul românilor în Sud-Estul Europei*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 2018, 272 p.

This book is not a critical edition of documents. It is a real treasure chest, one filled with such an abundance and assortment of riches, so as to satisfy everyone's desires. Andrei Pippidi spent decades hunting the archives and libraries for sources related to the *other Europe*, which has been called at times the Ottoman Europe, the South-Eastern Europe or the Balkans. The gathering principle bounding together the 227 fragments of sources that make up this book is their shared cultural geographical gaze. As the author states in a brief introductory note, while perusing the book one could catch a glimpse of how the Western views on South-Eastern Europe have changed through medieval and early modern ages. The book covers seven centuries, as the first source dates from 1114–1117, whereas the last is from 1823. Nonetheless, its chronological core is the two-century span from mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century. Therefore, to a certain extent, the focus of this book is the pre-history of the Enlightenment's invention of Eastern Europe.

Andrei Pippidi's book is an old fashioned one, first and foremost because it's highly challenging for its readers. Nowadays, the combined pressure of publishers' commercial demand and academics' political correctness promotes easy accessible writing as the most praised scholarly value. Contrary to this trend, Andrei Pippidi makes no concessions to the reader, who must find his way as best he can through pages written in Latin, French, Italian, English, Spanish and German. Due to the extraordinary range and richness of the sources, the 300 footnotes seem rather in short supply. As for the brief historical and bibliographical comments that accompany the sources, they are not primarily meant to explain, but rather to arouse more interest and to guideline further research. This is to say that Andrei Pippidi treats his readers as his scholarly peers, a high bar to reach by any standards.

The vast and elusive subject of the book is a life-time project that defies any clear-cut scholarly categories and labels. Although the book places at its centre the Romanians' past, it implicitly rebuffs any nationalist reading of history. In order to make any sense, the history of Moldavia, Wallachia or Transylvania is to be viewed in a broader European context and its protagonists are to be followed from Iași to London via Lviv or from Târgoviște to Paris via Istanbul. Andrei Pippidi is fascinated by micro-history on a grand scale and, with a detective's intuition, uncovers the most unexpected documents and manuscripts. The archives explored for assembling this book are listed on two opening pages, and their sheer number and geographical diversity is overwhelming (there are Italian, French, English, Scottish, Austrian, Dutch, Swiss, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian archives). In form, content and purpose Andrei Pippidi's book continues and supplements Iorga's three volumes of *Acte*

*și fragmente*, which were mostly based on German archives. The nature of sources is highly diverse, but a consistent part of the volume is made of diplomatic correspondence. Apart from the Papal nuncios' reports and from Venetian, French or English ambassadors' dispatches, the volume includes fragments of chronicles, journals, travel accounts, geographical descriptions, crusading projects, military bulletins, commercial memoranda, book lists, comparative philology handbooks, missionary accounts and various letters. Among the letters, there are even a few written by Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian rulers – or wannabe rulers – such as those sent to different Western recipients by Petru Cercel, Ștefan Lăpușneanu, Gaspar Gratiani, Matei Basarab, Gheorghe Ștefan, Constantin Duca, Constantin Brâncoveanu, Francisc Rákóczi II, Nicolae Mavrocordat, Constantin Ipsilanti, Grigore Ghica, Constantin Mavrocordat, Constantin Racoviță or Grigore Callimachi. Two of these letters – an Italian one sent by Gaspar Gratiani and a Latin one by Gheorghe Ștefan – are given in facsimiles.

Most of the sources published in this volume are edited for the first time and a good number of them were previously unknown to Romanian scholars. Due to the long gestation period of this book, some of the documents discovered by Andrei Pippidi more than 30 years ago have been edited in the meantime; quite a few by the author himself (e.g. William Cecil's 1580 genealogical notes on Petru Cercel or Bernardino Silvestri's 1697 mission account<sup>1</sup>). At times, some of the sources were previously published in another manuscript variant. For instance, the first letter sent by Petru Cercel to the French king was previously known mainly due to Iorga's edition of the Italian original<sup>2</sup>. Now, Andrei Pippidi republishes a French translation of the letter<sup>3</sup>. This version gives us the measure of the Wallachian pretender's success at the French court, as the sixteenth-century interpreter translated Petru's laments about his unfortunate fate (*tanta perversità della mia sorte*) as an offence against his princely dignity (*contrariante a ma condition*). Similarly, the 1751 French anonymous memorandum on the Moldavian trade was already known from a Constantinopolitan version<sup>4</sup>. Nonetheless, the copy from Marseille edited now by Andrei Pippidi is extremely valuable as it provides an important clue about its author. The detailed knowledge of the Moldavian honey trade displayed by the memorandum's author already pointed the finger to one of the Linchou brothers. Now the text's circulation and the itinerary Iași-Constantinople-Marseille make this authorship almost certain. The unnamed French merchant mentioned at the end of the memorandum that was enjoying the Moldavian prince's favour was no other than François Thomas Linchou<sup>5</sup>.

Each and every fragment of this volume could be the starting point of a historical investigation that might change our understanding of late medieval and early modern south-eastern Europe. Of the numerous examples one is a short reference from Constantinople to Gáspár Bekes, the Habsburg-backed pretender to the Transylvanian throne and Stephen Báthory's counter-candidate. Andrei Pippidi came across the letter in a manuscript of the Imperial ambassador to the Porte, David Ungnad, which somehow found its way from Vienna into the Library of the Romanian Academy in late nineteenth-century. The letter mentions a Romanian princess married to Murad III that was

<sup>1</sup> Andrei Pippidi, "O genealogie a lui Petru Cercel", *Arhiva Genealogică*, I, 1994, nr. 3–4, p. 77–82 and Andrei Pippidi, "Moldova în 1697, după relatarea misionarului Bernardino Silvestri", in Ștefan S. Gorovei, ed., *Izvoare străine pentru istoria românilor (România în istoria universală, III, 3)*, Iași, Ed. Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", p. 61–69.

<sup>2</sup> N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, vol. I, București, 1895, p. 29–30.

<sup>3</sup> The first editions, from 1976 and 1988, are due to Theodor Holban, see "Documente românești din arhivele polone și franceze", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A. D. Xenopol"*, XIII, 1976, doc. 98, p. 322–323 and "Documente din arhivele polone și franceze", in Ștefan S. Gorovei, ed., *Izvoare străine pentru istoria românilor (România în istoria universală, III, 3)*, Iași, Ed. Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", doc. 4, p. 399–400. The Italian *Soria* that confused both the sixteenth-century French translator and Theodor Holban, who preserved the French *Sorrye* in his translation, was most certainly Syria, as Iorga suggested in his Romanian version of the letter, see *Scrisori de boieri. Scrisori de domni*, Vălenii de Munte, "Datina Românească", 1925, doc. XXXVII, p. 219–221.

<sup>4</sup> *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. I, supliment 1, ed. Gr. G. Tocilescu și A.I. Odobescu, București, 1886, p. 608.

<sup>5</sup> This identity was already suggested by V. Mihordea, *Politica orientală franceză și țările române în secolul al XVIII-lea (1749–1760)*, București, 1937, p. 176. For new arguments based on the Linchou brothers' trading interests see Marian Coman, *François Thomas Linchou în Călători străini despre țările române. Supliment II*, coord. Ștefan Andreeșcu, București, Editura Academiei, 2016, p. 253–315. For François Thomas Linchou's ability to assume different identities, see Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "Le Coquin grec vs. le Véritable François. Being a foreigner in the Danubian Principalities in Eighteenth Century", *Cromohs-Cyber Review of Modern Historiography*, 21, 2017–2018, p. 90–105.

actively involved in the disputes for the Wallachian throne, supporting her brothers' claims. Andrei Pippidi hypothetically identifies the princess with one of Mircea Ciobanu's daughters. I suggest she could be the daughter of Mircea and Chiajna mentioned by a Genoese diplomatic report, which Iorga saw more than a century ago<sup>1</sup>. The Genoese agent claimed that the princess was highly influent and that she was indeed lobbying for her brothers at the Sultan's court. However, the rumours noted down in the circles of the Genoese and the Imperial ambassadors are difficult to square with other Constantinopolitan sources, which emphasise that Murad's sole concubine up to 1583 was the famous and influential Safiye, an Albanian-born slave<sup>2</sup>. The mystery deepens if one adds into the mix the Ottoman nickname, unusual for this early date, of *Soltana*, given to one of Mircea and Chiajna daughters in a Moldavian charter, dated by Ghibănescu around 1600 and by Iorga half a century earlier<sup>3</sup>. A Moldo-Wallachian princess in Murad III's harem during the so-called "sultanate of women" is a nice mystery to solve and one can only hope that an Ottomanist will apply himself to the task.

This is a book not only to read, but to come back to again and again, as different bits and pieces of information will certainly get stuck into the reader's mind. At some point, those pieces will find their way in a newly assembled puzzle and thus a whole new fragment of history will be uncovered. In this respect, Andrei Pippidi's new book will have an enduring impact on the historical scholarship of South-Eastern Europe, to be measured in the years and decades to come. Leaving aside its immense usefulness for future historical research, the book also has a secondary, unintentional, meaning. Among the sources included in the volume, one can find some reading notes written down by the famed philologist Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange. In 2011 Andrei Pippidi used these notes for writing a beautiful little article that aimed to catch a glimpse of Du Cange's working habits<sup>4</sup>. Some of the notes of this volume, especially those summarizing a whole manuscript, provide a similar insight into a great scholar's mind and work. Thus, when perusing a new miscellaneous copy of *Historia turchesca* or a previously unknown variant of de la Croix's travel account, Andrei Pippidi takes the reader along with him, in the Museo Correr library or in the Edinburgh archives. For a reader who has had the great opportunity of working closely with Andrei Pippidi for the last two decades – as the author of this review has – this is no small privilege.

Marian Coman

Ștefan ANDREESCU, *Medievale*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2016, 368 p.

Ștefan Andreescu's latest volume of collected papers, *Medievalia*, reminds me of a Vermeer painting. The subjects are familiar, but freshly and surprisingly reinterpreted; the drawings are impressively accurate, with clear-cut strokes of the brush, while the colors are wonderfully balanced. However, it is the mesmerizing attention to details that really catches the eye. Ștefan Andreescu's historical writing spawns the same sense of intimacy, familiarity, surprise and fascination as Vermeer's painting technique. The reader is lured into a world populated by well-known protagonists, such as Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave or Matthew Basarab. On this familiar canvas, Ștefan Andreescu casts an oblique light that brings a whole new understanding to the subject. The story of Ignatius, a priest from Nikopol, exemplifies in a nutshell his historical writing technique. The stage is set in the years of Matthew Basarab's reign, when a cleric from Nikopol climbed the ladder of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Wallachia all the way to the top. Previous scholars, deriving their knowledge from internal charters and chronicles, tagged Ignatius as one of Matthew's protégé and considered him wholly dependent on the prince's good graces. Adjusting our historical perspective by

<sup>1</sup> *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. XI, ed. N. Iorga, București, 1900, p. VI and 84.

<sup>2</sup> For Safiye see Maria Pia Pedani, "Safiye's household and Venetian diplomacy", *Turcica*, 32, 2000, p. 9–32.

<sup>3</sup> N. Iorga, "O Domniță necunoscută: Soltana Mircii-Vodă", *Revista istorică*, II, 1916, nr. 2, p. 25–26. The last editors dated the document from 1617, see *Documente privind istoria României*, A. Moldova, veacul al XVII-lea, vol. IV (1616–1620), București, Ed. Academiei, 1956, doc. 202, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> *En regardant Du Cange au travail*, RESEE, XLIX, nr. 1–4, p. 113–121.

an apparently insignificant genealogical detail, Ștefan Andreescu tells a rather different story. Drawing together a wide-range of sources – a colophon from a Slavonic manuscript, the Chronicle of the Cantacuzenus family, the legend on a bishop's seal and Paul of Aleppo's travel memoirs – Ștefan Andreescu sheds a new light on the Nikopol priest. Ignatius is no longer viewed as a puppet whose strings were pulled by Matthew Basarab, but as a well-connected leader of a thriving Ottoman Christian community, with an impressive theological expertise and fluent in many of the languages spoken throughout the Empire (Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Turkish and Persian). Acting as a go-between, Ignatius shaped the coalition of Wallachian nobles and Ottoman frontier pashas that brought Matthew to the throne. On the Ottoman Wallachia chess table, the priest from Nikopol was not a disposable pawn, but a true bishop.

If I were to label Ștefan Andreescu's historical method, I would call it the interweaving of sources technique in search of a revelatory detail. Unlike most historians, confined by their own expertise to a limited perspective, Ștefan Andreescu moves with equal ease between an impressive array of textual and visual sources. Arguably the most knowledgeable scholar of early Wallachian chronicles, Ștefan Andreescu is equally conversant with chancery charters, travel accounts, crusade memoranda, diplomatic letters, notarial registers, missionary reports, manuscript marginal notes, monastic name-lists for liturgical commemoration, archeological evidence or religious mural paintings. The astounding ability to extract his historical knowledge from such a diverse range of sources enabled Ștefan Andreescu to discover previously unnoticed connections between seemingly disparate parts of the picture. Accordingly, he weaves different genres of historical writing – political and military history, art and ecclesiastical history, genealogy and prosopography – into a single articulate and sound interpretation.

One of Ștefan Andreescu's favorite starting points is the classic detective question: "who was this man?" Building from that deceptively trivial question, he slowly unravels the threads of bigger and far more significant stories. An obscure name that pops up in a text, Orac Mârzea in the chronicle of the Cantacuzenus family, triggers Ștefan Andreescu's curiosity. In order to elucidate the mystery, he turns to an Ottoman chronicle, a missionary report and an Italian manuscript travel account. The result is a five-page masterly study that explores the intricate links between the Ottoman sultan, the Wallachian lord, the Nogai Tatars and the Crimean Hans. A surprising face that crops up amongst the infidels in the Last Judgment mural painting from Râșca monastery sparks off an erudite investigation into the religious tensions in mid-sixteenth century Moldavia. Once again, for solving the riddle, Ștefan Andreescu resorts not only to Moldavian mural paintings, but also to Venetian diplomatic letters, Ottoman and Polish documents, Armenian and Slavonic chroniclers, manuscript marginal notes, church and tombal inscriptions, early printed books and missionary reports. At the end of this tour de force, as the 34 page long study is the second longest paper of the volume, an intricate fresco of the Moldavian society comes into view. Or, to give one last example, Ștefan Andreescu builds a study on Michael the Brave's Transylvanian reign based entirely on prosopographical vignettes. He reveals Michael's well reasoned and calculated recruiting policy, by finding out more about his second-line deputies, who until now were just enigmatic names, such as *Luciano Pernika*, *Georgius Pithar*, *doctore Josepho* or *Armas Herizan*.

One of Ștefan Andreescu's greatest skills is to make the transition from micro- to macro-history almost invisible. Perusing the content of this volume, a hasty reader might well think that the book is divided into two parts: the first comprising broader surveys and the second made up of small-scale case studies. The first ten papers are significantly longer and appear to address more extensive problems: the state-making of Moldavia and Wallachia, the later crusades and the Black Sea or the Low Danube trade at the end of the sixteenth-century. In contrast, the last eighteen papers are much shorter, six or seven pages long, and seemingly confined to a specific dilemma: the historical memory of Stephen the Great in Wallachia, Ghiormă of Pogoniani's church founding in Bucharest, a charter issued by Matthew Basarab's chancery. Nonetheless, the large-scale studies often contain illuminating details, while the small-scale ones always include valuable insight into the bigger picture. The study on the Black Sea and the later crusades proved a serious challenge, as two centuries had to be condensed into thirty pages. Regardless, Ștefan Andreescu's concise and eloquent survey is sprinkled with innovative readings of long debated texts, such as Jehan of Wavrin's chronicle. At the other end of the spectrum, the rather unpromising diplomatic analysis of a donation charter, given by Vlad

Vintilă to the Humor monastery, ends up reshaping our understanding of sixteenth-century liaisons between Wallachia and Moldavia.

Unlike his previous volumes of collected papers<sup>1</sup>, Ștefan Andreescu's *Medievalia* lacks an overarching unifying theme. This heterogeneity makes the book even more absorbing, as it more accurately mirrors the author's lifelong passions and interests. His unrelenting scholarly focus was late medieval Wallachia and Moldavia, viewed within a larger framework that stretches from the northern Black Sea steppe to the Italian city-states and from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Habsburg dominions. The volume includes articles that have been written and published over a span of more than 40 years, the earliest in 1973 (*An Unpublished Charter Issued by Matthew Basarab*), while the latest dates from 2015 (*A Belgrade Reverberation of the 1476 Ottoman Campaign in Moldavia*). Open to different readings, *Medievalia* is mostly enlightening as a historiographical biography, as it singles out all the scholarly threads that ran through Ștefan Andreescu's previous writings. First and foremost is the *Restitutio Daciae* theme, the gradual political interweaving of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. A charter granted by the Wallachian lord to a Moldavian monastery in 1534, Ieremia Movilă's political schemes in the summer and autumn of 1599, Michael the Brave's reign over Transylvania in 1600 or Vasile Lupu's intrigues against Wallachia in 1635 are all stages of one and the same historical process. The second grand theme of the volume is that of the later crusades in their successive transfigurations, from Amadeus of Savoy's little armada to Venice's bleak struggle to preserve Cyprus, from the Burgundian chivalric adventures to the Moldavian crusading mural paintings. The late medieval and early modern travel literature into the Ottoman Empire, such as Octavio Sapeincia's *Nuovo trattato de Turquia*, falls within the same category of crusade-related writings. Finally, the third red thread of the book is the Genoese resilient presence in the Black Sea regions that was seriously damaged, but not entirely wiped out, by the Ottoman expansion. Underlying these themes is a strong vein of personal interest into how historical memory was shaped and mediated by courtly chronicles, battlefield memorials, liturgical commemoration, hagiographic visual narratives, architectural landscape and community recollection. Most remarkably, Ștefan Andreescu enhances his lifelong passion for these subjects with relentless intellectual curiosity, always finding new angles and providing unexpected insights. *Medievalia* is a book to which historians of medieval Wallachia and Moldavia should return again and again, when searching for ideas, inspiration and, last but not least, a scholarly role model.

Marian Coman

Virgil CÂNDEA, *Histoire des idées en Europe du Sud-Est (XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, édition par Ioana FEODOROV et Mihai ȚIPĂU, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila, 2018 (« Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes », 4), 349 p.

Les quinze études de Virgil Căndea (1927–2007), excellent connaisseur, commentateur et éditeur de l'œuvre de Dimitrie Cantemir, publiés à travers plusieurs années dans divers volumes thématiques ou revues internationales indiqués p. 348, dans ce volume qui les recueille, le 4<sup>e</sup> de la série Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, témoignent que l'histoire des idées fut le domaine scientifique de prédilection et « la grande passion » (p. 8) du savant. Nous regrettons seulement l'absence d'un Index final, qui eût augmenté considérablement l'utilité de ce livre.

