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Cartographies of South-Eastern Europe

(Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress
of South-East European Studies, Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)

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**BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL EYE
AND THE LOCAL GAZE**

Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress
of South-East European Studies
(Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)

Editors: ROBERT BORN and MARIAN COMAN

FOREWORD

This cluster of articles is the outcome of a panel organized within the frame of the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, which took place in Bucharest in September 2019, entitled *Between the Imperial Eye and the Local Gaze/Entre la surveillance impériale et le regard local*. Due to the long period of time required to transform the talks into full-fledged articles, there are a number of variations between this collection of studies and the initial panel, both in relation to the authors and to their subjects. Nonetheless, we consider that this section of the *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* accurately reflects the main themes and problems raised in the original papers and the subsequent discussions. We express our gratitude to the editors of the journal for their tireless patience in seeing this project through to the end.

Cartography was an instrumental tool in devising and disseminating the concept of South-Eastern Europe, both amongst the “Westerners” and “Easterners”.¹ Ptolemy’s *Tabula nona Europae, the Danubian Lands, Turkey in Europe, Turkey of Europe, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the East-Central Europe, the countries behind the Iron Curtain, Third Europe, the EU’s newcomers* are all constructs of cultural geography that successively reinforced and reshaped the idea of a different, second class, Europe, as the ‘other’ to the West.² With every newly devised spatial frame, a different stratum was added to this geographical assembly that escapes the logic of a single, progressive narrative. Traditionally, the cartographic history of this fluid region is considered rather straightforward. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries the mapping of South-Eastern Europe was mainly shaped by the so-called cartographic revolution and by the rivalling imperial geographical discourses. The advent of printing and the rediscovery of Ptolemy’s *Geography* prompted something of a paradigm shift with view to the mapping of the region; at the same time, the territorial disputes over the region between the Habsburgs, the Ottomans and the Russian Empire stimulated and promoted numerous cartographical projects.³ Throughout the early

¹ A. Drace-Francis, “The Prehistory of a Neologism: ‘South-Eastern Europe’,” *Balkanologie* 3, 1999, 2, p. 117–127; S. Antohi, “Romania and the Balkans: From Geocultural Bovarism to Ethnic Ontology”, *Tr@nsit online* 21 <https://www.iwm.at/transit-online/romania-and-the-balkans>; S. Antohi: “Habits of the Mind: Europe’s Post-1989 Symbolic Geographies”, in Idem and V. Tismăneanu (eds.), *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and Their Aftermath*. Budapest, 2000, p. 61–77.

² K. Murawska-Muthesius, *Imaging and Mapping Eastern Europe: Sarmatia Europea to Post-Communist Bloc*, New York, 2021.

³ R. Jöhler and J. Wolf (eds.) *Beschreiben und Vermessen. Raumwissen in der östlichen Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 2020; J. Wolf and W. Zimmermann (eds.), *Fließende Räume, Karten des Donaupraums, 1650–1800*. Exhibition Catalogue Karlsruhe 2017. Regensburg, 2017; V. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Ithaca, 2006; S. Seegel, *Mapping Europe’s Borderlands. Russian*

modern period, mapmaking and cartographic knowledge of this region were closely interlinked with war and post-war agendas, with the imposition of boundaries, limits and frontiers that proved, time and time again, to be illusory and elusive.⁴ Starting with the middle of the nineteenth century, the emerging national geographical discourses stimulated alternative cartographies. Mapping the nation was, first and foremost, a polemical project, directed against imperial and national competing narratives.⁵ It was simultaneously an instrumental endeavour, as it was not only meant to represent the national territory, but also to take possession of it through mapping. Nevertheless, although developed as a reaction towards the external colonial view, local cartographical discourses, driven by both the proponents of modernization and supporters of autochthonism, continued to consider Western mapmaking as the yardstick against which all maps should be judged.

All the following six articles question this traditional, simple, narrative and look for more refined conceptual tools of analysis than the over-used binary oppositions: medieval vs. modern; manuscript vs. printed maps; Ptolemaic vs. Non-Ptolemaic territorial frames; imperial vs. national cartographies; local vs. colonial gazes or hegemonic vs. counter-hegemonic discourses. Toni Veneri starts by looking at the Renaissance reiterations of the Ptolemaic frames that apparently confirm the overwhelming authority the ancients held over humanists. By a thorough and sophisticated analysis, Toni Veneri dismantles the idea of Ptolemy's dominance over the Renaissance mapmaking and uncovers instead a multitude of 'cartographic modernities' of the region, shaped by an array of different actors, motives, and visions. Chronologically, Robert Born's contribution takes over from where Toni Veneri's ends, but switches focus to the political-driven cartography and to propaganda maps. By juxtaposing and comparing the Habsburg-sponsored mapmaking with Sigismund Báthory's fascinating attempt to endorse his political ambitions with the help of cartographic propaganda, Robert Born brings into light several networks of knowledge and patronage. The relations within these networks escape easy labels

Cartography in the Age of Empire, Chicago, 2012; Ian Manners (ed.), *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World: 1500–1750. Maps from the Collection of O. J. Sopranos*. Chicago, 2007. URL: <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/oimp27.pdf>; P. Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Farnham 2014

⁴ V. Rödel (ed.), *Zwischen den Welten. Kriegsschauplätze des Donauraums im 17. Jahrhundert auf Karten und Plänen*. Exhibition Catalogue Karlsruhe 2010, Karlsruhe, 2010; Idem., *Die Militärkartographie – Mittel der Sicherung und Erschließung des Donauraums*, in K. Mösender, M. Thimann and A. Hofstetter (eds.), *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum*. Vols. 1–2. Petersberg, 2014, here vol. 1, p. 205–219; M. V. Veres, *Constructing Imperial Spaces: Habsburg Cartography in the Age of Enlightenment*. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2015; G. Fasching, "Die kartographische Erschließung des östlichen Europas", *Der Donauraum* 57, 2017, 3–4, p. 111–130.

⁵ P. Haslinger and V. Oswalt (eds.): *Kampf der Karten: Propaganda- und Geschichtskarten als politische Instrumente und Identitätstexte*, Marburg, 2012 https://digital.herder-institut.de/publications/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/129/file/PUB_Herder-Institut_Tagungen_30_9783879693702.pdf; S. Seegel, *Map Men. Transnational Lives and Deaths of Geographers in the Making of East Central Europe*, Chicago, 2018; J. W. Crampton, "The Cartographic Calculation of Space: Race Mapping and the Balkans at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919", in: *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, 2006, p. 731–752; M. Górný, *Vaterlandszeichner. Grafen und Grenzen im Zwischenkriegseuropa*, Osnabrück, 2019.

and force scholars to rethink the complex process of designing, printing and disseminating a Renaissance ‘propaganda map’. The same theme is further pursued by Ionuț Cruțeru, who looks at the making of the map of Wallachia, published in Padua in 1700. To some extent, this much-debated map, at least in the Romanian scholarship, is an example of propaganda, as it promotes a geographical identity of the realm of Wallachia, part of a larger cultural Greek graphosphere. By setting aside the authorship question, which for decades dominated the research and blocked new approaches, Ionuț Cruțeru reconstructs a bundle of initial functions for this map. Marian Coman’s study is similarly focused on a single map, but a textual one this time. The geographical description of Wallachia by the Transylvanian-Suisse charlatan Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz was meant to exploit the Habsburgs’ interest in the realm and to impress the prospective employer. Although, at a first glance, this textual map seems just another example of imperial cartography, at a closer look it proves to be an Enlightenment adventurer’s attempt to fabricate a false geographical expertise. The last two contributions treat the intricate topic of Romanian national mapmaking in the twentieth century. While Silviu Anghel chooses to focus on the cartographical expressions in the time-span of a specific historical episode, Cezar Buterez looks at a several-decade long cartographic project, continued throughout different political regimes. Silviu Anghel tackles the controversial ethnographical principle as understood by the different actors involved in Romania’s negotiations to enter the First World War. By analyzing the maps and the geographical discourses used during the diplomatic negotiations, Silviu Anghel convincingly argues that the 1910’s Romanian mapmaking was slowly and painstakingly transitioning from a historical- to an ethnographical-grounded national cartographical discourse. Immediately after the First World War the Army Geographic Service started the first large-scale national map collection, which was meant to cover all regions of the post-war Romanian state. This project is investigated by Cezar Buterez, who unveils the heterogeneity of the so-called ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ collection, which had an extremely lengthy production and incorporated numerous previous cartographic sources of different origins and styles.

Despite the chronological complementarity and the thematic contiguity of the six contributions, it was not intended to provide an overview of the history of cartography of and in South-Eastern Europe. Such a desideratum has yet to be achieved and, despite the recent effervescent scholarly production in this field, there are still many white spaces on our map of knowledge. This group of articles explores some of them, such as the institutionalization of cartographic production or the role of mapmaking as an exercise in political wish-fulfilment, while others, such as map consumption, are barely touched upon. The editors and authors hope ultimately to encourage the readers to look beyond the familiar paradigm of the making of Eastern Europe and of the imagining of the Balkans and to discover a far more intricate cartographic history.

Robert BORN and Marian COMAN

BETWEEN LAND AND SEA:
CARTOGRAPHIC MODERNITIES AND THE BALKAN PENINSULA
(15th–16th CENTURIES)¹

TONI VENERI
(The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Despite their increasingly updated and expanded content, maps of the Balkan Peninsula in the Renaissance largely iterated the frame and format of an older, almost archetypal regional map, Ptolemy's *tabula nona Europae*. An agreed rationale behind Ptolemy's dominance is the collapse of antiquity into modernity through which humanists were able to establish the ancient cartographer as both a classical authority and a model for scientific renewal. Yet a closer look at these maps reveals a more complex history than the one suggested by univocal accounts of the origin of modern cartography. On the one hand, it helps relocate the Balkan Peninsula at the crossroads rather than at the periphery of the routes through which cartographic knowledge was transferred, circulated, and developed between East and West. On the other hand, it multiplies the range of places, actors, and motives involved in cartographic initiatives whose claim to modernity set them apart from other forms of mapmaking steeped in nautical and military practices. In this view, the philological quest which at the end of the thirteenth century led Byzantine scholar Maximos Planudes to rediscover Ptolemy's work would a century later give way to the political hopes of Manuel Chrysoloras and the ethical ambitions of Coluccio Salutati. Later, this legacy would be intercepted by the diplomatic and poetic goals of Francesco Berlinghieri, the search for empirical validation of Pietro Coppo, and the educational mission of Johannes Honter. All these encounters draw a compelling history of *cartographic modernities* that projected disparate motives, visions, and techniques on the geographical slate of the same region. Despite their common Ptolemaic cover, these maps ultimately escape the logic of a single narrative, diffracting and recomposing the highly articulated geographical space of a region that lay at the juncture between land and sea, Christianity and Islam, war and trade.

Keywords: Cartography, Balkan Peninsula, Modernity, Ptolemy, Renaissance.

¹ The notion of 'Balkan Peninsula' is intended here as a geographical reference, rather than a cultural one (the 'Balkans'). It is preferred over 'Southeastern Europe' for its narrower scope and its definition through both maritime and terrestrial features. Even in strictly geographical terms, both designations, coined in the nineteenth century, are problematic, with unstable borders being redefined and negotiated according to shifting political claims and cultural positionalities. Indeed, prior to these denominations, there is no evidence that these areas were considered a unified region, let alone a peninsula. For a survey and discussion of these geographical concepts and their history see A. Vezenkov, "Entangled Geographies of the Balkans: The Boundaries of the Region and the Limits of the Discipline", in R. Daskalov, D. Mishkova, T. Marinov and A. Vezenkov (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Volume Four: Concepts, Approaches, and (Self-)Representations*, Leiden and Boston, 2017, p. 115–164. Although anachronistic and contested, the reference to the Balkan Peninsula, reduced to its naked core, is useful in describing the maps discussed in this essay, which all give prominence to the same set of geographical features – the Balkan range, the Danube, the Adriatic, Ionian, and Black Sea coastlines – without necessarily characterizing them as borders.

When I landed in Sofia in the fall of 2016 to start a period of research on the early modern maps of the region, I was greeted by the most appropriate cartographic auspice.² In the waiting hall of Terminal 1 of the International Airport, a building opened in 1947 and refurbished in the late 60s, two impressive mosaics overlooked and welcomed the flow of passengers. The murals, authored by Ivan Penkov in 1949, featured a schematic map of Bulgaria facing an equally stylized depiction of Europe. The first, through vignettes of chimneys, crops, forests, and monuments, illustrated with pride the country's sites of industrial, agricultural, natural, and cultural resources. The second map in turn placed Bulgaria firmly at the center-south heart of a borderless European continent that stretched from the Ural mountain range to the Atlantic coasts of Portugal. Here, the symbolic language of the map identified each country through its capital city and the silhouette of its most recognizable monument. Alongside Saint Peters, the Tour Eiffel, and the Kremlin, figured what was the most recent architectural accomplishment of the Bulgarian socialist regime in the late 1940s: the Vrazhdebna Airport of Sofia, designed by architects Nikolay Marangozov, Petko Tsvetkov, and Tsvetan Dobrev.³

Later that winter, another serendipitous cartographic encounter would deeply strike my imagination. During my first visit to the high spiritual center of the Bulgarian people, the Rila monastery, I was arrested by the moving presence, among the relics exhibited to tourists and pilgrims, of a hand-drawn globe. Created in the early nineteenth century by Neofit Rilski (1793–1881) to teach geography classes, the artifact, the first known globe to be made in the country, had now lost its original didactic function, but in turn had acquired a higher symbolic, if not sacred, status. The globe stands today in the monastery, enshrined in a glass case – as does its replica at the National Museum of History in Sofia – as if it were infused with the very ideas and the spirit of the monk who had crafted it. Neofit Rilski had indeed succeeded in making the old monastery, nestled in the mountains and tucked in snow, the center for the cultural and religious awakening of a nation that at that point had been oppressed by almost five centuries of Ottoman rule.⁴

The airport murals and the Rila globe are both compelling examples of cartographic images that embody and foreground processes of modernization: respectively, the socialist revolution, with its advancements in technology, communication and industry, and the Bulgarian National revival, which had

² I would like to thank here my host institution, the Center for Advanced Study Sofia (CAS), and the generous help and assistance from its scientific staff and fellows, in particular Nadezhda Alexandrova, Marina Baramova, Pantelis Charalampakis, Veronika Dimitrova, Dimiter Dimov, Tom Junes, Diana Mishkova, Elitsa Stanoeva, Elitsa Stoilova, Martin Valkov, Georgi Vladev. In addition, I am obliged to Eloise and Steve Grathwohl, Tommaso Maggiolo, Marica Milanese, John Pickles, Michael B. Sullivan, as well as to Robert Born and Marian Coman for their invaluable help and stimulating suggestions.

³ See the website of the Bulgarian Architectural Modernism Foundation, <http://foundationbma.org/>.

⁴ Neofit Rilski was Rila monastery's abbot from 1860 to 1864, as well as the primary teacher in the first Bulgarian public school with modern curricula. On his role in the context of the Bulgarian national revival see R.J. Crampton, *Bulgaria*, Oxford, 2008, p. 51; T. Kamenova, *Rila Monastery*, Sofia, 1988, p. 41.

emphasized education as a centerpiece of its emancipatory agenda.⁵ Made by Bulgarians to empower the Bulgarian people, these maps also spoke of agency and integration in the broader Commonwealth of Nations. This integration, a political fact with the independence of Bulgaria in 1878, was anticipated by cartographic efforts that involved, along patriotic goals, the use of foreign printing facilities as well as data collected by foreign governments and travelers. In fact, although in 1862 DIMITAR Angelidev had published in Plovdiv a map of European Turkey – the first to be printed in the country – in these years the major center for Bulgarian cartography was Vienna, where several Bulgarian scholars – among them, the prominent figure of Hristo G. Danov (1828–1911) – had access to the outputs of Austrian, Russian, and French cartographic initiatives in the region.⁶

At the origin of the entanglement of Bulgarian cartography with the West lies a complex relationality that historiographers have regarded as the engine fueling a broader, essentialist discourse whose regionalist scope reaches far beyond these national confines. On the one hand, this relation appears to result from a set of Western interests that led to the so-called “invention of Eastern Europe” in the eighteenth century and to the “discovery of the Balkans” in the nineteenth century.⁷ At the origins of twentieth century Balkanism, these interests articulated geographically categories of race that had been developed within the European Enlightenment and implemented, especially in a colonial context, through the new discipline of ethnology.⁸ The resulting discourse, stylizing the Balkans as the Orient of Europe, was instrumental in generating mental maps that sanctioned the peripheral position of the region, while positing and essentializing its backward, underdeveloped, and barbaric character.

⁵ On the history of the concept of Bulgarian National revival and on the analogy, fabricated by the national-communist discourse, with post-war socialist transformations as processes of modernization and Europeanization, see R. Daskalov, *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans. Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, Budapest and New York, 2004, p. 46–47. On the key role of geography in nineteenth century Bulgaria, where it was mobilized earlier than elsewhere as “a primary resource for the homogenization of collective imagination and for national identity formation”, see D. Lilova, “The Homeland as Terra Incognita. Geography and Bulgarian National Identity, 1830s–1870s”, in T. Snyder and K. Younger (eds.), *The Balkans as Europe, 1821–1914*, Rochester, NY, 2018, p. 32; from the same author see also “National Identity as a Geographical Discovery: The Bulgarian Nation-Building Process in the Nineteenth Century”, in M. De Dobbeleer and S. Vervaeet (eds.), *(Mis)Understanding the Balkans. Essays in Honour of Raymond Detrez*, Gent, 2013, p. 75–86.

⁶ It was in Vienna that Danov printed a map of European Turkey in 1863, “the best Bulgarian map in every respect up to 1878”, see B. Beševliev, “Basic Trends in Representing the Bulgarian Lands in Old Cartographic Documents up to 1878”, *Études Balkaniques* 16, 1980, 2, p. 123.

⁷ These discursive onsets have been the object, respectively, of Lary Wolff’s and Maria Todorova’s influential works: L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, CA, 1994; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford, 1997.

⁸ On the similarities and crucial differences between the orientalist discourse, as theorized by Edward Said, and the Balkanist discourse, see K.E. Fleming, “Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography”, *The American Historical Review* 105, 2000, 4, p. 1218–1233; E.W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1978.

On the other hand, this relation became even more urgent and productive *in situ* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e., when ideas from Western and Central European Enlightenment, such as secularism, rationalism, and nationalism, found their way into the Balkans. Retrospectively, the reception of such ideas, like the nation-state model, has been interpreted as a shift in space – a process of Europeanization – or in turn as a leap in time – an “intrusion of modernity”, as Richard C. Hall has termed it.⁹ Rooting identity in history and geography, and vision in measurement, this process appears to have brought along notions of space and time that were until then seemingly alien to a larger part of the population apart from those who engaged in trade, pilgrimage, or studying abroad.

Traian Stoianovich (1921–2005) has gauged the efficacy for what he apprehended as “Balkan worlds” of anthropological distinctions like those that oppose historical, time-oriented, ‘hot’ societies – in the Balkans, arguably the Greeks – and unhistorical, space-dominated, ‘cold’ societies. Attesting to the persistence of Balkanist mental maps, in this discussion, he paints an early modern Mediterranean world moving at different speeds:

Between 1400 and 1800, indeed, Europe’s three Mediterranean peninsulas manifested three distinct perceptions of time and space: a simultaneously strong temporal or historical perspective and a strong spatial, optical, and cartographic perspective in Italy; an intense spatial perspective but a less well developed sense of chronometric time in the Iberian peninsula, lulling Spain into being content with vessels slower than those of their Dutch and English rivals; and not much of either a new temporal or a new spatial perspective in the Ottoman dominions.¹⁰

Yet, recent scholarship has increasingly softened the sharp contours of pre-modern Balkan cultural isolation, debunking national myths and deconstructing rigid antagonisms between Muslims and Christians, East and West. In the recently published *The Great Cauldron* (2019), Marie-Janine Calic has revisited the history of Southeastern Europe through the lens of a global perspective, highlighting the connections that tied the region to the rest of the world.¹¹ At the same time, a new light has been shed on episodes of artistic and scientific circulation, negotiation, and conversation across religious and political boundaries and within multiethnic and multilingual communities. In this view, Jelena Erdeljan has embraced Peter Burke’s call to investigate the “hybrid Renaissance” as a phenomenon of transcultural interaction and cross-cultural exchange, and has argued that the Balkans did participate in a movement that developed far beyond the narrow confines of Western

⁹ R.C. Hall, *The Modern Balkans. A History*, London, 2011, p. 44–62.

¹⁰ T. Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe*, London and New York, 1994, p. 251. On the isolation of the region from the European traffic, as well as on the geographical designations of the Balkans in scholarship, see A. Vezekov, “Entangled Geographies of the Balkans...”, p. 205–251.

¹¹ M.-J. Calic, *The Great Cauldron. A History of Southeastern Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 2019.

Europe.¹² Similarly, Alice Isabella Sullivan has reassessed the monastic architecture of these times, especially in Moldavia, as the product of a distinctive visual eclecticism and stylistic plurality.¹³ These examples, one might say, partly fall back on arguments that were used in communist times to stage the Europeaness of local artworks, in the attempt to interpret them as offshoots of the great (Western) epochs of cultural and art history, like the Renaissance and the Baroque. Nevertheless, these reinterpretations, in emphasizing the agency of mediators and the originality of outcomes, do not simply aim at undermining Balkanist stereotypes in order to highlight proximity to Europe. Rather, they try to move in a direction long pursued by scholars located in the Balkans, i.e., to go “beyond Balkanism”, in the effort to reappropriate and refashion their regional self-designation.¹⁴ At the same time, these examples are shaped and influenced by a thriving international discourse on ‘Global Art’, one that is still in the process of being theoretically comprehended.¹⁵ In the last thirty years, indeed, this global approach has succeeded in shifting beyond Eurocentric boundaries the foci of many scholars, who have highlighted material exchange and cross-cultural interaction. Bastions of the Western canon, like Florentine Renaissance art, are thus being ever more reconsidered in light of episodes and patterns of cultural exchange, as well as responses to an expanding world of diplomacy and commerce.¹⁶

Along this line, my research in Sofia has confirmed that, despite the late start for the development of a local cartographic industry outside of Constantinople, Southeast Europe had been on the radar of European and Ottoman cartography for centuries. Since the fifteenth century, indeed, the areas of the Balkan Peninsula were at the center of cartographic initiatives that served competing interests and antagonistic imperial agendas, but that also involved the knowledge and expertise of disparate actors and mediators. Rather than peripheral, these areas were of primary importance, as they encompassed the most populated city of the continent, Constantinople, while being at the crossroads of major trade routes and military lines. Given such prominence, they figured in ambitious mapping projects that were driven by the will to innovate the field of cartographic knowledge and that explicitly characterized their format, content, method or scope as groundbreaking. In this view, and with respect to the diverse ends of these projects, the Balkan Peninsula can be seen as participating in a long and compelling history of ‘cartographic modernities’.

¹² P. Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance. Culture, Language, Architecture*, Budapest and New York, 2016; J. Erdeljan, “The Balkans and the Renaissance World”, *Art Studies Readings 2017. I-Old Art*, p. 193–208.

¹³ A.I. Sullivan, “Architectural Pluralism at the Edges. The Visual Eclecticism of Medieval Monastic Churches in Eastern Europe”, *sITA – Studii de Istoria și Teoria Arhitecturii* 4, 2016 (*Marginalia. Architectures of Uncertain Margins*), p. 135–151.

¹⁴ D. Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism. The Scholarly Politics of Region Making*, New York, 2018.

¹⁵ D. Savoy (ed.), *The Globalization of Renaissance Art. A Critical Review*, Leiden and Boston, 2017.

¹⁶ S. Roberts, “A Global Florence and Its Blind Spots”, in D. Savoy (ed.), *The Globalization of Renaissance Art...*, p. 17–44.

From the beginnings of this history come the examples that will be discussed in the following pages, examples that showcase a number of cartographic tensions and convergences between unequal motives, visions, and techniques. On the one hand, these episodes feature the rise of an ‘antiquarian cartographic modernity’ that would hold mapmakers hostages of rigid templates for centuries. This modernity was at the same time a crucial factor in the shaping of early modern statehood, as Ptolemaic cartography provided a seemingly rational tool, grounded in mathematics and quantitative thinking, to envision geographical space and exercise territorial command.¹⁷ On the other hand, these stories speak to the identity of the states and empires ruling the region, how modernity was brought about in distinctive ways by the Habsburgs, the Ottomans, and the Venetians. Through the alternate lenses of antiquarian, continental, and maritime approaches, these maps ultimately diffract the geographical space of the Balkan Peninsula. A juncture between land and sea, Christianity and Islam, the region was thus charted in turn as a stage for warfare and religious confrontation, a terraqueous commercial network, a cauldron of peoples and toponyms, and a theater for political propaganda, diplomatic action, and cultural negotiation.

The first chapter of this history unfolds between an imperial metropolis bearing different names – Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul – and a powerful Italian city-state, Florence. However, its remote origins hark back to the second century AD, the city of Alexandria in Egypt, and the work of Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90 – c. 168 AD). At that time and in that place, Ptolemy was hardly the forerunner of a modern science. His *Geography* (*Geōgraphikḗ Hyphēgēsis*), finalized around 150 AD, was in fact largely an update and a criticism of the earlier works of Marinus of Tyre (fl. 100 AD). As such, it drew on centuries of classical speculations on space, representation, and measurement. Rather than breaking with the past, it marked on the contrary, in O. A. W. Dilke’s words, “a culmination as well as a final synthesis of the scientific tradition in Greek cartography”.¹⁸ Ptolemy’s revised mathematical construction of the earth as a sphere, together with his instructions to create a gridded map of the then known world (*oikoumene*), were unequivocally the products of conceptual thought. Even the thousands of place-names and coordinates, provided to carve up smaller regional maps (*tabulae*), were only in a minimal part derived from the method he recommended for acquiring data, i.e., astronomical observation. In fact, scholars have recently argued that Ptolemy did not undertake a new and independent review of latitude and longitude

¹⁷ M. Biggs, “Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, 1999, p. 376–380; D. Buisseret, “Introduction”, in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps. The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, Chicago, 1992, p. 1; M. Escolar, “Exploration, Cartography and the Modernization of State Power”, in N. Brenner, B. Jessop, M. Jones and G. Macleod (eds.), *State/Space. A Reader*, Malden, MA, 2003, p. 31–36.

¹⁸ O.A.W. Dilke, “The Culmination of Greek Cartography in Ptolemy”, in J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography* (from now on *HOC*), Chicago, 1992–2007, vol. 1, p. 177.

values, but rather relied on the small amount of astronomical reference data and geographical distance information that was available to him at the time.¹⁹ These values Ptolemy would have used to initially construct locations on maps, while deriving the majority of his other coordinates from the insertion on the gridded framework of information found in travel reports and textual descriptions of coastal formations. Despite the scientific pretense of these maps – none of which has survived from antiquity – it is plausible that the *imago mundi* they conjured was at the same time strongly political, one that espoused the rhetoric of universalism that had been accompanying the irresistible expansion of the Roman Empire.²⁰ Though ideologically compatible with the structures of power at the time, the *tabulae* were addressed to an elite group of mathematicians and scientists, and had little use in administration or navigation. Therefore, notes Christian Jacob, they had little impact in the formation of an image of the world.²¹ Tied as they were to a manuscript transmission, for which graphic reproductions were costly and demanding, these maps must have been perceived as accessory to the text they illustrated, and soon disappeared. But even if Ptolemy did not intend it, and attitudes of hostility toward the pagan world and scientific speculation would increasingly hinder the transmission of his work, he was ultimately destined to become modern, and in this new role, dominate for at least three centuries the cartography of the Balkan Peninsula.

Beginning in the ninth century, Arab translations had placed Ptolemy's works at the center of a broader intellectual renaissance that had flourished around the Mediterranean, from Baghdad to Cordoba, but never led to major outcomes in the development of regional cartography.²² This Arab transmission nonetheless facilitated a renewed interest in the *Geography* among Greek scholars at the end of the thirteenth century, under the reign of emperor Andronicos II Palaeologus (r. 1282–1328). It is in the context of the Byzantine revival of scientific studies led by Maximos Planudes (c. 1260–1310) that the Ptolemaic maps, as they would become known a century later in Western Europe, were made. The question whether some of these maps, which were all compiled according to the instructions provided in the text, might present evidence of a tradition dating back to antiquity, is still unresolved and constitutes a highly debated issue.²³ In particular, a poem in

¹⁹ G. Graßhoff, F. Mittenhuber, E. Rinner, "Of Paths and Places: The Origin of Ptolemy's *Geography*", *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 71, 2017, p. 483–508.

²⁰ D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye. A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, Baltimore and London, 2001, p. 42.

²¹ C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map. Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, Chicago and London, 2006, p. 57.

²² For a brief overview of Ptolemy's fortune and impact see J. R. Short, *Making Space. Revisioning the World, 1475–1600*, Syracuse, NY, 2004, p. 13–33; on Ptolemy in the Arab world see G.R. Tibbetts, "The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition", in *HOC*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 90–107.

²³ J.L. Berggren and A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography. An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, Princeton and Oxford, 2000, p. 45–50; O.A.W. Dilke and eds., "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire", in *HOC*, vol. 1, p. 267–272; I. Pérez Martín and G. Cruz Andreotti, "Geography", in S. Lazaris (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, Leiden, 2020, p. 255–258. Florian Mittenhuber has recently argued in

hexameters by Planudes himself, stressing the hard work involved in this process of rediscovery, has been used as an argument in support of the thesis that the oldest extant Ptolemaic maps were actually the products of the Byzantine scholar's exertions. J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones have rendered in English the gist of the poem, titled "Heroic verses by the most wise monk Maximos Planudes on the *Geography* of Ptolemy, which had vanished for many years and then had been discovered by him through many toils":

What a great wonder, the way that Ptolemy has brought the whole world into view, just like someone making a map showing just a little city. I never saw anything so skillful, colorful, and elegant as this lovely *geōgraphia*. This work lay hidden for countless years and found no one to bring it to light. But the emperor Andronikos exhorted the bishop of Alexandria, who took great troubles that a certain free-spirited friend of the Byzantines should restore a likeness of the picture worthy of a king.²⁴

The interpretation of the poem is controversial, however, and depends on different understandings of the word *geōgraphia*. Taken as a reference to the book, it would imply that Planudes found an old manuscript already provided with maps, while interpreted, in Ptolemy's own language, as pointing to the crafting of a map, it would instead mean that the monk undertook under imperial patronage a whole project of cartographic reconstruction.²⁵ Despite this substantial ambiguity, the enthusiastic tone of the poem, which prefigures the Italian humanists' exaltation for book discoveries, is an eloquent commentary not only on the value of Ptolemy's work, but also on scholarly efforts that consciously foreground a 'heroic' agency over a broken temporality. In this view, one might say that the *Geography* started becoming modern when it encountered a deliberate and broad-ranging project of scientific and literary renewal, such as the one pursued at the time by Planudes.

favor of the existence of a map tradition dating back to antiquity, whose traces can be found in the oldest extant Greek manuscripts of the *Geography*, namely the *Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus* 82 (Vatican), the *Codex Seragliensis GI 57* (Istanbul), and the *Fragmentum Fabricianum, Hauniensis Graecus* 23 (Copenhagen), all drafted in Constantinople at the turn of the fourteenth century. See F. Mittenhuber, "The Tradition of Texts and Maps in Ptolemy's *Geography*", in A. Jones (ed.), *Ptolemy in Perspective. Use and Criticism of his Work from Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, Dordrecht, 2010, p. 107–116; a more detailed analysis is provided by the same author in *Text- und Kartentradition in der Geographie des Klaudios Ptolemaios. Eine Geschichte der Kartenüberlieferung vom ptolemäischen Original bis in die Renaissance*, Bern, 2009. However, much of the evidence in favor of this thesis has been rejected by Renate Burri (*Die "Geographie" des Ptolemaios im Spiegel der griechischen Handschriften*, Berlin and Boston, 2013, p. 48–55).