L'ordre de la disposition de ces études n'est pas chronologique, mais thématique, idée heureuse des deux éditeurs, qui ont placé en début du volume un coup d'œil synthétique sur *L'évolution des idées en Europe du Sud-Est. Tradition et innovation* (p. 9–21). Il s'agit ici d'une brève incursion dans l'histoire des idées en Europe du Sud-Est, dont l'évolution a été toujours oscillante

<sup>1</sup> *Din istoria Mării Negre XIV–XVI* [Chapters from the History of the Black Sea 14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c.] (2001); *Perspective medievale* [Medieval perspectives] (2002); *Izvoare noi cu privire la istoria Mării Negre* [New Sources Regarding the History of the Black Sea] (2005); *Istoria românilor: cronicari, misionari, ctitori (sec. XV–XVII)* [The History of Romanians: Chroniclers, Missionaries, Founders, 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c.] (2007).

entre la tradition et l'innovation. Bien sûr, la tradition (*paradosis*, en grec, *predanije* chez les Slaves du Sud, d'où les Roumains ont emprunté le mot *predanie*) avait la force d'un passé qui n'était point du tout cantonné dans la pensée chrétienne ou dans celle des Pères de l'Église, car descendant dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine jusqu'à Platon et Aristote. Dans cette occurrence, tout essai d'opérer un changement était blâmable aux yeux de l'orthodoxie byzantine, qui condamnait d'emblée l'« innovation » (*kainotomia* ou *neōterismos*, selon un texte de la première moitié du XVe siècle, extrait de l'œuvre de Joseph Bryennios).

L'Union de Florence (1439) marquait, pour les signataires byzantins de cet acte, l'abandon conscient de la tradition, pour des raisons politiques (p. 11). En tout cas, elle ouvrait une voie virtuelle à l'innovation, qui, dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, s'est manifestée par le développement d'un humanisme chrétien, lequel conciliait la religion chrétienne avec les idéaux de la vie terrestre et laïque, plutôt que de les séparer, comme en Occident.

Cette conciliation a favorisé les langues vernaculaires en dépit des quatre langues sacrées (le grec, le slavon, l'hébreu et le slavon), suite de la propagation de la Réforme protestante de l'Occident et de l'Europe Centrale dans l'espace orthodoxe de l'Est. Les Lumières ont fait suivre ces progrès surtout dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, fait qui a facilité l'affirmation des idées nationales au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, accompagnées à leur tour par des efforts constants vers la modernisation de ces sociétés. Les exemples donnés ici pour chaque peuple sud-est européen sont suggestifs et convaincants.

C'est l'humanisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe et chez les Roumains en tout premier lieu qui est présent dans d'autres études de V. Cîndea, inclus dans ce recueil. À l'instar des humanistes occidentaux qui, dès le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, avaient commencé à se diriger vers les modèles grecs et latins de la civilisation européenne, donc vers les sources écrites (*ad fontes*) dans ces langues, le beau-frère de Matei Basarab, Udriște Năsturel, en véritable humaniste de de l'espace orthodoxe roumain de son temps, a traduit en slavon l'*Imitatio Christi* de Thomas à Kempis. Cet essai profondément humaniste a été toutefois voué à l'échec, grâce à l'avance irrésistible de la langue roumaine servie par le livre imprimé durant le règne de Matei Basarab, époque marquée aussi par l'introduction du roumain dans la chancellerie princière. Cet échec de faire revivre le slavon est scellé par l'heureuse formule du titre d'une de ces études, consacrée à l'*agonie* des lettres slavonnes en Valachie, formule déjà adoptée dans l'historiographie roumaine, au cours du demi-siècle écoulé depuis la première apparition de cette étude dans la RESEE.

La contribution réelle de cette étude réside aussi dans la traduction française, accompagnée par des riches et érudits commentaires (p. 65–71), de la Préface du Pentecostarion publié en 1649 à Târgoviște. Les sept pages de cette Introduction, données ici en fac-simile (p. 58–64), augmentent la valeur de cette étude, qui a démontré que « l'humanisme n'apparaît dans la culture de la Valachie ni après l'instruction constantinopolitaine de Nicolas Milescu, ni après les études à Padoue du Stolnic Cantacuzène ; cet humanisme s'était déjà affirmé dans tous ses traits essentiels quelques décennies plus tôt dans la formation et les écrits d'Udriște Năsturel diffusés à l'étranger » (p. 56).

Il nous semble intéressant d'observer comment, quoique parvenu au pouvoir à la suite d'un mouvement anti-grec, Matei Basarab a encouragé le slavonisme culturel, pour enrayer la pénétration du grec dans le milieu culturel et social de la région. Allié aux princes calvinistes de Transylvanie pour des raisons politiques, sur le plan religieux il a soutenu le catholicisme à l'intérieur de son pays.

La plus vaste des quinze études du volume – ses 90 pages ont été divisées en deux parties pour être imprimées dans la revue – porte sur « Les intellectuels du Sud-Est Européen au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle » (p. 73–162), et on pourrait affirmer qu'un large chemin s'est ouvert ainsi pour les recherches qui ont suivi jusque de nos jours dans cette direction, surtout pour les XVIII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles. « Sans oublier pour autant, bien sûr, l'Occident séducteur, finalement victorieux dans la vaste confrontation d'idées et d'attitudes qui avait lieu alors » (p. 77), le premier sous-titre de cette étude met en évidence qu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle les Balkans représentaient « une région du Levant » plutôt que de l'Europe, car Bucarest était alors plus proche du Jérusalem et du Caire que de Vienne ou de Rome (p. 76). L'auteur a cherché même une « définition balkanique » de l'intellectuel du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui se situe bien loin de celle que Jacques le Goff a donné aux intellectuels médiévaux de l'Occident : il s'agirait de gens qui professionnellement avaient « une activité de professeur ou de savant ». Pour V. Cîndea, l'intellectuel balkanique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle était l'homme consacré à la connaissance de la vérité, pas seulement

théorique, mais ayant aussi la pratique de cette vérité (p. 79), car dans le monde orthodoxe cette vérité n'a jamais été dissociée de celle de la théologie.

Autre syntagme intéressant, concernant la « Turcocratie culturelle », pourrait être considéré comme une greffe réussie opérée sur la notion de Turcocratie, habituelle et assez souvent utilisée dans les milieux grecs, depuis la conquête ottomane jusqu'à présent. L'auteur parle aussi des deux « indices culturels » de cette Turcocratie culturelle, que représentent le livre et les écoles.

Sous-entendu dans ce contexte, le retard, surtout culturel, du Sud-Est Européen, ressenti à l'époque sur plusieurs plans, concernant l'organisation, la création et l'efficacité, avait aussi ses remèdes : la restauration de l'ancien enseignement, avec le rôle cardinal de l'Église et des monastères dans cette direction, mais aussi des impulsions données au « nouvel enseignement », avec le rôle de l'Université de Padoue, où trônait le système philosophique de Cesare Cremonini, un résumé des conceptions aristotéliennes, d'où est issu Théophile Corydalée, « maître incontesté de la philosophie levantine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ». Cette ambiance culturelle qui n'était pas celle de Kepler, Galilée, Pascal ou Descartes, transférée partiellement aussi dans l'Académie patriarcale de Constantinople, allait produire Dimitrie Cantemir.

Une attention à part est prêté aux intellectuels musulmans de l'Empire ottoman, en tant que « hommes de plume » (*Julamā*), parmi lesquels s'inscrivaient les imams (dirigeant la prière commune), les mollahs (docteurs en droit), les khatibs (prédicateurs) ou les qadis (juges) etc., tous liés à la doctrine et aux institutions islamiques. D'autres remarques considérations portent sur l'influence occidentale sur le monde ottoman, ainsi que l'intérêt, croissant à l'époque, des Occidentaux pour l'histoire, le pouvoir ottoman et pour la langue turque, avec des noms bien connus pour les études orientales, tels qu'Antoine Galland. Ce qui fait remarquer que la pression de l'Occident, ainsi que « l'exemple des intellectuels modernes établis dans la Turcocratie », ont contribué à la mutation culturelle turque (p. 129). Pour le clergé « en phase de sécheresse », on dépeint un tableau assez sombre de la situation du clergé chrétien du Sud-Est de l'Europe à l'époque, surtout du clergé séculier, par rapport à la condition meilleure du clergé monacal et de la haute hiérarchie de l'Église orthodoxe. La condition du clergé catholique de la région n'était pas meilleure à l'époque.

Les drogmans ont représenté alors, eux-aussi, une catégorie à part des intellectuels, issue des structures et des institutions spécifiques de l'Empire ottoman. Monopole de la noblesse phanariote de Stamboul (Constantinople), ces drogmans ont eu un rapport étroit avec l'histoire des Pays Roumains, tout au long du siècle « phanariote ». Surtout pendant sa seconde moitié, ce siècle a ouvert de larges portes pour la pénétration des Lumières dans l'histoire roumaine.

Finalement, les « itinérants, convertis et renégats » ont fourni d'autres agents du renouveau intellectuel à l'époque, à côté des voyageurs, dont la liste va s'allonger continuellement de nos jours, et surtout des missionnaires (catholiques et protestants), qui eussent mérité eux-aussi un chapitre à part dans ce bel exposé. Le livre encore récent de Violeta Barbu, *Purgatoriul misionarilor. Contrareforma în Țările Române în secolul al XVII-lea*, Bucarest, Éd. de l'Académie, 2008, ainsi que l'édition complète de la Relation de voyage de Marco Bandini, due à Traian Diaconescu, professeur à l'Université de Jassy, ont enrichi la bibliographie d'un sujet pareil.

Les raisons politiques qui ont dicté la présentation de la Bible de Bucarest (1688), autant que sa diffusion hâtivement saisie par Constantin Brâncoveanu (p. 185), ont été dévoilées par l'étude « Les Bibles grecque et roumaine de 1687 et 1688 et les visées impériales de Șerban Cantacuzène (p. 163–186). L'auteur a développé ensuite certaines de ces considérations dans son livre *Rajiunea dominantă*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, cité par les éditeurs à la p. 164, n. 3. Pour Mihail Ștefan (p. 172, n. 31) ou Iștvanovici, on devrait ajouter A. Pippidi, *À propos des débuts de l'imprimerie en Georgie*, dans *Impact de l'imprimerie et rayonnement intellectuel des Pays Roumains*, volume édité par l'IESEE et la Bibliothèque Métropolitaine de Bucarest, Éd. Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2009, p. 25–40, puis Ioana Feodorov, *Țipar pentru creștinii arabi*, Brăila, Éd. Istros du Musée de Brăila, 2016, p. 174–177. Également importantes sont les nombreuses pages dédiées au *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzène (p. 187–226) en qualité d'homme politique et humaniste, sujet dont la bibliographie continue d'augmenter, fait prouvé par le livre d'A. Pippidi paru en 2014 et évoqué à la p. 217, n. 84.



Suivent trois études consacrées à Dimitrie Cantemir (p. 227–273), dont l'œuvre et la personnalité culturelle sont considérablement redevables à l'activité de commentateur et d'éditeur de V. Căndeă. Une étude plus ancienne, car parue en 1964, concerne les débuts de la science roumaine moderne, attirant l'attention sur la théorie liée à la circulation du sang, soutenue par l'Anglais William Harvey (1628) : Le fait que celui-ci avait obtenu en 1602 son doctorat en médecine à l'Université de Padoue, pourrait expliquer la diffusion de cette découverte parmi les milieux grecs de l'époque. On peut se rendre compte de la survivance de l'esprit encyclopédique byzantin parmi les Grecs de la Turcocratie d'après le livre que le bien connu promoteur de la mystique hésychaste Nicodème l'Hagiorite a publié à Vienne en 1801, par les soins de son ami Anthime Gazis (membre de la « Société Philologique gréco-dace » de Bucarest, où il avait pour collègues le docteur Constantin Caracăș et Constantin Darvaris). Cet ouvrage sera traduit en 1826 au monastère de Neamțu, sous un titre de teinte théologique plus accentuée que son original paru en grec. Il eût fallu rattacher cette information au manuscrit édité par Lia Brad Chisacof *Meșteșugul doftoriei*, mais ce dernier livre était déjà sous presse.

Préoccupation constante de V. Căndeă, les relations des Pays Roumains avec le monde chrétien du Proche Orient lui ont permis d'avancer dans cette direction de recherche, soit qu'il s'agit de « Sources roumaines et grecques dans les bibliothèques du Proche Orient » (p. 287–297), ou d'Une politique culturelle commune roumano-arabe dans la première moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (p. 317–323), domaine où sa livre de Ioana Feodorov a ajouté de nouveaux détails. La circulation des écrits du jésuite Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), adversaire du quiétiste Miguel de Molinos, en arabe, grec, roumain et turc, est un épisode qui garde encore un intérêt spécial, de même que l'analyse de quelques icônes de saint Élián de Homs, œuvres de l'art melkite datant des XVII<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles (p. 329–347).

La possibilité offerte de pouvoir lire ou relire les plus importantes études de V. Căndeă réunies dans ce volume rendra au lecteur le service de comprendre sa vision sur l'espace culturel balkanique, qui au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle était plus proche du Levant que de l'Occident, qui dépassait alors une crise de sa conscience européenne, analysée dans Le livre de Paul Hazard. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que ni l'humanisme, ni les Lumières ne sont pas venues sur le sol roumain par l'intermédiaire des écoles ou intellectuels islamiques de l'Empire ottoman, ni par les Arabes chrétiens de Syrie ou des autres régions orientales. À ce propos, on pourrait parler ici seulement d'une certaine filière grecque, mais en général la transmission de l'humanisme et des Lumières chez nous s'est réalisée par des liaisons directes avec l'Europe de l'Ouest, l'Europe Centrale ou la Pologne. Sans le dire ouvertement, ce livre persuade le lecteur de cette vérité. La deuxième vérité qui s'en ensuit c'est le rôle de filière de transmission que les Pays Roumains ont joué alors dans la pénétration des idées et même de certaines réalités européennes dans l'espace chrétien du Levant.

*Tudor Teoteoi*

Irina F. POPOVA (project coord., gen. ed.), *Aziatskij Muzej. Institut Vostochnih Rukopisej RAN. Putevoditeli / Asiatic Museum. Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Collections and Personalia*, Moskva, Nauka – Vostochnaya Literatura, 2018, 896 p., illustr.

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg celebrated in November 2018 its bicentennial anniversary, alongside the entire Institute of Oriental Studies, which traces its foundation from that of the Asiatic Museum, in 1818. Actually, in 1817 the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAN) in St Petersburg added, through a momentous acquisition, 700 Islamic manuscripts to its older collection, which had belonged to the *Kunstkamera*, a depository of block prints, books, documents and manuscripts brought from the East, since the times of Peter the Great, by Russian diplomats, merchants, and clergy. At first, the two institutions shared the same building. The addition in 1817 was a collection bought from Jean-Louis Rousseau<sup>1</sup>, French consul in

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Jacques-Joseph Rousseau (1780–1831), son of Jean-François Rousseau, himself a son of the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).

Basra (1805), Aleppo and Tripoli (1808). On November 15/27 1818 the President of the RAN, Count Sergey Uvarov, presented a letter to the Academy Board, advising that a special Cabinet be formed that would host Oriental material – manuscripts, books, engravings, maps, coins, and various artefacts – and would be open to all interested. Between 1819 and 1825 a new department was formed within the RAN: the Asiatic Museum later developed into the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS). This institution became a hub for the scientific study of the Eastern civilizations, especially manuscripts from a large number of cultures. Its rich holdings and expert academia allowed it to become one of the organizers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Orientalists, held in 1876 in St Petersburg. After 1951, as the Institute of Oriental Studies was relocated to Moscow, the library and collections in St Petersburg became the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM). Today the Institute is housed in the recently restored Novo-Mikhailovsky Palace, built in 1857–1862 for Tsar Nicholas I's children on the Palace Embankment, between the Hermitage Museum and the Marble Palace.

The official festivities and the conferences organized by the IOM on 26–30 November 2018<sup>1</sup> were accompanied by a splendid exhibition of the Institute treasures, hosted by the Hermitage Museum, and the publication of a monograph where the most important moments, personalities and collections of the institution are presented, from before 1818 to the present day.

The volume opens with a chronological presentation of the IOS and IOM activities by Irina F. Popova, director of the Institute (p. 5–47). This is followed by Part One, enclosing a description of its vast collections by numerous experts in the various languages represented in them. The unified history of the collections reflects the diversity of scientific objectives of the past teams of historians and philologists, who travelled far and wide in order to bring to the library of the Institute precious material from all Eastern lands and peoples, and further on, to study them and publish their conclusions. The list of cultures and languages covered in this volume is quite impressive: Arabic (p. 51–107), Coptic (108–114), Syriac (115–145), Hebrew (146–163), Ethiopian (164–183), Persian (184–208), Turkish (213–230), Georgian (231–253), and Armenian (254–269). Several chapters concern the cultures and religions of Central and Eastern Asia: Sanskrit (270–292), Hindi (293–300), Mongol (301–352), Tibetan (353–403), an additional chapter on Tibetan and Mongolian symbolic artefacts and representations (404–419), on Sogdian manuscripts discovered along the Silk Road (420–435), and China (436–463), the Tangut culture (464–476), the Manchurians (477–512), the Koreans (513–529), the Japanese (530–558), etc. As a conclusion to this first Part, the Map Collection is presented (559–567), with a list of holdings that includes items as old as the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Part Two is a collection of biographical portraits of the most important directors and members of the Institute, since its inception in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Well-known scholars, experts in various Eastern languages and cultures, are presented here – their life, works, accomplishments, and printed contributions. Among them, some became acknowledged figures in the World Pantheon of Orientalists. To mention but a few: Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer, Joseph A. Orbeli, Bernhard (Boris A.) Dorn, A.B. Khalidov, L.N. Menshikov, Ignatij I. Kratchkovskij, O. F. Akimushkin, Vasilij and Vladimir Polosin. Peter I, the Tsar of Moscow (1682–1725), is also included among the personalities preoccupied by research into the Eastern civilizations, due to his interest in Mongolian manuscripts and their translation. It was during his rule that the attention given to the Oriental cultures coagulated into a proper collection of manuscripts, books, and artefacts, preserved in his *Kunstkamera*. The advice of his counsellor Dimitrie Cantemir (Șilișteni, Moldavia, 1673 – Dmitrovsk, Russia, 1723), himself a known Orientalist and historian of the Ottoman Empire, who was made Senator of Russia, was consequential in this respect. Incidentally, the Institute preserves several manuscripts of Cantemir's chief works<sup>2</sup>, including a copy of his *Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Otmanicae* (4 vols.)<sup>3</sup> and the additional

<sup>1</sup> I myself contributed on November 28 to a round table dedicated to the “Studies concerning the Christian East. The revival of interrupted traditions”, which was convened by Dr. Sergey Frantsuzov, Director of the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Studies.

<sup>2</sup> See Virgil Căndea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecții din străinătate. Serie nouă, t. IV (Polonia–Rusia)*, coord. ed. Ioana Feodorov, Bucharest, 2012, p. 393–400, where more items concerning the history of the Romanian people and lands are described.

<sup>3</sup> Serge Frantsouzoff, *Le fonds de Dimitrie Cantemir dans les archives de l'Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, RESEE, XLIX, 2011, p. 123–137.

*Annotationes ad Historiae Othmanicae* (2 vols.), a copy of *Demetrii Cantemiri Principis Moldaviae Descriptio Moldaviae* (c. 1714–1716, in 92 fols.), the *Manifesto* brochure printed by Cantemir in Ottoman Turkish with Arabic types on 15/26 July 1722, during the Russian campaign in the Caucasus<sup>1</sup>, and a few items of his library.<sup>2</sup>

The volume encloses, in almost every chapter, excerpts from catalogues of the books and manuscripts collections published by members of the Institute. They help the reader acquire a better understanding of their diversity and richness, and they are an inspiration for all researchers of the Eastern cultures. The first subdivision, dedicated to the Arabic collections and composed by Sergey Frantsuzov, comprises a section of the catalogue of early Arabic-printed books acquired from J.L. Rousseau in 1817 (p. 69–73). Four of these are Christian books printed in Aleppo in 1706–1707, among the first Arabic books to be printed in the Ottoman realm. They were the direct consequence of the joint work, in 1700–1704, of Anthim the Iberian, chief printer and future Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia, and Athanasios Dabbās, Metropolitan of Aleppo between two terms as Patriarch of the Antiochian Church.<sup>3</sup>

Also in this section descriptions are provided for several very valuable Christian Arabic manuscripts preserved at the IOM, including copies of the *Arabic Bible* and the unique manuscript (*Ms. C 358*) of the Arabic translation of the *Néa Σύνοψις Διαφόρων Ἱστοριῶν* by Matthew Kigalas, *Kitāb ad-durr al-manzūm fī 'alhbār mulūk ar-Rūm*, copied by the Antiochian Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (c. 1660), where the Aleppo icon-painter Yūsef al-Muṣawwir inserted, in 1660–1667, 94 miniatures in gold and colours that show portraits of Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans<sup>4</sup>. Between p. 224–225 and 512–513, two groups of 16 colour-pages each give a clear image of the treasures preserved at the IOM. They include, among other wonderful plates, an illustration from the above-mentioned *Kitāb ad-durr al-manzūm*, pages of Arabic and Ottoman Koran manuscripts, of a *Muraqqa'* (*Album*) of Persian and Indian miniatures of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c., an Armenian manuscript of the *Gospels* dated 1292, a 13<sup>th</sup> c. Arabic manuscript of the *Maqāmāt Al-Harīrī* (“Poems of Al-Hariri”), etc.

A mirror of the activities and capabilities of the numerous researchers attached to the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St Petersburg for two centuries, this book is a useful tool for anyone interested in the study of the Oriental collections preserved there and in access to the research developed there in all fields of the Eastern studies. Hopefully, the volume will receive an English version soon, followed by a worldwide distribution.

*Ioana Feodorov*

Veniamin CIOBANU (ed.), *Europe and the Porte. New Documents on the Eastern Question*, Vol. X, *Swedish Diplomatic Reports 1830–1835*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 2018, 447 p.

This is the tenth volume of Veniamin Ciobanu’s series of documents on the Eastern Question, this time focusing on Swedish diplomatic reports from 1830–1835. The first two volumes appeared almost twenty years ago, in 2001, and over the years the series changed publishing houses as well as appearances. Parting away from the previous red-shaded editions, volume 10 now comes in a dark blue hardcover. It is also the first volume to be printed at the Romanian Academy’s publishing house.

<sup>1</sup> *Manifest*, sočinennyj D. Kantemirom i izdannij na tatarskom, tureckom, persidskom i nemeckom jazykah, in V. Lebedev, *Pohod Petra Velikovo v Persiju*, “Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvěščenija”, Sankt-Peterburg, 1848, t. 60, II, p. 4–8; Georges Cioranescu, *L’activité de Démètre Cantemir pendant la campagne russe en Perse (1722)*, « Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique », XXIX (2), avril–juin 1988, p. 259, 267; Serge Frantsouzzoff, *Le Manifeste de Pierre le Grand du 15/26 juillet 1722 rédigé et imprimé par Dimitrie Cantemir. Une mise au point*, RESEE, LII, 2014, p. 261–274.

<sup>2</sup> Serge Frantsouzzoff, *En quête de la bibliothèque de Dimitrie Cantemir*, « Revue roumaine d’histoire », t. LIII (2014), 2015, n<sup>os</sup> 1–4, p. 141–152.

<sup>3</sup> See Ioana Feodorov, *Țipar pentru creștinii arabi. Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Silvestru al Antiochiei*, Brăila, Ed. Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2016, especially p. 128–180.

<sup>4</sup> A.I. Mikhaylova, *An Illustrated Arabic Manuscript of a Translation of a Seventeenth-Century Greek Cronograph*, “Manuscripta Orientalia”, IV, 1, 1998, p. 58–63. In his recently defended PhD thesis (Paris, 2018), the Lebanese scholar Charbel Nassif presented his extensive research on this topic, to be published soon.

It consists of 131 documents (p. 29–447) sent by several Swedish diplomats deployed to Constantinople, St. Petersburg, London or Berlin, and which are now preserved in the *Sveriges Riksarkivet*. The volume begins with an English Introduction (p. 7–27), signed by V. Ciobanu, which offers readers an overview of events relevant to the Eastern Question in the 1830–1835 timeframe. Although the book's CIP data lists Lucian-Dumitru Dârdală as the translator and author of the forward, Veniam Ciobanu credits Cosmin Mișu for the English version of the Introduction, summaries and footnotes (p. 27). All documents are written in French and are preceded by short summaries in English. Readers may find among the diplomats who sent these reports ones such as Anton Testa, father of the famous Ignace de Testa, who published an impressive *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les puissances étrangères*, as well as Abraham Constantine Mouradgea d'Ohsson, author of a Mongol History and son of Ignace Mouradgea d'Ohsson, author of the famous *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*<sup>1</sup>. The volume's editor also provided explanatory footnotes, but there is no list of references or index at the end of the book. A volume of edited documents is always a welcomed issue and readers will certainly find valuable information in these Swedish diplomatic reports on the Eastern Question.

Radu Dipratu

*Tinerețile unui ciocoiș: viața lui Dimitrie Foti Merișescu de la Colentina scrisă de el însuși la 1817*, éd. par Constanța VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU, Humanitas, București, 2019, 115 p. + 13 ill.

Le titre de cet ouvrage, ajouté à celui inscrit par l'auteur lui-même quand il achevait son autobiographie, signifie *La jeunesse d'un galopin*, ce qui en révéla la singularité : le diminutif de *ciocoi*, en roumain du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, veut dire un petit parvenu effronté. Cela permet d'entrevoir déjà l'homme dont il s'agit. M<sup>me</sup> Vintilă-Ghițulescu est heureuse d'avoir découvert aux archives de Bucarest qu'elle ne cesse de fouiller depuis des années ce manuscrit parfaitement ignoré jusqu'à présent. L'un des premiers exemples du genre mémorial dans la littérature roumaine, voyez-vous quelle aubaine ? Il a fallu un long travail pour reconstituer jusqu'en 1856 la biographie du personnage, né, paraît-il, en 1797, à Bucarest, pour suivre un parcours dont on parvient à savoir quelques repères – famille, voyages d'affaires, un petit emploi à la cour de Moldavie, mariage et avancement à un rang de nobliau. Il acquiert une propriété et, sur ce point seulement, on peut ajouter un détail. Pour la maison vendue à deux reprises et qui fut l'objet d'un procès de 1832 à 1836, notre Dumitrache Merișescu s'est disputé avec un certain Anghel Valli. Or, celui-là devrait susciter beaucoup plus d'intérêt, car, Grec de Jassy, relégué en 1828 en Bessarabie, où il allait être juge à Hotin en 1837–1840, il est l'auteur d'un « Nouveau tableau historique et politique de la Moldavie »<sup>2</sup>. Tandis que ce dernier écrivait en un français très châtié, même précieux, dans les « Souvenirs » de Merișescu il n'y a pas d'apprêt ni de prétention. Si son style a des négligences et des répétitions, l'homme n'est pas embarrassé de tenir la plume ; il a de la netteté, de la précision, de la fraîcheur.

C'est surtout la langue qui rend savoureux le récit des mésaventures de Dumitrache : un roumain populaire, mélangé de grec et de bulgare, près desquels il y du turc déjà introduit dans le vocabulaire roumain du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dans les chansons qu'aime ce gaillard, pour entretenir son insouciant gaité à tout bout de champ, le roumain et le grec s'entremêlent. La franchise du conteur demeure entière, sauf sur les gros mots obscènes qu'on a censurés, car le manuscrit original a été copié avec des ratures après une vingtaine d'années, parce que, saisi par la pudeur, Dumitrache s'est

<sup>1</sup> A recent work by Carter Vaughan Findley, *Enlightening Europe on Islam and the Ottomans. Mouradgea d'Ohsson and his Masterpiece*, Leiden, Brill, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Ange Bally, *Un ouvrage d'il y a un siècle : la Bessarabie comme pays moldave*, « Revue Historique du Sud-Est européen », XVI, 4–6, p. 129–144 ; 7–9, p. 280–287 ; 10–12, p. 341–369 ; XVII, 1–3, p. 51–65 ; 4–6, p. 109–128 ; 7–9, p. 243–282 ; 10–12, p. 297–325. Sans avoir reconnu cette première édition, Vlad Georgescu, *Mémoires et projets de réforme dans les Principautés roumaines 1831–1848*, Bucarest, 1972, p. 173–277, mais il se méprend en attribuant ce texte à Iordache Rosetti-Roznovanu. Sur Anghel Valli voir Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Boierimea Moldovei dintr-un Prut și Nistru*, II, București, 1943, p. 178. Né à Istanbul en 1787 ; il était le fils du serdar Vasile Vali.

gardé de choquer ses lecteurs. C'est la preuve que ses premières amours, qu'ils fussent avec une jeune paysanne ou avec la fille d'un grand seigneur, fiancée de surcroît à un « beyzadé », étaient décrites plus crûment, comme de joyeuses polissonneries. Cependant, la différence sociale jaillit dans le langage entre la simplicité paysanne et les mièvreries phanariotes.

Mais, plutôt que regarder à la loupe les confessions du jeune Merișescu, il vaut mieux examiner ce qu'il nous livre sur la vie quotidienne dans les deux milieux sociaux qu'il a traversés. Il se trouve par hasard dans un village à la cueillette d'un vignoble et il y passe une semaine. Il ne peut éviter ni les gitans, ni les poux ; élevé en un foyer balkanique de bourgeoisie aisée, il s'étonne de la pauvreté de la table, où l'on manque même de couverts pour manger la traditionnelle bouillie de millet qu'on avait remplacé par du maïs à la ville. Une fois revenu à la ville, il est traité en valet de grande maison, sans appétit pour l'habitude phanariote du café, mais très fier de l'élégance de la livrée. La complicité d'une nourrice rusée l'engage à s'occuper des loisirs nocturnes de la jeune maîtresse. Ainsi dévoilée par son récit, la vie du sous-sol domestique défile devant nous qui sommes maintenant les spectateurs de *Downton Abbey* et de tant d'autres films de ce genre.

Ce texte surprenant a reçu l'édition méritée, parce que M<sup>me</sup> Vintilă-Ghițulescu lui a consacré un travail plein d'amour. Ses observations judicieuses et pénétrantes dans l'introduction reflètent une profonde connaissance des problèmes sociaux de l'époque, telle qu'elle a montré dans une série de recherches précédentes.

*Andrei Pippidi*

Marie BOLTON, Patrick FOURNIER et Claude GRIMMER (dir.), *Médecine et santé dans les campagnes. Approches historiques et enjeux contemporains*, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2019, 415 p.

Les éditions Peter Lang viennent de publier ce 6<sup>e</sup> volume de la collection « Histoire des mondes modernes », réunissant une vingtaine d'études qui portent sur l'histoire de la médicalisation des campagnes, depuis la fin du Moyen Âge jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Les auteurs de l'ouvrage se sont interrogés sur les spécificités des sociétés rurales dans leurs rapports avec les institutions médicales, avec les acteurs politiques censés assurer le contact entre celles-ci et celles-là, et avec les savoirs et les pratiques médicaux empiriques.

La première partie du volume – qui en comporte trois – est intitulée « Territoires et acteurs de la santé dans les campagnes : les processus de médicalisation avant la médecine pastorienne » et réunit six études. La première, appartenant à Carmel Ferragud, traite du cas, paradigmatique, d'une petite communauté du royaume de Valence, qui, préoccupée par la santé de ses habitants, en vient à se munir d'un personnel médical stable (chirurgiens, sages-femmes, apothicaires, docteurs). Il s'agit du village d'Algemesí, dépendant initialement de la ville d'Alzira, mais devenu autonome à partir de 1574. L'auteur présente minutieusement l'histoire de l'encadrement médical de cette communauté entre la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le commencement du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec les noms des praticiens, leurs rétributions et le détail de leurs contrats avec les conseils municipaux.

Une seconde étude de cas est celle que donne Jamel El Hadj du « Service de santé dans le terroir de Marseille en temps de peste (1720–1722) ». Le terroir de Marseille, autrement dit la campagne exploitée par la communauté marseillaise, devenait, en temps d'épidémie, un lieu de refuge pour les citadins, dont certains y possédaient des résidences secondaires. Or, pendant l'épidémie de 1720–1722 et sur fond de dispute entre tenants de la théorie « contagionniste » et adeptes de la théorie « infectionniste », officielle, le terroir cesse d'être un simple retrait pour devenir le théâtre de secours médicaux actifs, à l'instar de la ville. Ce changement de perspective va de pair avec une promotion sociale des médecins (on cite le cas d'un chirurgien qui, s'étant fait remarquer lors de l'épidémie, sera anobli).

La troisième contribution de ce volet porte sur la « Situation sanitaire et [le] potentiel médicinal des campagnes du sud-ouest de la France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles ». Stéphanie Lachaud-

Martin y analyse le double mouvement qui alimente les savoirs médical et médicinal de l'époque : le mouvement descendant, des autorités vers les populations affligées par les épidémies, et le mouvement inverse, consistant à prendre en considération les remèdes empiriques ruraux, et correspondant à une remise en question du savoir médical préexistant. Au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les autorités françaises doivent vaincre méfiance des ruraux à l'égard des médecins et mettre un terme à la concurrence que font aux médecins les différentes catégories de guérisseurs. Le savoir de ces derniers finira par être exploité par un État royal conscient de ses propres insuffisances.

Alors que l'étude de Stéphanie Lachaud-Martin montre l'opposition des médecins aux « gens à secret », celle de Pauline Dubois – « La poudre d'Ailhaud : automédication et relations sociales dans les campagnes françaises du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle » – analyse les mécanismes publicitaires et commerciaux mis en place pour assurer le succès auprès du public d'un remède secret inventé dans les années 1720. S'étant fait des alliés parmi les élites rurales, la famille Ailhaud part à la conquête des campagnes, un marché thérapeutique nouveau, peu ciblé par l'offre de soins traditionnelle.

Dans « L'encadrement médical des campagnes en pays héraultais et gardois entre le milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> et le début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle », Sylvain Olivier se penche sur la médicalisation des campagnes, telle que les listes et les statistiques d'époque la font connaître et telle qu'elle se laisse reconstituer à partir de documents d'archives. Le croisement des sources permet à l'historien de compléter le tableau général, tout en mettant en évidence la constitution de véritables dynasties de soignants entre le milieu du XVIII<sup>e</sup> et le milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

De même que les historiens de la médecine ou les sociologues, les littéraires, notamment ceux qui s'intéressent au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle français, gagneront à lire la contribution d'Olivier Faure, « Promouvoir un réseau médical rural dans la France du début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle ». L'auteur y traite de la formation des officiers de santé – dont le plus célèbre est sans doute le mari de Mme Bovary – et des auxiliaires de santé (sages-femmes et gardes-malades), ainsi que de leur implantation dans les zones rurales depuis la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et jusqu'au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'étude montre que l'apparition d'un personnel médical de plus en plus nombreux et de plus en plus accessible dans les campagnes contribua non seulement à l'amélioration de l'état de santé des populations rurales, mais aussi à la promotion sociale des élites locales parmi lesquelles se recrutaient les futurs soignants.

La deuxième partie du volume, « Les enjeux politiques et sociaux de la médicalisation des campagnes (XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles) », s'occupe des discours sur la santé publique des populations rurales dans le contexte d'une politisation accrue des questions sanitaires. Les cinq études qui la composent s'attachent à examiner, les rapports pour le moins complexes, voire les divergences entre, d'une part, la vision des pouvoirs publics sur les savoirs médicaux et les normes visant la prévention et le traitement des maladies, et, d'autre part, les réalités locales des attitudes des populations visées.

L'étude de Séverine Parayre, « La santé dans les établissements scolaires ruraux vue par les institutrices primaires (France, XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle) », part d'un corpus inédit : l'enquête-concours entreprise en 1860 par le ministre français de l'Instruction publique Gustave Rouland. La question posée aux institutrices (« Quels sont les besoins de l'instruction primaire dans une commune rurale, au triple point de vue de l'école, des élèves et du maître ? ») reçoit une multitude de réponses dont certaines font état de préoccupations pour l'hygiène et la santé des élèves (et des maîtres). Souvent, les conceptions de l'hygiène et des soins des institutrices relèvent plutôt de leur propre expérience que des préceptes médicaux de l'époque. Cependant, il y a des enseignants qui, prenant très au sérieux leur rôle d'éducateurs, élargissent leur mission et s'intéressent à l'éducation sanitaire des écoliers ; ils devancent par là d'une vingtaine d'années l'adoption des lois Ferry qui introduisirent dans les écoles l'obligation d'un enseignement de l'hygiène et de la gymnastique.

Avec « Religieuses et soin des malades dans le monde rural au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, au prisme de la politisation des campagnes », Vincent Flauraud examine l'intervention du politique dans la gestion, notamment dans les campagnes, du rôle des sœurs soignantes au tournant du XIX<sup>e</sup> et du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Bien qu'épargnées par la loi de 1892 visant, entre autres, l'exercice illégal de la médecine en France, les religieuses des congrégations soignantes se trouvaient en butte à l'hostilité des républicains. Cependant, l'examen de leur situation dans deux départements (Gard et Cantal) assez différents tant au point de vue politique qu'au point de vue religieux, conduit à la constatation que les acteurs politiques ont su tenir compte des « réalités du terrain », au-delà des discours idéologiques.

Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi propose dans « La médicalisation des campagnes roumaines dans *Le Guide Sanitaire et Hygiénique* (1899–1907) » une étude de cas centrée sur le positionnement d'un périodique par rapport à la médicalisation du monde rural roumain. L'étude brosse un tableau détaillé des rapports, parfois très complexes, entre médecins, maires et prêtres, d'une l'administration de soins où le savoir médical devait composer avec des pratiques magiques et religieuses, des difficultés à vaincre les mentalités traditionnelles. Ce qui attire l'attention c'est le fait que la publication en 1860 des premières listes de médecins ayant le droit de pratiquer dans les Principautés roumaines ne fut pas doublée d'une mise au ban des guérisseurs ; là encore, le déficit de personnel spécialisé obligea les autorités à faire preuve de modération et de discernement.

La contribution de Nicolas Monteillet, « Prophylaxie rurale, triomphalisme et médecins ambulants au Cameroun : de la science civilisatrice aux prémices du consumérisme commercial », présente la façon dont l'administration coloniale française du Cameroun lutte, dans les années 1920 et 1930, pour combattre et prévenir les maladies, notamment dans la région de Nkoteng. L'autoritarisme du colonisateur, quoique « bien intentionné », marquera durablement le rapport du malade à la maladie : si la création, à partir de 1922, d'équipes mobiles dans le but de dépister les maladies permettra par la suite la mise en place d'un réseau d'assistance médicale fixe, la manie de l'automédication s'emparera des populations, parfois avec des conséquences tragiques. L'idéologie du médicament, héritée de la période coloniale, est l'une des causes du retard dans la constitution d'une médecine publique de qualité, non seulement au Cameroun, mais aussi dans d'autres pays d'Afrique.