²⁴ J.L. Berggren and A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography...*, p. 49. A commented edition of the poem, together with its translation in German, is in A. Stückelberger, "Planudes und die Geographia des Ptolemaios", *Museum Helveticum* 53, 1996, p. 197–205.

²⁵ Burri, who thinks that Planudes found a copy with at least one map – if not a whole set – has discussed in detail the role of the monk in the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*. R. Burri, "Die Wiederentdeckung der Geographie des Ptolemaios durch Planudes", *Antike Naturwissenschaft und ihre Rezeption (AKAN)* 13, 2003, p. 127–136.

In the principal manuscript tradition, the so-called A-Redaction, the ninth map of Europe covered a significant portion of the Balkan Peninsula, stretching on the west from present-day Hungary to the southern Dalmatian coast, and on the east from the Danube Delta to the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles. Scholars have thoroughly described the contents of the map, highlighting the military and administrative origin of many toponyms (e.g., the division of the territory in strategies), but also stressing the heterochrony of some outdated information as well as major errors in the orography of the region.²⁶ The rational cutout of the continent into ten same-scale maps further assigned the western and southern parts of the peninsula to the fifth and the tenth maps of Europe, respectively devoted to the regions leaning on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea and to Greece. A secondary tradition, known as the B-Redaction, far richer in drawings, featured instead two more detailed maps, splitting the above mentioned ninth map along the Balkan Mountain range. This choice, though most likely motivated by editorial constraints, might as well have been reminiscing of the notion that in ancient times this mountain range, as observes Alexander Vezenkov, “coincided with the northern limit of the influence of ancient Greek culture, while the area to its north was only later Latinized under the rule of the Roman Empire”.²⁷ The resulting two maps, however, fell somehow into oblivion until Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), published them in the late sixteenth century as the antiquarian maps of Dacia and Moesia (1595) and Thrace (1590).²⁸ Inserted in the *Parergon* of Ortelius’s acclaimed *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, they became part of what is considered to be the first western historical atlas.²⁹

It was a manuscript from the A-Redaction, rather than B-Redaction, that made its way from Constantinople to Florence in 1397, brought by the Greek scholar and teacher Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1355–1415).³⁰ Historiographers have

²⁶ For a detailed description of the map and further bibliographic references see M. Grčić, “The Balkans on the Geographical Map of Claudius Ptolemy”, *Bulletin of the Serbian Geographical Society* 98, 2018, 2, p. 83–117. See also B. Beševliev, “Basic Trends in Representing...”, p. 100; M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice. Din antichitate pînă în pragul veacului nostru*, Bucharest, 1978, p. 38–45; T. Veneri, “Framing Southeastern Europe. Patterns in Cartographic Regionalization (1477–1636)”, *CAS Working Papers Series* 10, 2018, p. 7–10.

²⁷ A. Vezenkov, “Entangled Geographies of the Balkans...”, p. 124.

²⁸ Of the two, it is the latter that will be quickly reused and modernized, in particular by the Cologne school of cartography, as in the map *Thracia et Bulgaria cum viciniis*, produced by Johann Bussemacher in 1596. The map features in the low left corner a medallion with the portrait of Sultan Mehmed III, ascended to the throne the previous year. The decoration thus makes it clear that the regions depicted must be seen as the immediate backcountry of the Ottoman imperial capital, to which significant prominence is given by the mapmaker at the eastern edge of the map. See T. Veneri, “Framing Southeastern Europe...”, p. 33–34.

²⁹ J. Black, *Maps and History. Constructing Images of the Past*, New Haven and London, 1997, p. 9–10. On these maps see also A. Orachev, *Bulgaria in the European Cartographic Concepts*, Sofia, 2005, p. 76–78.

³⁰ P. Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy’s Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 287–290. The manuscript, Codex

often characterized this arrival, and the subsequent translation of the *Geography* into Latin by Jacopo Angeli (c. 1360–c. 1410), as the events that marked not only the rediscovery of Ptolemy in Western Europe, but the very beginnings of modern cartography.³¹ However, the idea of a single, integrated, Eurocentric master narrative of cartographic modernity, with its identifiable and symbolic birthplace in the cradle of the Renaissance, has been largely challenged. Studies have since revised this narrative, unearthing discontinuities, ideological motives, and cultural exchanges that had been conveniently obliterated in favor of a tale of European scientific progress and advancement away from the irrational conceptions of the Middle Ages.³² Despite these much-needed revisions, many of these studies have in turn ceded to the holistic temptations of a new narrative of power and territorial command. In this view, we might question to what extent this recent, exclusive focus on the politically driven agendas of these artifacts has had the reverse effect of erasing forms of dissent and conflictive views from the surface of the map – or better, of the globe.

According to Denis Cosgrove, the so-called rediscovery of Ptolemy marked the beginning of modernity because it dramatically disclosed the possibility of the “Apollonian gaze”, i.e., a view from a distance sufficient for the observer to see the spherical earth.³³ This modernity, explains John Pickles, was indeed “one which privileged a particular form of seeing (distanced, objective and penetrating), predicated on an epistemology and politics of mastery and control of earth, nature and subjects”.³⁴ Ptolemy’s quantitative space, charted as continuous, homogeneous,

Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus 82 (Vatican) was compiled in Constantinople between 1295 and 1303 and includes a world map and twenty-six regional maps. Two other codices of the *Geography*, both without maps, can be linked to the activity of Chrysoloras: *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 191* (Vatican), created in Constantinople between 1296 and 1302 and featuring the Greek scholar’s annotations, and *Codex Florentinus Laurentianus Pluteus 28.9* (Florence), most likely drafted in Florence in the early fifteenth century. See R. Burri, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaios...*, p. 188–200, 479–487, 497–504; S. Gentile, “Umanesimo e cartografia: Tolomeo nel secolo XV”, in D. Ramada Curto, A. Cattaneo and A. Ferrand (eds.), *La cartografia europea tra primo Rinascimento e fine dell’Illuminismo*, Florence, 2003, p. 3–18.

³¹ On this traditional association see F. Fiorani, “Mapping and Voyages,” in M. Wyatt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge, 2014, p. 59–83; C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map...*, p. 62.

³² P. Gautier Dalché, *La Géographie de Ptolémée en Occident (IV^e–XVI^e siècle)*, Turnhout, 2009; M.B. Goldie, *Scribes of Place. Place in Middle English Literature and Late Medieval Science*, Ithaca and London, 2019, p. 16–17; J.A. Marino, “On the Shores of Bohemia. Recovering Geography”, in J.A. Marino (ed.), *Early Modern History and the Social Sciences: Testing the Limits of Braudel’s Mediterranean*, Kirksville, MO, 2002, p. 9–13; M. Milanesi, “La rinascita della geografia dell’Europa (1350–1480)”, in S. Gensini (ed.), *Europa e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo e prima età moderna: l’osservatorio italiano*, Ospedaletto (Pisa), 1992, p. 35–37; J. Simon, “Chorography Reconsidered. An Alternative Approach to the Ptolemaic Definition”, in K. Lilley (ed.), *Mapping Medieval Geographies. Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 23–44.

³³ D. Cosgrove, “Contested Global Visions: *One-World, Whole-Earth*, and the Apollo Space Photographs”, *Annals of the Associations of American Geographers* 84, 1994, 2, p. 271.

³⁴ J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces. Cartographic Reason, Mapping and the Geo-Coded World*, London and New York, 2004, p. 83.

and isotropic, would foster the development of linear perspective and the establishment of a coded spatial language governing a new foundational relationship between town, country, and political territory.³⁵ By linking vision and geometry, matter and extension, the space of Ptolemy, according to these views, would lie at the roots of modern territoriality.³⁶ It is at this point, around 1500, that Denis Wood posits the historical divide between a world that until then had virtually no need for maps, and a world in which maps started to be perceived as necessary and even natural. It is when they began to organize the interests of the state that these graphic notation systems, says Wood, actually became *maps*, i.e., systems of propositions about the territory rather than simple representations.³⁷ By performing the very shape of statehood, they brought the state into being, naturalizing its representation and obscuring its origins. Wood has further highlighted the global horizons of this change in the sixteenth century, due to worldwide socio-economic transformations, and denounced enduring European presumptions of exceptionalism and claims to scientific primacy:

Greco-Roman contributions to the history of mapmaking have been unconscionably exaggerated [...] nor was “European” mapmaking ever the “scientific” enterprise it has been claimed to be. It was first and foremost a highly utilitarian managerial activity and second a profoundly ideological one, serving national identity-building, colonial, and other interests; and it was preceded by similarly motivated mapmaking in China, and paralleled by it elsewhere in the world.³⁸

Along this line of thought, decolonial thinker Walter Mignolo has also powerfully criticized the complicity of Renaissance humanism and cartography in collapsing a polycentric world and establishing a worldwide colonial order.³⁹

Although they are overdue antidotes to dominant historiographical myths, and important incentives to new lines of research, these militant narratives, in foregrounding cartography primarily as an agent of oppression, nevertheless run the risk of flattening the very multivocal and layered nature of maps. To avoid this, John Pickles has advocated for a contrapuntal, counterhegemonic approach to the

³⁵ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA, 1991, p. 40–41. On the influence of Ptolemy’s work and the development of linear perspective see also S.Y. Edgerton Jr., “Florentine Interest in Ptolemaic Cartography as Background for Renaissance Painting, Architecture, and the Discovery of America”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33, 1974, 4, p. 275–292; K.H. Veltman, “Ptolemy and the Origins of Linear Perspective”, in M. Dalai Emiliani (ed.), *La Prospettiva Rinascimentale. Codificazioni e trasgressioni. Volume I*, Florence, 1980, pp. 403–407.

³⁶ F. Farinelli, *Blinding Polyphemus. Geography and the Models of the World*, London, New York and Calcutta, 2018, p. 13–15.

³⁷ D. Wood, with J. Fels and J. Krygier, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, New York and London, 2010, p. 1–35.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁹ W.D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance. Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, Ann Arbor, 1995, p. 219–313.

history of cartography, one that would track the emergence of multiple modernities, deconstructing rather than inflating totalizing accounts, dismantling rather than erecting the leviathan of the early modern state:

It seems to me that this multiplicity, and the differences it fosters, are at the heart of the problem of coming to grips with so ambiguous and complex a cultural object as the map. The still deeply rooted desire for totalizing monochromatic accounts that explain the map in terms of it being a socially produced symbolic object, a tool of power, a form derived from a particular epistemology of the gaze, or a masculinist representation, seem to me to miss the point of the post-structuralist turn: that is, that not only are maps multivocal, not only are the spaces they constructively represent complex articulations of coded and nomadic spaces, but so also must be our accounts of them.⁴⁰

The invitation formulated by Pickles guides this essay in many ways. On the one hand, it substantiates the necessity to construct modernity as a plurality, while disentangling its multiple narrative confluences. This approach, in our case, opens up to the possibility of examining the various, plural instances through which maps of the Balkan Peninsula were presented or regarded as modern at the time of their production. On the other hand, it explains the winding itinerary structure of these pages, which after Florence, will move to Austria, Venice, back to Constantinople, now under Ottoman rule, and then on to Istria, Transylvania, Germany, and the Low Countries.

There is no doubt that Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), the Chancellor of Florence, and his fellow scholars who in 1397 had invited Chrysoloras in the Tuscan city to teach Greek, considered themselves modern. Their enthusiasm for classical antiquity far exceeded the curiosity of antiquarian erudition, and had crucial ethnic, political, and practical ramifications. Salutati's explicit conviction that to imitate the past meant to produce something new rather than merely reproduce, instantiates well this ideological collapse of antiquity and modernity.⁴¹ Kenneth R. Bartlett has perceptively characterized it as the “energizing myth” of Renaissance humanism:

A self-perpetuating, self-defining belief that Italians of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were practicing skills or creating art and ideas that brought them close to the classical past and provided a guide to life and letters, education and politics, morals and ethics, art and learning. These ideals could be shaped into a functional code of behavior, a structure of belief—an ideology—to animate a ruling elite: the well-educated, independent, urban, mercantile, bourgeois inhabitants of the city-state republics, or the courtiers and clients of the petty despotisms of the Italian peninsula.⁴²

⁴⁰ J. Pickles, *A History of Spaces*..., p. 19.

⁴¹ S. Greenblatt, *The Swerve: How the World Became Modern*, New York, 2011, p. 124.

⁴² K.R. Bartlett, *A Short History of the Italian Renaissance*, Toronto, 2013, p. 10.

In this context, the two-fold and paradoxical destiny of the Ptolemaic maps was prefigured by the divergent interests of the humanists. On the one hand, the arrival of Chrysoloras's copy was met with great expectations regarding the cartographic method employed by the Alexandrian geographer to represent space in a quantitative way. On the other hand, the maps and the gazetteer must have appeared a treasure trove of ancient toponyms that would finally allow them to locate with precision the events and places of Greek and Roman history. While the former, methodological instance would foster cartographic experimentation, the latter, antiquarian cult of the book was calling for its visual iconization. It is on this two-fold aspect of Ptolemy's work – its authority and generative power – that Byzantine scholars like Chrysoloras, Georgius Gemisthos Plethon (1355/1360–1453), and later cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), knowingly capitalized during their travels to Italy.⁴³ Their goals were similar, but also different, from those of their Italian fellows, and in this view, they were all but impartial or passive mediators. Their contribution to the revival of Greek studies was, like that of the Florentines, motivated by the belief that education and culture were key for the survival of the state – in the case of Byzantium, an alarmingly fragile and threatened one.⁴⁴ The empire's survival, as was clear to them, was tied to the West, and to a program of cultural politics that could move the western political and ecclesiastical elites toward the idea that, if the rediscovery of antiquity was to reshape the structures of power and culture in Europe, Byzantium had the most important role to play in this process. Robert Nelson has noted that in this direction, before the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 would sanction the historicization of Byzantine culture, Ptolemy's legacy in the West was instrumentally staged by Greek scholars as the expression of a living culture.⁴⁵ An eloquent material outcome of this agenda can be found in the splendid frontispiece, featuring Ptolemy's portrait accompanied by Greek and Latin epigrams, that adorns the copy of the *Geography* commissioned in Italy by Bessarion to the Cretan scribe Ioannes Rhosos (fl. 1447–1498). This lavish addition attests to the

⁴³ On the geographical contributions of Plethon, a key figure in the reception of Strabo in Italy, see A. Diller, "A Geographical Treatise by Georgius Gemistus Pletho", *Isis* 27, 1937, 3, p. 441–451.

⁴⁴ J. Hankins, "Chrysoloras and the Greek Studies of Leonardo Bruni", in R. Maisano and A. Rollo (eds.), *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 26–29 giugno 1997)*, Naples, 2002, p. 175–178. On the impact of Chrysoloras in Italy see also N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, London and New York, 1992, p. 9–14. On how the Ottoman pressure over the Byzantine Empire contributed to the revival of Greek studies in the West see M.D. Birnbaum, "What the West Has Won by the Fall of Byzantium?", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 41, 2004, p. 469–474.

⁴⁵ R. Nelson, "Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France", in H.C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, New Haven and New York, 2004, p. 519–523. With a totally different perspective, aimed at relativizing the geographical interests of the humanists of the Quattrocento, characterizes as eminently antiquarian, Nikolaus Egel has discussed Bessarion's role in the reception of Ptolemy. See N. Egel, "Bessarion als Geograph? Bessarions Rolle in der Vermittlung der Geographia des Ptolemäus und ihre Aufnahme durch die italienischen Humanisten", in C. Märkl, C. Kaiser and T. Ricklin (eds.), *Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus. Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, Berlin, 2013, p. 203–228.

efforts made by the cardinal, who had brought from Greece an old Byzantine copy of the book, to actively engage with the Italian Renaissance visual culture, while claiming some Greek agency over Ptolemy's fortune in a context that was as political as academic.⁴⁶

Therefore, it is in accord, rather than in tension, with humanistic motivations, that the Byzantines' scholarly missions to Italy were entangled with important diplomatic efforts, aimed both at gathering military aid and furthering the union of the Greek and Latin churches.⁴⁷ In this view, the church councils of Constance (1414–1418) and later of Ferrara and Florence (1438–1445) came to be not only extraordinary platforms for the transmission of texts from East to West, but also hotspots for the exchange of cartographic information.⁴⁸ Here, in an unprecedented way, Italian humanists and geographers were able to discuss maps, philological and scientific issues with foreign scholars, like the French prelates Pierre D'Ailly (1351–1420) and Guillaume Fillastre (1348–1428) in Constance, or the already mentioned Byzantine envoys Plethon and Bessarion some twenty years later in Florence.⁴⁹ It is within the international intellectual network set in motion by these events that the first attempts to modernize and supplement the Ptolemaic maps were made and circulated. In particular, triggered by these conversations were two long-lasting contributions, respectively to the regional cartography of North and Central Europe, offered by Danish geographer Claudius Clavus (b. 1388) and later by German humanist Nicolaus Cusanus (1401–1464).⁵⁰ Between the former's visit

⁴⁶ The early fourteenth century manuscript of the *Geography* owned by Bessarion – *Marcianus Graecus Z. 516 (904)* (Venice) – was probably copied in Thessaloniki by a Frank named Andrea Teluntās and includes illustrations whose origin and meaning have been matter of debate. See F. Lovino, “Un miniatore nella bottega degli Astrapas? Alcune osservazioni attorno alle immagini del Tolomeo Marciano Gr. Z. 516 (904)”, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 22, 2016, p. 384–398. On Bessarion's Greek library see 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. Märtl, C. Kaiser, and T. Ricklin (eds.), *Inter graecos latinissimus...*, p. 187–202.

⁴⁷ J.W. Barker “Emperors, Embassies, and Scholars: Diplomacy and the Transmission of Byzantine Humanism to Renaissance Italy”, in D.G. Angelov (ed.), *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, Kalamazoo, MI, 2009, p. 158–179; R. Born, “Trojaner und Erbfeinde. Ethnographisches Wissen, kartographische Praxis und Propaganda in Europa und dem Osmanischen Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in S. Grunwald, K.P. Hoffmann, D.A. Werning and F. Wiedemann (eds.), *Mapping Ancient Identities. Methodisch-kritische Reflexionen zu Kartierungspraktiken*, Berlin, 2018, p. 42. <http://www.topoi.org/publication/47494/>

⁴⁸ J. Herrin and S.M. MacManus, “Renaissance Encounters: Byzantium Meets the West at the Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438-39”, in M.S. Brownlee and D.H. Gondicas (eds.), *Renaissance Encounters. Greek East and Latin West*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, p. 35–56. On Bessarion, and the importance of the Council of Florence for the Greek Studies in Italy, see N.G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy...*, p. 63–77.

⁴⁹ On Fillastre's role in the reception of Ptolemy in France see D. Marcotte (ed.), *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du concile de Constance. Autour de Guillaume Fillastre. Actes du Colloque de l'Université de Reims. 18–19 novembre 1999*, Turnhout, 2002.

⁵⁰ On Clavus's map of Scandinavia and Greenland see K. A. Seaver, “Saxo Meets Ptolemy: Claudius Clavus and the ‘Nancy Map’”, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography* 67, 2013, 2, p. 72–86. On Cusanus's map of Central Europe see D. B. Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus of the Fifteenth Century. A Study in the Transition from Medieval to Modern Science*, Leiden, 1952, p. 252–270; P.H. Meurer, “Cartography in the German Lands, 1450–1650”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 1183–1188.

to Italy in 1424 and the latter's trip to Germany in 1451, Ptolemaic cartography became the object of further groundbreaking initiatives in the Benedictine abbeys of Klosterneuburg in Austria and Reichenbach in Bavaria. Here, a group of cosmopolitan scholars connected to the University of Vienna not only started updating the ancient *tabulae*, but went further and, for the first time, applied the Ptolemaic grid to a new regional frame, where they inserted a set of data and coordinates of entirely modern origin.⁵¹ While their knowledge of the Balkan Peninsula was limited and did not allow for such a laborious project, the Benedictine monks must be credited for modernizing the toponymy of the region on their maps of Europe, as well as on the Trier-Coblenz map fragments, from which the section depicting the middle Danube basin has survived, while its southern homologue was unfortunately lost.⁵² Luckily, another attempt at modernizing Ptolemaic cartography, one that shows a deeper knowledge of the Balkans, has survived. The *Harley Codex 3686* in the British Library, which includes the text of the *Geography* with a totally new set of maps, was most likely crafted in Venice between 1436 and 1450.⁵³ Largely drawing on portolan charts, the mapmaker manifests his sea-centered approach by incorporating the western part of the peninsula in a map of the Central Mediterranean Sea, while featuring the eastern counterpart on a map centered on the Black Sea. The maps, which mix ancient and modern toponyms, confirm an inferior knowledge of the hinterland with respect to the coasts, as the interests of the Venetians in the area at the time fell disproportionately in the field of maritime affairs.⁵⁴ Even so, as Marica Milanese notes, an "unusual feature of the Harleian maps is the amount of detail for the Balkan Peninsula (f. 34v), where Bojana is both shown and named (*bojane* instead of the usual Lodrin), as is the Vardar river (*veria*)".⁵⁵ A variety of sources, available only at a crossroads of trade like Venice, must have been used by this anonymous cartographer, whose work according to Milanese "constitutes one of the earliest examples of the synthesis of portolan chart, Ptolemaic map and medieval mappamundi that characterised fifteenth-century cartography and the only example of such a synthesis on a regional scale".⁵⁶ While in Florence, where no significant cartographic tradition existed before Ptolemy, major experimentations would be carried out by German mapmakers, like Nicolaus Germanus (c. 1420 – c. 1490) and Henricus Martellus (fl. 1480–1496), in Venice the encounter of the *Geography* with the nautical chart, an old and prestigious tradition capable of representing the

⁵¹ In this view, the Klosterneuburg map of Central Europe can be seen as a forerunner of Cusanus's cartography. See D.B. Durand, *The Vienna-Klosterneuburg Map Corpus...*, p. 228–251.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 145–159.

⁵³ M. Milanese, "A Forgotten Ptolemy: Harley Codex 3686 in the British Library," *Imago Mundi* 48, 1996, 1, p. 43–64.

⁵⁴ A. Ducellier, "La penisola balcanica vista dall'osservatorio veneziano nei sec. XIV e XV", in S. Gensini (ed.), *Europa e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo e prima età moderna: l'osservatorio italiano*, Ospedaletto (Pisa), 1992, p. 297–314.

⁵⁵ M. Milanese, "A Forgotten Ptolemy...", p. 48

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

world both at the ecumenical and local scale, was to be otherwise productive, as the Harleian maps demonstrate.⁵⁷

Further in the century, the tension between innovation and conservation in the circulation of Ptolemaic maps was magnified on the one hand by the introduction of hand-drawn maps in different state-led activities in Northern Italy – diplomacy and territorial management above all⁵⁸ – and the flourishing of a deluxe manuscript market on the other hand.⁵⁹ Since 1477, the printing press would accelerate this process: as noted by John Rennie Short, Ptolemy became, “after the Bible, one of the most important publishing ventures of the Renaissance” and at the same time “the primary impulse to the creative cartography of the sixteenth century”.⁶⁰ Exposed to these contrasting tendencies, the Ptolemaic map of the Balkans would ultimately coexist in three different forms: the (almost) immutable, canonized illustration to the classical text; its modernized version, which introduced the current toponymy within the frame of the old template, occasionally modifying it; and a set of distinctively new products, deriving from the assembly or the cutout of different, modernized Ptolemaic maps. In each of the three strands, the cartographic outline of the peninsula was infused with different instances of modernity that had already shifted away from the expectations and goals of Early Quattrocento humanists.

The ‘immutability’ of the first group, i.e., of the maps canonized as an integral component of Ptolemy’s text, should, however, not be taken literally. Indeed, the very first printed edition, complete with maps, of the *Geography* (Bologna, de Lapis, 1477) presents some intentional departures from the tradition, ones that in particular modify the cartographic display of the Balkan Peninsula. Besides the introduction of a few modern toponyms – *Costantinopoli*, *Grecia*, *Turchia* – here the major alteration consists in the relocation of Thracia and Chersonesus. Left blank in the ninth map of Europe, these regions were included instead in a new map, which covered Greece (the tenth map of Europe) as well as the Aegean provinces of Asia Minor (from the first map of Asia).⁶¹ George Toliás has recently explained that through this re-grouping of provinces the editors, rather than attempting to modernize the text, sought to adjust the regional maps to the different astrological arrangement detailed by Ptolemy in his *Tetrabiblos*.⁶²

⁵⁷ M. Milanesi, “Cartografia per un principe senza corte: Venezia nel Quattrocento”, *Micrologus. Natura, scienze e società Medievali / Nature, Sciences and Medieval Studies* 16, 2008, 189–216.

⁵⁸ On this last aspect see E. Casti, “State, Cartography, and Territory in Renaissance Veneto and Lombardy”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 874–908.

⁵⁹ On the popularity of Ptolemy in Italian Renaissance courts and their demand for lavish manuscripts of the *Geography* see M. Milanesi, “Testi geografici antichi in manoscritti miniati del XV secolo”, in S. Pittaluga (ed.), *Columbeis V: Relazioni di viaggio e conoscenza del mondo tra Medio Evo e Rinascimento, Atti del V Convegno internazionale dell’Associazione per il Medioevo e l’Umanesimo Latini* (Genova 1991), Genova, 1993, p. 341–362.

⁶⁰ J.R. Short, *Making Space...*, p. 23. See also C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map...*, p. 56–64. The first edition of the *Geography* (Vicenza, 1475) was printed without maps by Herman Levilapis.

⁶¹ In this edition, however, unlike most versions, maps are not numbered according to the continent they belong to.

⁶² G. Toliás, “The World under the Stars: Astrological Geography and the Bologna 1477 Edition of Ptolemy’s *Cosmographia*”, *Imago Mundi* 71, 2019, p. 125–150.

If Ptolemaic cartography could play an important role in astrological practices of prognostication in Italian Renaissance courts, it could also provide the source for literary inspiration and diplomatic maneuvers. In this view, Francesco Berlinghieri's *Septe Giornate de la Geographia* (1482) exemplifies how a set of maps of the ancient world, already canonized by decades of manuscript production, could be endowed with invigorating new meanings and further novel claims to modernity. For in this book, they served as a visual illustration not only to the first fully realized vernacular rendition of the *Geography*, but also to a fictional conversation in rhyme in which the Florentine humanist and statesman (1440–1501) confronted the very authority of his poetic interlocutor, Ptolemy.⁶³ Berlinghieri's work was also unquestionably innovative for all the toponyms it translated and identified and for the integration of modern sources and references. Confectured in the shop of a German immigrant, Niccolò Tedesco, it was also the first printed edition, together with the one published the same year in Ulm by Lienhart Holl (d. after 1492), to supplement the Ptolemaic atlas with *tabulae modernae*.⁶⁴ “These thirty-one, double-folio maps” according to Sean Roberts “represented the largest program of engraving undertaken in Renaissance Florence and must be counted among the most ambitious printing projects of the fifteenth century”.⁶⁵ Although this edition did not include yet a modern map of the Balkan Peninsula, the verses that accompanied the ninth map of Europe occasionally bridged ancient geography and current historical events (fig. 1). While describing the map, the poet thus could venture in locating the place of origin of the Hungarian people, or tentatively identify the ancient Dionysopolis with the modern town of Varna. He would further characterize the Danube plain of Dacia as a military front between Turks and Wallachians, and finally point to Constantinople as the new center of a vast and expanding Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶ Beside the evidence provided by the literary apparatus, two further documentary anecdotes attest to how different, new readings of the Ptolemaic map were possible in a historically changed context.

Berlinghieri had made the interesting choice to dedicate his endeavor to Mehmed II (1432–1481), the Ottoman sovereign who brought an end to the

⁶³ S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World. Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, p. 2.

⁶⁴ The *Septe Giornate de la Geographia* feature indeed the first printed maps of modern Spain, France, Italy, and the Holy Land. See R.A. Skelton, “Bibliographical Note”, in Berlinghieri, Francesco, *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, Amsterdam, 1966, V–XIII. The maps of the Ulm edition, which include five *tabulae modernae*, were based on the manuscript work of Nicolaus Germanus, a Benedictine monk who had worked in Italy, where he most likely gathered the source material, derived from Claudius Clavus, for an additional modern map of Scandinavia. See K.-H. Meine (ed.), *Die Ulmer Geographia des Ptolemäus von 1482: zur 500. Wiederkehr der ersten Atlasdrucklegung nördlich der Alpen. Ulm, Schwörhaus 11. Oktober bis 30. November 1982*, Weissenhorn, 1982. In addition, miniatures in manuscript copies of Berlinghieri's poem offer evidence for the existence, in the second half of the fifteenth century, of a wall map tradition, almost completely lost, of modernized versions of Ptolemy's world map. See C. Van Duzer, “The Ptolemaic Wall Map: A Lost Tradition of Renaissance Cartography”, *Viator* 45, 2014, 1, p. 361–390.

⁶⁵ S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World...*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ See chapters XIX–XXII of F. Berlinghieri, *Geographia: Florence, 1482*, Amsterdam, 1966.

Byzantine Empire by conquering Constantinople in 1453.⁶⁷ A major patron of the arts, the sultan had since attracted to his new capital many artists and scholars from Western Europe, while appropriating and adapting, with the assistance of local intellectuals, Greco-Roman models of learning for the political ends of the empire.⁶⁸ Rather than endangering the survival of classical knowledge, Mehmed II, who is known to have commissioned atlases and a translation of Ptolemy, seems on the contrary to have initiated, in Pinar Emiralioğlu's words, a true "renaissance of Ottoman geographical consciousness".⁶⁹ When in 1929 Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) identified the library of the sultan in the Topkapi Palace, he romantically described it as an attempt to unite the intellectual cultures of the East and the West.⁷⁰ The legend of Mehmed II as a well-rounded Renaissance man has since been thoroughly questioned, notably by Franz Babinger (1891–1967), together with his alleged mastery of western languages.⁷¹ However, two extant Greek copies and two Arabic translations of the *Geography*, as well as evidence of a world map, now lost, derived from Ptolemy and commissioned by the sultan to the Greek scholar Georgius Amirutzes (1400–1470), attest to the sultan's lively interests in geography.⁷² While these interests might have been motivated by military and political goals in the West, they have been shown to be at the origin of Mehmed II's patronage of classic Islamic cartographic material as well.⁷³ With these articulate backdrops in mind, a short handwritten inscription, found on the margins of the ninth map of Europe – the map of the Balkan Peninsula – in Lorenzo de Medici's personal copy of Berlinghieri's book, acquires unexpected relevance. Stating that Florence and Byzantium occupied the same parallel, the apparently casual note foregrounds a common intellectual legacy between the two cities, one that found in Ptolemy its prime champion.⁷⁴

The untimely death of Mehmed II one year before the publication of the book did not remove Berlinghieri from his resolution to capitalize on such a potent

⁶⁷ See M. Milanesi, "Testi geografici antichi...", p. 352–359.

⁶⁸ J. Brotton, *Trading Territories. Mapping in the Early Modern World*, Ithaca, 1997, p. 91–93.

⁶⁹ P. Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT, 2014, p. 21–27; G. Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople", *Muqarnas* 29, 2012, p. 1–81.

⁷⁰ A. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai: Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1933, p. 24. On Deissmann's discoveries see L. Bagrow, "A Tale from the Bosphorus", *Imago Mundi* 12, 1955, p. 25–29; A. Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist*, Berlin and New York, 2010, p. 198–201.

⁷¹ F. Babinger, "Mehmed II., der Eroberer, und Italien", *Byzantion* 21, 1951, p. 127–146; C.G. Patrinelis, "Mehmed II the Conqueror and His Presumed Knowledge of Greek and Latin", *Viator* 2, 1971, p. 349–354.

⁷² R. Born, "Trojaner und Erbfeinde...", p. 43–49; J. Raby, "East and West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library", *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 3, 1987, p. 297–321.

⁷³ K. Pinto, "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster'", *Imago Mundi* 3, 2011, 2, p. 155–179.

⁷⁴ S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World...*, p. 20–21.

cultural connection. As a diplomatic gift, offered to strengthen mercantile and martial ties in a rapidly changing geopolitical scenery, the cartographic poem represented the goals and aspirations of the Florentine state in the face of a power that was reshaping all the equilibriums in the Mediterranean.⁷⁵ Florence, where earlier in the century an ecumenical council had vainly sought to bridge the Great Schism and unite the West and East churches, after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople had been slower than the Venetians and the Genoese, who could flaunt a centuries-long presence on the Bosphorus, in establishing diplomatic relations with the Sublime Porte. By the end of the 1470s, however, when the war of the sixteen years between the Turks and Venice (1463–1479) was still raging, the court of Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) had already made a number of attempts, all secret and unofficial, to capture the sultan's good will. Most of these maneuvers – notably those of the Florentine poet, historian, and spy Benedetto Dei (1418–1492) – were made, like those of other Italian states, to weaken the Venetian Republic, whose increasing territorial power in Northern Italy was felt as a major threat.⁷⁶ In particular, the lord of Rimini and Fano, Sigismondo Malatesta (1417–1468), in 1461 had tried to gain the confidence of Mehmet II by sending the painter and sculptor Matteo de' Pasti (c. 1412–1468) to Constantinople, together with a military treatise (Roberto Valturio's *De re militari*), and a map, which however were both intercepted in Crete by the Venetian authorities.⁷⁷

It was in the aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) that the Florentine approaches bore fruit, when the sultan in 1479 agreed to repatriate Bernardo Bandini dei Baroncelli, the murderer of Giuliano de' Medici, Lorenzo's brother, who had found refuge in Istanbul. In the same way as these negotiations had been accompanied by diplomatic gifts aimed at pleasing the sultan's taste, only few years later, when another crisis presented Lorenzo with the possibility of gaining the favor of the sovereign, Berlinghieri's book would travel by means of the merchant and occasional diplomatic envoy Paolo da Colle. In 1481, after Mehmed II had died, being succeeded by his son Bayezid II (1447–1512), the brother of the new sultan, as well as rival heir to the throne, Cem (1459–1495), had fled the capital, ultimately finding refuge in Savoy under the protection of the Knights of Rhodes.⁷⁸ In this delicate and competitive context, in which Lorenzo was eager to play a role, Berlinghieri had copies of his poem re-inscribed and sent both to

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ F. Babinger, "Mehmed II, der Eroberer...", p. 146–161.

⁷⁷ A. Gatward Cevizli, "Mehmed II, Malatesta and Matteo De' Pasti: A Match of Mutual Benefit between the 'Terrible Turk' and a 'Citizen of Hell'", *Renaissance Studies* 31, 2017, 1, p. 43–65; S. Roberts, "The Lost Map of Matteo de' Pasti. Cartography, Diplomacy, and Espionage in the Renaissance Adriatic", *Journal of Early Modern History* 20, 2016, p. 19–38. On further bookish diplomatic gifts to Mehmet II see E. Jacobs, "Büchergeschenke für Sultan Mehmed II", in *Festschrift Georg Leyh. Aufsätze zum Bibliothekswesen und zur Forschungsgeschichte dargebracht zum 60. Geburtstag am 6. Juni 1937 von Freunden und Fachgenossen*, Leipzig, 1937, p. 20–26.

⁷⁸ F. Babinger, "Lorenzo de' Medici e la corte ottomana", *Archivio Storico Italiano* 120, 1963, p. 305–361.

Bayezid II in Istanbul and to Cem in Savoy. Both copies included Ptolemy's ninth map of Europe, though the title was partially illegible due to a printing error: confusing the two continents divided by the Bosphorus, the mistaken lettering *tabula nona d'Asia* had been interposed with the correct wording *tabula nona d'Europa*. For Jerry Brotton the typo could signal, beyond a comprehensible lack of familiarity with the new media, also uncertainty surrounding the identity of those areas, whose borders were on constant revision in the face of Ottoman territorial expansion.⁷⁹ More interesting and telling about shifting geographical identities is perhaps the fact that in Cem's copy, today at the National University Library in Turin, the re-inscription in gold leaf of the disorienting title had placed the Balkan Peninsula not in Europe, but rather in Asia.⁸⁰

Accompanying texts, letters of dedication, handwritten inscriptions, differences in editorial contexts and cultural backgrounds can thus situate under new light the apparently uneventful iteration, during the Renaissance, of Ptolemy's map of Southeast Europe. Canonized by three centuries of manuscript transmission – codices of the *Geography* would be compiled well into the sixteenth century – the map was granted a further, unprecedented circulation by the printing press. Some forty illustrated editions of Ptolemy were published between 1477 and 1624, varying in size and format, engraving techniques, language, and decorative apparatus.⁸¹ These editions, as we have seen, were almost immediately supplemented with modern maps of regions that had either not been covered by Ptolemy – like Scandinavia – or for which abundant cartographic information was available – like Italy, France, and Spain. Interestingly, the first modern correspondents of the ninth *tabula* of Europe are found outside this authoritative tradition, in two independent projects, animated respectively by the ambition to substitute Ptolemy, and to make geography accessible to a much wider audience.

At this point, to encounter these pioneering examples of cartographic modernization – our second group of maps derived by Ptolemy – we must travel away from the dominant centers of power and culture, and head to the northwestern and northeastern margins of the peninsula, respectively to the smaller towns of Isola in Istria and Transylvanian Kronstadt (Hungarian: Brassó, today Braşov, in Romania). It is in a secondary harbor of the Venetian *stato da mar*, in fact, that the first great attempt at compiling a modern atlas of the whole world, including the Americas, was completed around 1520 by notary and traveler Pietro Coppo (1470–1555).⁸² As declared by the author himself, who had studied under famed humanist

⁷⁹ J. Brotton, *Trading Territories...*, p. 96–97; S. Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World...*, p. 92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁸¹ P. Gautier Dalché, “The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography...”, p. 361–364.

⁸² As noted by Roberto Almagià, before Coppo's atlas other attempts at putting together a collection of modern maps had been undertaken, in particular by Henricus Martellus (fl. 1480–1496), but none of them aimed at being as comprehensive as the *De toto orbe*. See R. Almagià, “The Atlas of Pietro Coppo, 1520”, *Imago Mundi* 7, 1950, p. 48–50; G. Busetto, “Coppo, Pietro”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28, Rome, 1983, p. 64; R. W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps. Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570*,

Marcantonio Sabellico (c. 1436–1506), this ambitious project in Latin, titled *De toto orbe*, built on decades of classical studies. In the preface to the book, after extensively mentioning all the known contributions of antiquity to the study of geography, Coppo legitimated his endeavor through his long acquaintance with the tradition: “I have attended, with the utmost diligence and desire, to this science for a long time now – from my younger years until my present age of fifty – having been imbued with the doctrine and trusting the authority of those who have achieved the highest reputation among the most learned”. At the same time, Coppo sought validation also through his personal past of navigation, exploration, and collection of geographical information (“the long familiarity and experience of many things, in traveling all over Italy [...] as well as in navigating almost all the Mediterranean Sea”). These journeys had further led him to the dramatic encounter with the material antiquity of the Mediterranean, where his embedded knowledge of classical texts had confronted the remains of the ancient world, bringing his humanistic education to bear on physical evidence. Within the *De toto orbe*, Erin Maglaque has found an eloquent trace of this transformative encounter, one that collapsed bookish knowledge and empirical experience, in the map of Crete, the Greek island where Coppo had spent six years at the beginning of the century.⁸³ Here, the layering of ancient toponyms, ruins, mythical references, and modern cities and infrastructures, far from being the product of encyclopedic accumulation, should be rather seen as the result of a “provocative encounter between Venetian colonial governance and the physical stage of myth and history”.⁸⁴ In a euphoric age for humanists and explorers, it is this two-fold pedigree that seems to embolden and justify, further in the preface, Coppo’s unapologetic claim to modernity: “I have dared to tackle what few perhaps among us have previously dared: namely, the detailed description of the world and the figuration of the disposition of the earth”.⁸⁵

Although inserted in a non-Ptolemaic atlas, Coppo’s map of the Balkan Peninsula framed the same area of the ancient *tabula*, while keeping many names from the old geographical nomenclature (fig. 2). To these, the map added a set of modern place-names, among which five regional names (*Ungaria*, *Servia*,

Chicago, 1993, p. 119–20. On Pietro Coppo’s life and his regional description of Istria see A. Degrassi, “Pietro Coppo”, *Pagine istriane*, s. 3, 1, 1950, 4, p. 87–92; Idem., “Di Pietro Coppo e delle sue opere. Documenti inediti e l’opuscolo *Del sito de Listria* ristampato dall’edizione del 1540”, *Archeografo Triestino*, s. 3, 11, 1924, p. 319–387.

⁸³E. Maglaque, *Venice’s Intimate Empire. Family Life and Scholarship in the Renaissance Mediterranean*, Ithaca and London, 2018, p. 53–63.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁸⁵My translation. “Cum a teneris annis huiusmodi scientiae atentissima cura ac desiderio iamdiu operam dedisse usque ad hanc aetatem, qua annum quinquagesimum ago eorum doctrina imbutus atque auctoritate fretus, qui inter doctissimos summum nomen obtinere meruerunt. Nec non longa consuetudine ac rerum plurimarum experientia, tam in peragranda tota Italia provinciarum omnium longe clarissima, quam in navigatione totius ferme mediterranei maris [...] Ausus sum aggredi quae pauci fortassis antehac apud nos ausi sunt, descriptionem scilicet particularem mundi et situs orbis terrarum figurationem”, P. Coppo, *De toto orbe* (c. 1520), Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell’Archiginnasio, ms. A117, fol. 1v.

Valachia, Bulgaria, Bosnia) and the location of some strategic settlements along the Danube (*Strugonium, Buda, Belgradus*). While these additions attest to the limited information available to the compiler, they also show the difficulties Coppo encountered in plotting modern names on a pre-existing template. In fact, the erroneous placement eastward of the above-mentioned regions and towns ultimately reveals the failed superimposition of a whole modern ‘grid’ over the scheme of the ancient map. Despite these flaws, the atlas, which was destined to the press, represented a true novelty. For reasons which to this day remain unknown, it remained in a manuscript form, and more than twenty years would have to pass before another, more accurate modernized version of the tabula was published in an otherwise revolutionary editorial project.⁸⁶

As Coppo himself had emphasized, his cartographic knowledge and data were not the exclusive result of bookish erudition, but stemmed from many peregrinations on land and at sea between Venice, Rome, and Crete. Similarly, years of professional itinerancy and activity at the universities of Vienna, Cracow, and Basel had advanced the cartographic skills and shaped the theological convictions of Transylvanian Saxon humanist Johannes Honter (Lat. Honterus, 1498–1549). More than anywhere else, the seeds of Honter’s future geographical endeavors were planted at the University of Vienna, at the time a lively hub for intellectuals who sought to integrate different branches of knowledge in a single cosmographical system. There, the circle around Konrad Celtis (1459–1508), Johannes Stabius (1450–1522), and Johannes Cuspinianus (1473–1529) had called for the union of astronomy, mathematics, and poetry, while playing an important role in the reception of Ptolemy in Central Europe.⁸⁷ But above all, in Vienna it was Petrus Apianus (1495–1552) who exerted a strong influence on Honter, especially through his revision of Ptolemy’s conceptual framework and his choice, for his popular introductory opus, the *Cosmographicus liber* (Landshut, 1524), of a language accessible to the layman.⁸⁸ Later in Basel, Honter was exposed to yet another cosmographical current – more historical, descriptive, and attentive to regions – that was pursued there by Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) and would achieve tremendous success with the publication of his *Cosmographia* (1544).⁸⁹ A fervent supporter of Protestant ideas to which he had been exposed during his academic *peregrinatio*, Honter also shared with theologian Philip Melancthon (1497–1560) the belief that cosmography had a high spiritual value, as the investigation of the world could provide access to the divine wisdom it expressed.

⁸⁶ R. Almagià, “The Atlas of Pietro Coppo...”, p. 48.

⁸⁷ H. Meurer, “Cartography in the German Lands, 1450–1650”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 1183–1188.

⁸⁸ Z.G. Török, “Honterus: Rudimenta Cosmographica (1542): kozmográfia és/vagy geográfia?”, in A. W. Salgó and Á. Stemler (eds.), *Honterus-Emlékkönyv*. Budapest, 2001, p. 57–72.

⁸⁹ Z.G. Török, “Einführung zu einem Kosmographielehrbuch der Spätrenaissance”, in J. Honterus. *Rudimenta Cosmographica. Grundzüge der Weltbeschreibung (Corona/Kronstadt 1542): Ins Deutsche, Rumänische und Ungarische übersetzte und kommentierte Faksimile-Ausgabe*, edited by R. Offner, H. Roth, T. Şindilariu, and U. A. Wien, Bonn, 2017, p. 48.

Energized by this belief, and imbued with a variety of learnings, Honter returned to his hometown, Kronstadt, in 1533 with the goal of founding a school that would correspond to his humanistic ideals, while setting up a printing press that would help him introduce the Reformation in Transylvania.⁹⁰ By that time, he had already major accomplishments on record. In 1530 he had published in Cracow the first modern geographical schoolbook (the small octavo *Rudimentorum cosmographiae, libri duo*). Two years later, his folio chorographical map of Transylvania/Siebenbürgen (Basel, 1532) had marked an outstanding contribution to the regional cartography of Central-East Europe. Like Coppo, who in 1525 had published the first regional map of Istria, Honter had attributed to the mapping of his home country a pivotal role within the grander scheme of his cosmographic endeavors.⁹¹ These efforts were to culminate in 1542 when Honter, by now a leading figure of the Reformation in the area, published a new enlarged version of his schoolbook (*Rudimenta Cosmographica*), not only including a longer text in hexameters, easier for students to memorize, but featuring also a whole set of modern maps.⁹² Zsolt G. Török has well synthesized the impact and enormous success of the book, which would have at least 126 editions between 1542 and 1692:

With the publication of this small, octavo book, Honter became a pioneer educator in the field of natural sciences. But its major innovation was cartographic, with the addition of sixteen woodcut maps at the end of the book. In effect, this systematic and uniform corpus of printed maps was the first non-Ptolemaic pocket atlas.⁹³

⁹⁰ P. Philippi, *Land des Segens? Fragen an die Geschichte Siebenbürgens und seiner Sachsen*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2008, p. 115.

⁹¹ Z.G. Török, “Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe, ca. 1450–1650”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 1828–1831. On the different versions of Honter’s map of Transylvania (*Chorographia Transylvaniae*), which records almost only German settlements, while neighboring Wallachia shows bilingual place names, see G. Borsa, “Die beiden Ausgaben der ‘Chorographia Transylvaniae’ von Johannes Honter”, *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 9, 1988, 2, p. 150–160. Further studies have confirmed that Honter made use of the map of Hungary compiled in 1528 by Lazarus Secretarius (c. 1475 – c. 1528), using the same Ptolemaic projection network though correcting its data and supplementing it with the results of his own survey. See Z. Bartos-Elekes, “Honterus Erdély-térképének vetületéről, pontosságáról”, *Geodézia és Kartográfia* 61, 2009, 6, p. 15–18; L. Sebők, “Az első Erdély-térkép és előzményei”, *Magyar Építőművészet* 81, 1990, 5, p. 30–31. The map survives in a complete copy in Budapest and in some other fragments of a different edition, whose order of publication has been recently reassessed. See K. Plihál, “Johannes Honterus Chorographia Transylvaniae Sybembürgen című térképeinek kiadástoréneti áttekintése”, *Geodézia és Kartográfia* 66, 2014, 9–10, p. 7–14, and 11–12, p. 11–18.

⁹² Recently, the book has been the object of a trilingual translation in German, Rumanian, and Hungarian, complemented with numerous essays, a facsimile edition, and a bibliographic survey: J. Honterus, *Rudimenta Cosmographica...*, 2017.

⁹³ Z.G. Török, “Renaissance Cartography in East-Central Europe...”, p. 1831. On the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* see also R.W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century...*, p. 302–15; C.F. Capello, *Iohannes Honterus ed il suo atlante geografico scolastico cinquecentesco*, Torino, 1980, p. 17–39, 47–48.

However, most of the maps, cut by Honter himself, were untitled modern versions of traditional Ptolemaic frames, with a simplified design and a higher selection of toponyms due to the reduced format of the publication. Nonetheless, a significant increase in the presence of regional names characterized the map of Southeast Europe, where along few ancient toponyms, thirteen modern regions were outlined in capital letters (fig. 3).⁹⁴ Perhaps more than in any previous maps, the regions appeared here to converge and gravitate to a common axis, the hydrographic basin of the Danube, which seemed to orient and define the whole continental backcountry. Such reading was reinforced by the poetic text, which directed the gaze from west to east, following the course of the river, from Buda to the Black Sea, before disintegrating in the coastal margins of the map.⁹⁵ Moreover, instead of the usual peripheral position, the map occupied the very center of the atlas, reflecting the author's geographical and religious ethnocentrism.⁹⁶ Honter in fact positioned the Kingdom of Dacians in the middle of Europe, where he saw the beacons of the rising sun illuminate his hometown – Corona, Kronstadt – the first on the continent to follow the teachings of Christ.⁹⁷

The following evolutions of the map showcase, beyond an increase in place-names, a series of significant interventions with respect to the two major structural, delimiting agents of the map, namely the title and the frame (or border).⁹⁸ The map would thus metamorphose, changing labels and re-adjusting its edges, in order to

⁹⁴ Ungaria, Bosna, Dacia, Servia, Transylvania, Rascia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Thracia, Valachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Podolia.

⁹⁵ J. Honter, *Rudimenta Cosmographica*, Kronstadt, 1542, fol. 10r.

⁹⁶ However, at this stage of the implementation of the Reformation, less triumphant than Honter might admit, the interconnection between national and confessional identity in Transylvania was not as settled as it would be later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Lutheran would become a synonym for Transylvanian Saxon. Moreover, the Lutheran characterization of the Reformation carried out in Kronstadt at this time is problematic and has been questioned. See E. Szegedi, "Putem vorbi de Luteranism în Transilvania secolului al XVI-lea?", *Studii și articole de istorie* 84, 2017, p. 7–17.

⁹⁷ "Europae medium Dacorum regna tenent"; "[...] praecipitque sitam sub monte Coronam, / Quam primam Europae Christi documenta sequentem / Sol oriens radiis lustrat propioribus urbem" (Ibid., fol. 7r, 10r). These lines, most likely inserted in 1542 to stage the current successes, are missing in the preliminary edition of the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* that was published without maps in 1541 and with only 1260 verses (instead of 1366). See I. Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe. Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526–1691)*, Leiden and Boston, 2009, p. 64, note 40.

⁹⁸ According to Christian Jacob's phenomenology of cartographic perception, the title programs the gaze and orients the reading of the map, mobilizes memories and interpretation, creates expectation, fashions the meaning and organization of content. As a delimiting agent, the title autonomizes and reifies the entitled object, designates and identifies, while anchoring the map in time, history and language, and to the place of its enunciation. In regional maps, the border further "stresses that cartography is above all delimitation, selection, and abstraction of a part from the whole". At the same time, the border imposes a point of view, and gives autonomy to the representation, creating a distance that "transforms the simple glance into an edified and aesthetic gaze", C. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map...*, p. 103–118, 192–201.

reflect historically situated views and vested interests. Hence, in 1544 Sebastian Münster republished it as a map of Transylvania and surrounding countries,⁹⁹ while in turn Ortelius, shifting the focus eastward and problematically incorporating medieval information with modern data, redrew it as a description of Romania and neighboring regions.¹⁰⁰ Finally, it would be adapted and further popularized with a reduced coverage by Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594) under yet another label, that of *Walachia, Servia, Bulgaria, Romania*.¹⁰¹

Parallel to these evolutions is the crafting of smaller-scale maps that resulted from the combination and cutout of several *tabulae modernae* – our third and last group of maps derived from Ptolemy. Interestingly, some of these attempts, in contrast with the unity of the region maintained by the tradition, divided the peninsula along the Danube and the Balkan range, reframing these areas as the peripheries of two distinct macro-regions. In the first case, they came to mark the southern confines of continental, Christian Central-East Europe, as in the maps published by Marco Beneventano and Giovanni Cotta in Rome in 1507, and by Martin Waldseemüller six years later in Strasbourg, maps which they included in their respective editions of Ptolemy. More than a simple operation of assembly, the maps incorporated content from various foreign sources, such as Nicolaus Cusanus’s charting of Germany, or the Polish regional cartography of Bernard Wapowski (1450–1535).¹⁰² In the second case, the same areas were instead depicted as the northern edges of a Mediterranean maritime region defined by the coasts of the Adriatic, Ionian, Aegean and Black Sea. Based on a lost prototype used in Florence by Henricus Martellus and Francesco Rosselli (1445–1508/1513), this map complemented the northern homologue in Waldseemüller’s atlas, thus reinforcing the position of the Danube as a geographical divide.¹⁰³

Later in the century, Venetian cartography, notably with the maps of the river’s course by Giacomo Gastaldi (c. 1500–1566), would restore the unity of the region and portray the Danube as a major regional axis of communication and trade. In particular, a first large map in four sheets, published in Venice by Matteo Pagano in 1546 (*La vera descrizione di tutta la Ungheria, Transilvania, Valachia...*), of which only one copy survives, today at the Vatican Library, reveals the coordination of various sources, including nautical data, in order to correct

⁹⁹ “Siebenbürg mit allen umbligenden landeren”, in S. Münster, *Cosmographia*, Basel, 1544.

¹⁰⁰ “Romaniae (quae olim Thracia dicta), vicinarumque regionum, uti Bulgariae, Walachiae, Syrfiae, etc. descriptio”, in A. Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1584.

¹⁰¹ Published at first in his *Italiae, Sclavoniae, et Graeciae tabule geographice* (Duisburg, 1589), the map would be included in Mercator’s posthumous *Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi*, Duisburg, 1595.

¹⁰² Wapowski’s work was also a source for Münster’s map of Poland and Hungary, which in the *Cosmographia* functioned as a modern correspondent to the ninth tabula of Europe, though limited to the lands situated north of the Danube.

¹⁰³ R. Almagià, “On the Cartographic Work of Francesco Rosselli”, *Imago Mundi* 8, 1951, p. 30–31; F. Banfi, “Two Italian Maps of the Balkan Peninsula”, *Imago Mundi* 11, 1954, p. 24–31; P. H. Meurer, “Cartography in the German Lands, 1450–1650”, in *HOC*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 1183–88.

Ptolemy's information.¹⁰⁴ As denoted in the cartouche, the map covers the entirety of twelve regions (*Ungheria, Transilvania, Valachia, Boemia, Slesia, Moravia, Austria, Bulgaria, Bossina, Servia, Romania, Schiavonia*) and portions of six other (*Polonia, Podolia, Rossia, Franconia, Baviera, Italia*). Worth of note, in the Adriatic Sea, is the depiction of a 'ship of faith', with the standing figure of Christ and a large towering cross, apparently sailing from the Dalmatian shore towards the West. Alluding to Venice's new position as the frontier of Christendom, the image, according to Palmira Brummett, "suggests a connection between the Christian populations of the Balkans and those of the Italian peninsula, a connection embodied in the cross, a standard marker on early modern maps of Christian space and the claims of Christian monarchs".¹⁰⁵ The map was redrawn by Gastaldi thirteen years later, in 1559, and printed by Fabio Licinio, incorporating new materials and emphasizing the role of three capital cities not only as edge-markers of the cartographic frame, but as centers of power and communication presiding over the whole region (*Dissegno particolare de regni et regioni che son da Constantinopoli a Venetia, da Venetia a Viena et da Vienna a Constantinopoli*).¹⁰⁶ While this cartographic portrayal of the Danube basin would further enter the European geographical imaginary in the following century through the extensive works of Dutch, German, and Swiss cartographers, Gastaldi's map would develop in another direction as well.¹⁰⁷ The following year, indeed, the two sheets of the maps were complemented with their southern quadrants, adding Crete as a fourth frame edge-marker, thus encompassing the Venetian maritime possessions in the Adriatic, Ionian, and Aegean Sea.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the map not only deliberately highlights the importance of the two major axes of transport and communication between the East and the West – the course of the Danube and the sea route from Venice to Constantinople – but constitutes the only attempt from the period to delineate a Christian-Ottoman border area both on land and at sea, stretching from the eastern Mediterranean to Hungary.

At the same time, Ortelius's 1570 atlas, featuring the first comprehensive map of the Ottoman Empire (*Turcici Imperii Descriptio*), popularized the cartographic idea that these areas were part of a distinctive geo-body that stretched

¹⁰⁴ R. Almagià, *La carta dei paesi danubiani e delle regioni contermini di Giacomo Gastaldi (1546)*, Rome, 1939.

¹⁰⁵ P. Brummett, "Introduction: Genre, Witness, and Time in the 'Book' of Travels", in P. Brummett (ed.), *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, Leiden and Boston, 2009, p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ R. Almagià, *Carte geografiche a stampa di particolare pregio o rarità dei secoli XVI e XVII esistenti nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 2 of *Monumenta Cartographica Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1948, p. 27–28; R. W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century...*, p. 233–34.

¹⁰⁷ P. Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 266; T. Veneri, "Framing Southeastern Europe...", p. 29–32.

¹⁰⁸ The title of the resulting new map thoroughly describes its content: *Geographia particolare d'una gran parte dell'Europa, nuovamente descritta co i confini suoi, e prima verso levante e il meridiano di Constantinopoli, e da ponente il meridiano della magnifica cita di Venetia, et da tramontana il parallelo di Vienna in Austria, e verso ostro il parallelo che passa per il mezzo dell'isola di Candia* (Venice, 1560).

across three continents, from Belgrade to Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula.¹⁰⁹ However, the positioning of the map in the Asian section of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, immediately after the map of Persia, suggests that Ortelius's original intention was probably to delegitimize the Empire. The presence of vignettes drawing on the medieval *topoi* of the Orient was further aimed at labelling the Ottoman empire as a non-European polity, while in the cartouche a classical quote from Sallustius ("Concordia parvae res crescunt, Discordia maximae dilabuntur" – "through unity small things grow, through discord they fall asunder") could easily be read as an allusion to a wishful anti-Ottoman crusade. In fact, the image was immediately followed by a map of the Holy Land, a not-so-subtle reminder that at the core of this monstrous Muslim Empire lay the geographical heart of Christianity.¹¹⁰

Despite Gastaldi's and Ortelius's terraqueous inventions, a further divide between terrestrial and maritime outlooks traversed the cartographies that had developed independently of Ptolemy. On the land, the military and political tensions in Southeast Europe had given impulse to the production of maps in which the depiction of flags, fortresses, and armies on contested territories served ideological as well as strategic purposes. An early example of this production, dating back to the fifteenth century, is the debated manuscript map included in the *Codex Latinus Parisinus 7239* of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, where it follows a military treatise titled *Tractatus de re militari et machinis bellicis* (signed by Paolo Santini da Duccio, but attributed to Mariano di Jacopo, also known as "Taccola", 1382 – c. 1453). The map, bearing no scale or graduation, covers the area between Belgrade at the West and Constantinople at the East, and highlights the disposition of towns and fortifications along the shores of the Danube and the Sea of Marmara, depicted as almost parallel thoroughfares, respectively bordered by the Transylvanian Alps and the Balkan range. The characteristic elongation of the map and the distortion of distances and orientation, together with some inscriptions in Venetian denoting an itinerary, emphasizes a focus on strategic mobility. The military motive of the map is further revealed in the urban vignettes, where flags, with crosses and crescents, clearly identify and oppose Christian and Ottoman outposts. Despite the attested presence of the map in the sultan's collection in the Topkapi Palace, the possibility that it was a gift to the sultan has been rejected, as the map seems to have been crafted in preparation or in commemoration of a Christian attack against the Ottomans in the Balkans – perhaps the unsuccessful Polish-Hungarian military campaign known as the Crusade of Varna (1443–1444) or the earlier Crusade of Nicopolis (1396).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ I. Manners, with a contribution by M.P. Emiralioğlu. *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500–1750. Maps from the Collection of O. J. Sopranos*, Chicago, 2007, p. 36–40. On the different ideas conveyed by these operations of re-labeling, adaptation, and combination see T. Veneri, "Framing Southeastern Europe...", p. 12–37.

¹¹⁰ I wish to thank Marian Coman for drawing my attention to these features and sharing his important observations on the map.