Dans son étude consacrée aux « Organisations contemporaines des professionnels de santé dans des territoires ruraux reculés du Massif central », Adélaïde Hamiti présente les résultats d'une enquête menée entre 2009 et 2011 auprès de plusieurs maisons de santé. Ces établissements pluridisciplinaires apparaissent à la fin des années 2000 pour répondre aux besoins médicaux d'un territoire peu peuplé et marqué par le vieillissement de la population. La réussite de pareils projets, pour lesquels libéraux et collectivités locales se donnent la main, démontre que des solutions sont possibles qui prennent en considération les spécificités des zones rurales concernées.

Les quatre premières études réunies dans la troisième partie du volume (« Entre nature et culture : la ruralité en question dans les savoirs et pratiques médicales ») viennent éclairer davantage un domaine que les études précédentes avaient déjà touché sans toutefois s'y attarder – celui de la constitution, de l'exploitation et de la transmission d'un savoir médical empirique dans des communautés traditionnelles d'Europe, d'Afrique du Nord et d'Amérique du Nord.

Raffaella Bruzzone et Sandro Lagomarsini s'occupent de « La circulation des savoirs botaniques et médicaux dans l'Apennin ligure oriental » à partir de la découverte, dans une vallée de l'Apennin, d'un herbier illustré daté de 1598 et utilisé au sein de la famille De Paoli de Porciorasco. Leur étude démontre qu'au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle les plantes de l'herbier font toujours partie de la culture populaire locale.

La contribution d'Émilie-Anne Pépy, intitulée « Quand le paysan éclairait le médecin. Botanique savante et savoirs médicaux vernaculaires dans les campagnes françaises au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle », traite des rapports entre savoir empirique, médecine savante et autorités d'un État royal désireux de contrôler le domaine des remèdes. Ces rapports gravitent autour des plantes thérapeutiques et du métier d'herboriste, suspect aux yeux de la médecine officielle, et dont les autorités médicales demandent la réglementation. L'ouverture des savants à la nature contribue, après 1760, au développement de la botanique ; s'y ajoute le besoin d'assurer l'indépendance du royaume par rapport aux importations de plantes médicinales, devenues chères à cause des guerres. Tout cela aura pour effet la constitution d'une pharmacopée nationale, souvent inspirée de la médecine populaire. Un mouvement inverse a également lieu, allant des médecins botanistes vers le monde des campagnes : alors que la tradition populaire avait souvent correctement identifié les substances utiles tirées des plantes, le mode d'administration, reposant sur le bon dosage, était de la compétence des savants.

David Gentilcore – « Seulement pour les campagnards : alimentation et santé des paysans dans les ouvrages de diététique médicale européenne (1500–1800) » – compare sur une durée de trois siècles les conseils diététiques et les habitudes alimentaires des paysans en Europe. D'une part, il apparaît que, malgré ce que l'on en pense souvent, les régimes alimentaires des ruraux ont été bien plus variés et ouverts à des influences extérieures. D'autre part, on constate la persistance des préjugés médicaux sur le rang social et la constitution physique des individus.

L'étude de Paul Lloyd – « Le citron : un remède universel dans les campagnes britanniques de l'époque moderne » – explore une large sélection de sources et présente l'exploitation en Grande-Bretagne des vertus curatives de ce fruit méridional dès une époque où la pensée médicale favorisait les remèdes chimiques et minéraux. Sont également analysés les procédés artisanaux de confection et d'administration de remèdes à base de citron, utilisés même de nos jours.

Les deux dernières contributions du volume sont consacrées aux influences exercées par les Européens sur la santé de populations éloignées. « Stature, indice de masse corporelle et morbidité dans l'Algérie rurale du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Analyse statistique des dossiers médicaux des soldats indigènes et européens des classes 1936–1937 » est le titre de l'étude de Laurent Heyberger, qui examine les conséquences du paludisme à partir d'archives militaires inédites. Enfin, Marie Bolton et Nancy C. Unger (« Terres stériles et corps stériles dans la Nation navajo : l'alerte des femmes indiennes de WARN face aux enjeux de l'exploitation de l'uranium, de la génétique et de la stérilisation ») placent la crise de la santé publique qui afflige les Navajos dans le contexte plus large des catastrophes qui les ont frappés tout au long du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

En guise d'épilogue au volume, deux « regards sur la médecine d'aujourd'hui et de demain » permettent au lecteur de faire le point de cette vaste problématique. Le premier appartient à François Abrial, médecin de famille en campagne qui évoque son expérience d'études et professionnelle depuis 1969 ; le second, à Guy Vallancien, professeur honoraire d'urologie à l'université Paris-Descartes et membre de l'Académie nationale de médecine. Le regard « d'en bas » et celui « d'en haut » coïncident en termes de définition des priorités et des stratégies à suivre.

Laurențiu Zoicaș

Alexandre STROEV (ed.), *Les intellectuels russes à la conquête de l'opinion publique française. Une histoire alternative de la littérature russe en France de Cantemir à Gorki*, Paris, Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2019, 368 p.

This book was published as a final homage to Alexander Yanushkevich, a much revered Russian scholar and professor at the State University in Tomsk, who had died in a car accident in 2016: aside from his pedagogical qualities (as highlighted by his colleague Olga Lebedeva in the opening chapter) he was best known for editing the complete works of Vasily Zhukovsky, the famed Russian poet of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century who also took it upon himself to promote the works of Pushkin and Gogol.

It is this promotion of Russian literature that provides the *fil rouge* to the contributions in this volume, which is dedicated to the relations between Russian writers and the French public. The first text, written by the coordinator himself, is an attempt to write an alternative history of Russian literature in France by means of an analysis of political, editorial and even mundane strategies used by writers, intellectuals and diplomats to attract the goodwill of French patrons and readers. The contributions are quite diverse in nature, with some referring to the Parisian diaries of these Russian writers (including Zhukovsky's, in a *post-mortem* article published by Yanushkevich with the help of Lebedeva), while others are concerned with the reception of Russian writings (for instance that of Turgenev's *Torrents of Spring*). These contributions cover the period between the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with Maxim Gorky's discovery of France. Alexandre Stroev's historical overview does provide some brief notes as to the conservation of these political strategies even during Soviet times, but the reader should expect this to be a work mainly dedicated to the aforementioned timespan.

Although the subject matter of this volume appears to be rather unrelated to that of South-East European studies, I would nevertheless want to point to one particular contribution referring to a lesser-known writing of Antioch Cantemir, son of Dimitrie Cantemir. Under the reign of empress Anna Ioannovna, Russian information services were required to supervise any publications that could pertain to the Tsarist Empire, acting as a *de facto* censorship. This came as a result of Russia's constant attempts to gain the sympathy of Western nations, which made it such that any work that could damage their



image had to be blocked or countered. Francesco Locatelli, an Italian adventurer, had written one such work, the *Muscovite Letters*, in which he described his stay in Russia as a war prisoner and a fervent supporter of Stanisław Leszczyński. The book had been published during the short timespan in which France had no diplomatic representatives in Saint Petersburg, making it nigh impossible to report the publication of this offending text. As a result, Antioch Cantemir, who had been sent by Ostermann to London, attempted to block its publication in England, but despite Lord Harrington's intervention, still failed to do so. Similarly, his efforts to censor the second edition of Locatelli's book in France were just as fruitless, which meant that it would soon be published in German.

It is here that we find the most interesting element of this research, namely that Antioch took it upon himself to publish it in German, albeit with a title that immediately undermined its content, considering them to be "slander" (*Verleumdungen*) and "thousands of lies" (*tausend-Lügen*). Locatelli's translated text is accompanied by a foreword written by Antioch himself, who compares his endeavour to that of cleaning the *stabulum Augiae*: one of the more interesting refutations concerns the deformation of historical sources (*Geschichtsverdreher* being the term applied to Locatelli) such as Herodotus when describing the origins of the Muscovites. Locatelli claimed them to be the descendants not of the Scythians, but of their slaves, who had been chased away after helping their wives commit adultery. This is in many ways similar to the controversy that plagued Grigore Ureche's readers, who discovered an interpolation that gave Romanians an equally unpleasant origin.

This volume is most certainly a valuable contribution to the study of Franco-Russian relations, but one will feel that it is no less interesting to a researcher whose interests are more focused on South-Eastern Europe: the more obvious reason is that one of the articles is dedicated to the writings of a Romanian scholar and diplomat, as shown above. On the other hand, this research should provide a further incentive to study the works of authors who, *nolens volens*, had to live and write abroad, in a language that was not their own. Whoever delves into the matter will surely find equally interesting cases as that of Antioch Cantemir's almost completely ill-fated attempts to censor a libelous text.

Mihail-George Hâncu

*Documents concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie. Collection Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, III<sup>e</sup> série, Tome I, La Légation Roumaine à Petrograd (1914–1918). Documents/La Légation Roumaine à Petrograd (1914–1918). Documents, éditeurs: Gheorghe E. COJOCARU, Eugen-Tudor SCLIFOS; București, Editura Academiei Române; Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei «Carol I », 2018, 521 p.*

En septembre 1931, la nouvelle du décès du diplomate Constantin Diamandi marque un regain d'intérêt dans la presse de l'époque pour la figure de celui qui avait passé ses derniers mois dans un véritable exil sur son domaine à la campagne. Diamandi était peint comme « un homme qui a été amené par les circonstances à jouer un rôle très important dans l'histoire récente de notre pays. » On évoquait en ce sens-là la place qu'il a occupée dans la politique extérieure de la Roumanie, pendant la Grande Guerre. À la tête de la Légation roumaine à Petrograd, Diamandi avait fait partie à l'époque du noyau décisionnel qui conclut à l'entrée du pays dans la Grande Guerre, à côté de l'Entente. C'est lui qui rédigea la première variante de la déclaration de guerre à travers laquelle la Roumanie coupait toute relation diplomatique avec l'Autriche-Hongrie. Constantin Diamandi n'est pas que le diplomate favori du premier ministre Ion I.C. Brătianu, mais aussi son principal conseiller sur les affaires étrangères. C'est en raison de cette qualité qu'on lui reprochera vivement son incapacité à prévoir l'impact de la révolution russe de 1917 sur le front roumain. L'épisode de sa brève arrestation, en janvier 1918, par les autorités bolchéviques de Petrograd représente le moment le plus connu de la biographie de Diamandi. Son lien étroit et privilégié avec l'homme politique Ion I.C. Brătianu explique l'essor de sa carrière, après la fin de la Grande Guerre (haut-commissaire du gouvernement roumain à Budapest, en 1919, membre de la légation roumaine à la Conférence de paix de Paris, puis ministre plénipotentiaire dans la

capitale française). Victime de ses engagements auprès du roi Carol II, Diamandi a consacré les derniers mois de sa vie à la rédaction de ses mémoires. Pourtant, il ne parvint pas à mener à bonne fin ce projet. Mais il réussit à publier dans quelques revues des récits de certains moments de sa carrière diplomatique. À sa mort, Diamandi était toujours perçu comme la dépositaire de nombreux secrets d'une période extrêmement agitée de l'histoire de la Roumanie. «La publication de ses mémoires, pourvu qu'on les mette sous les presses, aujourd'hui ou plus tard, éclaircira des questions troubles et permettra de voir beaucoup d'hommes politiques sous un autre jour que d'habitude » (*Adevărul* [le quotidien *La Vérité*], 11 septembre 1931). Il a fallu attendre presque neuf décennies pour qu'une partie de ses mémoires et de sa correspondance diplomatique soient édités.

Après 1990, il y a eu plusieurs tentatives de publier un volume dédié à Constantin Diamandi. Ceux qui ont réussi à accomplir ce projet sont deux collègues de l'Institut d'Histoire de Chişinău, Gheorghe E. Cojocaru et Eugen-Tudor Schifos. La décision d'éditer un livre sur l'activité de la Légation roumaine à Petrograd pendant la Grande Guerre, dans le cadre de la nouvelle série *Documents concernant l'histoire de la Roumanie. Collection Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki* est pleinement justifiée. Cette nouvelle série, la troisième, reprise après plus de quatre décennies d'interruption, se propose de valoriser des documents conservés dans des archives européennes et américaines, liés à l'histoire de la Roumanie. Ce volume autour de l'activité de la Légation roumaine à Petrograd est le cinquantième volume dans la Collection Hurmuzaki, éditée sous l'édige de l'Académie Roumaine, à partir de 1876. À première vue, le choix de travailler avec des historiens de la République Moldave pour éditer un tel volume a parfaitement du sens. Vu la complexité du sujet, il fallait absolument maîtriser les historiographies soviétique et russe, mais aussi avoir une fine connaissance des archives de la Fédération Russe et de la République Moldave. C'est un sujet sensible pour l'historiographie roumaine, où la crise de spécialistes de l'espace ex-soviétique devient de plus en plus profonde avec le temps. Il y avait donc toutes les conditions d'un événement éditorial important. Malheureusement, le résultat est loin de nos attentes. Il semble plutôt un effet des circonstances – la célébration du centenaire de la Grande Guerre, que le produit de recherches minutieuses. La faute est aux deux éditeurs. Ils se sont limités à sélectionner et à transcrire des documents des archives roumaines. Publiés en original (en roumain et en français), ces papiers (des comptes-rendus diplomatiques et des mémoires) sont accompagnés par de succinctes notes de bas de page. La source principale mobilisée à cet effet est le fonds personnel Constantin Diamandi, conservé aux Archives Nationales de Roumanie. D'autres documents sont puisés aux archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Bucarest. On est particulièrement frappé par la précarité des informations présentées dans l'*Avant-propos* de ce volume. Au terme d'une étude détaillée sur l'histoire et l'importance de la Collection Hurmuzaki (signée par l'académicien Victor Spinei), les deux éditeurs se contentent de décrire brièvement les intentions du volume et de renvoyer à une bibliographie sur l'histoire des relations russo-roumaines. En outre, ils font preuve d'un manque de familiarité avec la problématique du corps diplomatique du Royaume. Ainsi par exemple, les éditeurs affirment que, avant d'être nommé ministre plénipotentiaire à Petrograd, Diamandi a été « l'attaché de la Roumanie » à Sofia et à Rome. Or, il est impardonnable pour un chef de mission diplomatique d'être rétrogradé au statut d'attaché diplomatique. Également, on manque presque entièrement de données sur la carrière et la personnalité de Constantin Diamandi. Les éditeurs se bornent à le décrire comme « l'un des diplomates de premier rang de l'époque ». Le dossier personnel de Diamandi, conservé aux Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, fournissait assez d'éléments pour au moins esquisser son parcours diplomatique. Sont absentes aussi les informations sur sa famille, alors que son frère, George, a été l'une des figures politiques notoires autour de la Grande Guerre. Toutes ces informations manquantes auraient expliqué comment Constantin Diamandi avait intégré le cercle des proches du puissant leader du Parti Libéral, Ion I.C. Brătianu. Pour un volume intitulé *La Légation roumaine à Petrograd (1914–1918)* l'absence de toute information sur son personnel, tout comme sur l'importance de cette légation dans le cadre du système diplomatique du Royaume Roumain sont inadmissibles. Constat d'autant plus frustrant, que la Russie a représenté pour la Roumanie la seule frontière commune avec un État allié, pendant la Grande Guerre. La commodité des deux éditeurs fait un défaut essentiel au volume : ils le privent d'une description des activités des diplomates roumains à Petrograd (et dans d'autres villes russes) pendant la Grande Guerre. Ce n'est qu'ainsi que l'on aurait pu avoir accès à l'univers des dirigeants

roumains à un moment-clé de l'histoire du pays. Il reste aux lecteurs d'essayer d'extraire, à la place des éditeurs, toutes ces informations des rapports et des témoignages publiés. Ce qui nuit considérablement à l'utilité de ce volume. Malgré cet effort éditorial, la postérité doit toujours payer ses dettes envers Constantin Diamandi et ses collègues de Petrograd.

Daniel Cain

Sorin IFTIMI, *Misiuni diplomatice în România (1916–1918) / Diplomatic Mission in Romania (1916–1918) / Missions Diplomatiques en Roumanie (1916–1918)*, DAR Development Publishing, Dark Publishing, București, 2018, 263 p.

Le 15/28 octobre 1916, les autorités roumaines mettaient à la disposition des représentations diplomatiques de Bucarest les moyens nécessaires pour transporter leurs bagages et leurs archives. On se dirigeait vers Iași, ancienne capitale de Moldavie. C'est ici que toutes les autorités de l'État roumain allaient se réfugier, dans le contexte de l'avancement inquiétant des troupes des Pouvoirs Centraux vers Bucarest. Dans cette situation, le gouvernement roumain invitait le Corps diplomatique à quitter en temps utile la capitale du Royaume roumain. Pourtant, les dirigeants des Légations de Bucarest ont préféré rester sur place, jusqu'au dernier moment. Le 18/31 novembre 1916, les derniers représentants des autorités roumaines quittaient Bucarest, en direction de Iași. Un train était mis à la disposition du personnel des missions diplomatiques. C'était le début d'un exil qui allait se prolonger durant deux ans. Le centenaire de la Grande Guerre a constitué une excellente occasion pour approfondir, avec l'attention qu'il vaut bien, cet épisode dramatique de l'histoire du Royaume roumain. Il s'agit d'une démarche historiographique attendue depuis longtemps, vu que des sujets comme la vie quotidienne pendant le refuge n'ont guère suscité la curiosité des historiens roumains. Ces dernières années ont vu la publication d'études et d'ouvrages autour de cette thématique, qui se sont focalisés surtout sur le rôle de la ville de Iași dans la période du refuge en Moldavie. Également, on vient de publier un premier volume bilingue (en roumain et anglais), qui est une reconstitution, en mots et images, du tableau de cette époque trouble (Sorin Iftimi, Aurica Ichim, *Iași. Capitala României. 1916–1918. Jassy – Capital City of Romania. 1916–1918*, Dark Publishing, București, 2017, 311 p.). C'est une chronique du drame traversé par cette ville, difficile à imaginer pour les générations d'aujourd'hui. Dans l'espace de quelques mois, la population s'est multipliée par trois ou quatre. Les autorités locales ont vécu un véritable cauchemar logistique pour arriver à nourrir et abriter les réfugiés. Cette population augmentera bientôt avec l'arrivée de nombreuses troupes russes. Les premiers mois de l'année 1917 représentent une période déprimante pour la société roumaine: une armée vaincue, fauchée par les maladies et le froid, et beaucoup d'incertitude. Malgré toutes ces conditions, Iași deviendra la ville où renaîtra l'espoir de toute une nation. Durant ces deux ans, l'ancienne capitale de la Moldavie, qui semblait avoir perdu son rôle historique, devient un centre vital de la nation roumaine. Mais les Roumains n'ont pas été seuls dans cette lourde épreuve. Leurs alliés (russes, français, anglais et américains), les ont rejoints à Iași à travers des missions militaires, médicales ou diplomatiques. Ces missions diplomatiques ont donné une dimension internationale à une ville ayant traversé un processus de provincialisation après 1862, lorsqu'elle a perdu le statut de capitale. L'impact des diplomates étrangers sur la vie sociale de Iași n'est point négligeable. Passionné par cette histoire locale, Sorin Iftimi nous lance un nouveau défi dans ce volume. Ainsi que l'auteur l'avoue, son intention est de reconstruire l'odyssée des alliés de la Roumanie, présents à Iași, pendant les deux ans de refuge. Il se propose de récupérer de véritables *lieux de mémoire*, dans une ville qui a subi assez de transformations urbanistiques. Avec beaucoup de minutie et de rigueur, l'auteur a fouillé de nombreuses archives (publiques et privées), à la recherche d'un monde disparu : des documents inédits et d'anciennes photos, jusqu'à la localisation des bâtiments ayant abrité les légations des alliés. Grâce à ce louable effort, Sorin Iftimi réussit non pas seulement à ranimer l'histoire muette de certains bâtiments, mais aussi l'esprit d'une époque. *Missions Diplomatiques en Roumanie (1916–1918)* est une démarche singulière dans l'historiographie roumaine, par son intérêt

pour le quotidien des membres des missions diplomatiques dans le Royaume roumain. Chacune des légations présentes à Iași est présentée dans un chapitre distinct, qui nous renseigne sur son personnel diplomatique, tout comme sur le bâtiment où il a fonctionné. Ces informations sont illustrées par des photos de l'époque et des extraits de la presse locale. Leur traitement n'est pas égal, les missions diplomatiques bénéficiant d'une attention correspondant à leur importance. Certes, le volume accorde plus de place aux légations de la France, de la Russie et de la Grande-Bretagne, qu'à celle de la Grèce, par exemple. Mais l'auteur ne s'attarde pas uniquement sur ces représentations diplomatiques. De 1916 à 1918, plusieurs missions militaires et sanitaires envoyées par les alliées de la Roumanie ont séjourné à Iași. Leur rôle pendant le refuge en Moldavie a été beaucoup plus considérable que les histoires roumaines ne l'ont estimé. Sorin Iftimi essaie, entre les lignes, à réparer cette injustice. On aurait pourtant une chose à lui reprocher : la confusion que l'auteur fait entre le statut de ministre plénipotentiaire et un ambassadeur. Selon les coutumes du monde diplomatique du début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, seuls les ministres plénipotentiaires étaient accrédités dans le Royaume. Le droit de détenir l'ambassade était par contre réservé aux Grands Pouvoirs. Cette négligence ne diminue point la valeur de ce volume, paru dans une édition bilingue (en roumain, anglais et français), dans des conditions graphiques formidables. Le défi que Sorin Iftimi lance à ses collègues est gigantesque : y a-t-il encore un espoir de sortir des oubliettes l'histoire des légations ? Un premier pas vient d'être franchi. En conclusion, le public se trouve devant un volume que toute bibliothèque universitaire du monde voudrait bien détenir.

*Daniel Cain*

*La Grande Guerre dans le Balkans. Regards croisés, perspectives comparées*, Sous la direction de Florin ȚURCANU et Jean-Noël GRANDHOMME. Actes du colloque du 7 juin 2018. Sofia, Institut Français de Bulgarie, 141 p.

Un détail observé lors d'une visite récente sur le camp de bataille de Dojran a révélé la véritable portée de la mémoire de la Grande Guerre dans les Balkans. Les visiteurs qui se dirigent vers les positions bulgares doivent suivre des indicateurs signalant uniquement la présence des « Pouvoir centraux » sur le territoire. Nulle trace, par contre, des troupes bulgares ayant combattu sur ce même champ. C'est un indice de la sensibilité entre deux États (la Macédoine du Nord et la Bulgarie) qui se disputent la mémoire d'un passé commun. Il s'agit d'une dispute nourrie par des tabous et des mythes. Dans le laboratoire de la mémoire, le sujet de la Grande Guerre agit comme un tournesol, activant et rendant visibles les contrastes. L'historien macédonien Petar Todorov offre une explication de cette réalité : « Dans les Balkans, dans ces pays et sociétés où la mémoire est si importante, la façon la plus courante de se souvenir de cette guerre est le prisme de l'histoire militaire et politique et une comptabilisation du nombre des victimes : qui a souffert le plus de pertes ? C'est une approche qui influence fortement la formation des perspectives contemporaines sur le passé et les pays voisins, c'est-à-dire sur l'Autre. » Soucieux de dépasser une vision de la Grande Guerre dans les Balkans encore trop centrée sur le récit national, neuf historiens de différentes nationalités (bulgare, française, grecque, macédonienne, serbe, roumaine et turque) se sont réunis à Sofia, sous le patronage de l'Institut Français de Bulgarie. Les actes de cette rencontre organisée le 7 juin 2018 sont recueillis dans le présent volume. Selon les éditeurs, le but de ce volume est de contribuer au processus de redécouverte de la place des Balkans dans la Grande Guerre. La focale est placée sur le Front d'Orient en Macédoine, un théâtre d'opérations de la Grande Guerre « condamné » à un rôle marginal et ambigu dans la mémoire européenne de ce conflit global. Or la Roumanie n'en fait pas exception. L'historiographie roumaine a longtemps sous-estimé ce sujet, bien que le Front d'Orient en Macédoine ait joué un rôle central, vu ses conséquences sur le sort du Royaume roumain entre 1916 et 1918. Avec une maîtrise remarquable du front roumain pendant la Grande Guerre, Jean-Noël Grandhomme dresse un portrait du controversé général Maurice Sarrail, commandant en chef des armées alliées en Orient. C'est un personnage entré dans la mémoire collective des Roumains après le

désastre de Turtucaia, de septembre 1916. Intrigué par la crise mémorielle de cette bataille, notre collègue, Florin Țurcanu signale un détail essentiel : « Dans la liste des douze batailles de la Première Guerre mondiale inscrites sur l'Arc de triomphe de Bucarest ne figure aucun des combats livrés par l'armée roumaine au sud du Danube à l'automne de 1916. » Turtucaia ne figure pas sur cette liste qui consacre « une géographie de la guerre héroïque et victorieuse ». Blagovest Njagulov s'intéresse, à son tour, à cette campagne de la Roumanie au sud du Danube à l'automne de 1916. Le thème abordé est sensible, mais absolument nécessaire : « La Grande guerre et les victimes civiles en Dobroudja. Histoire et mémoire en Bulgarie et en Roumanie ». Ainsi, l'historien bulgare observe pertinemment : « l'historiographie et surtout la mémoire de la nation mettent fortement l'accent sur la victimisation de la population civile et culpabilisent et même diabolisent l'ennemi, auteur des actes de violences et cruautés ». À travers une analyse des relations roumano-bulgares pendant la Grande Guerre, Njagulov souligne la responsabilité des historiens des deux pays dans le processus de réconciliation avec l'histoire de la période 1916–1918. Un sujet tout aussi controversé est la mémoire de la Grande Guerre sur le front de Macédoine. Après un passage en revue la production historiographique macédonienne, dédiée à la Grande Guerre, Petar Todorov fait un constat inattendu : la place marginale que tient cet événement parmi les préoccupations des historiens locaux. Dans son investigation des causes de cette négligence, Fabien Schaeffer tire une conclusion tranchante : l'histoire de la République de Macédoine du Nord dans Première Guerre mondiale reste à écrire. Le sujet de l'identité nationale et culturelle durant la Grande Guerre est également exploré par Anastasios Zografos, qui s'intéresse aux volontaires de diaspora dans l'armée grecque de 1916 à 1923. Les trois dernières études de ce volume font une synthèse de la mémoire régionale de l'année 1918 : tourmentée en Serbie (Stanislav Sretenović), sombre chez les Turcs (Enis Tulça) et intense pour la vie politique d'une Grèce se trouvant à une année-charnière de son histoire (Ellie Lemonidou). Ces études sont accompagnées de nouveaux témoignages de contemporains.

Malgré ses dimensions réduites, le volume invite à un regard décloisonné, transnational et comparatif, grâce aux thèmes qu'il évoque. C'est un bon instrument de travail, particulièrement pour les historiens roumains, habitués à traiter l'expérience de la Grande Guerre dans une perspective majoritairement locale et nationale.

*Daniel Cain*

*Добровољци у Великом Рату 1914–1918 / The volunteers in the Great War 1914–1918*, уредници Срђан Рудић, Далибор Денда, Ђорђе Ђурић, Београд: Историјски институт, Институт за стратегијска истраживања; Нови Сад: Матица српска, 2018, 465 p.

Quelques jours à peine après l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la Grande Guerre, le gouvernement de Bucarest recevait un mémoire sur la nécessité d'organiser des régiments de volontaires roumains de l'Autriche-Hongrie. L'auteur du document était Octavian C. Tăslăuanu, un intellectuel roumain de la Transylvanie, ancien officier dans l'armée autriche-hongroise. Blessé sur le front de Galicie, Tăslăuanu avait déserté et s'était sauvé dans le Royaume de Roumanie, au printemps de 1915. Arrivé à Bucarest, il justifie son action dans un volume qui connaît du succès auprès des lecteurs. Sa désertion a suscité un vif débat public dans la société roumaine, opposant patriotisme et honneur d'officier. Le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1916, Tăslăuanu demandait au gouvernement roumain d'approuver l'organisation de régiments spéciaux, composés d'anciens soldats autriche-hongrois d'origine roumaine, réfugiés dans le Royaume de Roumanie, et d'ethniques roumains tombés prisonniers en Russie. Selon les estimations, le chiffre de ces volontaires montrait leur potentiel militaire au service de l'armée roumaine : on aurait pu former deux nouveaux corps d'armée. À cette occasion, les autorités de Bucarest pourraient estimer la valeur combative de tels corps de volontaires. Sur le front de Dobroudja, il y avait une division de volontaires serbes combattant à côté des troupes russes. L'héroïsme de ces volontaires allait être récompensé par de nombreuses décorations roumaines. Les démarches pour la constitution d'un Corps de volontaires roumains de Transylvanie et de Bucovine, à

leur tour prisonniers de guerre de Russie, sont démarrées dans le même automne. Au mois de juin 1917, les premiers volontaires roumains rentrés de Russie allaient marcher au pas dans les rues de Jassy, dans l'enthousiasme général de la population. C'est un épisode entré dans la mythologie nationale de la Grande Roumanie. L'armistice que l'Armée roumaine est obligée de signer en décembre 1917, après l'écroulement du front russe, marque la fin de ce projet. Malgré sa méconnaissance dans l'espace public, l'épopée de ce Corps de volontaires roumains, à travers une Russie en pleine guerre civile, constitue, ces dernières années, un sujet de plus en plus attirant pour les historiens roumains.

Au-delà de sa dimension patriotique, le mémoire de Octavian C. Tăslăuanu surprend l'intensité des transformations éprouvées par une société en pleine guerre. Les déserteurs, les réfugiés ou les volontaires sont des catégories sociales dont l'importance vaut bien être réévaluée par l'historiographie roumaine de la Grande Guerre. Animés par des idéaux nationaux, des croyances idéologiques, religieuses ou d'autre nature, les volontaires sont un véhicule du changement. Par exemple, dans le cas du Royaume roumain, la présence des volontaires de Transylvanie dans les tranchées a mené à la modification, en régime d'urgence, de la législation restrictive quand à l'octroi de la citoyenneté roumaine.

Au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le phénomène du volontariat passe par un processus de globalisation. Inévitablement, on formule les premiers règlements. L'annexe Convention IV de La Haye (1907) accorde aux corps de volontaires la qualité de belligérant, à condition de « se conformer dans leurs opérations aux lois et coutumes de la guerre ». Cette même annexe comprend un article qui interdit au belligérant « de forcer les nationaux de la Partie adverse à prendre part aux opérations de guerre dirigées contre leur pays, même dans le cas où ils auraient été à son service avant le commencement de la guerre ». Qui sont ces volontaires ? Il nous intéresse moins la catégorie des personnes n'ayant pu remplir, au début de la Guerre, les conditions nécessaires pour l'enrôlement. Durant ce conflit, en Europe de l'Est et du Sud-est on commence à associer les volontaires aux émigrants dépourvus de la citoyenneté de l'État pour lequel ils luttent. Leur statut juridique ne se limite pourtant pas qu'aux difficultés liées à l'obtention ou à la perte de la citoyenneté. Les répercussions d'un tel geste (le sort des familles restées à la maison, vulnérables devant les autorités ennemies), les problèmes quant à l'intégration de ces volontaires ou la nature de la collaboration entre les alliés sont autant d'aspects essentiels pour la compréhension de ce phénomène.

La diversité du sujet du volontariat est illustrée par le présent volume, qui réunit les contributions de 27 historiens d'Italie, Bulgarie, Russie, Roumanie, Pologne, Slovaquie, Hongrie, Allemagne et Serbie. Ce recueil est issu d'une conférence internationale organisée à Belgrade en octobre 2016. Avec cette manifestation, les organisateurs s'étaient proposé d'analyser tous les moments de la Grande Guerre dans un contexte historique bien plus large, en mettant en dialogue des historiens de différentes nationalités. Le résultat répond bien aux attentes. De nouvelles informations, puisées surtout aux archives militaires, nous offrent la possibilité de mener une recherche comparative et complémentaire d'un phénomène historique multiplié dans cette partie de l'Europe. Les approches des auteurs sont variées, allant de l'histoire militaire et de la prosopographie, jusqu'à l'historiographie et la culture de la mémoire. Il serait redondant de démontrer l'utilité d'un tel volume.

Daniel Cain

Билна СТОЈИЋ, *Француска и балкански ратови*, Историјски институт, Београд, 2017, 498 p.

Il y a quelques années, le regretté historien et diplomate Dušan Bataković éditait un volume collectif d'études dédiées aux relations serbo-françaises (*La Serbie et la France. Une alliance atypique. Relations politiques, économiques et culturelles. 1870–1940*, Institut des Études Balkaniques, Belgrade, 2010, 613 p.) Le recueil rassemblait des contributions d'historiens de l'ex-Yougoslavie et de la France, qui révélaient les dimensions de cette alliance franco-serbe: «une alliance de fait, certes, occasionnelle et peu conclusive [...] qui n'a jamais été formalisée, dont les termes n'ont jamais été précisés, mais dont l'efficacité a résisté à toutes les épreuves». Biljana Stojić continue cette démarche historiographique, par ce volume qui analyse l'impact des guerres balkaniques sur la politique

extérieure de la France. Il s'agit, en fait, de sa thèse, soutenue en 2015 à l'Université de Belgrade. L'auteure essaie de surprendre, autant que faire se peut, les transformations subies par la diplomatie française pendant les guerres balkaniques. Au terme de ses recherches, Stojić aboutit à des conclusions qui s'éloignent sensiblement de l'interprétation que l'historiographie française formule au sujet de ces guerres ayant secoué l'Europe, entre 1912 et 1913. L'historienne de Belgrade se déclare consternée par l'obstination avec laquelle nombreux de ses collègues occidentaux essaient de rejeter l'idée de tout engagement international de la France dans les guerres balkaniques. Biljana Stojić refuse, à son tour, d'interpréter cet engagement comme le résultat d'une longue série d'événements malheureux, à cause desquels la France ait été attirée vers la Russie, son alliée. En effet, au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, la France percevait les Balkans comme un espace traditionnellement placé sous l'influence russe. Pourtant, son rôle pendant les guerres balkaniques n'est point négligeable, ni insignifiant. On ne doit absolument pas le réduire à des aspects strictement diplomatiques. À l'époque de la Grande Guerre, l'influence économique et culturelle de la France dans l'Europe du Sud-est représente une réalité indiscutable. La France jouit de la sympathie des jeunes États nationaux des Balkans. Située à une distance géographique sûre, elle n'est pas envisagée comme une menace contre leurs ambitions territoriales. En même temps, elle est suffisamment puissante pour que ces États cherchent son appui.

À l'automne 1912, Paris ne souhaitait pas une guerre dans les Balkans, et d'autant moins un conflit qui risquait de s'étendre dans toute l'Europe. Assurer la paix générale a représenté la tâche la plus importante de la diplomatie française dans l'intervalle 1912–1913. Pour le Quai d'Orsay, c'était la responsabilité primordiale des Grandes Puissances. Ainsi, la France a suggéré l'organisation d'une conférence de paix qui mette fin aux conflits de la Péninsule balkanique. Dans ce processus, elle a endossé le rôle d'arbitre et de médiateur. Elle conservera la même attitude durant la deuxième guerre balkanique. C'est lors de la conférence de paix de Bucarest que Paris commence à sortir de l'ombre de Saint-Pétersbourg et à encourager le rapprochement entre la Serbie, la Grèce et la Roumanie. L'influence française devient visible non pas seulement dans les cercles diplomatiques, mais aussi dans la sphère économique. À la fin de 1913 il n'y avait plus aucune capitale des Balkans qui n'ait recouru, d'une manière ou d'autre, aux emprunts aux banques françaises. Ce capital était indispensable pour remédier aux effets de la guerre et pour reconstruire l'économie de ces pays.

Les changements entraînés par les guerres balkaniques n'ont pas été visibles seulement au niveau du Quai d'Orsay, mais aussi dans la société française. Les victoires brillantes des alliés balkaniques contre la Turquie, à l'automne 1912 ont suscité l'enthousiasme de la presse française. Le fait que ces victoires aient été obtenues grâce à l'artillerie produite en France a renforcé d'autant plus leur importance parmi la population française. Biljana Stojić analyse également l'effet des observations des attachés militaires sur le front balkanique, au niveau de l'armée française. Pendant l'été de 1913, celle-ci passe par un processus de réforme. On introduit le service militaire obligatoire, et on alloue un budget plus considérable pour les besoins du Ministère de la Guerre. Ce sont des mesures qui vont bientôt prouver leur utilité, lors du déclenchement de la Grande Guerre. Ces aspects devraient inviter à un vif débat historiographique sur le rôle des Balkans dans l'histoire européenne.

*Daniel Cain*

David BREWER, *Greece, the Decade of War. Occupation, Resistance and Civil War*, London & New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2016. p. XVI & 320. Twenty-two monochrome illustrations and photographs. Four maps.

Of David Brewer's previous two books, *The Flame of Freedom* (John Murray, 2001) covered the Greek War of Independence, whereas *Greece, the Hidden Centuries* (I.B. Tauris, 2010) stepped back into the four hundred years of Ottoman rule. For the present volume, the author has moved forward in time to the twentieth century, from the Italian invasion of 1940 until the decisive defeat of the (Communist) Democratic Army by the American-backed royalist government forces in 1949. Aside from deeper questions of causation and context, there was significant chronological overlap

between the Axis occupation of Greece from 1941 to 1944 and the three bouts of civil war in 1943, 1944 and 1946 to 1949. So, Brewer is simply following convention by considering Greece during the Second World War together with the Greek Civil War.

This ‘decade of war’ brings in a broadly chronological narrative from which the first four chapters cover the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939 and the Italian and German invasions of Greece in 1940 and 1941, while chapters 5 to 18 take the reader from ‘Occupation’ in 1941 to ‘Liberation’ in 1944. A useful digression is included on the history of the Greek Communist Party (ch. 7) which charts the growing divisions within the Greek resistance and the Greek government in exile, so that the stage is set for the final ten chapters on the Civil War (ch. 19 to ch. 28). Despite the inevitable focus on war and politics, Brewer also gives due attention to society and economics with dedicated chapters on ‘Hyperinflation and Starvation’ (ch. 6) and conditions in both ‘Village and City’ (ch. 10) during the occupation, as well as ‘The Plight of the Greek Children’ (ch. 26) and the impact of ‘The Marshall Plan’ (ch. 27) during the Civil War. ‘The Destruction of the Jews’ (ch. 11) records the impact of the Holocaust on Greece. Each chapter is supported with between ten and twenty end notes together with brief bibliographical comments, which identify the main sources for each chapter. Further details for the most important works are given in a four-page ‘Select Bibliography’.