¹¹¹ F. Babinger, "An Italian Map of the Balkans, presumably owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–1453)", *Imago Mundi* 8, 1951, p. 8–15; F. Banfi, "Two Italian Maps...", p. 17–34; R. Born, "The Ottoman Expansion and the Development of Cartography in East-Central Europe

Later in the sixteenth century, military maps would be prepared for practical use on both the Habsburg and Ottoman sides, as seen in the siege plans of Belgrade and Szigetvár illustrated by Ahmet K. Karamustafa.¹¹² At the same time, a propagandistic anti-Turk cartography would emerge under the aegis of the Habsburgs, one that would fully thrive only in the late seventeenth century, but would produce, already in the sixteenth century, an extraordinary piece of narrative and militant cartography, namely Johann Haselberg's wall map of the campaign of Suleyman I against Hungary and Vienna (1529).¹¹³

On the sea, maritime cartographies, though occasionally serving explicitly the cause of the Crusades, mostly prioritized the depiction of political and commercial rule over the coasts, islands, and waters that surrounded the peninsula.¹¹⁴ In Venice, where the *mappaemundi* and the Ptolemaic tradition had been long contaminated with nautical models, Coppo had introduced a new frame in 1524 encompassing in a single map all the Venetian possessions of the *stato da mar* lying between Venice, Crete, and Constantinople.¹¹⁵ A few years later, in 1539, Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (fl. 1510–1572) had further extended its coverage to comprise the Island of Cyprus (fig. 4). Moreover, detailed bird's-eye views of the Dalmatian coasts started to be drawn and archived for administrative ends, while their stylized counterparts were engraved, printed, and disseminated to a larger audience.¹¹⁶ In depicting harbors,

(15th–18th Centuries)”, *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 55, 2017, p. 126–127; M. Coman, “Sub flamura Semilunii. Europa otomană în cartografia occidentală (secolele al XV-lea – al XVII-lea)”, in M.M. Székely and N. Zugravu (eds.), *Puterea cuvântului, a exemplului și a simbolului*, Iași, 2016, p. 181–182; K. Pinto, “The Maps Are the Message...”, p. 157, 174 n. 12; E. Vagnon, *Cartographie et représentations de l’Orient méditerranéen en Occident (du milieu du XIIIe à la fin du XVe siècle)*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 318–326.

¹¹² A. T. Karamustafa, “Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans”, in *HOC*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 211–215.

¹¹³ On the “DESCRIPTIO EXPEDITIONIS TURCICAE CONTRA CHRISTIANOS” see in particular P. Meurer and G. Schilder, “Die Wandkarte des Türkenzuges 1529 von Johann Haselberg und Christoph Zell”, *Cartographica Helvetica* 39, 2009, p. 27–42. See also J. Black, *Maps of War: Mapping Conflict Through the Centuries*, Oxford and New York, 2016, p. 14–15; R. Born, “The Ottoman Expansion...”, p. 131–134; R. Born, M. Dziewulski and G. Messling (eds.), *The Sultan’s World. The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*, Brussels and Ostfildern, 2015, Cat. 5 and Cat. 6, p. 88–90. See also the contribution of Robert Born in the current issue.

¹¹⁴ Notable examples are the world map drawn by Pietro Vesconte (fl. 1310–1330) for Marin Sanudo the Elder’s *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* as well as the Iesi chart, a portolan map stored at the Biblioteca Planettiana in Iesi, described by Patrizia Licini as “a manifesto for the 1464 Crusade against the Turks”. See P. Licini, “European and Ottoman Landmarks from a Portolan Chart at the Time of Enea Silvio Piccolomini”, in I. Baumgärtner and H. Kugler (eds.), *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters. Kartographische Konzepte*, Berlin, 2008, p. 218.

¹¹⁵ L. Lago and C. Rossit, *Le “Tabulae” (1524–1526). Una preziosa raccolta cartografica custodita a Pirano. Note e documenti per la storia della cartografia*, Trieste, 1984–86, vol. 1, p. 225–234. On cartographic frames of the Venetian maritime empire see T. Veneri, “Theatrum Venetae negotiationis per Mediterraneum. Mise en cadre del viaggio (1524–1598)”, *Studi Veneziani* 67, 2013, p. 351–381.

¹¹⁶ K. Barzman, “Cartographic Line and the ‘Paper Management’ of the Early Modern State: A Case Study of Venetian Dalmatia”, *Mapline* 122, Spring, 2014, p. 1–12.

coastal towns and fortresses as the backbone of a maritime and trading empire, they expanded a Venetian geo-political symbolism that had already characterized the local traditions of portolan chart-making and island books.¹¹⁷ Though these traditions would feature an explicit military iconography only after the battle of Lepanto (1571), Marian Coman has convincingly undermined the idea that nautical maps and *isolari* would typically erase from their surface traces of conflict and antagonism. On the contrary, these traces were carefully subsumed in the maps through subtle strategies of interpretation that would direct the gaze, organize the reading, and make a discreet use of symbols and references.¹¹⁸

Adapted for the Ottoman ruling elites, maritime cartographies in turn supported and magnified the Ottoman investment in naval power, as seen in the richly decorated books of islands by Piri Reis (c. 1465–1554), or in the so-called *Walters Sea Atlas* (c. 1560). In the latter, the map of the Black Sea, traditionally placed at the end of Venetian nautical atlases, figured instead in the opening of the book, in order to stress the geographical importance of Istanbul. On the western portion on the map, a large, realistic, and detailed panorama of the imperial capital gave prominence to the Balkan Peninsula as the immediate backcountry of the city (fig. 5). The inclusion of the lavish illustration, according to Pinar Emiralioğlu, “suggests that the producer of the atlas wanted to present the city as the core of an empire that ruled the lands surrounding the Black Sea and the Mediterranean”.¹¹⁹

These maps were all in their own way products and bearers of multiple modernities, which looked at the Balkan Peninsula as the proving ground for innovations in military techniques, territorial rule, political propaganda, mercantile and diplomatic agendas. In their geographically situated and utilitarian scope, they complemented and provided an alternative to the rhetoric of modernity that had accompanied the success of Ptolemy in the Renaissance. This rhetoric, as we have seen, was itself multifaceted and encompassed different ideological cores: a program to revive philological studies (Planudes), an ethically motivated will to recover classical knowledge (Salutati and Chrysoloras), the possibility to revise and challenge canonical authority (Berlinghieri), the urge to integrate empirical data in crystallized bodies of knowledge (Coppo), and the mission to educate a religiously emancipated community (Honter). Underneath the apparently monotone surface of this corpus of maps are thus embedded compelling stories of land and sea, war and trade, religion and power. These stories ultimately escape the logic of a single narrative and rather invite us to appreciate the diversity and richness of the cartographic knowledge that over time was devised to conjure this unique part of the world.

¹¹⁷ M. Milanese, “Cartografia per un principe senza corte...”, p. 189–216.

¹¹⁸ M. Coman, “The Ottoman Mediterranean and the Renaissance Venetian *Isolari*”, in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 33, 2015, p. 127–148; Idem, “Sub flamura Semilunii...”, p. 173–196.

¹¹⁹ P. Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture...*, p. 104; on the atlas see also T.D. Goodrich, “The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas: The Walters Deniz Atlas”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11, 1986, p. 25–50.



Fig. 1. Ninth map of Europe in Francesco Berlinghieri's *Septem Giomate de la Geographia* (Florence, 1482). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et plans, GE DD-1990 (RES) (source: gallica.bnf.fr).



Fig. 2. Map of the Balkan Peninsula in Pietro Coppo, *De toto orbe*, c. 1520, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A117 (Photo courtesy of the Library).

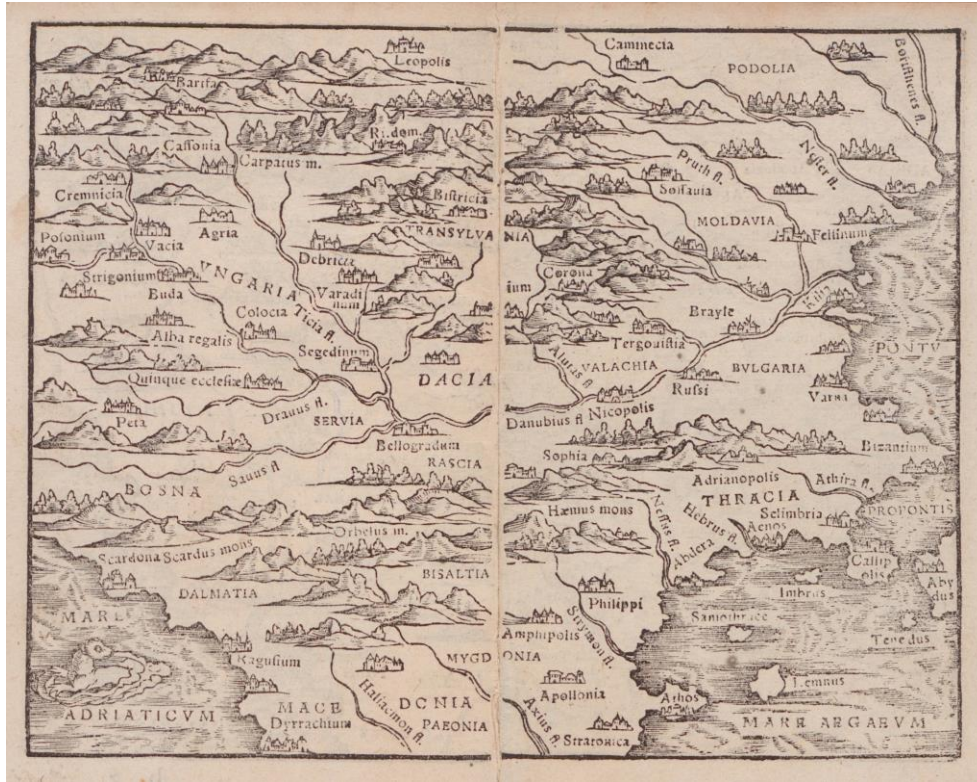


Fig. 3. Map of Southeast Europe from the Zürich edition of Johannes Honter's *Rudimenta cosmographica* (Tiguri, apud Froscroverum, 1546), Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, AW 789, Public Domain Mark.



Fig. 4. Map of the landmarks encountered by seafarers between Venice, Constantinople, and Syria (*Exigua hec tabella continet quicquid Venetiis Constantinopolim: aut in Syria navigantibus accurit...*) by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (Venice, 1539), Paris Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et plans, GE D-20586 (source: gallica.bnf.fr).



Fig. 5. Detail from the map of the Black Sea in the *Walters Sea Atlas (Deniz atlası)*, c. 1560, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.660, fol. 9a, © 2021 Walters Art Museum used under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported License.

MAPS AND PROPAGANDA. THE EXAMPLE OF TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE LONG TURKISH WAR

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In recent decades, cartographic processes and practices have repeatedly been the subject of cultural and visual studies. However, the propagandistic function of this medium in the early modern period has been largely ignored. In view of this situation, the present study focuses on the functionalization of cartography in the context of the Long Turkish War. The study centres on three maps that served to glorify the Transylvanian prince Sigismund Báthory. The maps were produced in Augsburg, which, along with Nuremberg and Vienna, was certainly the most important centre for the development of cartography in the German-speaking world. Augsburg was also an important place for the transmission of a variety of innovations from Antwerp, probably the most important centre of cartography in Europe in the sixteenth century. The analysis of the works created by Domenicus Custos and Alexander Mair on behalf of the powerful Augsburg families of the Fuggers and Welsers reveals a network of actors from Transylvania, Vienna, Prague and Augsburg. Moreover, the analysis of the iconographic elements of the maps offers insights into current political agendas as well as interesting conclusions about the circulation of geographical and antiquarian knowledge in East Central Europe.

Keywords: Sigismund Báthory; Domenicus Custos; Alexander Mair; Fugger; propaganda.

In 1598, the second, expanded edition of the costume book by Cesare Vecellio (c. 1521–1601) was published in Venice under the title *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, which was to become one of the best-known representatives of this new type of publication.¹ In recent decades, the printed costume books and the

* This text builds on three articles that addressed different aspects of cartography in the context of Ottoman expansion to Central Europe. R. Born, “Daker und Türken. Antikenrezeption und kartographisches Wissen im Dienste der Propaganda für den siebenbürgischen Fürsten Sigismund Báthory”, in M. Chatzidakis et al. (eds.), *Con bella maniera: Festgabe für Peter Seiler zum 65. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 2021, p. 311–340. <https://doi.org/10.11588/arthistoricum.855.c11291>; Idem, “Festung und Grenze: Die habsburgisch-osmanischen Auseinandersetzungen und die Entwicklung der Kartographie in Ostmitteleuropa” in R. Johler and J. Wolf (eds.) *Beschreiben und Vermessen. Raumwissen in der östlichen Habsburgermonarchie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 2020, p. 227–297; Idem, “The Ottoman Expansion and the Development of Cartography in East-Central Europe”, *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 55, 2017, p. 121–152. A number of questions were taken up again and developed further. In some cases, findings were supplemented and corrected. With regard to the comparison objects, links to digital copies were deliberately given as a reference,

painted manuscript, costume and family books that were particularly widespread in German-speaking countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have increasingly been the focus of studies that, in addition to the relationship between text and image, have also addressed the function of costume depictions as typologies of appearance and inventories of social differences.² From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the hierarchical systems of order illustrated in the costume books on clothing were also transferred to the Ottoman Orient and the New World, which had only recently become known and therefore held a special fascination for the public.³ The printed costume series, together with the travelogues, are regarded as evidence of an interest in topographical-ethnographic observations that emerged in the early modern period.⁴ Costume books and the related genres of city views and maps enabled a visualisation of knowledge about spaces and at the same time also possessed the potential to transfer mental imagery onto spatial representations.⁵

In the costume books, the depictions of dress from East-Central Europe and the Muscovite Empire function in a twofold way as pivotal points to the Orient.⁶ In addition to their location as the conclusion of the chapters on Europe, the male population from Poland, Hungary and Croatia in particular appears in the corresponding illustrations with oriental-looking garments and weapons.⁷ In addition to these visual signs, the accompanying texts often emphasise the omnipresent readiness to fight in the face of the constantly virulent threat of war in

since the online platforms often make it possible to recognise details in enlargements more precisely than would be possible in print. Finally, I would like to thank the editorial staff of RESEE for their patience during the long process of completing the contributions to this section, as well as Marian Coman (Bucharest), Stefan Ardeleanu (Heidelberg) and Michail Chatzidakis (Berlin) for their numerous suggestions.

¹ C. Vecellio, *Habiti antichi e moderni di tutto il mondo*, Venezia 1598. Cf. on the career of this publication: M. F. Rosenthal and A. R. Jones (eds.), *The Clothing of the Renaissance World. Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas. Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni*, London, 2008; J. Bridgeman, "The Origins of Dress History and Cesare Vecellio's 'pourtraits of attire'", *Costume* 44, 2010, p. 37–45.

² D. Defert, "Un genre ethnographique profane au XVI^e siècle: les livres d'habits", in B. Rupp-Eisenreich (ed.), *Histoire de l'Anthropologie: XVI^e–XIX^e siècles*, Paris, 1984, p. 25–26.

³ Johnson, C.L., *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and the Mexicans*. Cambridge, 2011.

⁴ W. Brückner, "Fremdheitsstereotypen. Der ethnographische Blick als neues Wahrnehmungsmuster in der Frühen Neuzeit", in W. Harms and A. Messerli (eds.) *Wahrnehmungsgeschichte und Wissensdiskurs im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1700)*, Basel, 2002, p. 145–162.

⁵ D. Defert, "Un genre ethnographique ...", p. 31–33; K. I. Grimes, "Dressing the World: Costume Books and Ornamental Cartography in the Age of Exploration", in E. Rodini and E. B. Weaver (eds.), *A Well-Fashioned Image. Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500–1850*, Chicago, Ill. 2002, p. 13–21; Rosenthal and Jones, *The Clothing ...*, p. 15–16.

⁶ Cf. Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae gentium habitus...*, Antverpiae 1581 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447144v/f51.item>

⁷ Á. Petekí, "Oriens in Occidente. Ungarn und Polen als exotisches Thema in der Kunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", in V. Zimányi (ed.), *La Pologne et la Hongrie aux XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Budapest, 1981, p. 145–149.

these regions. Another recurring motif is the so-called “law of the borderlands”, which upholds military honour and bravery.⁸

A notable departure from these pictorial and textual accounts is the depiction of the *Principe di Transilvania* in the *Habiti antichi et moderni*. (Fig. 1) Although not further specified in the accompanying text, the woodcut preceding the ninth book dedicated to Hungary shows the Transylvanian prince Sigismund Báthory (Hungarian: Báthory Zsigmond, 1572–1613).⁹ The fame of this ruler was to a large extent the result of intensive propaganda in written and pictorial form in the context of the so-called Long Turkish War (1593–1606). The impact of this conflict on art production has been discussed almost exclusively with reference to the sophisticated, sometimes hermetic visual productions of Hans von Aachen (1552–1615), Bartholomäus Spranger (1546–1611) and Paulus van Vianen (c. 1570–1613), who were most closely associated with the Prague court of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612).¹⁰ The studies on the allegorical elevations of the field battles and sieges during the Long Turkish War, which were still produced on the other side of the Iron Curtain, were hardly received outside the Eastern Bloc. A similar picture emerges with regard to more recent research on this period. Due to language barriers, only a fraction of the post-1989 studies on pictorial production in Hungary, the Czech Republic or Romania have been taken up so far.¹¹ This applies both to the studies on the political instrumentalization of the broadly effective graphic production and to the most recent studies on the propagandistic initiatives in the environment of the Transylvanian prince.¹² Considering this situation, the genesis and political functionalization of a small group of graphic works produced in Augsburg between 1595 and 1596 will be examined in the following. In addition to the early portraits of Sigismund Báthory, the focus is placed on three maps, a hitherto scarcely appreciated medium of political

⁸ G. Calvi, “Across Three Empires. Balkan Costumes in Sixteenth-Century Europe”, in C. Vintilă-Ghițulescu (ed.), *From Traditional Attire to Modern Dress: Modes of Identification, Modes of Recognition in the Balkans (XVIth–XXth Centuries)*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011, p. 41–42. “On the law of the border” see also: N. Štefanec, “Negotiating with the ‘Archenemy’: The Ethics of the Croatian and Slavonian Nobility at the Christian-Ottoman Border”, in: R. Born and S. Jagodzinski (eds.), *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern, 2014, p. 89–90.

⁹ A. Fülemlé, “Viseletábrázolások a 16–17. századi grafikában”, *Ars Hungarica* 17, 1989, 2, p. 126.

¹⁰ M. Døj-Fetté, “The Emperor and the Sultan: Imperial Inviolability in Hans von Aachen’s Allegories on the Long Turkish War”, *Studia Rudolphina* 12/13, 2013, p. 51–69; J. Jacoby, *Hans von Aachen 1552–1615*, Berlin, 2000; J. Kappel, *Die Türkennot des Kaisers. Zu einigen Aspekten der Darstellung des Türkenkrieges (1593–1606) in der Hofkunst Rudolfs II.*, in C. Schnitzer and A. Auer (eds.), *Im Lichte des Halbmonds. Das Abendland und der türkische Orient*, Dresden, 1995, p. 125–133.

¹¹ G. Cennemé Wilhelmb, “Báthory Zsigmond havasalföldi moldvai hadjáratainak egykorú grafikus emlékei”, *Folia Historica* 2, 1973, p. 57–65; G. Galavics, „*Kössink kardot az pogány ellen*”. *Török háborúk és képzőművészet*, Budapest, 1986, p. 47–52; J. Papp, “... vitézül védjétek a nemzetet ...”. Wolfgang Lazius nagy Magyarország-térképének Szűz Mária, Szent István és Szent László ábrázolásáról”, *Ars Hungarica* 30, 2002, p. 38–40.

¹² F.G. Farkas, *Régi könyvek, új csillagok*, Budapest, 2011; T. Kruppa, *Tradíció és propaganda keresztútján. Fejezetek Báthory Zsigmond udvarának kultúrájából*, Budapest, 2015.

propaganda that, beyond the daily political agendas, also provides insights into the circulation of knowledge on geography, ethnology and, not least, the study of antiquity in East-Central Europe.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND VIENNA

For a better understanding of the complex political and confessional constellation in the run-up to and during the Long Turkish War, the changes in East-Central Europe brought about by Ottoman expansion are presented at the outset. Some visual references to these particular constellations can also be taken from the depiction of the Transylvanian prince in the *Habiti antichi et moderni*. In his commentary on the woodcut, Vecellio highlights the ruler's wardrobe made of velvet with adornments in gold and other colours. A comparable richness also appears in the clothing of the Hungarians and Croats.¹³ In the woodcut, however, the luxury fabrics praised by the author play a subordinate role. The patterned cloak appears as an addition to the succinctly staged half-armor and the mace. With the presentation in plate armor, the artist chose a visual cipher that was closely associated with the ideal of the *miles christianus* and correspondingly frequently found in the stately portraits from the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ In comparison, the prince's second military accessory may not have been immediately decipherable to the Western European public. The mace, the upper end of which consists of six wings, shows great similarities to the weapons imported from the Orient, which were considered a distinguishing insignia of high military officers and dignitaries in Hungary, Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania.¹⁵ In Transylvania, which from 1541 was a tributary of the Ottoman Empire, the mace (Hungarian: buzogány, Turkish: topuz) was one of the insignia awarded to the rulers by an envoy of the Sultan (Turkish: çavuş) together with the certificate of appointment (Turkish: adhname) after their election and oath before the assembly of the Transylvanian estates. As further insignia, the voivodes received a caftan, a horse equipped with a rich bridle, a cap decorated with an agraffe (Turkish: üsküf), as well as the horse-tail standard (Turkish: tuğ), together with the certificate,

¹³ C. Vecellio, *Habiti antichi e moderni di tutto il mondo*, Venezia 1598, p. 406–407.

¹⁴ N. Ghermani, "D'une pratique au symbole politique: les armures dans les cours princières allemandes", in K. Dickhaut, J. Steigerwald and B. Wagner (eds.), *Soziale und ästhetische Praxis der höfischen Fest-Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 235–252; A. Wang, *Der «miles christianus» im 16.–17. Jahrhundert und seine mittelalterliche Tradition. Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von sprachlicher und graphischer Bildlichkeit*, Frankfurt am Main, 1975.

¹⁵ M. Dziewulski, "Streitkolben im östlichen Zentraleuropa. Von der Waffe zum Statussymbol, in Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (ed.), *Kaiser und Sultan: Nachbarn in Europas Mitte 1600–1700*", München, 2019, p. 277–281; J. Szabó, "A magyar nemesi viselet díszbuzogányának eredete", *Turul* 68, 1995, 1–2, p. 35–40.

illustrating the formal status as military governor (Turkish: sancak bey) of the sultan. Comparable rituals took place during the installation of rulers in the neighbouring principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which were also tributary to the Sublime Porte.¹⁶

This particular constellation was a consequence of the break-up of the Hungarian kingdom after the defeat at Mohács (1526) and the occupation of the capital Buda (1541). The territories in the west and southwest (including Croatia), the so-called Royal Hungary were controlled by the Habsburgs, while the central area with the Pasha residence in Buda (Turkish: Budin) became the northernmost administrative centre of the Ottoman realm. Transylvania, the former eastern part of the Hungarian kingdom, retained a high degree of autonomy as an Ottoman tributary state with regard to domestic affairs.

After the death of the young King of Hungary and Bohemia, Louis II (Hungarian: II. Lajos; Polish: Ludwik II Jagiełło, 1502–1526) on the battlefield at Mohács, the Transylvanian voivode John Zápolya (Hungarian: Szapolyai, János, 1490–1540) was elected Hungarian king, a decision approved by Sultan Suleyman I (the Magnificent, r. 1520–1566). This was opposed by the Archduke of Austria and later Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564), who was married to Anna Jagiello (1503–1547), the sister of Louis II, who died childless.¹⁷

The assertion of claims to the Hungarian-Bohemian succession seemed within reach in 1551, when Queen Isabella, the widow of John Zápolya had issued a declaration of renunciation and Bishop George Martinuzzi (1482–1551), the guardian of John Sigismund Zápolya (Hungarian: Szapolyai, János Zsigmond, 1540–1571) had transferred Transylvania to the military representative of King Ferdinand I, the Naples-born commander Giovanni Battista Castaldo (1493–1563). In view of the looming Ottoman punitive expedition, Martinuzzi entered into negotiations with the Sublime Porte, a step which the imperial side regarded as treason. As a result, Castaldo, with Ferdinand's knowledge, instigated the assassination of the churchman. The first Habsburg occupation of Transylvania ended within a short time after Ottoman troops had invaded the principality. A solution to the smouldering conflict only became visible with the treaty concluded at the Imperial Diet of Speyer in 1570, mediated by Poland. In this treaty, the elected Transylvanian ruler was granted the title of *Princeps Transylvaniae*.¹⁸

¹⁶ M.P. Pedani, "Sultans and Voivodas in the 16th Century. Gifts and Insignia", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 1, 2007, 1, p. 193–209; J. B. Szabó and P. Erdősi, "Ceremonies Marking the Transfer of Power in the Principality of Transylvania in East European Context", *Majestas*, 11, 2003, p. 111–160.

¹⁷ K. Vocelka, "Die inneren Auswirkungen der Auseinandersetzung Österreichs mit den Osmanen", *Südost-Forschungen* 36, 1977, p. 13–34.

¹⁸ 1570 VIII 16 Vertrag von Speyer in: Duchhardt/Peters, <http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de> (26.05.2022). For this also G. Volkmer, *Siebenbürgen zwischen Habsburger Monarchie und Osmanischem Reich. Völkerrechtliche Stellung und Völkerrechtspraxis eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums 1541–1699*, München, 2015, p. 106–110.

THE EUROPEAN RISE OF THE BÁTHORY FAMILY

The destinies of the emerging principality were determined over the next three decades by members of the Somlyo branch of the Báthory family. In 1571 the Estates had elected Stephen Báthory (Hungarian: Báthory István; Polish: Stefan Batory; Lithuanian: Steponas Batoras, 1533–1586), who was supported by Sultan Selim II (1524–1574), as voivode. Only five years later, with the support of the influential chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), he was crowned *Electus rex Poloniae* and, after his marriage to Anna Jagiello (Polish: Anna Jagiellonka / Hungarian: Jagelló Anna, 1523–1596), ruler of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. In 1581 he appointed his brother Christoph (1530–1581) and finally the latter's son Sigismund Báthory, who was still a minor, as his representatives in Transylvania. The young prince, whose upbringing was strongly influenced by the Jesuit order called to Transylvania in 1579, was seen as a beacon of hope by the papal curia, both with regard to a restoration of Catholicism in Transylvania as well as a detachment of the principality from the dependency of the High Porte. A central player in this network of interests was the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1534–1611) from Mantua, who first acted as secretary to the general of the Society before brokering the settlement between Stephen Báthory and the Russian Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible, Russian: Ivan Grozny, 1530–1584), which ended the Livonian War in 1582.¹⁹ Some of these successes were celebrated in Transylvanian towns through public festivals and performances.²⁰

As a go-between for the court in Krakow and the Roman Curia, Possevino was certainly also involved in the initiatives to promote Andreas Báthory (Hungarian: Báthory András, 1563–1599). The nephew of the Polish king became a cardinal in 1584 and, five years later, a prince-bishop of Warmia by papal nomination. Another important task of Possevino in those years was the foundation of Jesuit Colleges in Poland-Lithuania and in the Transylvanian city of Klausenburg (Hungarian: Kolozsvár, today Cluj in Romania).²¹ The latter institution, however, only had a short life span, as the Order had to leave the principality as early as 1588. In a letter published before the death of his patron Stephen Báthory in 1586, as an appendix to the polemical *Judicium de Confessione Augustanae* 1586, Possevino had presented the Polish-Lithuanian ruler as an exemplum of a Christian prince and mentioned the project of a large-scale coalition

¹⁹ T. Kruppa, *A kereszt, a sas és a sárkányfog: kelet-közep-európai törökellenes ligatervek's küzdelmek a Báthory-korszakban (1578–1597) = The Cross, the Eagle and the Dragon's Tooth: Plans for an Anti-Ottoman League and Battles Against the Ottomans in the Báthory Era (1578–1597)*, Budapest–Roma, 2014, p. 41–170.

²⁰ Cf. M. Pakucs Willcocks, "Sărbătoare în oraș: festivaluri și ceremonialuri publice în Sibiu al veacului al XVI-lea", in C. Vintilă-Ghițulescu and M. Pakucs Willcocks (eds.) *Spectacolul public între tradiție și modernitate. Sărbători, ceremonialuri, pelerinaje și suplicii*, București, 2007, p. 24.

²¹ A. Castaldini (ed.), *Antonio Possevino; i Gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania*, Roma 2009.

against the Ottoman Empire.²² Such an alliance then came about a few years later, albeit without the participation of Poland-Lithuania, after the Ottoman Empire declared war on the Habsburg Emperor in August 1593. The conflict, which lasted until 1606, overlapped with the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605), who was one of the Habsburgs' most important supporters and strongly advocated a new rendition of the Holy League of 1570.²³

TRANSYLVANIA IN THE LONG TURKISH WAR

A first success of papal diplomacy was the switch of Transylvania to the imperial camp. In the meantime, the prince, who had a strict Catholic upbringing, had succeeded in instituting a chamber of finance and setting up an independent estates' armed force. The troops, most of whom were soldiers who had gained experience in various wars under King Stephen Báthory, became an important pillar of Sigismund Báthory's rule.

After the Estates Assembly had agreed to a coalition with the Emperor in August 1594, treaties were concluded with Wallachia and Moldavia in November, making both principalities Transylvanian vassal states. In a next step, a defensive and offensive alliance against the Ottoman Empire was concluded in Prague on 28 January 1595. At the same time, the prince subordinated himself and his territory to Emperor Rudolf II. In return, Sigismund Báthory was recognised as a sovereign prince of Transylvania and elevated to the rank of a prince of the Empire.²⁴ As an additional means of cementing this alliance, Rudolf II lobbied Philip II (1527–1598) to induct the Transylvanian prince into the Order of the Golden Fleece. The head of the Spanish line of the House of Habsburg, who was the decisive authority for admission to the House Order of the casa d'Austria following the demise of Charles V (r. 1520–1556), finally consented to this request. In addition, the Emperor also arranged the marriage with Maria Christierna of Inner Austria (1574–1621), the daughter of Archduchess Maria Anna of Bavaria (1551–1608) and Archduke Charles II of Inner Austria (1540–1590), whose domain was also under threat by the Ottoman invasions.²⁵

²² G. Gömöri, "Tanácsok Báthory Zsigmondnak és korabeli beszámolók törökellenes hadjáratairól", *Korunk* 24, 2003, 3, p. 17–20.

²³ J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der "lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)*, Vienna 1993, p. 70–102; T. Toth, "Clemens VIII. und der Lange Türkenkrieg in Ungarn", *Folia Theologica* 16, 2005, p. 177–229; P. Bartl, "Marciare verso Costantinopoli". Zur Türkenpolitik Klemens' VIII.", in: *Saeculum* 20, 1969, p. 44–56.

²⁴ Offensiv- und Defensivbündnis von Prag 1595 I 28, in: Duchhardt/Peters <http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de> (26.05.2021); G. Volkmer, *Siebenbürgen zwischen Habsburger Monarchie...*, p. 154–157.

²⁵ K. Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)*, Vienna 1981, p. 142 and p. 234.