Brewer has undertaken no original archival research, but he acknowledges the ‘excellent sources of material’ provided by the library of King’s College, London and The London Library for private subscribers. For primary sources, he relies on the published collections; especially the multiple volume collections of C.N. Hadjipateras and M.S. Fafalios in both the Greek originals and abridged English translations. Numerous memoirs by soldiers, civilians and politicians are also regularly referenced and quoted, although most of these are British, rather than Greek. Brewer puts his training in the Classics to good use by referring to at least some sources that are only available in the Greek originals. Such a work of synthesis is always to be welcomed, if it provides an up-to-date review of existing scholarship and perhaps a fresh interpretation. However, there are several relevant and recent studies that Brewer makes no reference to: Haris Vlavianos, *Greece, 1941 – 49: From Resistance to Civil War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992); Mark Mazower’s award-winning *Salonica, City of Ghosts*. (Harper Collins, 2004); John O. Iatrides & Linda Wrigley (eds.), *Greece at the Crossroads: The Civil War and its Legacy* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism’s European Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dimitris Livanios, *The Macedonian Question: Britain and the Southern Balkans, 1939–1949* (Oxford University Press, 2008); and the German language study by Kaspar Dreidoppel, *Der griechische Dämon: Widerstand und Bürgerkrieg im besetzten Griechenland 1941–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009). The omission of the above-named works by Mazower and Iatrides are particularly puzzling, given Brewer’s attention to their other relevant books. Aside from monographs and essay collections, there are no references to any academic journal articles. Finally, there are no references to Photini Tomai’s collection of primary sources, either in the Greek original or the English translation: *Documentary History of Greece 1943–1951* (Athens: Pappisis, 2012). These omissions do not necessarily result in any serious deficiencies in the factual basis or interpretative validity of Brewer’s account, but they do not inspire confidence.

Over half of the chapter about resistance in Crete is dedicated to the operation to kidnap a German general, which Patrick Leigh Fermor led in his wartime capacity as a liaison officer for SOE (Special Operations Executive). Having focused on this British perspective, it is a shame that Brewer makes no reference to the posthumous publication by Roderick Bailey of Fermor’s own account of this operation together with his recently declassified reports for SOE in *Abducting a General* (John Murray, 2014) or the recent synthesis by Wes Davis in *The Ariadne Objective* (Bantam Press, 2014). More generally, it is surprising that his publishers did not alert Brewer to *SAS: The First Secret Wars* (I.B. Tauris, 2005) by Tim Jones, who argues that British Army Training Teams sent to Greece during the Civil War were really counterinsurgency fighting patrols of the Special Air Service, which continued to operate as an unofficial ‘shadow’ force between its official disbandment in October 1945 and its reformation in September 1947.

In the course of his narrative, Brewer does take the opportunity to consider two notable controversies. Regarding the ill-fated 1941 British intervention in Greece, Brewer concludes that it was a matter of ‘honour’ for Britain to keep promises made to Greece, even though the military forces



available were seriously inadequate. However, there is no mention of the fact that British credibility had already been tarnished by the breaking of similar security guarantees given to Czechoslovakia and Poland. Brewer's account of the battle for Crete assumes the 'ruthless efficiency' of the German high command, but does not acknowledge the role that rivalries within the Nazi regime played in the decision to invade Crete using paratroopers, since this was driven by Göring's desire to promote the status of the *Luftwaffe*. Brewer is more assured in his assessment of Loring Danforth and Riki Van Boeschoten's *Children of the Greek Civil War* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), where he delivers a robust refutation of their claim of moral equivalence between Queen Frederica's 'children's cities' and the Democratic Army's 'evacuation' of children to Communist-bloc countries).

Italian imperialistic expansion is portrayed as the result of a Fascist ideological desire to 're-establish the old Roman Empire' and satisfy Mussolini's 'heedless aggrandisement'. Yet Brewer acknowledges that 'Libya, Eritrea and Somalia were already Italian colonies'. Indeed, modern Italian imperialism predated the advent of Fascist regime by forty years. Italian designs on Greece would have been better understood, if Brewer had acknowledged wider and more recent imperialistic interests, especially in the Dodecanese Islands.

There is a certain amount of contextual confusion in the account of relations between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. First, Brewer confuses the initial Rome-Berlin 'Axis' (p. 5) – which was actually established in October 1936 – with the more formal and binding alliance made in the May 1939 'Pact of Steel' (p. 7). Second, Brewer states that the Italians decided to annex Albania as 'compensation' for acquiescing to the German *Anschluss* with Austria in March 1938 (p. 4), but he forgets the more immediate influence of the March 1939 German occupation of Bohemia, which makes more sense of the 'last minute' Italian preparations (p. 5.f). Most surprisingly, Brewer skips straight from the May 1939 'Pact of Steel' to Italy's declaration of war against Britain and France on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1940 with no mention of the September 1939 German invasion of Poland and the resultant declaration of war against Germany by Britain and France. So, there is no sense of the hesitancy hampering Britain and France during the 'phoney war' period from September 1939 to June 1940.

The kind of perspective adopted by Brewer could be called Anglo-centric. However, it is to be hoped that he succeeds in introducing a wider readership to his chosen subject. The 'Select Bibliography', supplemented by the additional studies mentioned in this review, should provide an adequate basis on which readers new to the subject can pursue further research.

*Daniel J. Bamford*

Petar PETROV, Ivanka PETROVA (sust.), *Agrokulturni transformatsii v uslovijata na evropeizatsija i globalizatsija*, IK Gutenberg, Sofija, 2018, 377 p.

After 1990, once the European bloc of socialist countries collapsed, a new, complicated and multifaceted field of research took shape, based on qualitative and field studies, within social sciences, particularly within the realm of social and cultural anthropology and related domains. The new field was called post-socialist studies. The rapid changes in the former socialist countries as well as the collective emotion triggered by the sudden relaxation after almost five decades of ideological frozenness led to a swift built up of literature in the new field. However, the abovementioned surge waned once the first decade of post-socialist era passed, and post-socialist studies entered a shadow cone and were most likely consigned to the social sciences history and bibliography. The social research agenda of the former socialist countries remained somehow free from the programmatic and emotional constraints of the 1990s. This was also helped by the accession to the European Union of the former south-east European countries in the 2000s, a move that seemed to have ended a period filled with uncertainties and slippages. However, the post-accession experience denied such conclusion as the accession to the European Union revealed resistances and inadequacies, which created new themes and subjects for social research. For a number of reasons, placing them in the field of academic research cannot be compared to the period of post-socialist studies. The dynamics of these new projects are more fragmented, their results are somehow "insular" and harder to gauge

within the globalized academe. But the direction of research is fertile and hybridized either with methods belonging to the more classic realm of social history, which would place the socialist era within a *longue durée*, or with the social studies of post-colonialism, can provide a range of themes comparable to the post-socialist studies.

I have written this long introduction in order to have a better understanding of the challenge emphasized in the foreword written by Petar Petrov, one of the volume's editors, an ethnologist with the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: "Have you seen the photographs on the covers? Even if you are not aware of their economic and political backdrop, they give rise to various memories and sensations. But you would never think you are actually looking at the local Europe, the Bulgarian model of Europeanization, that is, the assimilation of the European Union's rules and policies" (p. 7) Indeed, it is hard to realize that the pictures showing abandoned gardens and pastures in the Bulgarian countryside have anything to do with EU agricultural policies. This topic is treated, as a matter of fact, in the chapters of this volume. The three sections entitled *The agricultural policies of the European Union – challenges and temptations* (p. 19–148), *Trends, strategies and practices of producers* (p. 149–274) and *Projections, development projects and paths* (p. 275–347), bring together 13 chapters written based on ethnology field research carried out after 2010 in different parts of northern and southern Bulgaria (Montana, Gabrovo, Smolijan, Haskovo). The common hypothesis of all this research is, as Petar Petrov shows in the foreword, that the nowadays landscapes of the Bulgarian rural world stem from two complementary trends. On the one hand, from top to bottom, there is the bureaucratic agricultural and rural legislation of the European Union which is opposed, on the other hand, from bottom to top, to the practices based on the local culture through which the ordinary people instrumentalize the EU legislation (p. 12). Between these landmarks stand the intermediary levels of political clientele networks (interested to extract to the maximum possible level EU subsidies), of the ecological NGOs whose seemingly generous programs oriented towards organic food-type industries or biodiversity preservation often collide with the traditional values of local culture, and, last but not least, with those of the informal socializing networks traditional in the Bulgarian rural society. In Petar Petrov's opinion, this justifies the name of "agrocultural" transformations of the Bulgarian rural landscape instead of the bureaucratic phrase of agrarian transformations.

In the first chapter of the volume, short but very clear, just like the foreword, Petar Petrov treats a "damaging trend" expressed by one of the field workers in the chapter's title: *I don't need Europe here because it will close down the dairy and where will the cheese be manufactured?* The field research was carried out in the Kopilovtsi village, Montana, that was named "eurovillage" / *evroselo* (p. 22) by one of its former mayors due to the benefits from the European funding of the local development projects. The relatively brutal closing in 2004–2006 of all the dairies around the village because of EU accession-related requirements gave rise to Euroscepticism, the more so as the area being pre-mountainous, sheep raising and the processing of derived products was a tradition being kept even in the socialist period. The following chapter of the volume, *About sheep and people. The life of narratives* (p. 33–93) is longer but no less provocative. On the basis of recent field research in the mid-2010s, Nacho Dimitrov looks at the EU's policies of subsidizing local animal breed husbandry in Bulgaria. Apart from the strictly bureaucratic steps taken for the implementation of these policies, based on the ethnographic field research performed in the above mentioned period in several livestock farms in northern and southern Bulgaria, Dimitrov brings to the fore the immediate, local and cultural backdrop of this process. Starting from the generous idea of preserving the local livestock breeds, the author illustrates the relative failure of these policies. The influence of the interest groups in the Bulgarian animal husbandry and, more importantly, the way the domestic animal breeds to be preserved are categorized and identified, are among the most important causes of such failure (Dimitrov makes use of John Austin's speech acts theory). By deconstructing the discourse, Dimitrov shows that many domestic animal breeds seen as purely Bulgarian or at least specific to the country, had been introduced in the Bulgarian livestock in the socialist period or during the interwar years. The last chapter of the first section, *The change of the agricultural landscape (case study: the Trjavna municipality)*, p. 94–146, is authored by the abovementioned ethnologist Petar

Petrov and the botanists Nikolai Velev and Kiril Vasilev. The three authors, working in an interdisciplinary team, looked into the landscape change of the Trjavna region, situated in the central area of the Balkan Mountains' southern slopes (Stara Planina) in the past 60 years (p. 106). The chapter has a theoretical part centered around the landscape and landscape biography concepts, in which multiple landscape-related aspects are detailed and analyzed. It concludes that, beyond the circumstances of more or less extended timeframes, there exists a particular identity of the landscape. The analysis of the landscape in Trjavna (p. 107–142) is a relevant illustration of this hypothesis.

The first chapter of the second section, entitled *Institutional framework and regulation mechanisms in the bread industry. Producers' reactions* (p. 149–168) was authored by Ivanka Petrova, the other volume's editor. Based on qualitative field research in five family bakeries in the south of the country (Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and Haskovo), the chapter treats the mechanisms of adaptation and recovery of traditional manufacturing bakeries competing with large retail chains selling food products. Three ways of legitimizing these small traditional producers are described, i.e. the "traditional" production, the informal and personal relation with most of the clients and the creation of small scale niches (p. 156–158). Furthermore, the chapter discusses how these producers are coping with the legislative measures imposed by both Bulgaria and the EU (the latter related to food safety and production process hygiene). The next chapter, *From household consumption to market presence: local methods and practices in the dairy industry* (p. 169–198), was written by Ivaylo Markov who carried out ethnographic field studies in several villages situated in the Trun – Dimitrovgrad area near the Serbian border. Lacking a sophisticated theoretical framework, the author concluded the chapter with a comparison of the milk production on both sides of the border (p. 192–196). Also about traditional dairy is the following chapter entitled *Gastronomic strategies of traditional dairy producers*, p. 199–223, by Vihra Barova. The field data were collected by the author in the course of an ethnographic research carried out between 2014 and 2017 in two small towns, Smoljan and Ugarchin and in some villages near these towns, in the Rhodope Mountains. The chapter opens with a short but revealing theoretical introduction centered around the concepts of gastropolitics (Arjun Appadurai) and food policy. It brings the discussion on the impact of EU policy into the broader context of food industry globalization. The author has a prudent and nuanced approach regarding the market behavior of the Bulgarian dairy firms and makes a typology of them, from "modern" to "traditional" (p. 201–202). After looking through the lenses of advertisement strategies (the production of new dairy products and their advertising), subsidy policies and obtaining EU funding as well as of domestic competition, the author concludes that there are sensible differences between the strategies of this kind of producers even in a small area, such as that where research was conducted (p. 220–222). Ivanka Petrova, the second editor of the volume, wrote the chapter entitled "*Back to grandma's bread.*" *The strategies used by small-sized Bulgarian entrepreneurs in interpreting and using tradition* (p. 224–249). The article uses the field data already mentioned in the previous chapter, which was also authored by Ivanka Petrova. However, the interpreting framework is different now in that it discusses the presence of the small-sized bread producers at local crafts fairs, the emphasis being placed on the April 2015 fair in Plovdiv. First Petrova describes the way in which participants make their appearance in such fairs, the fact that producers are dressed up in traditional peasant clothing, and traditional bakeries are reconstituted on site and used to demonstrate how a wide variety of breads is being prepared. Then she looks at the narrative strategies through which the producers legitimate themselves from the prewar and interwar period bakery tradition in Bulgaria, whose history is presented succinctly (p. 227–231). Thus the idea that emerges is there is a "cultural production" going hand in hand with the purely material bakery production, and such cultural production is linked to emotional connections and identification, the mythological and holy nature of bread making and, of course, its presentation as a pure and authentic tradition. The chapter ends with the subject matter being placed in the conceptual and bibliographic framework of "tradition marketization." In the last chapter of the section, called *Economic, social and cultural conditions of sesame paste production* (p. 250–271), Dimitar Vasilev touches upon the revival of sesame production in the Haskovo region. Due to the good weather conditions in the said region, the author points out that sesame has been cultivated since the 16th

century (p. 251–254). But nowadays, the production of sesame and its derivatives is being boosted by the development of the domestic organic food market as well as by the subsidies received once the crop had been earmarked on the EU's subsidies' list for local products (p. 255–256). The field research the author performed in several of the region's towns and villages reveals that sesame producing farms combine two sets of conditions to obtain a succes strategy on the domestic market.

The last section of the volume presents the social lives of the EU local development projects based on tradition revival, biodiversity and organic food. In the first chapter, *Revival of the rural regions. The example of "The new Thracian gold" project* (p. 275–304), Atanaska Stancheva describes a sustainable development project performed in the period 2009–2014 in several villages and towns in the eastern Rhodopes region. The aim was to catalyze rural tourism with the help of traditional product makers, the setting up of information networks, the advertising of local products. A related subject is being studied by Vihra Barova in the next chapter, *The effects of globalization of the alternative tourism on local practices and production* (p. 304–318). The last chapter of the volume refers to the study carried out by a team of five biologists from the academic and non-governmental environment on the EU subsidies spent in the early 2010s on the development of three sheep breeds traditional in the western Balkans. The issues occurred as a result of the protected "Natura 2000" sites existing in the native area of these breeds are being presented.

As mentioned at the beginning of this review and as results from the summary of the chapters, this volume brings through the discussed topics a fresh air in the social research carried out in the former socialist countries, now EU member states, through a grassroots approach of the hinderances faced by the EU agricultural development policies. The interdisciplinary nature of the perspectives is equally significant. Let us not forget that the joint cooperation between ethnologists and biologists and environmental specialists is rather rare not only in Bulgaria, but in many former socialist countries.

*Stelu Șerban*

*Südosteuropa Mitteilungen, Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 2017–2018*

Having already reached 58 years of age, the journal of the Society of South-Eastern Europe, situated at Munich, is developing one of the richest investigations and political analyses on this region. Such investigations concern political, social and cultural evolutions, they study the establishing or changes of regime, which means that, during the late thirty years, they adequately cover the radical transformations known after the fall of Communism by the countries long submitted to that ideology. Therefore, it includes research on their return to institutional systems of European expression. Among the connected issues are the degree of moral deterioration, as an effect of the former conditions of life, and nonetheless the rising of critical actions against organized crime and corruption, as well as the demand of surveillance on the new political elites. The interest of Südost-Europa Gesellschaft manages to take into account the situation in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Kosovo, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Turkey, Hungary and Cyprus.

Being coordinated by Dr Hansjörg Brey and with the help of an efficient group of specialists, the journal is functioning as an information bulletin which has acquired the trust and the collaboration of many political analysts and sociologists who express their opinions and compare their documented contributions on the present awakening of all these societies while they are entering the European Union family. This process is hindered by a political and moral inertia all over this geographical area. The six annual issues of the SOG are surveying a multitude of examples from this emerging world. The basic information (quantitative or other) is substantially produced for a thorough examination. The size and the complexity of this vast material have determined its distribution according to themes or particular factors.

Among the articles already published, several titles catch our attention. For instance, *Main Focus: Media and Politics*, or *The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project in the Western Balkans*. From *Der Westbalkan und die Eu-Erweiterung: Fiction und Wirklichkeit*, the reader finds *Die Parlaments und Präsidentschaftswahlen in der Türkei im Juni 2018*, and also *Griechenland als „Orient im Okzident“ - zum ideengeschichtlichen Hintergrund eines Stereotypus*, in similar vein is written *Nachrichten aus Rumänien: Boomende Wirtschaft-Rechtsstaatlichkeit in Gefahr?* About Bulgaria in 2018 a persistent analysis contains arguments as *The Bulgarian Society: Chances and Barriers after Ten Years of EU Membership*, or *Bulgaria and Europe in the Focus of Cross-border Organized Crime and Terrorism. Common Responses to Common Challenges*. The problem of Moslems in South-Eastern Europe occurs in *A Look at the Muslim Community in Bulgaria. Integration and Risks*. Quite a number of other articles in 2017–2018 concern the presence of Moslems in Bulgaria, the so-called independence of Kosovo or an external influence on the Western Balkans (*Russische Medienmacht und Revisionismus in Serbien*).

All along these years, the journal is offering the image of the historical change in the Balkan World. Published in German or English, the views from inside are confronted with the interpretations proposed from elsewhere, under the names of various authors. Südosteuropa Mitteilungen brings an essential contribution to increasing the knowledge of our region at a time of troubles and crises.

*Elena Siupiur*

*Museikon. A Journal of Religious Art and Culture/ Revue d'art et de culture religieuse*, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers, 1/2017, 2/2018.

The first two issues of *Museikon*, released in 2017 and 2018, have brought to the attention of the specialists and the large public alike, a new academic journal centred on the study of religious art and culture of the Christian world from the Middle-Ages to early-modern times. With an impeccable layout and richly illustrated text, the journal has all the qualities to become one of the landmarks in the field of religious art studies.