The new alliance, through which the two Danubian principalities, in addition to Transylvania, became part of the Western European alliance, immediately brought relief to the theatres of war in Croatia and Hungary. After a first advance in the spring of 1595 enabled the capture of some important fortresses in the Banat, Sigismund Báthory crossed the Carpathians in the summer with his main force to confront the Ottoman force led by the Grand Vizier Koca Sinan Pasha (1512–1596) together with the voivode Michael the Brave (Roman. Mihai Viteazul, 1558–1601), who had ruled Wallachia since 1593. The Wallachian ruler succeeded in stopping the advance at Călugăreni for a short time in August 1595. However, in the face of subsequent Ottoman troops advancing over a wooden bridge built near Giurgiu, Michael the Brave was soon forced to retreat. The army advancing from Transylvania, reinforced by mercenary units and Szekler fighters, succeeded in recapturing the capital Târgoviște in mid-October. The retreating troops of Sinan Pasha were tracked and devastatingly defeated at the wooden bridge near Giurgiu. This enabled operations in the Bulgarian territories on the opposite side of the Danube.

AUGSBURG, THE FUGGERS AND TRANSYLVANIA

Word of these successes quickly reached Venice, Florence and Rome through the reports of the papal diplomats present in Transylvania, as well as the Italian nobles and mercenaries involved in the fighting.²⁶ Another important medium for the transfer of information from the theatres of war on the Lower Danube to the political and economic centres of the Holy Roman Empire were the handwritten Fugger Newspapers.²⁷ The Fuggers' connections to Hungary and Transylvania were manifold.²⁸ In return for the loans granted, Ferdinand I had promised the Augsburg banking house access to the salt business in Transylvania in 1528. However, the ambitious plans to build up a production and sales organisation could not be realised due to the uncertain political situation.²⁹ In the course of the Long Turkish War, the transactions of the funds destined for Transylvania were then handled by the branches of the Fugger Bank.³⁰ In view of this complicated constellation, the Fuggers had a vital interest in information about developments in the theatres of

²⁶ O. Cristea, *Puterea cuvintelor: știri și război în sec. XV–XVI*, Târgoviște, 2014, p. 349–366.

²⁷ N. Schobesberger, "Mapping the Fuggerzeitungen: The Geographical Issues of an Information Network", in J. Raymond and N. Moxham (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden, 2016. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004277199_010

²⁸ G. Gündisch, "Die siebenbürgische Unternehmung der Fugger 1528–1531", in Omagiu lui Ioan Lupaș la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani. București 1941, p. 317–334; J. Orsós, "Damnum regni? – Újabb szempontok és források a Fugger család és a Magyar Királyság viszonyrendszerének elemzéséhez", *Turul* 92, 2019, 3, p. 124–129.

²⁹ P. Szabó, "V. Károly és az erdélyi szászok", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115 (2002), 1, p. 379.

³⁰ M.D. Birnbaum, "The Fuggers, Hans Dernschwam, and the Ottoman Empire", *Südost-Forschungen* 50, 1991, p. 119–144; Carrillo Alfonz *jezsuita-atyá levelezése és iratai (1591–1618)* ed. by E. Veress. Budapest, 1906, p. 188.

war in Hungary, Transylvania and Wallachia. The handwritten compilations of news circulating between the company's individual European dependencies were originally intended for internal use, but were also forwarded to political and economic partners, including the Habsburg courts, and sometimes served as the basis for the production of pamphlets and the "Neue Zeitungen", the most effective media of propaganda at the time.³¹

In parallel, elaborately designed volumes were also produced, combining reports on developments in the theatres of war with general information on the history and structure of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the specifics of its armed forces. The *Pannoniae Historia Chronologica res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam*, published in Latin and German in Frankfurt am Main in 1596, is an interesting representative of this type of publication in several respects. For this venture, the otherwise competing publishers Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) and Levinus Hulsius (1546–1606) had joined forces.³² The account of current events appeared in combination with the opulently illustrated collection of biographies of Ottoman and Persian rulers and military leaders by the French antiquarian Jean Jacques Boissard (c. 1528–1602).³³

The frontispiece of the *Pannoniae Historia* presents the Hungarian coat of arms and the imperial double-headed eagle in the central axis, which here holds the severed head of an Ottoman instead of the imperial orb. (Fig. 2) The Hungarian coat of arms is flanked on the sides by Fortitudo and Iustitia, while the imperial emblem is framed by the allegories of Faith and Hope. Along the two long sides, the portraits of the main political and military actors have been lined up in a hierarchical order. At the top are Emperor Rudolf II and his predecessor Maximilian II (r. 1564–1576), followed by Archduke Matthias (1557–1619) and Sigismund Báthory. In the two rows below are the commanders Don Giovanni de Medici (1567–1621), Karl von Mansfeld (1543–1595), Christoph von Teuffenbach (1528–1598) and Nikolaus II Pálffy (Hungarian: Pálffy Miklós, 1552–1600).³⁴

The portrait of Sigismund Báthory, titled here as Dux Trans(ylvaniae), is one of the earliest known depictions of this ruler. Against the background of military successes in 1595 and 1596, the likeness of the prince was widely disseminated

³¹ J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte...*, p. 37–38; K. Keller, *Die Fuggerzeitungen. Geschriebene Zeitungen und der Beginn der periodischen Presse*, in M. Karmasin and Ch. Oggolder (eds.), *Österreichische Mediengeschichte: Bd. 1 Von den frühen Drucken zur Ausdifferenzierung des Mediensystems (1500–1918)*, Wiesbaden, 2019, p. 38 (with an example of the adoption of a report on Transylvania from the Fuggerzeitung in the monthly *Annus Christi* published by Samuel Dillbaum in 1597); K. Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda...*, p. 26–35 on the role of broadsides in the political propaganda of Emperor Rudolf II.

³² M. van Groesen, *The De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634). Editorial Strategy and the Representations of the Overseas World*. PhD Dissertation Universiteit van Amsterdam 2007. <https://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.265995> p. 243.

³³ *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae 1596* <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV011988611> (26.05.2022).

³⁴ Cf. also: G. Galavics, „*Kössink kardot az pogány ellen*”, p. 50–51.

through prints, including motivic enhancements such as the woodcut from Vecellio's costume book.³⁵ At the beginning of this series is an engraving made in Augsburg in 1595 by Dominicus Custos (after 1550–1612), showing the Prince in profile.³⁶ (Fig. 3) The latter wears a chest armour and holds a mace in his right hand while resting his left hand on a helmet with opened visor. In the early part of the last century, Peltzer suggested that Custos had used a portrait painted by Hans von Aachen as a model for the engraving.³⁷ Such transfers would not be a novelty. Custos had already engraved the portraits of Octavianus Secundus (1549–1600) and Hans Fugger (1531–1598) painted by Hans von Aachen, who was still living in Munich at the time, for the *Icones decem Illustrium Baronum ex Fuggerorum Gente*, which was first printed in 1593.³⁸ The portrait mentioned by Peltzer was probably painted in 1596 after the prince's first visit to Prague.³⁹ Against this background, the adoption of a portrait type from the reverse of a silver thaler minted in Transylvania in 1593, as suggested by Cennerné-Wilhelm, seems more plausible.⁴⁰ Custos positioned the bust of the prince in a raised oval, a form of presentation he had been the first to use in the German-speaking realm in 1593 with the *Icones decem Illustrium Baronum*. In elaborating this solution, he took his inspiration from Italian portrait series, such as the portraits of rulers produced around the middle of the sixteenth century by Enea Vico (1523–1667).⁴¹ Presumably Custos also adopted the princely hat and the Báthory family coat of arms with the three dragon's teeth from the Transylvanian thaler, which can be seen in the two upper spandrels. Corresponding to this, Ottoman booty weapons were staged in the lower corner segments. Presumably, these are references to the victory in the battle of Călugăreni. Below the image, two Latin hexameters, set off in distichs, have been positioned. *AERE TVOS VVLTVS PRO TEMPORE FINXIMVS: AT TV, SVB IVGA MAVMETEM CVM MISERIS, AVREVS ESTO*. [In copper, according to the time, we have formed thy traits: but when thou hast sent the Mohammedan under the yoke, thou shalt be of gold].⁴²

³⁵ G. Cennerné Wilhelm, "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher Dominicus Custos und Ungarn", *Folia archaeologica* 8, 1966–1967, p. 234.

³⁶ Dominicus Custos, *SERENISSIMVS SIGISMVNDVS TRANSILVANIAE, VALACHIAE, ET MOLDAVIAE PRINCEPS*, Augsburg 1595.

³⁷ R.A. Peltzer, "Der Hofmaler Hans von Aachen, seine Schule und seine Zeit", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 30, 1911–1912, p. 102.

³⁸ J. Jacoby, *Hans von Aachen...*, cat. nr. 84, p. 233–235.

³⁹ Cf. on the visits K. Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda...*, p. 234.

⁴⁰ G. Cennerné Wilhelm, "Der Augsburger Kupferstecher..." p. 233.

⁴¹ F. Strecker, "Die künstlerische Gestaltung der Imagines: Repräsentation und. Arbeitsökonomie", in Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (ed.), *Die Fugger im Bild: Selbstdarstellung einer Familiendynastie der Renaissance. Begleitbuch zur Schatzkammerausstellung anlässlich der Erwerbung des „Ehrenbuchs“ der Fugger (Cgm 9460) und der „Fuggerorum et Fuggerarum ... imagines“ (Cod. icon. 380)*, Darmstadt, 2010, p. 131–143.

⁴² English translation by the author according to the catalogue entry Nr. A 20324 in *Katalog der Graphischen Porträts in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: 1500–1850. Reihe A, Vol. 36 Schu – Tz (A19654 – A22443)*, Berlin-New York, 2011, p. 105. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110978384.3>

An interesting, hitherto unnoticed source for the dissemination of the portrait are the *Annales Suevicae* of Martin Crusius (1526–1607), published in Frankfurt in 1596. In this work, which was initially published in Latin, the classical scholar from Tübingen reports that he saw the portrait of the prince on 15 October 1595.⁴³

Following the presentation of the accompanying text passages on the engraving, Crusius summarised the current developments of the conflict with the Ottoman Empire. The extremely precise date is unusual, but it gains an interesting twist when the information in Crusius' diary is taken into account. These records give a good impression of his efforts to raise the funds to cover the expenses incurred in publishing the "Swabian Chronicle" through dedications. In accordance with the customary practice at the time for raising 'printing subsidies', Crusius made dedications through the intermediary of his acquaintances, but also by writing directly to a wide range of addressees, including Johann Welser (1534–1601) and Octavianus Secundus Fugger (1549–1600).⁴⁴ However, the two Augsburg city governors refused to support it because they had found a passage in the book offensive.

The reference to the Custos engraving did not bring the desired success, but retrospectively it offers some points of departure for considerations on the actors and strategies of political propaganda in the context of the Long Turkish War. In his attempted *captatio benevolentiae*, Crusius probably had in mind journalistic projects that were launched in Augsburg with the support of the highest bodies and most prominent families.

MAPS AND PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE HABSBURG-OTTOMAN WARS

During the last decade of the sixteenth century, Octavianus Secundus Fugger, who had been contacted by Crusius, and his brother Philipp Eduard (1546–1618) had placed several commissions with Domenicus Custos. In this Augsburg setting, three elaborately designed maps were also produced in 1596, which constitute a special group in the context of propaganda for Sigismund Báthory and at the same time enable conclusions to be drawn about the circulation of regional and antiquarian knowledge about Transylvania in the sixteenth century.

The Fuggers (of the Lily) had recognised the potential of the new medium of the map fairly early on and used the network of their offices, which were spread all over Europe, both to purchase and to trade in a wide variety of geographical-topographical materials.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Annales Svevici siue Chronica Rerum Gestarum Antiquissimae Et Inclytae Svevicae Gentis. 3. Ab Anno Christi MCCXIII. vsq[ue] ad MDXCIII. annum perducta*, Francoforti: Nicolai Bassaei 1595–1596, p. 118.

⁴⁴ *Diarium Martini Crusii 1596–1597. Teil I.*, ed. by W. Göz and E. Conrad, Tübingen, 1927, p. 143–144.

⁴⁵ N. Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der hohen Renaissance*, München, 1958, p. 122–123 and 153; P.H. Meurer, "Eine Rechnung für eine Kartenlieferung des Hauses Fugger an

Furthermore, the Fuggers and the Welsers, who were also based in Augsburg, used their networks to import exotic objects for the art collections from Antwerp and Lisbon or to convey corresponding objects to the collections of the Bavarian Dukes or to the courts of the Habsburgs.⁴⁶

Consequently, maps and globes formed important focal points of the voluminous collections in Augsburg. This is illustrated by the estate inventories and above all by the reflections formulated by Samuel Quiccheberg (1529–1567) in his *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri amplissimi* – one of the earliest programmatic writings dealing with collecting practice. Quiccheberg, who like Custos had moved from Antwerp to Augsburg, had after 1557 supervised the extensive collection of Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–1575) and on the basis of this activity sketched out a classification system for the groups of objects. Within this system, maps and city views ranked first, together with pictures and objects that were directly related to the owner of the collection and his genealogy – such as portraits and depictions of military deeds.⁴⁷

An eloquent example of the dovetailing of these aspects, and possibly beyond that a possible point of reference for the three maps produced in Augsburg in 1596, is the *Rei contra Turcas gestae anno M.D.L.VI.* by Wolfgang Lazius (1514–1565), printed four decades earlier by the Oporinus publishing house in Basel. The woodcut map appeared together with a Latin commentary describing the successful campaign of Habsburg and Hungarian troops led by Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595) against the Ottomans in South-Western Hungary in 1556.⁴⁸ In addition to Ferdinand II and the commander of Raab, Adam Gall, the inscription cartouche mentions Count Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584), who had been appointed chamberlain by Pope Paul III (r. 1534–1549), as the main protagonists of this expedition. The latter's nephew Anton (1493–1560) financed the 1556 campaign and also took part in the fighting himself with 50 soldiers armed from his own funds.⁴⁹

In addition to the interlocking of the current report with a laudatory praise of the Fuggers, the design of the ornamental border is another unusual feature of the woodcut map. The framing borders were decorated with eight medallions. Seven of

Alonso de Santa Cruz von 1546. Beiträge zur kartographiegeschichtlichen Quellenkunde II", *Cartographica Helvetica* 16 (1997), p. 31–38.

⁴⁶ J. Bérard, *Kommunikation, Wissensproduktion und Kartographie. Abraham Ortelius und die Kartenproduktion im Antwerpen des späten 16. Jahrhunderts.* Baden-Baden, 2020, p. 45–48.

⁴⁷ B. Segelken-Kammer, "Kasten, Tafel. Ordnende Räume in Museologie und Staatsbeschreibung", in R. Felfe and K. Wagner (eds.), *Museum, Bibliothek, Stadtraum. Räumliche Wissensordnungen 1600–1900*, hg. v., Münster 2010, S. 243–246. Furthermore M. A. Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels. Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer", in P.H. Smith and P. Findlen (eds.), *Merchants and Marvels. Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe*, New York, 2002, p. 182–200.

⁴⁸ <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-12917> (map); <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC03822307> (commentary). See also P. Kasza, "Wolfgang Lazius latin nyelvű beszámolója az 1556. évi dél-dunántúli hadjáratról", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 122, 2018, 4, p. 417–443.

⁴⁹ P. Svatek, "Rei contra Turcas gestae anno MDLVI brevis descriptio. Eine Geschichtskarte des Wolfgang Lazius aus dem Jahre 1557", in D. Beineke et al. (eds.), *Festschrift für Univ.-Prof. Dr.-Ing. Kurt Brunner anlässlich des Ausscheidens aus dem aktiven Dienst.* München, 2012, p. 237–248.

them are profile portraits of Roman emperors (Caligula, Otho, Nero, Antoninus Pius, Nerva, Titus, Galba [?]), while the medallion centrally placed on the right side shows a turbaned Oriental.⁵⁰

The insertion of the medallions of the Roman emperors reflects Lazius's enthusiasm for numismatic studies. The publication of the imperial coin collection in a magnificent volume planned by him, the illustrations of which were to be created by the graphic artist Hanns Lautensack (c. 1520–1561/66), who had been recruited from Nuremberg, was a project that was also intended to present the Roman imperial roots of the Habsburg dynasty effectively to the public.⁵¹

The imperial collection supervised by Lazius also comprised parts of a treasure that fishermen had found in 1543 in or on the banks of the Strei, a torrent on the southern border of Transylvania. A considerable part of this find, comprising several thousand gold staters with the name and portrait of the Thracian king Lysimachus, initially came into the possession of Bishop Martinuzzi and may also have been an additional reason for his murder at the instigation of Giovanni Battista Castaldo. According to a note written by Lazius, the army commander had sent a considerable number of these coins as well as other finds to Emperor Ferdinand. The spectacular find was repeatedly referred to by generations of antiquarians and archaeologists as the treasure of the Dacian king Decebalus.⁵²

The sensational discovery in Transylvania comes at a time when this part of East Central Europe was increasingly becoming the focus of antiquarians. One of the pioneers of the documentation of ancient monuments and inscriptions was the Hungarian poet János Megyericsi (Germ. Johann von Meseritsch, Mezerzius, c. 1470–1517). The material collected by the latter formed the basis for the *Descriptio Transsylvaniae* written by Lazius.⁵³ Mezerzius also succeeded in locating the Colonia Ulpia Traiana, a discovery with a lasting effect, the reflections of which can also be found on the maps made by Custos.

THE MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA OF DOMENICUS CUSTOS

These two maps were supplemented by bilingual (Latin and German) commentaries on the history of the region. (Figs. 4 and 5) References to the battles against the Ottomans waged by Prince Sigismund Báthory were inserted at the end

⁵⁰ The possible reasons for the insertion of the Sultan's bust cannot be further elaborated here. On this point, cf. R. Born, "Festung und Grenze...", p. 262–264.

⁵¹ F. Polleross, "Romanitas in der habsburgischen Repräsentation von Karl V. bis Maximilian II.," in R. Bösel (ed.), *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, Vienna, 2006, p. 219–220.

⁵² J. Makkay, "A sárkány meg a kincsek", *Századok* 130, 1996, p. 733–822; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "Thesauro Monachi – Der grosse dakische Goldfund aus dem Strei (1543)", *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 14, 2010, 1, p. 9–27.

⁵³ J. Papp, "OPTIMO PRINCIPI RESTITUTORI DACIAE. Angaben zur bildlichen Darstellung eines politischen Topos aus dem 18. Jahrhundert", in: *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 37, 2014, p. 49–50.

of the descriptions of the ethnic constellation and historical developments. Surprisingly, the portion of the principality of Transylvania presented on the map lacks the border with Banat, where a much-celebrated victory was won at Lippa (Romanian: Lipova) in 1595. Instead, the reference to the former capital of the province of Dacia was positioned prominently above the map scale on the Transylvanian chart. (Fig. 4) The text accompanying the map also points out that Weißenburg (Hungarian: Gyulafehérvár, today Alba Iulia in Romania, the site of the princely residence and bishop's seat, was once also the location of the camp of the Dacian king Decebalus. Additional information on ancient Dacia was taken from the *Thesaurus Geographicus* of the Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598).⁵⁴

In addition, with a view to recent history and geography, information from the chorographies of Transylvania resp. Moldavia drafted by Georg Reicherstorffer (1495/1497–155?) has also been used.⁵⁵ A native of Hermannstadt (Hungarian: Nagyszeben, today Sibiu in Romania), Reicherstorffer first served as secretary to Queen Mary of Hungary (1505–1558) and, after the death of King Louis II, moved into the service of Ferdinand I. In his capacity as royal secretary and councillor, he travelled in 1527 to the principality of Moldavia and afterwards to the Saxon territories of Transylvania seeking there to mobilize the support of Ferdinand I. After Transylvania came under the rule of John Zápolya, Ferdinand I in 1535 again dispatched Reicherstorffer to Transylvania and Moldavia. As a reward for these diplomatic services, which weakened the position of Ferdinand I's opponent, John Zápolya, Emperor Charles V ennobled Reicherstorffer in 1532.⁵⁶ Drawing on the diplomatic missions, Reicherstorffer completed two works, *Chorographia Transylvaniae* and the *Chorographia Moldaviae*, which were published in Vienna in 1541 and 1550 respectively and were standard works on these regions for a long time. Hence, a reprint of Reicherstorffer's chorography was added to the Cologne edition of the report on the Crimea compiled by Martin Broniowski (Polish: Marcin Broniowski, d. 1593).⁵⁷

Regarding the section shown, Custos based his map of Transylvania on the revision of Johannes Honterus' (c. 1498–1549) depiction of this region prepared by

⁵⁴ *Abrahami Ortelij Antverpiani thesaurus geographicus: in quo totius terrae ..., Antverpiae 1587, s. v. Dacia*

⁵⁵ G. Reicherstorffer, *Chorographia Transylvaniae, Quae Dacia olim appellata, aliarumque provinciarum & regionum succincta descriptio & explicatio...* Vienna: Adler, Aegidius, 1550 um:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10199002-9. See G. Reicherstorffer, *Transilvania, Chorographia Moldáviáé. Erdély és Moldva leírása*, edited and commented by I. Szabadi, Debrecen, 1994.

⁵⁶ Cf. B. Capesius, "Der Hermanstädter Humanist Georg Reicherstorffer," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 10 (1967), p. 35–62; P. Szabó, "V. Károly és az erdélyi százok...", p. 375–380.

⁵⁷ Martini Broniovii, *De Biezdzfedeá [...] Tartariae Descriptio...Item, Transsylvaniae, Ac Moldaviae, succincta descriptio Georgii A Reichersdorff, Transsylvani, Coloniae Agrippinae*: In Officina Birckmannica 1595 https://www.europeana.eu/de/item/9200479/item_44651795 The work contains one of the earliest maps of Moldavia. Cf. on this also S. Albrecht, "Die *Tartariae descriptio* des Martinus Broniovius. Entstehung und Wirkung eines Gesandtenberichts aus dem Krimkhanat", in D. Klein (ed.), *The Crimean Khanate Between East and West (15th–18th Century)*, Wiesbaden, 2012, p. 149–168.

Johannes Sambucus (Hungarian: Zsámbohy, János, 1531–1584), a member of the circle of humanists at the court of Maximilian II.⁵⁸ However, the topographical details of the map are reduced to an ornamental background foil because of the figural representations and cartouches inserted in the upper strip of the map. Slightly shifted from the central axis appear the portraits of the Transylvanian prince and his spouse, Maria Christierna of Inner Austria. The portraits, inserted in the oval frames characteristic for Custos, rest on the wings of the imperial eagle and are accompanied at the sides by the personifications of Faith and Peace.

At the upper left corner Custos positioned a Victoria on a cloud. This was not an artistic invention of his own but a rendition of a depiction of the goddess of victory on the large-scale, richly decorated map of America of 1562, a product of the collaboration of the cosmographer Diego Gutiérrez (active 1554–1569) and the Flemish engraver Hieronymus Cock (ca. 1510–1570), intended to visualise Spain's claim to supremacy over the Western Hemisphere.⁵⁹

On the Transylvania map the personification of Victory presents the princely coat of arms mounted on a shield, on which the dragon's teeth of the Báthory can be seen as well as the Austrian band shield. These elements were placed on the chest of the imperial double-headed eagle. On its wings Custos inserted the initials RA as a reference to the reigning emperor. Besides the escutcheon, Victoria holds a palm branch around which a ribbon with the inscription *Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis* is wound. This is a sentence from the sixth book of the Aeneid, in which Anchises heralds the advent of Augustus as the culminating moment of a long line of glorious rulers. (Verg. Aen. 6. 791) This *fatum* appears on the map of Custos in reference to Sigismund Báthory and is insistently emphasised by the pointing gesture of Victoria. This mythical hyperbole is supplemented by an additional dimension on the cartouche on the opposite side, which is decorated with the pine nut (Germ. Zirbelnuss resp. Pyr), an important part of the crest of the city of Augsburg. The text of the inscription is a skilled montage of passages from the wedding song of the Parcae in Catullus' poem no. 64 (v. 338–375). These prophesy to Peleus and Thetis the life of their son Achilles, while simultaneously weaving the thread of fate. In the inscription on the map, the lines referring to the hero's parents in the epyllion have been omitted. Construed analogies with the hero of the Trojan War were not uncommon in those years, as exemplified by Stavrinus the Vestiary's chronicle on Michael the Brave, Sigismund Báthory's rival, probably penned posthumously in 1602.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ G. Cennerné Wilhelmb, "Báthory Zsigmond havasalföldi . . .", p. 61.

⁵⁹ *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio*. Antverpia: Hieronymus Cock, 1562. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3290.ct000342/> See also: J.R. Hébert and R. Pflederer, "Like No Other. The 1562 Gutiérrez Map of America", *Mercator's world* 5 (2000), 6, p. 46–51.

⁶⁰ A. Vincent, "From Life to Legend: The Chronicles of *Stavrinus* and Palamidis on Michael the Brave", *Θησαυρίσματα* 25, 1995, p. 189–195.

DOMENICUS CUSTOS' MAP OF MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

In addition to the map of Transylvania, which has a dedication to Philipp Eduard Fugger, the second map made by Custos features a dedication to Octavianus Secundus Fugger. (Fig. 5) In contrast to the information in the title cartouche, the map depicts not only Moldavia and Wallachia together with the Tatar territories in the Crimea, but also vast areas of the Ottoman possessions south of the Danube together with the Straits and the capital Constantinople. The inclusion of the Late Antique forts and fortresses along the right bank of the Danube suggests an alignment with Abraham Ortelius' antiquarian map of the provinces of Dacia and Moesia, published in Antwerp in 1595, i.e. immediately before the completion of the two Custos maps. Motive borrowings, such as the female herm figure from the scrollwork cartouche in the lower right corner, also document the exemplary function of that new publication.⁶¹

Custos supplemented the antiquarian information taken over from Ortelius with references to events in recent and contemporary periods, above all battles against the Ottomans. Among these battles, some of which are depicted in scenes, there are also several disastrous defeats, including the one at Varna in 1444. These references situated the victories of Sigismund Báthory and Michael the Brave in a historical development line that stood in marked contrast to Rudolf II's propaganda, which was exclusively centred on recent events. Similar to the map of Transylvania, Custos used the upper strip of this commissioned work to display the portraits of Emperor Rudolf II and of the Transylvanian prince. However, the two portraits are pushed into a secondary role through the allegorical composition. Over a bank of clouds, the figure of Nemesis, armed with a fiery sword and a cross, is chasing the fleeing *Nequitia*. In this composition Custos probably drew on the map published in 1567 by the Nuremberg goldsmith and engraver Matthias Zündt (c. 1498–1572).⁶² This creative adoption should not remain an isolated case. A short time later, Custos varied a portrait of Nicholas (Miklós) Zrínyi,⁶³ the heroic defender of Szigetvár, created by Zündt.⁶⁴ The latter was part of a wide range of printed matter with which Zündt attempted to respond to the demand for

⁶¹ *Daciarum, Moesiarumque vetus descriptio ... Ex conatibus Abrahami Ortelij*. Antverpiae 1595. <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-35503>

⁶² *Nova totius Ungariae descriptio accurata diligens desumpta ex pluribus aliorum editis cosmographicis chartis et typis aereis incisa a Matthia Cynthio Norimbergensi Anno a Christo nato M.D. LXVII: Ein neüwe warhafftige Beschreibung des ganzen Ungerlands mit sünderem Fleyss [...] in druck versertiget durch Mathias Zundten zu Normberg. Im jar nach Christi geburt 1567*. American Geographical Society Library Digital Map Collection. <https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/752/>

⁶³ *Warhafte Conterfactur der vhestung Sigeth vnnnd dess Wolge- bornen herrn Niclausen Grauen zu Serins...* Nürnberg 1566. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Sign. B1 App. M. 26 <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12346/1940002>

⁶⁴ Papp, J. "Adatok Zrínyi Miklós, a szigetvári hős ikonográfiájához", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 122, 2009, 2, p. 509–510.

information on the fighting in Hungary in the summer of 1566.⁶⁵ On the one hand, these were depictions of embattled fortresses, such as Gyula and above all Szigetvár, whose siege marked the dramatic climax of this campaign.⁶⁶ Through a combination of bird's-eye topographical details and in-depth accounts of the battles, these depictions of the fortresses blend mapping and historical accounts. In addition Zündt also compiled several maps starting with "Das Khynigreich Hungern" published in Nuremberg in 1566, on which the Ottoman troops depicted in a bird's-eye view constitute the dominant element.⁶⁷ This form of design has parallels with both the pictorial reportages of the fortress sieges just mentioned and the maps of Hungary published contemporaneously in Italy by Domenico Zenoi and Paolo Forlani.⁶⁸ Custos himself published a map of this type in 1598 on which the military conflicts since the outbreak of the war in 1593 were visualised. The map was created as part of a short-lived pamphlet, which makes it a particularly rare item today.⁶⁹

In 1567 Zündt launched the above mentioned *Nova totius Ungariae descriptio* of Hungary. With regard to the topographical details and the design of the cartouches, this map clearly follows the *Regni Hungariae* of Wolfgang Lazius.⁷⁰ Zündt designed the cartouches particularly elaborately. Thus, the imperial and Turkish fighters framing the coat of arms of the title cartouche with the emblems of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Bosnia threaten each other with drawn weapons. To the side of them are two female figures, on the left Germania with helmet, sword and a tablet with the inscription: *Extete iam tandem fortis Germania vires* [I the strong Germania, haste to your support]. Facing her, a Hungaria depicted in national costume weeps *Auxilium posco vestrum Ungara tellus* [I Hungarian land implore your help]. The invocation for help shows clear parallels to the topos of the *Querela Hungariae* or *Querela Pannoniae*, which became widespread after 1541. Here Hungaria or Pannonia was allegorically staged as a forsaken queen threatened by the Ottomans,

⁶⁵ Mathias (Mathes) Zündt was initially an apprentice to the famous goldsmith and engraver Wenzel Jamnitzer (1507–1585) and, after several unsuccessful attempts, was finally granted citizenship in Nuremberg in 1556. In 1559, commissioned by Jamnitzer, Zündt travelled to Prague to work on a table centrepiece for Archduke Ferdinand II of Further Austria and Tyrol (1529–1595), a project, which unfortunately was not completed. There is no evidence that he took part in the fights against the Ottomans in Hungary in 1566, as is sometimes assumed. Cf. U.M. Schwob, *Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg und den Deutschen im Südosten im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. München 1969, p. 143; J.C. Smith (ed.) *Nuremberg. A Renaissance City, 1500–1618*. Austin 1983.

⁶⁶ *Ware Conterfeit der beuestigung Siget....* Nürnberg 1566. Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Sign. B1 App. M. 28 <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12346/1940005>

⁶⁷ T. Szathmáry, *Descriptio Hungariae, Magyarország és Erdély nyomtatott térképei (1477-1600)*, Fusignano, 1987, Nr. 68, p. 157.

⁶⁸ Cf. T. Szathmáry, *Descriptio Hungariae ...*, Nr. 63, p. 149; Nr. 64, p. 150; Nr. 65, p. 151

⁶⁹ P. H. Meurer, "Eine Kriegskarte Ungarns von Dominicus Custos (Augsburg 1598)", *Cartographica Hungarica* 1, 1992, 1, p. 22–24.

⁷⁰ P. Svatek, *Wolfgang Lazius als Kartograph. Eine Analyse seiner Karten in Bezug auf die Werke anderer Kartenmacher des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1–2, Phil. Diss. Universität Wien 2005 (typoscript), here vol. 1, p. 121–128; J. Papp, "„... vitézül védjétek a nemzetet ...", p. 25–48; R. Born "The Ottoman Expansion ...", p. 134–135.

whose lament is addressed to her sister Germania or to the whole of Catholic Europe.⁷¹

The hope of salvation is visualised in the upper left corner, where two winged figures appear on a plume of cloud supported by the imperial double-headed eagle. The figure on the left carries a sword and an olive branch in its hands and has occasionally been addressed as the personification of glory. To the right appears a representation of the victorious Church with a trumpet and cross. Both figures wear laurel wreaths on their heads as an indication of coming victories. The plaque to the right of the figures names the conditions for these victories: *Succedant tandem votis hac omnia nostris*. Below it German text: *Wir sollen bitten alle Von Gott/ Das Unser Wünsch mögen haben statt* [We shall all beseech God/ That Our wishes be fulfilled). Zündt published a slightly modified version of the map in 1567, which in turn was reissued against the background of the conflicts of the Long Turkish War.⁷²

While the borrowings for the figure of Nemesis from the winged personifications on the map of Zündt are clearly recognisable, the figure of *Nequitia*, holding a shield decorated with a masterfully designed crescent moon, emerges as a successful new creation by Custos. The juxtaposition of faith (cross) and *Nequitia* is reminiscent of the treatise by Georgius de Hungaria OSB (c. 1422–1502).⁷³ The author also known as Georgius Septemcastrensis was a native of Mühlbach (Hungarian: Szászsebes, now Sebeş in Romania) in Transylvania, and had spent twenty years as a slave in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. In his treatise, first published in 1480, Georgius de Hungaria provided a complex and differentiated picture of the Ottomans. On the one hand, he portrayed the Ottomans in positive terms as humble, disciplined, and pious people.⁷⁴ On the other hand, when it came to the religion of the Ottomans, Georgius characterized them negatively as followers of a ‘sect’, the church of the Antichrist, and thus as a negative counterpart to the Church of Christ. The devil, dwelling in the souls of the Ottomans, was preparing the Apocalypse, which Georgius, like most of his contemporaries, located in the near future.⁷⁵ The treatise experienced numerous editions and translations from

⁷¹ M. Imre, “Magyarország panasza“. *A Querela Hungariae toposz a XVI–XVII. század irodalmában*. Debrecen, 1995.

⁷² On the editions by Jacobus Pross (Prague 1594), Balthasar Carij (Nuremberg 1594) and Alexander Mair (Augsburg 1594) see T. Szathmáry, *Descriptio Hungariae...*, p. 159; L. Szántai, *Atlas Hungaricus. Magyarország nyomtatott térképei 1528–1850*. vol. 1. Budapest 1996, p. 371.

⁷³ Georgius de Hungaria, *Tractatus de moribus, conditionibus et nequicia Turcorum: Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken*, ed. R. Klockow. Cologne-Vienna, 1993.

⁷⁴ A. Classen, “The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness: Georgius de Hungaria’s Dialectical Discourse on the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 7, 2003, p. 257–258 and 261–265.

⁷⁵ H. Busse, “Der Islam und seine Rolle in der Heilsgeschichte in Georg von Ungarns Türkentraktat”, in K. Röhrborn (ed.), *Scholia: Beiträge zur Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde. Festschrift für Annemarie Gabain zum 80. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 22–37; Th. Kaufmann, “Aspekte christlicher Wahrnehmung der ‘türkischen Religion’ im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert im Spiegel publizistischer Quellen”, in L. Grenzmann et al. (eds), *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. II. Kulturelle Konkretionen (Literatur, Mythographie, Wissenschaft und Kunst)*, Berlin-Boston, 2012, p. 255–257.

1480 onwards, making it one of the most influential early modern *Turcica* publications.⁷⁶

ALEXANDER MAIR'S PANEGYRIC PANORAMA OF THE LOWER DANUBE

The third map produced in Augsburg presents the principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia and the neighbouring regions, whereby the latter area is broadly covered. The section chosen by the Augsburg engraver and publisher Alexander Mair (1559–1617) on the north-oriented map reaches as far as the Crimea in the east and from Belgrade to Constantinople in the south. (Fig. 6) Already a first glance conveys the impression that the unusual extension of the perspective to the eastern fringes of the Black Sea occurred intending to create enough space for the display of the battles and expeditions of 1595. This becomes apparent in the section of the lower Danube, where the number of place names was reduced compared to the Custos map. In return, events such as the battle at the pontoon bridge built near Giurgiu were described in great detail. Comparable forms of presenting past and present conflicts can also be found on a large-format map of Hungary published by Mair in Augsburg in 1594.⁷⁷ Finally, another striking difference compared to the two maps engraved by Custos, are the numerous heraldic compositions and allegorical depictions that are interlocked with each other.

These trends appear already in the two upper cartouches. Thus, on the lower part of the panel, three interlinked rings symbolising the three principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania are displayed in a circular field on the left-hand side. This is likely an intentional allusion to the Medici emblem, which served as a visualisation of political alliances in several texts from the second half of the sixteenth century.⁷⁸

Through the motto *Salus Daciae* “the welfare / the salvation of Dacia” affixed around the three rings, the tripartite federation created by Sigismund Báthory through alliance treaties became equated with the ancient Roman province. The political agenda of a restoration of Dacia was not something novel. A group of objects created four decades earlier, during the brief Habsburg intermezzo in Transylvania, appear to have served as models for this programmatic claim and its pictorial implementation. These include a medal made of obsidian and wax by Antonio Abondio (1538–1591), on the obverse of which a portrait of Emperor

⁷⁶ See also C. Göllner: *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1. Bucharest, Berlin, 1961, pp. 36–38, no. 35; K.D. Döring: *Türkenkrieg und Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der europäischen Türkendrucke bis 1500*. Husum, 2013, p. 145–155.

⁷⁷ *Hungariae descriptionem / multis priorum correctis erroribus accurate concitta*.. Augsburg 1594.

⁷⁸ F. Ames-Lewis, “Early Medicean Devices”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42, 1979, p. 129; L. Böninger, “Diplomatie im Dienst der Kontinuität. Piero de’Medici zwischen Rom und Mailand”, in A. Beyer, B. Bucher and F. Ames-Lewis (eds.), *Piero de’Medici „il Gottoso” (1416–1469): Kunst im Dienste der Mediceer = Art in the Service of the Medici*, Berlin, 1993, p. 42.

Maximilian II was painted. The reverse shows an allegory of Pax setting fire to a cluster of weapons with a torch.⁷⁹ The accompanying inscription VICTORIA DACICA probably alludes to the battles between the imperial forces and the troops of the Transylvanian prince Johann Sigismund Zápolya. This episode, which was actually marginal, was propagandistically presented as a victory over the Ottomans and later formed the content of the decorative programme of one of the three triumphal arches erected in Vienna in 1563 for Maximilian II, when he returned from his coronation in Frankfurt as Roman king. The concepteur of the decorative programmes was Wolfgang Lazius.⁸⁰

It is also possible that the Viennese court reacted with the medal to the powerful stagings of the aforementioned leader of the imperial troops Giovanni Battista Castaldo had enacted himself as *Restitutor Daciae*.⁸¹ Presumably in 1555, Leone Leoni (c. 1509–1590) executed the bronze medal, whose obverse shows the bust of Castaldo, designated as “great wartime leader” in the encircling inscription. On the reverse Castaldo appears in the guise of an ancient warlord with the staff of command in his left hand. His right hand is held out to the personification of Dacia, seated on a stack of weapons. The inscription *SVBACTAE DACIAE. RESTITVTORI. OPTIMO* praises Castaldo as the noble saviour of conquered Dacia.⁸² Leoni’s medal is modelled on the *restitutor* coins minted under Trajan and especially Hadrian, both regarding the titulature and the motif of the reclining personification which is raised up by the princeps.

A further small group of medals was modelled on the Trajan coinage celebrating the conquest of Dacia. It does not seem improbable that the artist, Annibale Fontana, at Castaldo’s request, was guided by finds that came to light during the construction of a new fortification in Hermannstadt/Sibiu. It is documented that Castaldo sent individual pieces from these finds in 1553 to Cosimo de Medici in Florence. Presumably, the commanding Habsburg general could also take possession of parts of the large hoard of Lysimachus coins.

The portrait of the victorious commander appears on the obverse of the medals made in memory of the victories at Lippa and Weißenburg. The reverse sides show female allegories: the personification of Lippa crouching under a tropon of captured weapons and a reclining Transylvania on the banks of the ‘Marosh River’.⁸³ Fontana based these allegorical compositions on a silver *denarius* resp. the *aureus* coinage of Emperor Trajan.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstkammer 3074 <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/89080/>

⁸⁰ Š. Vácha, “Antonio Abondio und die Feldherrenmedaille all’antica”, *Studia Rudolphina* 7, 2007, p. 59–74.

⁸¹ C. Rezachevici, “Mihai Viteazul și „Dacia” lui Sigismund Bathory de la 1595”, *Arges: Studii și comunicări. Seria Istorie* 12, 2003, p. 155.

⁸² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_G3-IP-253

⁸³ <http://numismatica-italiana.lamoneta.it/moneta/W-ME32E/17>; <https://numismatica-italiana.lamoneta.it/moneta/W-ME32E/3>

⁸⁴ Cf. on these coinages Ch. Michels, “Reich und Reichsgedanke auf den Münzen der Antoninen. Überlegungen zu Hadrians und Pius’ Provinzserien”, in B. Eckhardt and K. Martin (eds.), *Eine neue Prägung*.

A comparably detailed study of ancient coinage is also evident in the second cartouche, positioned by Mair in the upper right corner between the mouth of the Boristenes (Dnieper) and the Palus Maeotis (the Sea of Azov). (Fig. 7) The transverse oval text field with the dedication of the executing artist to the two city governors Johann Welser and Octavianus Secundus Fugger and the Augsburg City Council, is framed by a circumscribing inscription. It refers at the bottom to the production of the map in the fourth year of the Hungarian war and includes in the upper segment an admonition to the concord of the active parties. Above the inscription field, three circular fields with personifications have been located. On the central medallion, the laurel-wreathed Dacia is handing a statue of Victoria over to Pannonia. The two flanking medallions show the river gods of the Danube and the Temes (Latin: Tibiscus), representing the theatres of war where the troops led by Sigismund Báthory had fought. The representation of the Danubius is a reversed rendition of the river god with the wind-blown cloak on a denarius of the emperor Trajan.⁸⁵ Since no ancient allegorical representations have survived for the Tibiscus, a small tributary of the Danube, Mair offered as a “makeshift solution” a paraphrase of the statue of the Tiber/Tigris dating from Trajanic times, which was translocated from Monte Cavallo to the Capitol in 1517.⁸⁶

Below the dedication, Mair staged an aerial battle in which a dragon-like creature, representing the Ottoman enemy, is being attacked by a pair of eagles. Presumably, this was also alluding to an episode that is said to have occurred during the campaign in Wallachia and was widely circulated via reports on broadsheets. In the course of the campaign, an eagle had perched several times on the tent of the Transylvanian prince, and this had been interpreted as a propitious prodigy for that undertaking.⁸⁷ The inscription *Dabis improbe poenas* (“You will bring heavy punishment”) placed on the edge of the depiction and the date 1596 refer to Sigismund Báthory, whose likeness appears in a round medallion alongside a portrait of the emperor. For the bust of Rudolf II in armour with a laurel wreath, Mair took his inspiration from a painting by Hans von Aachen. The portrait of Sigismund, on the other hand, repeats a type that Alexander Mair had published as a single sheet in 1596.⁸⁸ On the opposite side of the cartouche, two emblems appear as counterparts to the portraits. The left one shows the Jupiter eagle on a globe with the inscription *Providentia Aug[usti]*. The second emblem shows the lightning bundle associated with the highest of the Olympians. This emblem, traditionally used for imperial power, is associated here with Sigismund Báthory. The accompanying circumscription *Virtus Bathoraea* evokes a topos first encountered in the inscription for the tomb of

Zum Innovationspotential von Münzen in der griechisch-römischen Antike, Wiesbaden 2016, p. 57–89, here p. 61–63.

⁸⁵ <https://bawue.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=4156>

⁸⁶ P.P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, London, 1991, p. 101–103, Nr. 65–66.

⁸⁷ F.G. Farkas, *Régi könyvek, új csillagok...*, p.154.

⁸⁸ <http://www.portraitindex.de/documents/obj/34701467>

the Polish-Lithuanian king Stephen Báthory, composed by the chancellor Jan Zamoyski: *O mors, invida! Non extinxisti virtutem Batoream. Immortalis est.* Transcriptions of the wording of the epitaph in the Cracow Cathedral circulated in Europe shortly after the ruler's passing, as is illustrated by records from Italy.⁸⁹

The dynastic agenda introduced with the dedication cartouche was further developed in three additional emblems. The scriptural quotation (Joel 1. 6) underneath the princely coat of arms: *Dentes eius ut dentes leonis. Et molares eius ut catuli leonis* ("his teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the jaw-teeth of a lioness") alludes to the dragon's teeth in the family crest of the Báthory. In addition, the conspicuous positioning of the coat of arms near the cartographical marking of the capital Sarmizegetusa once again references to the heritage of ancient Dacia.

The cartouches positioned in a conspicuous proximity of the capital of the Ottoman Empire and, most notably, the depiction of the triumphal arch herald the vision of liberating the former imperial seat. There are several similarities between this perspective and the vision of "*marciare verso Costantinopoli*" propagated by Pope Clement VIII.⁹⁰ The aptitude of the Transylvanian prince to implement this ambitious project is illustrated in the *Stemma Bathoreum* accompanied by the Horatian dictum *fortes creantur fortibus* (Horace, Odes 4, 4, 29).

On the one hand, the family tree highlights the continuous leadership of the Báthory family in Transylvania, whilst at the same time emphasising their interconnectedness with the European centres of power through marital ties with the Habsburgs or the Polish-Lithuanian royal court, or through Andreas Báthory's cardinal's rank with the Pontifical Curia.

As a second buttress of power, the alliance between Transylvania and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia is depicted in the adjoining cartouche, a theme already introduced by the emblem of the three intertwined rings. In the large cartouche, the coats of arms of the three principalities are linked through the curved volutes and additionally interlocked with each other. In harmony with the two knots by which three ropes are tied together, the motto *Funiculus triplex difficile rumpleut* inspired by Ecclesiastes 4:12, emphasises once more the importance of unity among the allies.⁹¹

Arguably the most innovative element of the visual propaganda on the Mair map is the triumphal arch in the lower right corner, already impressive by its proportions. (Fig. 8) The monument paraphrases and combines elements of monuments known in the Renaissance. To these belong the inscription in Capitalis on the attic and the winged Victories carrying palm branches and triumphal wreaths positioned in the spandrels on either side of the opening.

⁸⁹ *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Mediceo Florentino Pars I*, ed. Walerian Meysztowicz, Roma, 1972, p. 144, Nr. 65.

⁹⁰ T. Kruppa, *Tradição és propaganda ...*, p. 240.

⁹¹ T-R. Tiron, "Începuturile stemei Transilvaniei în lumina mai multor izvoare ilustrate externe, din secolul al XV-lea până la începutul secolului al XVII-lea", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Barițiu» din Cluj-Napoca* 50, 2011, p. 324–328.

The skins of rams fastened to the fronts of the pilasters with strips of fabric at first seem somewhat unusual, as there are in fact no known antique precedents for these. They might allude to the Golden Fleece, the Habsburg House Order, which Sigismund Báthory was also a member of. More likely, however, is a derivation from the ancient custom of certain groups that participated in the triumphal processions, such as the *signiferes* or the musicians, to use animal skins to dress for the occasion. On the arch drafted by Mair, the ram skins serve as surfaces to present Sigismund as a Hungarian Scipio resp. a Dacian Alexander. Just like the built prototypes, the engraved monument also features reliefs in the inside tunnel of the arch. Underneath, the adjectives *αλεξικακω* (left) and *αποτροπαιω* (right) were placed, which in ancient Greek literature were mainly associated with Apollo as a protective divinity. Among the best-known examples is the statue of Apollo Alexikakos in the Agora, erected to commemorate his help in ending the Great Plague of 430 BC. In accordance with these epithets, a lunging figure appears on the left side of the relief, fighting a serpent-like creature with a huge torch. On the opposite side, Apollo appears, clad only in a chlamys slung around his neck and holding a bow in his left hand. His right foot is placed triumphantly on a dragon (Python) lying in front of him. According to tradition, Python had devastated the land around Delphi. On the triumphal arch on the map, the mythical dragon functions as a cipher for the defeated Ottomans.

Supplementing the mythological hyperbole, the inscription in the Attic zone recounts the latest successes of the Transylvanian prince. Thus the son of Christoph Báthory, through his courage and wisdom, destroyed the enemy's armies, safeguarded the freedom of thousands of Christians, liberated towns and expanded the borders. Furthermore, he succeeded in driving Sinan (Pasha) out of the fortress (Tirgoviște or Giurgiu?) and pushing him beyond the Danube. In this way, Dacia has been restored by the most powerful prince.⁹²

The events narrated in the inscription are once again allegorically magnified by the surmounted group of figures. In the centre of the composition Sigismund Báthory appears as a Roman general with breastplate, the *paludamentum* and a laurel wreath on a magnificently decorated horse rearing up over an Ottoman who lies on the ground. The Transylvanian prince is holding a shield on which the initials SMV (SigisMundiVictor) are engraved, and is about to strike a decisive blow against his toppled opponent. The latter, lying on his back, is trying to ward off the attack with his shield, which has a crescent moon and a star on it. The shown facial features with the aquiline nose, the long beard and, last but not least, the turban decorated with a band of precious stones all suggest that the overthrown fighter may be identified as Sinan Pasha.⁹³ The battle scene is framed by a cluster of weapons of

⁹² SIGISMUNDO BATHOREO CHRISTOPH(I) F(ILIO) QUOD EIUS VIRTUTE ET CONSILIO HOST(IS?) EXERCITUS CAESI MULTA CHRISTIANOR(UM) MILLIA IN LIBERTATEM ASSERTA OPPIDA CAPTA FINES PROLATI SINAMUS CASTRIS EXUTUS ULTRA DANUBIUM FUGATUS ET PROFLIGATUS EST DACIA RESTITUTA FORTISS(IMI) PRINCIPI

⁹³ Cf. the portrait of the Grand Vezir on the engraving by Johann Sibmacher from 1581 <http://www.portraitindex.de/documents/obj/34701382>

the enemy. The standards shown at the side of the Grand Vezir deserve special mention. Equivalent spoils of war had been sent to Rudolf II in Prague immediately after the battle of Călugăreni, where they were publicly presented together with prisoners of war and captured weapons as part of a triumphal procession.⁹⁴

The *concepteur* of the map's panegyric programme, who is certainly not identical with the executing artist, probably used multiple sources when designing the dramatic battle group. Most likely, imperial coinage was the most important source of inspiration. Among the prominent examples are the *sestertii* and *aurei* minted by Emperor Trajan in commemoration of the victories over the Dacians. Their reverse sides show the emperor on horseback hurling a spear at a fallen Dacian.⁹⁵

In addition, an inspiration from a fresco that was visible until the seventeenth century in the north-eastern corner of the Campo dei Fiori in Rome, at the starting point of the Via del Pellegrino, also appears likely. The original appearance of this composition has been preserved in a drawing and in written descriptions. The fresco depicted Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, as an armed knight, lashing out with his sword. An interesting detail with regard to the depiction of the triumphal arch on the fresco was handed down by the humanist Nathan Cythraeus (1543–1598) in his *Itinerarium* “[...] *Matthiae Hungariae regi armato & equestri, Turcorum(ue) turbam calcanti* [...]”⁹⁶

A triumphal arch the upper part of which showed a horseman riding over the fallen enemies, was erected in 1541 in the Piazza del Duomo in Milan for Charles V.⁹⁷ In the second half of the sixteenth century, ephemeral triumphal arches became important means of representation for the Habsburgs.⁹⁸ In addition to Vienna and Prague, two triumphal arches were erected on the occasion of the coronation of Maximilian II (1563) and Rudolf II (1572) with the Crown of St. Stephen in Preßburg (Hungarian: Pozsony, today Bratislava in Slovakia).⁹⁹ In the

⁹⁴ K. Vocelka, “Die Türkenbeute in der politischen Propaganda der frühen Neuzeit”, *Österreichische Osthefte* 21, 1979, p. 79–88; O. Cristea, *Puterea cuvintelor...*, p. 350–352.

⁹⁵ RIC II 209 <https://www.ikmk.at/object?id=ID1078>; RIC II 543 <https://numid.uni-rostock.de/object?lang=de&id=ID358>.

⁹⁶ M. Pattantyús, “La difesa della cristianità in un dipinto attribuito al Mantegna: A proposito del monumento equestre di Mattia Corvino in un affresco oggi perduto a Roma”, *Arte Cristiana* 99, 2011, 866, p. 329–336; D. Pócs, “L’affresco di Mattia Corvino a Campo de’ Fiori: Quesiti stilistici e iconografici”, in A. Rovetta and G. Hajnóczy (eds.), *Lombardia e Ungheria nell’età dell’umanesimo e del rinascimento. Rapporti culturali e artistici dall’età di Sigismondo all’invasione turca (1387–1526)*, Cesano Maderno (MI), 2003, p. 101–109 and p. 109, note 29 with the complete rendition of the description.

⁹⁷ Cf. the woodcut in the print by Giovanni Maria Alberto Albicantes F4v, reproduced in M. Philipp, *Ehrenpforten für Kaiser Karl V. Festdekorationen als Medien politischer Kommunikation*. Berlin, 2011, p. 299, cat. 17. and p. 262.

⁹⁸ V. Sandbichler, “Bilder des Triumphs im höfischen Fest der Habsburger des 16. Jh.,” in M. Fahlenbock, L. Madersbacher and I. Schneider, (eds.), *Inszenierung des Sieges – Sieg der Inszenierung. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*. Innsbruck 2011, p. 143–156.

⁹⁹ G. Galavics, “A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet, in Á.R. Várkonyi (ed.), *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, Budapest, 1987, p. 229–230.

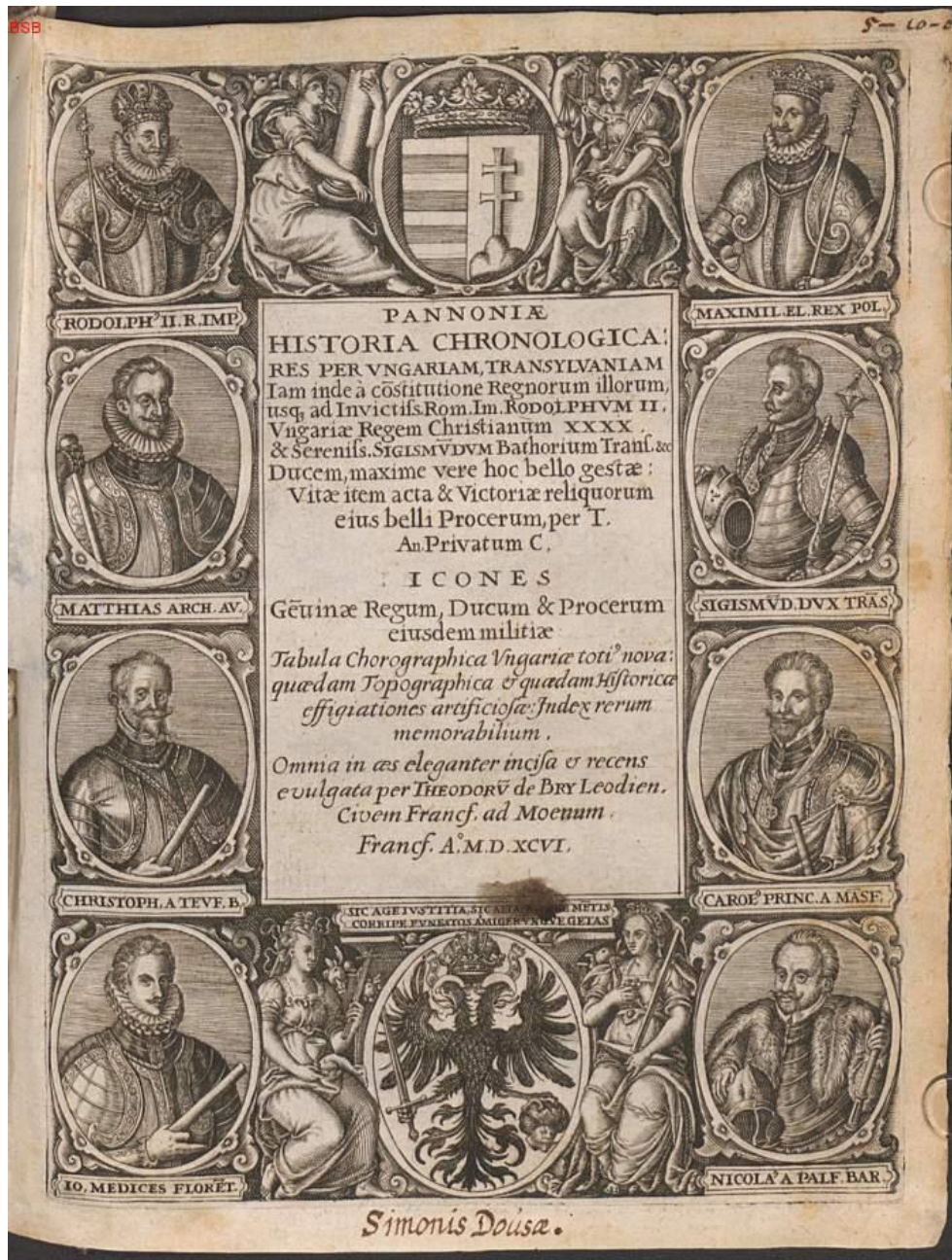
case of Sigismund Báthory, isolated details had been known for some time from the reports of Italian envoys on festive decorations erected on the occasion of the victorious returnees to the princely residence in Weißenburg.¹⁰⁰ Evidence of a triumphal arch with a comparable programme to the one on Mair's map would not only change our picture of festive architecture in the sixteenth century. From a broader perspective, we would have to ask whether the triumphal arch – in the form of reports on the ephemeral architecture or as a detail on Mair's map – represented a point of reference in the elaboration of the decorative programme of the new fortification at Weißenburg/Karlsburg built between 1715 and 1738. The sequence of gates erected on site was intended to illustrate Roman continuity on site. Above the main gate, the new sovereign, Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–1740) appears as *Restitutor Daciae* in the type of the Triumphator on a horse rearing up over a fallen Turk in a manner similar to Sigismund Báthory.

The problem areas presented so far in connection with the three maps from 1596 speak for a joint project in which actors from Transylvania as well as from the surroundings of the imperial court in Prague and the Fuggers in Augsburg collaborated.

¹⁰⁰ F.G. Farkas, *Régi könyvek, új csillagok*, p. 148.



Fig. 1. Il Principe di Transilvania. Illustration in Cesare Vedellio;
Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo, woodcut, Venice 1598.
Illustration credits: Author.



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Fig. 2. Title page of the *Pannoniae Historia Chronologica res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam*, Frankfurt am Main 1596.

Illustration credits: https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/9200459/oai_digitool_bibnat_ro_119430



Fig. 3. Dominicus Custos, Portrait of Sigismund Báthory, copper engraving, Augsburg 1595, London Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 611334.

Illustration credits: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/611334/serenissimvs-sigismvndvs-transilvaniae-valachiae-et-moldaviae-princeps>

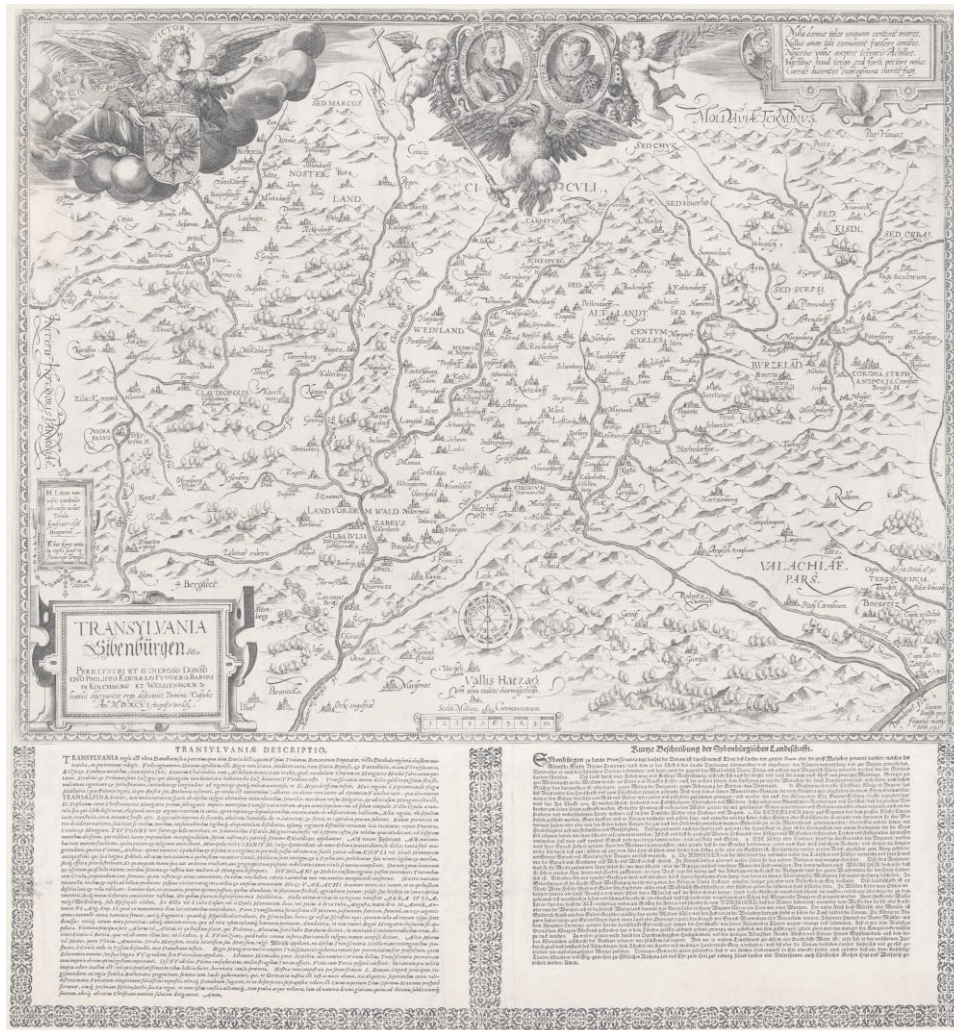


Fig. 4. Domenicus Custos, *Transylvania/Siebenbürgen*, etching, 37.3 × 48 cm, Augsburg 1596, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, App. M. 119. Illustration credits: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára.