This new editorial project of the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia, in collaboration with the Poitiers Centre of Higher Studies of Medieval Civilization, is connected to another important cultural event, namely the 2017 opening of the Icon Museum (*Museikon*) in Alba Iulia, which gathers two important collections of icons and old books, formerly distributed between the National Museum of the Union and the Orthodox Archbishopric of Alba Iulia. The history of the Transylvanian icon, which can be followed from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, emerges as the focal point of the permanent exhibition, which also brings the visitor in front of a significant old book collection, covering nearly the same time span. This proximity of the visual and literary heritage resulted in a museum concept aiming to explore the common cultural climate in which both icons and books originated and the initial liturgical context in which many of the objects used to perform a function.

The *Museikon* journal has taken over much of the Museum's underpinning principles but grew as an independent platform where scholars are invited to publish their contributions on various art historical and literary aspects of the religious heritage on the Romanian territory and beyond. No firm chronological limits have been drawn. Inquiries of the visual heritage from the perspective of ethnology or anthropology are welcomed by editors since the journal promotes the investigation of material traces of religious behaviour beyond the strict art historical perspective. The first two issues of *Museikon* reflect the main directions announced in its first editorial. The great majority of the studies explore the interaction between text and image in medieval and pre-modern religious culture, the artistic activity at the crossroads of Latin, Slavonic and Byzantine cultural spheres, as well as the artistic exchanges, resulted from confessional cohabitation in different regions of the Balkans and beyond.

The “study” section of the first issue begins with a textual exegesis highlighting the occurrence of the formula “[βασιλείαν] τῶν οὐρανῶν”, instead of the common one, that is “τοῦ Θεοῦ”, in some

Greek translations of the Gospel of St. John (Codex Sinaiticus) and in Patristic literature ( Dan Batovici, “The τῶν οὐρανῶν Variant Reading in John 3:5”). The symbolism behind an inscription’s arrangement on a late twelfth or early thirteenth-century silver cross-reliquary in Brageac, France, is evidenced by Estelle Ingrand-Varenne in “Parcelles de mots et de lieux saints. La croix reliquaire de Brageac”. Departing from the sixteenth century testimony of a Moldavian inscription, Vlad Bedros addresses the topic of the iconography of the Middle-Byzantine sanctuary apse and discusses the theological connections between the Incarnation and the Eucharist in “La Mère de Dieu, allégorie de la nourriture spirituelle: À propos d’une inscription de l’église Saint-Georges de Hârlău”. Mirosław P. Kruk’s inquiry on the hymnographic and homiletic sources of the Byzantine iconography of the Mother of God surrounded by prophets is exposed in “The Ἀνώθεν οἱ προφῆται in Dionysius’s Hermeneia, a source for the iconography of the Mother of God surrounded by prophets?”. The study of Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu and Anna Adashinskaya (“New Information on the Dating of the Murals of St. Nicholas Church in Ribiţa. A Hypothesis”) proposes a re-dating of the murals from St. Nicholas church in Ribiţa on the basis of new epigraphic examinations. The reinterpretation of the epigraphic material preserved in the church also sheds light on the peculiarities of the foundation act in fourteenth and fifteenth century Transylvania. A commented repertory of the Greek inscriptions in the church of the Saviour from Brestovo, in Ukraine – a commission of the metropolitan Petru Movilă – is published for the first time by Vera Tschentsova (“Pour un corpus des inscriptions grecques de l’église Saint-Sauveur de Berestovo”). Emanuela Cernea’s article (André Lecomte du Noüy and the frescoes of the Curtea de Argeş Monastery”) brings new information on the nineteenth-century restoration-project for Neagoe Basarab’s main commission in Curtea de Argeş and argues for the possible involvement of Cretan painters in the execution of its original paintings. The issue of the movable heritage of eighteenth and nineteenth century churches from Wallachia and Transylvania is addressed in two articles : Ioan O. Abrudan’s text documenting the transformations undergone by a late eighteenth-century iconostasis from the Romanian Orthodox milieu in Transylvania over the last two centuries (“Reconstructing the Image of the Old Altar Screen of the Orthodox Church in ‘Maierii Sibiului’”), and the contribution of sister Atanasia Văetişi to the study of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Wallachian iconostases and their multiple stylistic affiliations (“Preliminaries to a history of Bucharest iconostases of 18th and 19th centuries”). Laura Jiga Iliescu’s article “La poudre aux yeux des saints. Contributions ethnologiques au dossier des peintures murales endommagées en Roumanie” corroborates the data from Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu’s 1885 survey with field research and the evidence of folkloric literature to investigate a magical popular ritual affecting the integrity of the mural paintings of Orthodox churches at the end of the nineteenth century.

The journal’s second number also touches on a large variety of subjects. It opens with Francesca Tasca’s investigation of Medieval Latin accounts on the well of the falling star in Bethlehem (F. Tasca, “Il pozzo della stella in Betlemme. Sulle tracce di un immaginario mediolatino”), and follows with a typological analysis of the so-called “barmy” necklaces with assembled medallions – a product of Kievien Rus’ goldsmith workshops (Natalia Rudika, “Les colliers de type ‘barmy’ et l’art des orfèvres de la Rus’ kiévienne”). New hypotheses regarding the Transylvanian artistic environment of the fourteenth century emerge from Vladimir Agrigoroaiei’s text, “Les peintures de Strei et l’Union des deux Églises”, that puts under close examination the iconographic program of the church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Strei. Epistolary evidence and legal documents from the Romanian National Archives in Sibiu and Braşov are considered by Anita Paolicchi (“Celestin e Johannis: alcune tracce documentarie su due orafi transilvani al servizio di Neagoe Basarab nel primo Cinquecento) who offers new insight into the activity of the goldsmith-gilt in sixteenth-century Sibiu, and discusses the issue of a large commission of Wallachian prince Neagoe Basarab to Saxon craftsmen, from the period before the consecration of Curtea de Argeş cathedral. The sixteenth-century Moldavian church of St. George in Hârlău is again subjected to analysis in Elisabeta Negrău’s study, “The Marian Inscription in the Altar of the St. George church in Hârlău Revisited: the early 16th Century Liturgical Context”, which brings new information concerning the liturgical sources of the inscription in the church’s altar apse. A group of Wallachian seventeenth and eighteenth-century liturgical silverware and funerary objects of German, Transylvanian Saxon and Venetian origin, linked to the name of boyar Şerban II Cantacuzino, is the main focus of Carmen Tănăsioiu’s article,

“The Liturgical Silverware Donated by Boyar Șerban Cantacuzino to his main Monastic Foundations”. Archim. Policarp Chițulescu (“État de l’art des livres et objets sacrés ayant appartenu à saint Anthime d’Ivir”) presents new discoveries that complement the list of the cult objects and books once belonging to Anthim the Iberian, and questions the origin of other items, assigned to the great hierarch. The volume ends with the presentation of the architectural and artistic heritage of a corpus of late eighteenth-century Greek-Catholic stone churches in Maramureș (Terdik Szilveszter, “Some Aspects of the History of the 18th-Century Greek-Catholic Stone Churches in the Area around Baia Mare (Nagybánya)”).

The series of studies is followed, according to the journal’s structure, by a section dedicated to heritage-related issues: conservation-restoration works, brief papers, exhibition presentations, as well as interviews and reports on new electronic databases and physical archives. A complete file of the architectural plans of St. Mary’s Church in Mălâncrav due to Irina Baldescu can be found, for example, in the “heritage” section of the 2017 issue. An interesting dialogue with Carolina Sarade, a specialist in the technique of Romanesque paintings at the laboratory of the Centre d’Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale Poitiers reiterates in the 2018 issue the interview column initiated in the previous number of the journal, through a dialogue with contemporary painter Constantin Cioc. The closing section of *Museikon* (“Echos”) is dedicated to book reviews and the dissemination of information on scientific conferences, exhibitions, and the various cultural events hosted by the Icon Museum (*Museikon*) in Alba Iulia.

The reader would find thus in the first two issues of *Museikon* a collection of articles dealing with various aspects of Christian art and culture from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which follow the chronological order corresponding to the subjects discussed. At the same time, a coherent image of the centuries-long artistic tradition of the Romanian territories emerges from the journal’s first numbers. Already listed in academic research databases and available in specialized libraries, *Museikon* arose the attention of the scientific community, which is looking forward with great interest to the publishing of its third issue.

*Oana Iacubovschi*





MARIUS SALA  
(1932–2018)

La linguistique roumaine a perdu une de ses personnalités illustres. Marius Sala fait partie d'une génération singulière qui doit sa formation aux grands professeurs Al. Rosetti et Iorgu Iordan. Membre de l'Académie Roumaine, dont il a été vice-président (entre 2006 et 2014), et directeur de l'Institut de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti » (1994–2017), Marius Sala a eu une activité complexe en tant que romaniste intéressé à l'histoire des langues et aux contacts des idiomes. Ses travaux concernent des thèmes qui éveillent le plus haut intérêt. Des recherches sur la langue roumaine en restent dans la bibliographie essentielle : *Contribuții la fonetica istorică a limbii române*, Bucarest, 1970 (version élargie en français, *Contributions à la phonétique historique du roumain*, Paris, 1976), *De la latină la română*, Bucarest, 1998 (*Du latin au roumain*, Bucarest-Paris, 1999 ; des traductions aussi en espagnol, en italien, en anglais), *Introducere în etimologia limbii române*, Bucarest, 1999.

Ses contributions sur le judéo-espagnol sont fondamentales, en ouvrant une direction d'étude (*Estudios sobre el judeo-español de Bucarest*, Ciudad de México, 1970, *Phonétique et phonologie du l'judéo-espagnol de Bucarest*, Haga, 1971, *Le judéo-espagnol*, Haga, 1976) ; de même, les résultats des recherches sur l'espagnol de l'Amérique (*El léxico indígena del español de América. Apreciaciones sobre su vitalidad*, Mexic 1977, *El Español de América. I. Léxico*, Bogotá, 1982). Il faut y ajouter la synthèse *L'unité des langues romanes*, București, 1996 et le livre de linguistique générale devenu classique *El problema de las lenguas en contacto*, Mexic, 1988 qui a connu plusieurs éditions et variantes en diverses langues.

Marius Sala a collaboré aux deux grands travaux sur l'histoire du roumain parus sous l'égide de l'Académie Roumaine en 1969 et en 2018. Il a été le secrétaire de rédaction de la première variante du *Traité de l'histoire du roumain*, en assurant aussi la révision du livre. Le premier volume du nouveau *Traité* élaboré de nos jours sous sa coordination peut être considéré son dernier ouvrage. Marius Sala a réfléchi constamment sur les caractéristiques du latin développé dans le Sud-est européen, sur les traits du latin danubien, sur les phénomènes du roumain qu'on peut attribuer à l'évolution du fonds latin sous l'influence de l'environnement balkanique. Avec Ion Coteanu, il a eu l'idée d'une recherche comparative sur le fonds latin conservé dans toutes les langues du Sud-est européen, travail qui n'a pas été, malheureusement, mené jusqu'au bout par le collectif qu'il avait formé.

Il a réussi à stimuler l'activité lexicographique en menant à bon fin le Dictionnaire trésor du roumain. Le Dictionnaire étymologique, dont les lettres A-C sont issues, a commencé en suivant sa conception. Afin de préparer le dictionnaire étymologique, Marius Sala a conçu et coordonné la série *Etymologica*, qui est devenue une véritable bibliothèque.

Il ne faut pas oublier l'activité d'organisateur de la série des conférences de l'Académie Roumaine sur « Le roumain et ses relations avec l'histoire et la culture des Roumains » (commencée en 1995), initiative que les jeunes collègues de l'Institut de Linguistique essaient de continuer.

Savant et organisateur, Marius Sala a réuni de rares capacités à une force de travail peu commune. Ses œuvres enrichissent la science roumaine, la romanistique en général et sont indispensables pour la connaissance de l'histoire linguistique du Sud-est européen.

*Cătălina Vătășescu*

VASILKA TĀPKOVA-ZAIMOVA  
(1924–2018)

Une grande dame dont la pensée a pénétré le Sud-Est à travers ses structures fondamentales : culture politique, institutionnelle, chrétienne de Byzance, avec leur expansion bienfaitrice dans le monde slave voisin, États et orthodoxie slaves ayant fourni une base des mythologies politiques slaves qui s'allaient s'étendre vers le Nord, l'Est et l'Ouest. Elle s'est consacrée à l'exégèse de l'Orthodoxie byzantine, à l'histoire de l'Église, en s'arrêtant aux icônes de saints et de savants, ainsi qu'aux grands centres de culture orthodoxe du Sud-Est européen qui ont érigé la culture écrite des siècles médiévaux, en étudiant les interférences de toutes ces dimensions politiques et religieuses au long de huit cents ans au bout desquels elles sont devenues des constructions mythiques quand les Balkans ont été envahis par l'Empire ottoman, afin de sauver son essence européenne pendant cinq autres siècles jusqu'aux jours de la Renaissance du dix-neuvième. Cette grande dame de l'esprit humaniste, après nous avoir offert un univers de pensée, de savoir et de dignité, s'en va reposer à la fin d'un heureux travail qui a duré sept décennies de recherche et d'enseignement.

Figure de taille européenne, M<sup>me</sup> Zaïmova a créé par son œuvre scientifique une école d'investigation du monde médiéval chrétien sud-est européen, laquelle continue à l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences et dans les départements universitaires de Bulgarie, tout en étant également adoptée dans plusieurs centres européens d'études byzantines et de culture orthodoxe. M<sup>me</sup> Zaïmova a pris part à de nombreux congrès et colloques, où elle nouait des relations, en y acquérant un unanime respect. Elle a aussi contribué à la réalisation de projets communs de recherche en Roumanie, en Serbie, en France, en Italie, en Russie.

La reconnaissance européenne lui était depuis longtemps gagnée. En tant que membre du Comité international de l'AIÉSEE et, plus tard, vice-présidente de ce comité, M<sup>me</sup> Zaïmova avait reçu le diplôme d'excellence de l'Académie Roumaine, étant aussi membre honorifique de notre Institut, membre du Comité de rédaction de notre Revue, docteur *honoris causa* de l'Université de Bucarest, membre de la Commission d'histoire des études slaves auprès du Comité international des slavistes, directrice de la Commission « Byzance et les Slaves » auprès de l'Association internationale des études byzantines et, depuis 1990, elle dirigeait la Section d'histoire de l'Union des scientifiques de Bulgarie. Comme membre de la Commission d'édition des sources médiévales à l'Institut d'études du Moyen Âge de Rome, elle était décorée des Palmes Académiques de l'Université « La Sapienza » de Rome. On lui avait remis également des ordres et des titres de la Société d'études macédoniennes, la médaille d'honneur « Cyrille et Méthode » de

l'État grec, l'ordre d'honneur « Marin Drinov » à ruban bleu, accordé par l'Académie Bulgare.

Ses nombreuses études, publiées dans l'Histoire du monde à l'UNESCO, dans ses propres volumes d'auteur, ainsi que dans les revues les plus prestigieuses (*Études Balkaniques*, *Bulgarian Historical Review*, *Paleobulgarica*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* et notre propre Revue) forment un trésor scientifique susceptible de poursuivre son action pour laquelle le Sud-Est européen lui doit une profonde reconnaissance.

Grand merci, Madame !

*Elena Siupiur*

ERIC P. HAMP  
(1920–2019)

Spécialiste éminent de la linguistique indo-européenne, professeur à l'Université de Chicago entre 1950 et 1991, Eric Hamp est un des grands savants intéressés par les langues du Sud-est européen. Entre 1965 et 1991 il a été directeur du « Centre des Études Balkaniques et Slaves » de l'Université de Chicago. Il a été membre du Comité Américain de l'Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-est européen, depuis 1968, et son président entre 1979 et 1985. Il a fait partie des associations américaines d'études albanaises, d'études bulgares, d'études slovènes, d'études roumaines où il a eu des responsabilités de direction.

Hamp a étudié dans centaines d'articles le noyau indo-européen de l'albanais et a fait des comparaisons avec les éléments du substrat du roumain. Plusieurs étymologies autochtones qu'il a proposées dans le cas du roumain et quelques discussions phonétiques ont été publiées dans des dizaines d'articles, entre 1959 et 1991, dans les revues roumaines « Cercetări de lingvistică », « Studii și cercetări de lingvistică », « Studii clasice », « Revue roumaine de linguistique ». Ses contributions concernant la place de l'illyrien et de l'albanais parmi les langues indo-européennes, la place de la formation de l'albanais, l'histoire de l'albanais ancien, la sémantique de quelques termes du latin oriental conservés en roumain et albanais, la chronologie des couches lexicales anciennes du roumain et la chronologie des éléments du substrat du roumain sont bien connues aux savants roumains qui les ont mis à profit. Il a visité en 1975 l'Université de Bucarest et a eu des rencontres avec les professeurs et les jeunes chercheurs.

Présent aux congrès organisés à Bucarest (par exemple au II<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Thracologie de Bucarest en 1976, au VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Sud-est Européennes de Bucarest, les 24–28 août 1999, où il a présidé la section « Convergences et divergences dans les langues et les littératures sud-est européennes »), Eric Hamp démontrait une chaleureuse amitié envers ses collègues roumains et une généreuse attitude envers les jeunes chercheurs en quête de leur chemin.

*Cătălina Vătășescu*



VIE SCIENTIFIQUE  
DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES  
2018

I. PROGRAMMES DE RECHERCHE

- 1) Mărturii românești peste hotare (Témoignages roumains à l'étranger)
- 2) Etnicitate și practici socio-economice în Balcani (Ethnicité et pratiques socio-économiques dans les Balkans)
- 3) Cultură tradițională, istorie socială și istoria limbilor în Sud-Estul Europei (Culture traditionnelle, histoire sociale et histoire des langues du Sud-Est de l'Europe)
- 4) Bibliografia critică a *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* și a *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* (Bibliographie critique de la *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* et de la *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*).
- 5) Reintegrare europeană și modernizare în Sud-Estul Europei (secolele XVI–XX) (Réintégration européenne et modernisation dans le Sud-Est européen, XVIe–XXe siècles)
- 6) Politică și cultură în Europa de Sud-Est (secolele XIX–XX) (Politique et culture dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, XIX<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)
- 7) Surse istorice, memorie și imaginar (cultural, politic, identitar) (Sources historiques, mémoire et imaginaire culture, politique et identitaire)
- 8) Instituții, religie și colonizare în Antichitatea greacă (Institutions, religion et colonisation dans l'Antiquité grecque)
- 9) Călători din Orient în Țările române și Rusia. Paul din Alep (Les voyageurs orientaux dans les Pays Roumains et la Russie.)
- 10) Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes

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- Daniel Cain, *Parlamentul Marghiloman*, Colloque *Pacea de la București (24 aprilie/7 mai 1918) și reintrarea României în război (28 octombrie/10 noiembrie 1918)*, Bucarest, 7 juin 2018.
- Daniel Cain, *A no man’s land: Dobruja (1918–1919)*, Colloque international *Romania 100: Looking Forward through the Past*, Society for Romanian Studies, University of Economics Studies, Bucharest, 26–29 juin 2018.
- Daniel Cain, *Din culisele reintrării României în Marele Război*, Colloque *Bucovina, Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana, Sătmarul și Maramureșul – 100 de ani de la unirea cu România*, Université de Police „Al. I. Cuza”, Bucarest, 16 nov. 2018.
- Daniel Cain, *Ethnicity and Citizenship during the Great War: The Romanian Case*, Colloque *1918 and the Remaking of Central-Eastern Europe*, Faculté d’Histoire, Université de Bucarest, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Bucarest, 22 nov. 2018.
- Daniel Cain, *Prizonierii de război români din Bulgaria*, Colloque *Războiul de fiecare zi. Viața cotidiană în tranșee și în spatele frontului în primul război mondial (1914–1919)*, Institut d’Histoire „Nicolae Iorga”, Bucarest, nov. 2018.
- Cristina Codarcea, *La culture matérielle et stratégie identitaire dans les communautés catholiques des Balkans*, Communication, Tours, 11 juin 2018.
- Cristina Codarcea, *Biserica catolică și Imperiul otoman în secolul al XVII–lea. Imperativele unei reconstrucții identitare, între control și compromis*, Congrès des Historiens Roumains, Iași, 29 août – 1 sept. 2018.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Les Roumains et les débuts de l’imprimerie arabe pour les chrétiens du Levant*, Conférence à l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, 20 mars 2018.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Teaching about the Arab Christian Civilization: its Relevance and its Means in Contemporary Academic Programs*, Colloque international *The 22<sup>nd</sup> Agathangel Krymskyi Oriental Studies Readings*, Institut d’Études Orientales „A. Yu. Krymskyi” de l’Académie Nationale de Sciences, Kiev, 22–23 juin 2018.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Christian Arabic Printing in Aleppo in 1706–1711: an Audacious Project Tolerated by the Ottoman Authorities?*, au *World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies – Christians in the Middle East: power and agency: Middle Eastern Christians beyond borders*, Sevilla, 16–23 juillet 2018.