Fig. 5. Domenicus Custos, *Moldavia, Valachia, et Tartariae pars*, etching, 37.5 × 47.8 cm, Augsburg 1596, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, App. M. 120. Illustration credits: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomatványok Tára.

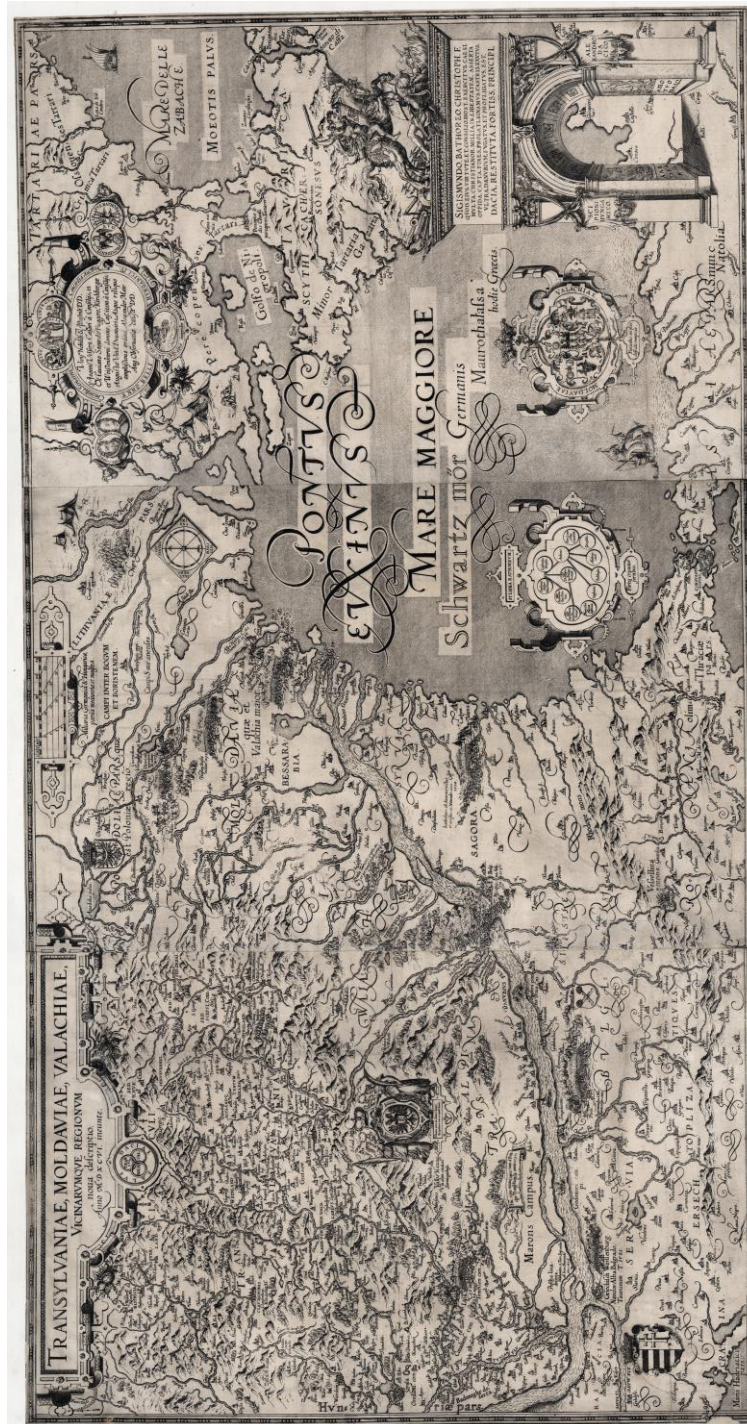


Fig. 6. Alexander Mair, *Transylvaniae, Moldaviae, Valachiae, vicinarumque regionum nova descriptio*, etching, 50 x98 cm, Augsburg 1596, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, App. M. 126. Illustration credits: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára.



Fig. 7. Alexander Mair, Cartouche with the portraits of the rulers (detail from Fig. 6).
Illustration credits: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára.



Fig. 8. Alexander Mair, Triumphal arch (detail from Fig. 6). Illustration credits: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára.

FROM MAP TO TEXT.
THE PROSE CARTOGRAPHY OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
ADVENTURER

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The present study addresses the complex and ambiguous relationship between Enlightenment adventurers and cartography. In order to authenticate their travel experiences and to fabricate a geographical expertise, the adventurers pointed out the flaws of known maps and, simultaneously, pretended to have possession of secret, better, ones. They especially exploited the gaps in the cartographic knowledge of the regions situated at the very margins of Europe, such as the Ottoman Empire. Such was the case with the Transylvanian-Suisse charlatan Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz, the main character of this article. In 1716, taking advantage of the Habsburgs' interest for Wallachia, this adventurer wrote a memorandum in an attempt to impress the potential employer with his geographical knowledge of the realm. However, Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's alleged expertise was an unconvincing pretence, as his description of Wallachia reveals a rather patchy and superficial knowledge. Nonetheless, at the core of his memorandum lies a detailed and systematic geographical description of Wallachia, extremely rich in place-names (no fewer than 503). The main contention of this article is that the memorandum is a pseudo-gazetteer of the 1700 map of Wallachia printed at Padua. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's prose cartography was, to a large extent, a veiled reading of this map.

Keywords: Enlightenment; Adventurer; Cartography; Wallachia; Habsburgs.

The archetypal Enlightenment adventurer was first and foremost a storyteller.¹ Giacomo Casanova, George Psalmanazar, Chevalier d'Éon, and their infamous ilk, beguiled the eighteenth-century listeners and readers with their fabulous adventures. Every now and then their narrative exploits were set in distant lands, on the edges of the map, as geographical mobility played a key role in their tales.² The journey to Russia was most commonly referred to, but some adventurers summoned Ottoman Levantine itineraries, such as Justiniani of Chios³, Radu Cantacuzino⁴,

¹ See S. Roth, *Les Aventuriers au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1980 and A. Stroeve, *Les Aventuriers des Lumières*, Paris, 1997.

² "Ils ne peuvent apparaître qu'aux confins de la carte politique, dans un pays au nord, à l'est ou au sud de l'Europe, là où passent les frontières de zones d'influence, où les puissances européennes tentent d'établir leur protégé", in A. Stroeve, *Les Aventuriers...*, p. 216.

³ P.-Y. Beaurepaire, *L'Autre et le Frère. L'Étranger et la Franc-maçonnerie en France au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1998, p. 147–152.

⁴ O. Olar, "Un aventurier al Luminilor. Prințul Radu Cantacuzino (1699–1761) și Ordinul constantinian al Sfântului Gheorghe", in R.G. Păun and O. Cristea, eds., *Istoria: utopie, amintire și proiect de viitor. Studii de istorie oferite Profesorului Andrei Pippidi*, Iași, 2013, p. 153–166.

Yūsuf Hubaysh⁵, or Zobby of Arabia Felix⁶, while a few even dared to claim more exotic experiences, such as Psalmanazar of Formosa⁷ or Benyovszky of Madagascar⁸. All these adventurers, not a few claiming to be of princely descent, had to rely on their audiences' vague geographical awareness of the remote lands that served as settings for their stories. When it came to maps and cartographic knowledge, these tricksters played a double game. In order to authenticate their travel experiences and to fabricate a geographical expertise, the Enlightenment adventurers made a habit of pointing out the flaws and fallacies of the cartographic knowledge shared within the Republic of Letters.⁹ Their input was mainly negative, as they were rather reluctant to expound on their alleged geographical expertise acquired during the travels, but more than willing to criticize others for their faulty knowledge. Most of these adventurers claimed to possess more accurate maps of the far-off regions they pretended to know so well, but they usually preferred to keep them away from the public eye. In terms of cartographical knowledge, the portrait of the Enlightenment adventurer was a puzzling one (which, of course, fitted perfectly with the character): an outspoken critic of known maps and, at the same time, a mysterious holder of secret ones.

Ridiculing cartographic errors became something of a hallmark for the eighteenth-century adventurers, who were very keen to set themselves apart from armchair explorers. Geographical expertise and cartographical criticism became an important tool in telling liars apart from truth-tellers, as proven by the debates spawned in the context of the late seventeenth-century French Polish-mania.¹⁰ The Polish king, John III Sobieski, the liberator of Vienna and husband of a French-born queen, inspired numerous accounts written by French diplomats, soldiers and adventurers, categories that largely conflate and overlap. One of the most successful travel accounts was François Paulin Dalérac's *Mémoires secrets* published in 1699, which became an instant best-seller.¹¹ In order to emphasize his intimate

⁵ T. Graf, "Cheating the Habsburgs and Their Subjects? Eighteenth-Century 'Arabian Princes' in Central Europe and the Question of Fraud", in D. McEwan and S. Hanß, eds., *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800*, Vienna, 2021, p. 229–253.

⁶ P.-Y. Beaurepaire, "Sociabilité des Lumières et exclusion dans les ports méditerranéens au XVIII^e siècle: l'exemple de la Franc-maçonnerie", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 69, 2004, p. 19.

⁷ F.J. Foley, *The Great Formosan Impostor*, Rome, 1968 and J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Chur, 1995, p. 171–208. Psalmanazar is briefly mentioned by Glyndwr Williams in his article on "Imaginary Geographies and Apocryphal Voyages", in M.H. Edney and M. Sponberg Pedley, eds., *Cartography in the European Enlightenment*, Chicago, 2020, p. 658–663.

⁸ V. Voigt, "Maurice Benyovszky and his 'Madagascar Protocolle' (1772–1776)", *Hungarian Studies* 21, 2007, p. 205–238.

⁹ For an attempt to map the Republic of Letters see A. Grafton, "A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters", in idem, *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 9–34.

¹⁰ D. Tollet, "Les comptes rendus de voyages et commentaires des Français, sur la Pologne, au XVII^e siècle, auteurs et éditions", *Revue du Nord*, 57, 1975, p. 133–145.

¹¹ *Les anecdotes de Pologne ou Mémoires secrets du règne de Jean Sobieski III du nom*, Paris, 1699. A pirate copy was printed in Amsterdam the same year and a year later came to print the second Paris edition, a Dutch and an English translation; for details see M. Coman, "François Paulin Dalérac", in *Călători străini despre Țările Române, Supliment I*, ed. by Ș. Andreescu et al., București, 2011, p. 175–201.

knowledge of the Polish king's itineraries, Dalérac found faults with the maps of the region made by Nicolas Sanson and Pierre Duval.¹² Significantly, when a rival French memoirist, Philippe Le Masson Du Pont, decided to expose Dalérac as a fraud, he specifically attacked his pretended geographical expertise.¹³ Du Pont acknowledged that the French maps of the regions were deficient in their topographic details, but he scorned at the idea that a charlatan like Dalérac was the right person to amend them.¹⁴ Thus, whether one's travel account was genuine or rather fabricated came to be decided by a cartographic debate. Dalérac clearly won over Du Pont, who, nonetheless, was to be vindicated by modern scholars.

If maps enabled readers to mind-travel, the adventurers' narratives did the exact opposite, providing a first-hand topographical experience.¹⁵ While travelling down the Danube in 1776, Johann Friedel, an Austrian lieutenant turned actor, noticed a previously unmapped island.¹⁶ He recorded it in his diary, while confessing, rather proudly, that his knowledge of the Danube owed nothing to cartography, as he did not like tracing itineraries on maps with his fingers.¹⁷ According to their critics, maps were not only incomplete, but also obsolete. Lionardo Panzini, an Italian monk who was for a while preceptor of the Wallachian princes, remarked in a 1777 letter that settlements which appeared to be flourishing towns on maps had in the meantime decayed and almost disappeared.¹⁸ For Friedel and Panzini mind-travelling with the use of maps was obviously an inferior form of voyaging.

In the case of some regions that were situated at the very margins of Europe, or even further away from the continent, eighteenth-century maps proved to be outdated, vague and inaccurate. The Enlightenment adventurers took advantage of such cartographic imprecision, as it stirred imagination and, thus, provided the perfect setting for their pretences. The direct correlation between the adventurers' imaginative accounts and their audiences' deficient geographical knowledge is unequivocally asserted by the great Formosan trickster, George Psalmanazar.¹⁹ In

¹² "Avant de passer outre, je dois rectifier icy deux ou trois fautes grossieres que nous avons remarquées dans certaines Cartes de Samson et de Duval, tant anciennes que modernes", in Dalérac, *Les anecdotes*, p. 179.

¹³ Du Pont's frustration was fuelled by his failure to find a publisher for his memoirs. His travel account was printed only at the end of the nineteenth century, along with a *Réponse au libelle de l'auteur Des Anecdotes de Pologne ou Mémoires, prétendus secrets, de Jean Sobieski, roi de Pologne*; see P. Dupont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de J. Sobiecki (1671–1684)*, Warsaw, 1882. For the author see *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 7, București, 1980, p. 278–280.

¹⁴ "Après tant de fracas, il s'érige en censeur de cartes géographiques des meilleurs auteurs, lesquelles, véritablement, auraient besoin d'être corrigées, pour ce qui regarde les provinces en question (la Moldavie et la Valachie)", in P. Dupont, *Mémoires*, p. 246.

¹⁵ For the concept of the eighteenth-century fireside traveller, see P. Adams, *Travellers and Travel Liars 1660–1800*, New York 1980.

¹⁶ J. Friedel, *Gesammelte kleine gedruckte und ungedruckte Schriften*, Preßburg, 1784, p. 239.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*: "... daß ich ausser der homannischen Delineatio Danubii kaum dreyi andere Landcharten deßhalb nachsah, weil ich überhaupt nicht gern mit dem Finger auf der Landcharte herumreise".

¹⁸ See his letters edited by N. Cortese, *La Valachia durante il principato di Alessandro Ypsilanti*, Rome, 1922.

¹⁹ J. Shufelt, "The Trickster as an Instrument of Enlightenment: George Psalmanazar and the Writings of Jonathan Swift", *History of European ideas*, 31, 2005, 2, p. 147–171.

his exposing memoirs, published posthumously, Psalmanazar divulged that the idea of pretending to be a native Formosan came to him while taking geography lesson with the Jesuits. At some point during his learning years, Psalmanazar realised that his teachers knew almost nothing about the Far East, as their knowledge “was only from their maps and comments upon them, for they made use of geographical books”.²⁰ The con artist seized the opportunity, and he made the most of it.

For the eighteenth-century adventurer, maps provided flaws to be exploited and mistakes to poke fun at, but, if need be, they could also turn into useful rhetorical weapons. When accused of being an impostor, the same George Psalmanazar decided to substantiate his tale by adding a map to the second edition of his description of Formosa. By a remarkable act of cartographic revisionism, Psalmanazar filled in the cartographic blank spaces and asserted his credibility.²¹ Enlightenment adventurers, who were so eager to display their geographical expertise by criticising others’ maps, were far more reticent about publicizing their own cartographic artefacts, either of their own making or acquired during their voyages. Their alleged maps became valuable precisely because they were so difficult to get. Cartographic secrecy, either strategic or commercial, has a long history in early modern Europe.²² Secret cartography, seen as a powerful tool for European colonialism, was institutionalised as early as the sixteenth-century.²³ The eighteenth-century adventurers attempted to take advantage of this tradition of secrecy and to use maps when negotiating positions for themselves in different colonial projects.²⁴ The maps of Madagascar were essential for Benyovszky’s colonizing schemes and it came as a blow when they fell into English hands.²⁵ It was not only Madagascar, the New World or the Far East that were cartographically undetermined in the eighteenth-century, but also the Ottoman Europe.²⁶ As Voltaire sarcastically put it “a general who would wage war in the countries of the Uskoks, the Morlachs, and Montenegrins and who could rely only on maps for finding his way around would be as embarrassed as if he was in the middle of Africa”.²⁷

²⁰ *Memoirs of *****: Commonly Known by the Name of George Psalmanazar; a Reputed Native of Formosa*, London, 1765, p. 113.

²¹ For Psalmanazar’s cartographic revisionism and manipulation see B. Breen, “No Man Is an Island: Early Modern Globalization, Knowledge Networks, and George Psalmanazar’s Formosa”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 17, 2013, 4, p. 391–417.

²² See J.B. Harley’s seminal study “Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,” *Imago Mundi* 40, 1988, 1, p. 57–76.

²³ María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World*, Chicago, 2009, p. 103–108.

²⁴ For the eighteenth-century adventurers’ attempts to become colonial agents, cf. S. Roth, *Les Aventuriers*, p. 207–216.

²⁵ “The maps of Madagascar too, appear for the first time in the English edition, and we can imagine how (illegally) these maps passed from French hands into the possession of the British who were at the very least rival colonizers”, in V. Voigt, “Maurice Benyovszky...”, p. 216.

²⁶ On the Western mapping of Ottoman Europe in the eighteenth century, cf. L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, CA, 1994, p. 144–194.

²⁷ Voltaire, *Collection Complete des oeuvres de Mr. de V*****, tome XVI^{ème}, 1774, p. 315. For a brief overview of the eighteenth-century mapping of the Balkans see the corresponding entry by Z. G. Török in *The History of Cartography*. vol. 4, p. 152–153.

Naturally, adventurers tried to step in and take advantage of the cartographic haziness of Ottoman Europe.

The French adventurer Jean Louis Carra claimed to have unsurpassed expertise when it came to Ottoman Wallachia and Moldavia.²⁸ In 1777 he published a monograph on the two principalities, allegedly in the Moldavian city of Iași, but actually printed in Bouillon.²⁹ Carra argued that a better geographical knowledge of the region should precede any political or economic colonizing plans.³⁰ Consequently, he began his geographical report on the current state of the two provinces by supplying their precise geographical coordinates.³¹ This proved to be a blatant mistake, as Carra came to be widely derided by his contemporary critics for his lack of geographical wit.³² As modern scholars came to confirm, Carra's pretence was a fraud and his description was a shameful plagiarism.³³ Carra made no mention of any maps in his text, precisely because he wanted to emphasise that his geographical expertise derived directly from his journeys.

Some adventurers adopted a slightly different strategy and claimed to have come into possession of some rare maps during their travels. Hoping to convince his readers that Britain should invest in the Black Sea region, the English adventurer William Eton bragged about his knowledge of the Crimea and claimed to have closely scrutinized two Ottoman charts of the peninsula.³⁴ But once again, the adventurer favours his traveling experience over his cartographic expertise, emphasizing that it was only because of his intimate knowledge of the landscape

²⁸ See the adventurer's biography written by S. Lemny, *Jean-Louis Carra (1742–1793). Parcours d'un révolutionnaire*, Paris, 2000, p. 61–102.

²⁹ Carra used the same hoax with his *Essai particulier de politique dans lequel on propose un partage de la Turquie européenne*. According to the title page the place of publication was Constantinople, but the pamphlet was actually printed in Paris.

³⁰ "Et sans une connaissance exacte de la géographie d'un pays, il est bien difficile d'y former des projets d'attaque ou de commerce", in J.L. Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie: avec une dissertation sur l'état actuel de ces deux provinces*, Jassy, 1777, p. XVII.

³¹ "La Moldavie et la Valachie Provinces contiguës sont situées entre le 41 et le 47° degrés de Latitude Est et le 44 et 49 de Longitude Sud", J.L. Carra, *Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie...*, p. 162.

³² "Examinons maintenant ce que dit Mr. Carra de la latitude et de la longitude de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. La manière dont il en parle est d'une extravagance, ou si vous voulez bien le permettre, d'une ignorance inouïe. Ecoutez la de sa bouche même [...] Ah Messieurs les Journalistes, combien d'hérésies géographiques n'a-t-il pas écrit en deux lignes votre Illustre Ecrivain! Latitude Est et la longitude Sud? Ah Messieurs quelle confusion d'idées?" in *Lettre à Messieurs les auteurs du Journal de Bouillon sur le compte qu'ils ont rendu d'un livre intitulé Histoire de la Moldavie*, Vienna, 1779, p. 23. This anonymous reviewer was identified with the Moldavian Gheorghe Saul by Al. Ciorănescu and with the Dalmatian Stephan Raichevich by M. Holban. On this authorship debate see a balanced discussion in A. Drace-Francis, *The Traditions of Invention: Romanian Ethnic and Social Stereotypes in Historical Context*, Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 123–125.

³³ M. Holban, "Autour de l'Histoire de la Moldavie et de la Valachie de Carra", *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 21, 1944, p. 155–230; Eadem, "Jean-Louis Carra", in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 10.1, București, 2000, p. 234–242.

³⁴ For this adventurer who introduced himself as British consul and Potemkin's confidant, see *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 10.1, p. 277–280 and Н.И. Храпунов, "Крым глазами британского авантюриста Уильяма Итона", *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie* 8, 2020, p. 147–166.

that he was able to judge the true value of the Ottoman charts.³⁵ Another French adventurer in Ottoman Wallachia and Moldavia, Charles Leopold Bilistein, wrote a memorandum in 1776 for the French Crown.³⁶ Bilistein proudly asserted that he owned a small map of Wallachia that indicated the most important mines of that realm.³⁷ Bilistein offered no further details, as he was obviously using the map to lure the French government into investing in the Wallachian trade and, more importantly, into his own career. Six years later, in 1782, Bilistein tried his luck with the Habsburgs, as he offered a copy of the same memoire to Ignaz Stephan Raicevich, the Austrian consul in Bucharest.³⁸ Thus, a copy of Bilistein's small map found its way into the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.³⁹ It was a manuscript topographical sketch of the western Wallachian county of Mehedinți, comprising 16 names of mountains and 31 place names. A closer look reveals that Bilistein's hand-drawn sketch was derived from the 1718 Venetian printed map of Wallachia that accompanied Antonmaria del Chiaro's *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*.⁴⁰ Unsurprisingly, Bilistein did not divulge the source of his map, as it would have been detrimental to his case. His professed expertise in Wallachian affairs would have suffered a terrible blow, if one were to find out that it was partially based on some out-of-date Venetian printed map. Predictably enough, the Austrians, who had an in-depth topographical and mineralogical knowledge of Wallachia, were unimpressed with Bilistein's map and memoire.⁴¹ Bilistein was far from being the first one who failed to impress the Habsburgs with his professed geographical knowledge and cartographical abilities. Sixty-six years earlier, another adventurer had tried to pull a similar trick and had equally failed.

³⁵ "I found two Turkish charts of the Black Sea which differed in the latitude of the Danube a degree. I examined the coast of Anatolia, which I had surveyed that summer from Constantinople to Kitros, and by that judged which was the best", in W. Eaton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London, 1801, p. 314–315.

³⁶ For this adventurer see A. Stroev, *Les aventuriers...*, p. 250–281, Al. Stroev, I. Mihăilă, "Le baron de Bilistein, faiseur de projets", *Dix-huitième siècle*, 29, 1997, p. 329–342; Al. Stroev, I. Mihăilă, *Eriger une République souveraine, libre et indépendante*, București, 2001, M. Coman, "Charles-Leopold Andreu de Bilistein", in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, p. 225–230; I. Mihăilă, "La compagnie de la Mer Noire ou la mer perdue des Roumains au XVIII^e siècle," *Études balkaniques* LVI, 2020, 1, p. 35–50.

³⁷ "J'ai de la Valachie une petite carte, qui indique les montagnes, où sont les mines principales".

³⁸ A letter sent by Raicevich to Kaunitz included Bilistein's memoire and a brief notice on his meeting, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, XIX/1 (1782–1797)*, ed. by I.I. Nistor, București, 1922, p. 63–69.

³⁹ The map is printed in the above-mentioned Hurmuzaki volume, p. 69.

⁴⁰ Antonmaria del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti*, Venice, 1718.

⁴¹ The classical study on this subject is still the one by N. Docan, "Memoriu despre lucrările cartografice privitoare la răsboiul din 1787–1791," *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* seria II, 34, 1912, p. 1249–1360. For a recent survey of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Austrian cartography of Wallachia see Z. Bartos-Elekes, "The Habsburg mapping of Moldavia and Walachia," *Proceedings of the 27th International Cartographic Conference. Rio de Janeiro*. Retrieved from https://icaci.org/files/documents/ICC_proceedings/ICC2015/papers/18/fullpa-per/T18-696_1428396969.pdf. 2015, last accessed on 14.03.2022.

He is the main character of this study: the Transylvanian-Suisse charlatan Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz.

Like most eighteenth-century adventurers, Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz claimed to have an intimate knowledge of a lesser-known region and he sought to capitalize on his expertise. The region was Ottoman Wallachia and his prospective employers were the Habsburgs. Seizing the opportunity of the Habsburg-Ottoman war in 1716, he wrote a memorandum on Wallachia addressed to the Habsburg emperor.⁴² The text was meant to parade the author's extensive knowledge of the realm and was structured into three parts. The first section comprised a general description of Wallachia, while the last one examined the political, religious, economic, administrative and military organization of the realm. Admittedly, these two sections rather failed to persuade the reader of the author's self-proclaimed expertise and Ridolfo himself must have realized it, as he attempted to anticipate criticism.⁴³ In sharp contrast, the second part of his memorandum showcased an impressively detailed geographical knowledge of the realm. Each of the seventeen Wallachian counties was treated systematically, following the same five rubrics: the city or the borough (*la citta* or *il borgo*), big monasteries (*monasterii grandi*), small monasteries (*monasterii piccoli*), villages with a manor house (*ville nobili*) and ordinary villages (*villagi ordinarii*). The outcome was an impressive fusion of prose cartography and descriptive gazetteer.⁴⁴ Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz expounded on the Wallachian human landscape, while listing a staggering number of 503 place-names. Unsurprisingly, the adventurer said nothing about the sources of his comprehensive description of Wallachia, but repeatedly hinted at his intimate and exhaustive knowledge of the realm. However, as it often happens with the Enlightenment adventurers' claims, it was all but a hoax. Ridolfo's acquaintance with Wallachia did not derive from his travels, but from a map. His geographical description of Wallachia resembled so closely a cartographic discourse, because it was actually one. His prose cartography was a veiled reading of a map, as it was mostly based on the 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's attempt to scam the Habsburgs ultimately failed, but his description of Wallachia provides us with a rare case-study of an Enlightenment adventurer's cartographic literacy. This article aims to reconstruct the strategies Ridolfo used for transposing a cartographic discourse into a textual one and to shed some further light on the intricate relationship of Enlightenment adventurers with maps. In

⁴² For a discussion on the two extant manuscripts see the next section.

⁴³ Basically, Ridolfo uses two rhetorical stratagems: (1) he claims to know more than he writes, asking for an in-person meeting: "e ci sarebbe sopra ciò molto a ragionare à viva voce", "riservandomi in oltre di dire anco à viva voce qualche cosa", "mà di ciò è meglio ragionare à viva voce, che colla penna"; (2) he blames the young age for his insufficient insight: "la memoria giovanile non m'hà permesso all'orche mi trovava colà di osservare il tutto con occhi lincei".

⁴⁴ I borrowed the concept of "prose cartography" from Ricardo Padrón, who defines it as "a specific type of geographical writing designed to assist its reader in forming a cartographic image, whether on paper or in his or her imagination", in *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain*, Chicago, 2004, p. 92.

addition, it will provide a new insight into the early eighteenth-century reception - albeit a peculiar one - of the 1700 Paduan map.

A TRANSYLVANIAN-SWISS ADVENTURER

Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz is a minor figure amongst the eighteenth-century adventurers that seems to have escaped every scholar's attention until now. *Ridolfo*, as he spelled his own name in Italian, is most certainly one and the same person as a certain Rudolph Damian von Brünnetz, whose stay in Lucerne and attempts to acquire the status of *hintersassen* where investigated by Heike Bock.⁴⁵ Ridolfo/Rudolph, who entered the Lucerne community by way of a marriage in 1721, was proscribed from the canton in 1744 due to a rare combination of debt and fraud. The first Lucerne document that mentions him is a plea, dated 19th of June 1720, written to the city council by his wife, Anna Maria Schumacher.⁴⁶ A request was made to finance Ridolfo's trip to Rome for some important, unnamed, businesses. In order to raise the travel money needed by her husband and to pay back some of his debts, Ridolfo's wife asked for a loan of 400 thalers. The council approved the loan, but also stipulated how the money should be distributed to various uses. Most importantly, the plea also includes some biographical details about Ridolfo: he was a native of Transylvania, born in *von Krohnsburg in Sibenbürgen* or *uss Sibenbürgen von Cronssburg*, who has lost all his wealth and was compelled to leave his fatherland due to his conversion to Catholicism. A few months later, on the 10th of March 1721 the city council of Lucerne granted him the right of residence and one year later, on the 13th of March 1722, he received the much-desired status of a "hintersassen" [immigrant resident without civic rights]. The city authorities praised Ridolfo for his good Christian behaviour, for his zealous practice of Catholic religion, but also for his faithful service in times of unrest, a rather cryptic reference.⁴⁷ Nine years later, in 1731, on the 13th of March, the Lucerne council renewed Ridolfo's status, although he was in some financial trouble, unable to pay his debts, and he was spending most of his time travelling outside of Switzerland, in Italy and France.⁴⁸ This time, a new moniker was added

⁴⁵ H. Bock, *Konversionen in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft: Zürich und Luzern im konfessionellen Vergleich*, Epfendorf, 2009, p. 226–228. I am grateful to Robert Born for helping me with this reference.

⁴⁶ J. Schacher, "Luzerner Akten zur Geschichte katholischer Konvertiten 1580-1780", *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte/Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique Suisse* 57, 1963, p. 305–307. I am grateful to Dana Caciur for providing me with this reference.

⁴⁷ Heike Bock read this as a reference to the peasant rebellion in Lucerne, in 1712, see *Konversionen* ..., p. 226, footnote 95. However, Bock was unaware of the Wallachian and Italian episodes in Ridolfo's biography.

⁴⁸ *das er wegen seinem zugestossnen Unglück in Italien oder Franckreich* in Joseph Schacher, "Luzerner Akten...", p. 307.

to his name, Geörg Rudolph Damian von Brünnetz, in order to distinguish him from his son, Carl Rudolph Damian von Brünnetz, mentioned in another document issued a few days later. In 1733, a new request for a loan was coldly received by the city council, as Ridolfo's credit was steadily deteriorating. Finally, in 1744, the Lucerne officials condemned him for taking advantage of his wife's money and of his creditors' trust and expelled him from the Confederation for the symbolic period of 101 years.⁴⁹ Until recently, nothing was known about Ridolfo's whereabouts either before his arrival into the Swiss confederation or after his expulsion. The origins of the unusual toponym added to his name, *de Brünnetz*, might be related to the village of Brunnetji, in the catholic Swiss canton of Valais. However, it is rather unclear why a Transylvanian native from Cronssburg/ Krohnsburg, which could be identified with Kronstadt (Braşov) or Kreuzburg (Teliu), would add a Swiss toponym to his name. Fortunately, three recent archival discoveries shed some light on Ridolfo's activities a few years before settling in Lucerne, in 1714 and 1716.