- Ioana Feodorov, *Prezentarea proiectului comun româno-rus privitor la ediția și traducerea integrală din limba arabă a Jurnalului de călătorie al lui Paul din Alep* (Présentation du projet roumain-russe sur l'édition de la traduction intégrale en arabe du Journal de voyage de Paul d'Alep), Table ronde *Etudes de l'Orient Chrétien: ressuscitation des traditions interrompues*, Sankt-Petersburg, 26–28 nov. 2018.
- Petre Guran, *Originea și funcția unui concept istoriografic: „simfonia bizantină”*, Conférence, Bucarest, 31 janvier 2018.
- Petre Guran, *Ideea ortodoxă în expresia istorică a Țărilor române (secolele XIV–XIX)*, Colloque *Local și Universal în Ortodoxia românească. Credință – Unitate – Identitate*, Iași, 9–11 mai 2018.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Motiv aždaje u žitijima svetih ratnika: od hagiografije do balkanskog folklor*, communication au Congrès International des Slavistes, Belgrad, 20–27 août 2018.
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Terminologia culorii albastru în limbile slave*, Colloque International de Linguistique, Atelier *Khromata – Onomata. Incursiuni contextuale în terminologia cromatice*, Institut de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti », Bucarest, 18–19 mai 2018.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Le recours à la Bible comme vecteur de modernité dans les Pays Roumains au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Simion Marcovici, Les devoirs du chrétien, 1839)*, Conférence, INALCO, Département des études juives, Paris, 11–15 mars 2018.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Soigner les Roumains, fortifier la Nation : hygiénisme des Lumières dans le discours médical du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Colloque *De l'Empire ottoman aux nations balkaniques : les Lumières en question*, Athènes, 23–25 mai 2018.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Un transilvănean din Armata Română în Războiul de reîntregire : Doctorul Vasile Bianu*, Colloque, Gyula, 10–11 nov. 2018.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *„Redeșteptarea națională” a basarabenilor în Însemnările din Războiul României Mari ale dr. Vasile Bianu (1926)*, Colloque *Centenarul Unirii Basarabiei cu România. Puterea dreptului, autodeterminare și argumentele istorice*, Faculté de Sciences Politiques – Université de Bucarest, Institut d'Histoire de l'Académie de Sciences de la République de Moldavie, Ambassade de la République de Moldavie, Bucarest, 20 mars 2018.
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Din istoria și istoriografia medicinei românești : Dr. Pompei Samaritan (1879–1942)*, Congrès des Historiens Roumains, Iași, 29 août – 1 sept. 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Les céramiques de la nécropole de Labraunda*, Conférence, Institut Suédois d'Istanbul, 13 mars 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu (et Al. Baralis), *The impact of the Greek colonization process on the local socio-economical pattern in the Southern Danubian Delta*, Communication, *The 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Köln – Bonn, 22–26 mai 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Static and Dynamic: Mobility of Settlement Structures and necropolises in Classical and Hellenistic periods between Istros–river and Istros–city*, Colloque *Between the Aegean and the Danube. Thracians, Greeks and Celts in the Balkans during the Classical and Hellenistic*, Sofia, 19–23 sept. 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Territoriality and dynamics of socio-cultural patterned networks at the beginning of the Greek colonization in the western Black Sea*, Colloque *Comparing Greek Colonies*, Roma, 6–10 nov. 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Acic-Suat – Caraburun. Campania arheologică 2017*, communication, Cluj-Napoca, 15–16 nov. 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Zeus, albinele și mierea. Despre producția de miere în sanctuarul lui Zeus Labraundeus*, Session de communications *Pontica*, Constanța, 3–6 oct. 2018.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Despre scriere în epoca arhaică în mediul indigen din nordul Dobrogei : un graffito de la Poșta (jud. Tulcea)*, Colloque ARA (IAB-Casa Macca), 18–21 avril 2018.
- Zamfira Mihail, *Instrumentele de lucru în activitatea de traducere a lui Nicolae Spătarul Milescu*, Colloque *Explorări în tradiția biblică românească și europeană*, Centre d'Études « Monumenta Linguae Dacoromanorum », Musée de la Littérature Roumaine, 20 juin 2018.

- Zamfira Mihail, „*Fericirea popoarelor*” în foile volante din *Basarabia în sec. al XIX-lea*, Colloque, Centre d’Études Médiévales, Université de Bucarest, Bucarest, 9–10 nov. 2018.
- Viorel Panaite, *Peace Agreements in Islamic Juridical Theory and Ottoman Diplomatic Practice / Colloque Passarowitz 1718. Intérêts des puissances et mouvements nationaux en Europe centrale / Power Interests and National Movements in Central Europe*, Institut d’Histoire du Centre de recherches en sciences humaines, Académie hongroise des sciences / Institute for History of the Research centre for Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 27–28 nov. 2018.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Presa de limbă greacă ca principal izvor pentru cercetarea comunităților grecești din România*, Colloque *Martorii timpului. Istorici, surse istorice și educație*, Institut d’Histoire „Nicolae Iorga”, 21 sept. 2018.
- Andrei Pippidi, *Turning points of Romanian History*, Keynote lecture: *Romania 100: Looking Forward through the Past*, Society for Romanian Studies, University of Economic Studies, Bucarest, 26–29 juin 2018.
- Adrian Robu, *The Megarian Apoikiai and their Local Environment: institutions and religious practices*, Conférence, Université d’Oxford, Balliol College, 1 mai 2018.
- Adrian Robu, *Les relations entre les cités de la Mégaride à l’époque hellénistique et impériale*, Communication, *Atelier Mégare et ses apoikiai : nouveaux développements de la recherche*, Université Paris Nanterre, 16 mars 2018.
- Adrian Robu, *Continuités et transformations institutionnelles dans les cités du Pont: l’exemple des stratèges de Mésambria*, Colloque *De Mithridate VI à Arrien de Nicomédie : changements et continuités dans le bassin de la mer Noire, I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.*, Université Paris Nanterre, 2–3 mars 2018.
- Stelu Șerban, *Old hopes, new hopes: Dreams for an EU future of State Socialist projects in NW Bulgaria (Vidin District)*, Colloque “*Is the Bulgarian North-west the poorest Region in the European Union?*” *Notes on Backwardness and Disconnectedness*, Friedrich Egbert Stiftung and International Danube Research Group *Team 727*, Montana, Bulgarie, 15–17 avril 2018.
- Stelu Șerban, *Affectivity, infrastructure, and the state in north-western Bulgaria*, Colloque *Emotions, Senses and Affects in the Context of Southeast Europe*, International Association of Southeastern Europe Anthropology, Zadar, Croatie, 27–30 sept. 2018.
- Andrei Timotin, *The biography of Manuc Bey, a project of Hagop Dj. Siruni. Unpublished documents from the Fonds Siruni of the Romanian National Archives*, International Conference dedicated to Manouk Bey Mirzaian, Erevan, 7–9 juin 2018.
- Andrei Timotin, *Tradition païenne et tradition chrétienne sur la prière*, Conférence inaugurale au XIV<sup>e</sup> Colloque international Grégoire de Nysse, *Les Homélies sur le Notre Père et leur réception byzantine*, Collège des Bernardins, Paris, 7–9 sept. 2018.
- Andrei Timotin, *La place de Théon de Smyrne dans la métaphorisation philosophique des mystères*, Colloque *Les « mystères » au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère : un mysteric turn ?*, Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art, Paris, 20–22 sept. 2018.
- Andrei Timotin, *Despre scrierile unui copist bihorean de la sfârșitul veacului al XVII-lea*, Colloque *Scris și scriitură în Evul Mediu românesc*, Musée d’Histoire de Suceava, 9 nov. 2018.
- Florin Țurcanu, *La guerre contre les non-combattants entre 1914–1918 – regards historiographiques*, Colloque *La protection des non-combattants : du Front d’Orient à aujourd’hui*, Institut Français de Skopje, Macédoine, 1 juin 2018.
- Florin Țurcanu, *La campagne roumaine au sud du Danube à l’automne 1916 : une mémoire marginale et ambiguë*, Colloque *La Grande Guerre dans les Balkans – regards croisés, perspectives comparées*, Institut Français de Sofia, 7 juin 2018.
- Florin Țurcanu, *Une capitale dans l’attente de la fin de la guerre : Bucarest à l’automne 1918*, Colloque *Finir la Grande Guerre dans les Balkans 1918–1923*, Institut d’Études Balkaniques, Académie Serbe de Sciences, Belgrade, 12–14 sept. 2018.
- Florin Țurcanu, *Mémoire et usages politiques de l’année 1918 en Roumanie – de l’entre-deux-guerres à nos jours*, Colloque *1918–2018 : mémoires et usages de 1918 en Europe médiane*, Université Paris I Panthéon–Sorbonne, Paris, 19–20 oct. 2018.

– Florin Țurcanu, *Annus mirabilis : le projet national roumain de l'abîme à l'apothéose, Colloque 1918. Nation et révolution en Roumanie, en Bessarabie et en Transylvanie*, INALCO, Paris, 25–26 oct. 2018.

– Florin Țurcanu, *Raconter la bataille: un exemple de la mise en récit de l'expérience du champ de bataille dans les archives roumaines de la Grande Guerre*, Colloque *Écrire l'histoire: de la mémoire à son récit*, Institut Français de Skopje, Macédoine, 16 nov. 2018.

– Cătălina Vătășescu, *Utilizarea în lexicul religios românesc a familiei cuvântului deșert*, Colloque International de Linguistique, Institut „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Bucarest, 18–19 mai 2018.

## V. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ORGANISÉES PAR L'INSTITUT

La deuxième édition du Colloque annuel de l'Institut, *Un secol de studii sud-est europene în România. Bilanț istoriografic*, a eu lieu à l'Académie Roumaine, les 15–16 octobre 2018. Le colloque a été ouvert par Acad. Răzvan Theodorescu et par la conférence inaugurale du Prof. Oliver J. Schmitt (Académie autrichienne des Sciences), *Studiile sud-est europene în România – o istorie a ideilor*. La seconde journée du colloque a été ouverte par la conférence du Prof. Ion Taloș (Université de Cologne, émérite), *Un secol de studii românești privitoare la folclorul literar sud-est european*.

Les communications présentées au colloque :

Andrei Pippidi, *Orientul latin în opera lui Nicolae Iorga. O reevaluare*

Ovidiu Cristea, *„Chestiunea” Mării Negre medievale în opera lui Nicolae Iorga*

Vasilica Lungu, *Arheologia clasică în Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene*

Adrian Robu, *Contribuția lui D. M. Pippidi la studiul inscripțiilor antice*

Andrei Timotin, *Locul studiilor bizantine în istoria Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene*

Petre Guran, *„Byzance après Byzance”. Istoria și semnificația unui concept*

Simona Nicolae, *Scriptores byzantini: istoria unei colecții*

Viorel Panaite, *Cercetări de istorie otomană în cadrul Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene*.

*Ion Matei și Mustafa A. Mehmet*

Radu G. Păun, *Spațiul românesc și lumea sârbo-muntenegreană de la Stefan Dušan la Pacea de la Belgrad. Propuneri pentru un bilanț istoriografic*

Emanuela Popescu-Mihuț, *Profesorul Valentin Al. Georgescu, cercetător al receptării dreptului bizantin în țările române în vremea domniilor fanariote*

Cătălina Vătășescu, *Cercetările românești de lingvistică balcanică*

Zamfira Mihail, *Probleme noi ale cercetării vechilor texte slavone*

Ioana Feodorov, *Locul civilizației arabe creștine în cadrul studiilor sud-est europene*

Lia Brad Chisacof, *Contribuția Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene la studiile neoeleene din România*

Mihai Țipău, *Constantin Erbiceanu și istoriografia greacă din Principate*

Ștefan Petrescu, *Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu și primele cercetări românești cu privire la diaspora grecească în secolul naționalităților*

Daniel Cain, Florin Țurcanu, *Turtucaia 1916. Memorie și istoriografie în România și Bulgaria în perioada interbelică*

Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Aspecte de istorie socială în revistele Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene*

Stelu Șerban, *Contribuții la întemeierea unei sociologii a spațiului sud-est european. Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene în anii 1960*

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l'Institut de l'Études Balkaniques et le Centre de Thracologie de Sofia, le colloque *Culture traditionnelle, histoire sociale et histoire des langues du Sud-Est de l'Europe*, Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, le 5 juin 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Cristina Codarcea, *Les enclaves catholiques des Balkans au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Religion tribale et culture matérielle dans la reconstruction d'une identité catholique*
- Cristina Feneșan, *Dobândirea identității islamice, schimbarea numelui*
- Mihail-George Hâncu, *Know Your Enemy: Defining Saint George's Dragon*
- Simona Nicolae, *Albastrul grec. Culoare și cuvânt*
- Cătălina Vătășescu (et Dana-Mihaela Zamfir), *Simbolul credinței în română și albaneză. Privire specială asupra originii cuvântului românesc crez*

ISSEE a organisé le Colloque de la Commission inter-académique d'histoire roumano-bulgare *Zones de contact et centres de communications dans le Balkans du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Académie Roumaine, le 6 juin 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Daniel Cain, *The Danube Islands and the Dynamic of Romanian-Bulgarian Relations (1878–1918)*
- Constantin Iordan, *La Bulgarie et la perspective de l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la Première Guerre mondiale (octobre 1915 – août 1916)*
- Zamfira Mihail, *Le Catalogue des manuscrits slaves de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest (t. III). Présentation et perspectives de recherche*
- Viorel Panaite, *Transmitting the news on Southeastern Europe to Western Europe*

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l'Institut et le Musée Ethnographique de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences et l'Institut d'Archéologie et Ethnologie de l'Académie Polonaise de Sciences, le Colloque *Uses of the Past in Eastern and Southeastern Europe in Modern and Contemporary Period*, Institut d'Études Sud–Est Européennes, le 21 juin 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Ștefan Dorondel, *Nature and Agriculture: An Anthropology of Infrastructure in Southeast Europe*
- Stelu Șerban, *Local History and Nature Restoration on the Danube. Belene Case*

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences, le Colloque *À la recherche du passé utile. L'histoire comme ressource pour le présent / In Search of the Useful Past. History as a Resource for the Present*, Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, le 25 septembre 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Virginia Blînda, *La mémoire du passé : le contrôle du savoir à travers le Sud-Est de l'Europe (seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*
- Constantin Iordan, *100 ans depuis la fin de la guerre : objectifs, options et bilans. Les cas bulgare et roumain*
- Daniel Cain, *History as a diplomatic tool in the Romanian – Bulgarian relations (1918–1919)*
- Florin Țurcanu, *La littérature comme instrument de sous-traitance de l'histoire contemporaine dans la Roumanie de Nicolae Ceaușescu*

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec Centre for Baltic and East European Studies, Södertörn University, Stockholm, le Colloque *Historical demography, family and household forms in Southeastern Europe*, Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, les 26–27 octobre 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Lia Brad Chisacof, *The Gipsy Issue in a 1841 Romanian Report*
- Stelu Șerban, *The sedentarization of the **Rudari** in socialist and post-socialist Bulgaria*

ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec la Société Roumaine d'Études Byzantines et l'Institut d'Histoire "N. Iorga", *The Second Annual Conference of the Romanian Society for Byzantine Studies*, Institut d'Histoire "N. Iorga", 2 novembre 2018. À ce colloque ont participé :

- Ioana Feodorov, *Un syrien rêvant de Byzance : Paul Ibn al-Za'im a Constantinople en 1652*

- Petre Guran, *Les protagonistes de la fin du monde dans les Vies des saloi*
- Simona Nicolae, *Stoïcisme et plaisir dans les discours de Manuel Paléologue*
- Andrei Timotin, *Artémidore et l'onirocritique byzantine*

La série des conférences bimensuelles de l'IESEE a continué en 2018 :

- Ion Croitoru (Université « Valahia » de Târgoviste), *Melodul Gherman, mitropolit al Noilor Patrii (Ipati). Elemente biografice și răspândirea operei lui la români*, le 16 janvier.
- Vladimir Crețulescu (Musée de la ville de Bucarest), *Originile discursului identitar aromân-român (1770–1878)*, le 6 février.
- Vasilica Lungu, *De la necromanteionul grec la basilica creștină la Orgame/Argamum. Dinamica spațiului sacru în Antichitatea greco-romană*, le 27 février.
- Ștefan Ionescu-Berechet (Institut d'histoire « N. Iorga »), *Itinerarii mediteraneene ale arhitectului Dimitrie Ionescu Berechet*, le 13 mars.
- Andreea Iancu, *Justiție, proprietate și rețele de influență. Dosarul moșiei-cămin Paia (jud. Mehedinți, actual Dolj), 1776–1783*, le 27 mars.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Zaharia P. Sardelly versus Evanghelie Zappa. Jocurile Olimpice și Dicționarul Academiei*, le 17 avril.
- Florin Țurcanu, *Les amitiés roumaines. Un diplomate français de la începutul secolului XX și corespondenții săi români*, le 24 avril.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Noi informații despre primele tipărituri arabe din Levant și legăturile lor cu tiparnițele din Țările Române*, le 22 mai.
- Anita Paolicchi (Universită degli Studi di Firenze), *La ricezione della cultura visiva protestante nei Balcani (XVI–XVIII secolo): pittura murale eoreficeria*, le 26 juin 2018.
- Anne-Marie Sorescu-Marinković (Institut d'Études Balkaniques, Belgrade), *Comunități românofone din Serbia: peisaj lingvistic și identitar*, le 6 septembre 2018.
- Adrian Tertecel, *Alte documente otomane privind spațiul românesc (1627–1628)*, le 6 novembre.
- Stelu Șerban, Ștefan Dorondel, *Formarea statului modern și transformarea naturii în Europa de Sud-Est, secolele XIX–XX*, le 4 décembre.

Virginia Blînda



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- Ангушева, Аделина, Маргарет Димитрова, Мария Йовчева, Мая Петрова-Танева, Диляна (eds.), *Vis et sapientia: studia in honorem Anisavae Miltenova. Нови извори, интерпретации и подходи в медиевистиката*, София, Издателски център „Боян Пенев“, 2016, 800 p.
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