The first document is a letter from the archive of Cardinal Annibale Albani in the Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro.⁵⁰ It is nothing more than a clichéd Christmas greeting, but it helps us place Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz in cardinal Albani's circle and to find out that he was in Venice in December 1714. The other two archival sources comprise the same text: a memorandum on Wallachia written by Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz and addressed to the Habsburg emperor, Charles VI in September 1716. The two manuscripts are preserved in Kriegsarchiv in Vienna and, respectively, in the Princeton University Library. While the Vienna manuscript originates from prince Eugene of Savoy's personal archive, the history of the Princeton manuscript is impossible to trace, as it was recently bought from an unknown seller.⁵¹

The Princeton manuscript contains 26 folios and was written by a single hand, in Italian, with just a few phrases in Latin and some Slavonic words. The format of the first page, as well as the beautiful script and the lack of any corrections, deletions or additions, point to a presentation copy. However, a few blank spaces left to be filled in later and some editorial vacillation do not exclude

⁴⁹ *haben hochgedacht selbe solches dahin gesetzt, das er wegen überschwencklichen Schuldenlast und mitgeloffnen betriegereyen, wordurch velle creditores angesetzt, sein frau aber von ihren anschlichen mittlen in die äusserste armuoth gestürzt worden, auf 100 und ein jähr, in Joseph Schacher, "Luzerner Akten..."*, p. 307.

⁵⁰ The letter was sent from Venice, on the 22nd of December 1714. A digital copy is accessible on-line (<http://www.archivioalbani.it/>, last accessed on 15.03.2022), but is mistakenly indexed under the name *Lettera di Ridolfo Damiano de Bruenner (sic!) al Cardinale Annibale Albani in Archivio Albani, Lettere di buone feste, 1714 B.Feste Tom. I. e II.*

⁵¹ AT-OeStA/KA KPS LB K I e, 18 E and Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Manuscripts Division, inventory number C0938 no. 201 q. The Princeton manuscript was acquired in 2006 from an unknown buyer with the help of the Stanley J. Seeger Fund for Hellenic Studies. I have prepared an edition of the text with a Romanian translation for the next volume of *Călători străini despre Țările Române, Supliment III*, ed. by Ştefan Andreescu and Ovidiu Cristea (in print). I would like to thank Ştefan Andreescu for pointing out to me the reference for the Princeton manuscript and to Konrad Petrovsky for signalling to me the Vienna copy and for providing me with a digital copy of it.

the possibility of a working copy.⁵² This was certainly the case with the Vienna manuscript, which contains just 7 folios and comprises only the first part of the memorandum, approximately a third of the Princeton version.⁵³ The two texts are almost identical, but the Princeton manuscript contains a slightly amended version.⁵⁴ The title page of the two manuscripts reads as follows:

Il Principato di Vallachia con la sua capitale residenza arcivescovato, vescovati, moltissimi monasteri con abbazie e altri piccoli, comprese le miniere città, borghi, e gran quantità de ville con sede nobile, oltre alcune centinara d'altri villagi ordinarj, succintamente & quas' in abbozzo rapresentato da Ridolfo Damiano de Brúnnetz e secondo la norma di quel governo in 17 prefetture diviso servato il possibile miglior ordine con alcune osservazioni sopra la religione, politica, milizie, et economia di questo stato Anno MDCCXVI Mense Settembre

The author's name and signature appear at the end of a lengthy and highly flattering dedication to the Habsburg emperor: *umilissimo et fidelissimo suddito vassallo Ridolfo Damiano de Brúnnez*.⁵⁵ The text itself offers a few glimpses into the author's background: he compares the Argeş monastery with the Siena cathedral, he paralleled the biggest of the three Bucharest public baths to the ruins of the ancient thermae in Rome and he measures up the Piteşti wine to the Conegliano one.⁵⁶ Ridolfo had spent some time during his youth in Wallachia, but a few years had passed since then. He excused himself for not being able to provide a more comprehensive account of the Wallachian economy, blaming his "young memory", that "didn't allow me, while I found myself still there, to notice everything with lynx-like eye".⁵⁷ Of all Wallachia, Ridolfo seems to know best the city of Câmpulung, as he recalls not only its number of parishes and the extent of the Franciscan community that lived there, of fifty-six monks, but also its summer

⁵² The Princeton manuscript has blank spaces for the length of the realm measured in travelling hours, but the distances are written in the Vienna text: 90 hours from Est to West and 50 hours from North to South.

⁵³ The second and the third part of the text, comprising the systematic geographical account of Wallachia and the political, religious, economic, administrative, and military organization of the realm, are missing from the Vienna manuscript.

⁵⁴ In the Vienna manuscript there was a chapter on the Wallachian wines, which eventually was dropped out from the Princeton, more elaborated, version. Probably, Ridolfo realized that too much of a familiarity with the Wallachian wines was not the best recommendation for the Habsburg court...

⁵⁵ The dedication, adorned with Biblical quotes from the Psalms, from the Gospel of Matthew and from the Book of Nahum, praises Charles as a liberator of the Danubian Lands and of Greece: *quest'aquila Sua Vittoriosa libero il volo alla conquista dell'oriente, ma prima a quella del residuo del Danubio, che con la Grecia geme fra ceppi e cattene, ed attende con impazienza dalla Maesta dell' Imperatore Carlo la desiderata liberta promessagli da Profetti*

⁵⁶ *il monistero pure Arzis, che nella bellezza, ed antichità se non supera, almeno uguaglia il Gran domo di Siena; il Principale di questi somiglia molto à quanto in Roma si scorge dalle rudere delle Therme Romane; Pitesti – questo Primo ne buoni tempi uguaglia quello di Tokay e Conegliano.*

⁵⁷ *Con questo capitolo non entro nelle totali rendite del Principato, mentre la memoria giovenile non m'hà permesso all'orche mi trovava colà di osservare il tutto con occhi lincei.*

shaded trees.⁵⁸ He seems to have spent some time in the cities of Argeş, as he recalls the local legend of Saint Philothea, and of Bucharest, which he thoroughly describes.⁵⁹ Although Ridolfo suggests he has visited Oraşul de Floci and Râmnic, their description is rather vague and unspecific.⁶⁰ When accounting for the main roads that connected Wallachia to Transylvania, across the Carpathian Mountains, Ridolfo adds to the well-known passages of Vâlcan, Căineni, Rucăr, Câmpina and Timiş, the rather obscure path of Tamaş, in the Făgăraş region.⁶¹ Most likely, Ridolfo himself used this mountain path during one of his travels. Thus, a close reading of the memorandum suggests that its author was a Catholic, with a good knowledge of Italian language and of Italian towns, who has spent some time in Câmpulung in his youth, but also visited Argeş and Bucharest and who entered Wallachia from across the mountains, coming from Transylvania.

Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz picked the right moment to write his memorandum. In 1716 the Ottomans declared war on the Habsburgs, but their military campaign proved to be a fiasco, as they were severely defeated at Petrovaradin.⁶² Ridolfo's memorandum dates from September 1716, just one month after the battle, and the following events proved that he foresaw accurately the Habsburgs' intentions with regard to Wallachia. A twofold strategy was put in motion in order to incorporate Wallachia into the Habsburg Empire. On the 8th of November, general Steinville issued a manifesto announcing that the Habsburg armies would enter Wallachia in order to save its inhabitants from the Turkish yoke. However, a few months later, the Habsburgs reduced their territorial ambitions to the western parts of Wallachia, across the river Olt. The peace of Passarowitz, in 1718, confirmed the new frontiers and *Valachia austriaca* or *Valachia cisalutana*, a region later named Oltenia,

⁵⁸ *Quinci è la città di Campo Lungo, così detta per esser quasi un hora din camino la di lei lunghezza, scorrendo per mezzo amenamente il fiumicello di questo nome, adorno d'ambe le parti con alberi di bella comparsa ed ombra per l'estate. In questa città sono 5 Parochie [...] Qui sono tollerati cinque sei padri francescanj scalzi.* Ridolfo's etymology for the city's name is obviously wrong; for a discussion on the origins of this toponym, see Laurențiu Rădvan, *Oraşele din Ţara Românească până la sfârşitul secolului al XVI-lea*, Iaşi, p. 395.

⁵⁹ The story known to Ridolfo resembles closely to the versions recorded by Paul of Aleppo and Neophyte the Cretan, see D. R. Mazilu, "Sfânta Filoteia de la Argeş. Lămurirea unor probleme istorico-literare. Monografie hagiografică", *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secției Istorice*, seria III, VI, 1932–1934, p. 213–317 and P. Cernovodeanu, "La double histoire de Sainte Philothée d'Argeş et ses miracles", in *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. by P. Guran, Bucharest, 2001, p. 159–176.

⁶⁰ *In questa è Oras de Flozi. Si poul dire più città che borgo [...] Rinnik benche hà più apparenza di Borgo.*

⁶¹ The Vienna manuscript specifies if the mountain pass was suitable for horses and carriages (*Vulcan pro equis tantum; Kınani pro equis tantum; Rukero-Possada pro carribus; Tamas – pro peditibus sollumodo; Prahova-Kimpina pro equis; Themis pro equis tantum*). As the Tamaş pass could be crossed only by foot, Ridolfo decided to remove its mention from the revised Princeton version of the text.

⁶² For the 1716-1718 Austro-Ottoman war and for the subsequent Passarowitz peace, see Ch.W. Ingrao, N. Samardžić, and J. Pešalj, eds., *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, West Lafayette, Ind., 2011.

became part of the Habsburg Empire for the next two decades.⁶³ The Austrian military and political efforts were doubled by an impressive endeavour to improve the geographic and cartographic knowledge of Wallachia. Already in January 1717, the Austrian officer Friedrich Schwantz began a systematic topographic survey of the entire Wallachia. In the end, Schwantz had to limit his mapmaking project to *Valachia austriaca*, but, even so, it took him almost five years to complete the project.⁶⁴ An alternative to such lengthy and strenuous efforts, albeit an unreliable one, was provided by a whole gallery of “experts” in Wallachian affairs that tried to gain the Habsburgs’ favours by trading their knowledge. The former Italian secretary of the Wallachian prince, Nicolo de Porta, or the Greek-Venetian adventurer Michael Schendo van der Beck, were reaching out to the Habsburg authorities to offer their services.⁶⁵ Ridolfo Damiano de Brúnnez was one of these self-professed Wallachian experts who tried to pose as an extremely knowledgeable person. The purpose of his memorandum was explicitly conveyed in the last chapter, entitled *The Way of Obtaining and Preserving Wallachia*.⁶⁶ His advice was unsophisticated and predictable: the Habsburgs should win over parts of the local elite, aristocracy and high clergy alike, and should take advantage of the intense hatred felt by the inhabitants towards the Turks.⁶⁷ Ridolfo also added a word of warning against the French intrigues that reached as far as Wallachia.⁶⁸ The adventurer was well aware that his memorandum failed to measure up to the Habsburgs’ expectations and fell short when compared to other similar writings.⁶⁹ In a defensive explanation, he argued that some things are better spoken than written.⁷⁰ The suggestion was plain enough: if granted an audience, he was to reveal his thorough knowledge of Wallachia, of which his memorandum was only the appetizer.

⁶³ *Valachia austriaca* was a major theme of research for Romanian scholarship, starting with the impressive archival research by Constantin Giurescu (*Material pentru istoria Olteniei supt austrieci*, 3 vols., 1913, 1944) and reaching a peak with Șerban Papacostea’s seminal monograph (*Oltenia sub stăpânirea austriacă*, 1971, 2nd ed. 1998). Contrary to a wide-spread belief, the name of Oltenia dates only from the nineteenth-century, see Al. Mareș, “Vechimea toponimului Olteniei”, *Limba Română*, LVII, 2008, 2, p. 198–202. See also P. M. Kreuter, “Attempts of Austrian Redesign of the Administration of Lesser Wallachia between 1718 and 1739,” *Yearbook of the Society for 18th Century Studies on South Eastern Europe* 2, 2019, p. 131–140.

⁶⁴ For details see the annotated translation by Maria Holban in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, ed. M. Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, vol. IX, București, 1997, p. 43–77 and the new critical edition by M.-Gh. Abrudan, Friedrich Schwantz von Springfels, *Descrierea Olteniei la 1723*, Brăila, 2017.

⁶⁵ See their writings translated and commented by Maria Holban in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. IX, p. 93–135 and P. Cernovodeanu, N. Vătămanu. “Un médecin princier moins connu de la période phanariote: Michel Schendos van der Bech (1691 – env. 1736),” *Balkan Studies* 18, 1977, p. 13–30.

⁶⁶ *Modo d’acquistare e conservare la Valachia.*

⁶⁷ *pegno dell’amor che portano alla Christianità, e dell’ odio verso Turchi.*

⁶⁸ *poiche insino qui arrivano ancora la zizanie francesi.*

⁶⁹ *In questa materia non dubito che’qualcheduno havrà dati buoni ricordi.*

⁷⁰ *mà di ciò è meglio ragionare à viva voce, che colla penna.*

Ridolfo Damiano de Brúnnetz's alleged expertise was an unconvincing pretence, as his description of Wallachia reveals a rather patchy and superficial knowledge of the realm. The third part of his memorandum, which was supposed to epitomize the political, religious, economic, administrative and military organization of Wallachia, is schematic and full of platitudes. Ridolfo seems better informed only when it comes to religion, as he writes about the crypto-Catholics within the Ottoman Empire or about the theological debates between Greek and Catholic Christians.⁷¹ The other chapters are unsystematic and largely inadequate. The chapter on the army, for instance, mainly consists of a detailed description of the military escort that accompanied the prince during ceremonial visits. When trying to impress the Habsburg authorities with his expertise, Ridolfo unintentionally reveals his ignorance. The Slavonic terms of the Wallachian dignitaries included in the memorandum were copied from a chancery document, as the words were written in an abbreviated form, with superscript letters.⁷² As for his language proficiency, Ridolfo uses only a few Romanian words, when explaining the different Wallachian military ranks and corps.⁷³ In stark contrast with this patchy knowledge, Ridolfo's geographical description is astonishingly detailed, especially when it comes to recording place-names. To a large extent, Ridolfo's memorandum was a pseudo-gazetteer of Wallachia.

RIDOLFO'S TRANSCRIPT OF THE MAP OF WALLACHIA

At the core of Ridolfo's memorandum lies a detailed and systematic geographical description of Wallachia. The second section of his text, from folio 7r to folio 16v in the Princeton manuscript, comprises seventeen chapters, one for each Wallachian county (*județ*). The chapters follow the same format: a title heading,⁷⁴ a shorter or a longer text describing the most notable features in the county, and a list of place-names. The descriptive texts are disproportionate, reflecting different degrees of knowledge. Usually, Ridolfo limits himself to some

⁷¹ The chapter on the Wallachian religious life touches upon the following points: the financial support provided by the Wallachian princes to the Constantinopolitan patriarchs, the utter rejection of Islam, but also of Protestantism, the acceptance of two or three Franciscan friaries within the realm, the use of Greek liturgy and the cult of icons, the inhabitants' ignorance of the Catholic practices and the existence of crypto-Catholics.

⁷² Вел дворникъ (*Supremo Giudice*), Вел логофѣтъла (*Gran Cancelliere*), Вел постелникъ (*Cameriere Maggiore*), Вел вистіарѣла (*Gran Tesoriere*), Вел спѣтар (*Generalissimo*), Вел комисъ (*Cavaliere Maggiore*), Вел ага (*Generale Comandante dell' Infanteria*), Вел портаръ (*Portiere Maggiore ed introduttore delli Ministri*), Вел ствалникъ (*Scalco Maggiore*), Вел питарѣла (*Praefetto d'Annona*), Вел пахарникъ (*Copiere Maggiore*), Вел садѣѣрѣла (*Praefetto della grascia*), Вел камераш (*Tesoriere di Corte*), Вел сѣрдар (*Sopraintendente alle milizie di casa*), Вел шѣтрар (*Super intendente alle tende*), Бан де Фовѣдан (*Gran Capo di Foxan*), Бан де Чернец, Країѣва (*Gran Capo di Dziu*).

⁷³ *capitani di margine, kasaki, simeni, kallarasi, lefezij.*

⁷⁴ Ridolfo uses the Romanian enclitic definite article: *Mehedinzul, Arizesul, Ilfowul, Rimmikul.*

geographical considerations, discussing the county's location and its main rivers and roads. Occasionally, he also includes some economic highlights, such as a famous iron mine in Gorj or a copper mine in Mehedinți,⁷⁵ or other local information, as the legend of Saint Philothea in Argeș,⁷⁶ the sad fate of Brâncoveanu and his family in Romanai,⁷⁷ or the memorial crosses from battlefields in Dâmbovița.⁷⁸ For the county of Râmnic he notes in amazement that the inhabitants could evade punishment by simply crossing over in the neighbouring realm of Moldavia, as the frontier was largely unguarded.⁷⁹ Ridolfo's knowledge of the Wallachian counties is noticeably uneven: the longest texts are about Argeș, Muscel, Dâmbovița and Ilfov, while the shortest, one phrase only, describe Teleorman and Săcuieni. The case of Teleorman is highly suggestive, as initially Ridolfo wanted to merge two counties into a single chapter. Thus, the seventh chapter was originally entitled *La Giudicatura dell'Aluta e di Telormano*, but Ridolfo changed his mind, probably for the sake of symmetry, and decided in the end to discuss separately the counties of Teleorman and Olt. His problem with Teleorman was the introductory descriptive section, as, apparently, there was nothing memorable to report about this county. In the end, he wrote an insipid phrase informing the readers that: "Teleorman has a borough, Rușii, and two villages with manors, Bărbătești and Popești".⁸⁰ As if to compensate for the brevity of this text, he enlarged significantly the section on toponyms, listing no fewer than forty-two villages from the Teleorman county. Although Ridolfo had nothing specific to say about this Wallachian county, he seems to have had at his disposal an almost inexhaustible source of place-names to fill in the gaps. The amount of toponymic knowledge was not an anomaly for Ridolfo's memorandum, as each county chapter includes impressive lists of place-names. The shortest toponymic lists were for Săcuieni (12), Râmnic (16) and Ialomița (17),

⁷⁵ *ci' è una miniera di ferro, che rende al principe notabil emolumento ed ni oltre (Dsio Superiore); ha una miniera di rame più che mediocre (Mehedinzul)*. The Gorj iron mine was *Baia de Fier*, for its exploitation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, see Ș. Papacostea, *Oltenia sub stăpânirea austriacă (1718–1739)*, ed. G. Lazăr, București, 1998, p. 89. The Mehedinți copper mine was *Baia de Aramă*, see F. Schwantz von Springfels, *Descrierea Olteniei ...*, p. 191.

⁷⁶ *nel monastero risplende con Miracoli il corpo tutto intiero, ed intatto d'una santa, figlia d'uno fu avaro di quel Paese, che per la gran elemosina faceva à poveri ne'tempi calamitosi, fu con sicure dal Padre medesimo trucidata sul principio del passato secolo per quanto mi ricordo (Arizesul)*.

⁷⁷ *E rinomato il Paese per il Monistero è villa di Brankowan, d'onde proviene la stirpe dell'infelice decapitato principe Kostantin Bassaraba Brankovan (Romanazi)*. The portrait of the Wallachian prince adorns the 1700 Paduan map and his reigning name, Constantin Basarab, is inscribed both in a medallion around the portrait and in the title cartouche. For the dynastic discourse used by Brâncoveanu to increase his legitimacy, see C. Rezachevici, "Cum a apărut numele dinastic Basarab și când l-a adoptat Matei vodă", *Analele Universității din Craiova*, 10, 2005, p. 7–29.

⁷⁸ *li medesimi hanno alzate croci di sopra in segno di vittoria (Demboviza)*. See above, footnote 60.

⁷⁹ *gli abitanti di queste parti sono più libertinaci degli altri, mentre commesso il delitto passano il fumicello per salvarsi abbenche il confine non è sprovvisto delle dovute guardie per tutto il corso Milkow insino à Brailla (Rimnikul)*. Ridolfo's comment reminds of a similar observation by Neculce in *Opere*, ed. G. Ștrempel, București, 1982, p. 720.

⁸⁰ *Questa seconda chiamata Telormano oltre il Borgo Rusi, e le Nobil Ville Barbatestj e Popestj comprende in se li seguenti villagi*.

while the longest were for Vâlcea (45), Teleorman (45), Dâmbovița (53), and Ilfov (69).⁸¹ Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's memorandum on Wallachia records an impressive total of 11 cities, 9 boroughs, 71 monasteries, 95 villages with a manor house and 317 ordinary villages.

The key for uncovering Ridolfo's source material is provided by the rubrics he used for structuring the place-names section. For each such section, there are five main headings under which toponyms are grouped: the city or the borough (*la citta or il borgo*), the big monasteries (*monasterii grandi*), the small monasteries (*monasterii piccoli*), the villages with a manor house (*ville nobili*) and the ordinary villages (*villagi ordinarii*). For two counties, Vâlcea and Argeș, Ridolfo added a new heading, on nunneries (*monasterii de verginii*), but usually he kept the structure unaltered, even if a rubric was left empty.⁸² His headings are directly inspired by the legend of the map of Wallachia printed in Padua in 1700.⁸³ The map, whose sole extant copy is at the British Library, stirred scholars' interest as it was, allegedly, the first one authored by a Romanian, and one of the earliest ever printed in Greek.⁸⁴ Ridolfo's distinction between the three types of the monasteries, large, small and nunneries, followed faithfully the map-key of the 1700 Paduan print. Among the cartographic signs included in the map's legend, three had the following bilingual explanations: Μοναστήρια μεγάλα/*Monasteria magna*, Μοναστήρια μικρά/*Monasteria minora* and Μοναστήρια Μοναζουσων/*Monasteria virginum*. When setting apart the villages with a manor house (*ville con sede nobile*) from ordinary villages (*vilagi ordinarij*), Ridolfo also mirrored the map's legend, which differentiated *Χωρία/Villae* from *Καθέδρα των Ἀρχόντων/Villae habitatae a nobilibus*, ascribing a different cartographic sign to each. Even the chapter on wines from the first draft of Ridolfo's memorandum was largely based on a cartouche of the 1700 map, which registered the best Wallachian vineyards.⁸⁵

The cartographic inspiration for Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's memorandum is certain, as some of the rather cryptic references in his text can only be elucidated with the help of the map. Ridolfo emphasised that Wallachia had only one

⁸¹ In between lie the counties of Muscel (19), Vlașca (20), Romanai (21), Dolj (23), Olt (24), Buzău (25), Gorj (27), Prahova (27), Mehedinți (29), Argeș (41).

⁸² Such is the case with the rubric on the small monasteries in Gorj.

⁸³ For the convoluted story of this map, with a discussion of the relevant scholarship, see Ionuț Cruceru's study in this journal issue: "The Map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700. Production, Content and Early Uses".

⁸⁴ Unescapably, Romanian scholars focused on Constatin Cantacuzino's assumed authorship, while the Greek scholars emphasised the involvement of Ioannis Komninos and Chrysanthos Notaras in the making and printing of the map. The map was undoubtedly the result of a collaborative effort based on Cantacuzino's geographic knowledge of Wallachia, on Komninos's mathematical skills and on Notaras's geographic and cartographic assistance and it seem rather unlikely that we will ever be able to delineate precisely the contribution each had made. Until a new edition of the map will be available, the best interpretation of its content is that of G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie", *Geographia Antiqua* XII, 2003, 129–140, which exceeds the classical descriptive presentation by C. C. Giurescu, "Harta stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. O descriere a Munteniei la 1700," *Revista Istorică Română* 13, 1943, 1, p. 1–26.

⁸⁵ See C.C. Giurescu, "Harta stolnicului..." , p. 3–4.

archbishop, but two metropolitan sees (*arcivescovato con due sedi*). On the Paduan map there was a small notice, in the lower right corner, that warned the reader that Wallachia had only one archbishop, despite the fact that two cities were marked by the corresponding cartographic symbol (București and Târgoviște).⁸⁶ At some point in his text, he mentioned two fountains, without providing any further details: *una fontana chiamata de' Principi* (Mehedinți) and *una fontana detta della Principessa* (Săcuieni). Both fountains, constructed by the princely family as a form of architectural patronage, are inscribed on the Paduan map, as *Βρύσις τοῦ Κράλλη* and *Βρύσις Δόμνα*.⁸⁷ The iron mine from Baia de Fier and a sulphur mine nearby the Târcov monastery, which figure prominently on the map, are also mentioned by Ridolfo in his brief descriptions of the counties of Gorj and, respectively, of Buzău.⁸⁸ The ruins of the Roman bridge near Celei are also transcribed from the map, on which the foot-bridge was accompanied by a bilingual inscription.⁸⁹ Impressed by an ancient Roman paved road, highly visible on the map, Ridolfo concluded that the county of Romanați was most famous for its large roads.⁹⁰ The two towers mentioned on the Danube and on the Transylvanian frontiers, *Torre* and *Torre Rossa*, are equally taken from the map, Πύργος Κόκκνος and Πύργος, as well as the enigmatic Chisar monastery from the Prahova county.⁹¹ One could multiply the examples, but the point is clear: Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz extensively used the 1700 Paduan map for his memorandum. As it was rather difficult to write a systematic account of Wallachia based on some patchy juvenile memories and on a rather superficial knowledge of the realm, he shamelessly plagiarized, by converting into a text the Paduan map of Wallachia and by appropriating it for himself. Obviously, he tried his best to hide the cartographic source of his knowledge and for the most part he succeeded. Only a very suspicious reader would have inferred that Ridolfo was looking at a map when using phrases such as *à man sinistra/destra* or *situata in un angolo*.

The understanding of Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's fraudulent attempt to pose as a well-versed person in Wallachian affairs throws a new light on his memorandum. The text is a difficult to untangle mix of personal experience and map reading, but a close analysis allows us to grasp the level of his cartographic

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁸⁷ C.C. Giurescu viewed the toponym as a reference to some kind of pond, but A. Cruceru convincingly argued that it indicates an actual fountain, see A. Cruceru, *Județul Săcuieni. Studiu de geografie istorică*, București, 2018, p. 25. For this particular type of architectural patronage, see M. Wasiucionek, "Silks and Stones: Fountains, Painted Kaftans, and Ottomans in Early Modern Moldavia and Wallachia", *Revista istorică*, 29, 2018, 1–2, p. 33–54.

⁸⁸ The mentioning of the sulphur mine was also inspired by the Paduan map (Μέταλλα θειασίου).

⁸⁹ In Ridolfo's text: *una Torre sulle ripe del Danubio vicino alle Rudere delli ponti Trajani [...] alle uestigie del ponte Trajano*; on the Paduan map: *Γέφυρα τοῦ Τραϊανού/Pons Trajani*.

⁹⁰ *la frequenza delle strade maestre*.

⁹¹ See N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localităților și monumentelor feudale din România. I. Țara Românească*, vol. 1, 1970, Craiova, p. 156. Most likely, Chisar is an anthroponym, therefore it should be read: *Chisar's monastery*.

literacy. To begin with, the bilingual nature of the map does not seem to have confused Ridolfo, who got the gist of the legend and of the main inscriptions and who was able to transcribe, quite accurately, the 500 Greek toponyms into Italian.⁹² He read the map from top to bottom and from left to right, as if it were made up of several stripes stitched together. The result is close to a zig-zag reading.⁹³ The list of place-names for each county suggests a similar way of reading the map, albeit a much more irregular one.⁹⁴ His gaze focused on human geography, while the physical features of the realm were rather underrepresented. The most important mountains and rivers are transcribed into Ridolfo's text, but the Wallachian forests, meticulously depicted on the Paduan map, are only vaguely referred to.⁹⁵ Even more surprising is the complete absence of bridges, considering that the map had a distinct cartographic sign for them, included in the legend. Actually, of the fifteen cartographic signs used on the map, only two were completely overlooked by Ridolfo.⁹⁶ What drew his attention most were the cities, the monasteries and the villages, as he made the effort to transcribe them thoroughly and comprehensively into his memorandum. As already mentioned, Ridolfo organized his rubrics according to the map's legend. The only exception is his attempt to tread a fine line between city (*la citta*) and borough (*il borgo*), which on the Paduan map are marked by the same cartographic sign.⁹⁷ The distinction between big or small monasteries and nunneries corresponds to different signs in the map legend, as the

⁹² For the edition of the memorandum, to be printed in *Călători străini despre Țările Române, Supliment III*, ed. by Ștefan Andreescu and Ovidiu Cristea, I was able to identify almost all toponyms.

⁹³ Ridolfo starts in the north-western corner, with Gorj, and only after describing the southern neighbouring counties of Mehedinți and Dolj, he moves eastwards to Vâlcea and to its southern adjoining district of Romanați. Then, coming back to the upper parts of Wallachia, Ridolfo describes the district of Argeș and the two counties placed below it, Olt and Teleorman. Returning once more in the north, Ridolfo goes on with Muscel and Dâmbovița, and then he turns southwards, to Vlașca. Things get a little complicated as the shapes of the counties become more elongated. Ridolfo continues by describing Prahova and Săcuieni in the north, before moving south to Ilfov, and afterwards he returns in the upper parts of the realm to Buzău and goes down on the map to Ialomița. The last county in Ridolfo's text is the easternmost one, Râmnic.

⁹⁴ Usually, Ridolfo follows the rivers' courses from north to south, from the Carpathians to the Danube, but he has to adjust to his description to incorporate the numerous toponyms placed between rivers.

⁹⁵ In the general description of Wallachia, at the beginning of the fourth chapter in the first section of his memorandum, Ridolfo refers to its massive forests.

⁹⁶ The fifteen cartographic signs used on the map are: (1) archbishopric; (2) bishopric; (3) cities or boroughs; (4) villages; (5) villages with a manor; (6) big monasteries; (7) small monasteries; (8) nunneries; (9) copper mines; (10) iron mines; (11) sulphur mines; (12) "boiling earth" (muddy volcanoes); (13) salt mines; (14) Ottoman settlements; (15) bridges. The muddy volcanoes sign is included only once on the map, in the Buzău county. It might be the case that Ridolfo had difficulties to understand the meaning of the Greek and Latin legend: *Πυλος Αναβράζων/terra bullita*. As for the bridges, the legend is clear and the cartographic sign is used no fewer than twenty-four times.

⁹⁷ Hence, Ridolfo's hesitations with regard to Orașul de Floci and Râmnic, which are usually considered cities, but look a lot more like boroughs. See for instance the rubrics for the Argeș county, which distinguishes the city of Argeș from the borough of Pitești.

one between villages with a manor and ordinary villages, or between archbishopric and bishopric sees.⁹⁸

For Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz reading a map means, first and foremost, deciphering the texts inscribed on it, such as legend, inscriptions and toponyms. The Paduan map of Wallachia, for Ridolfo at least, was an object to be read, rather than an image to be looked at. The pre-eminence of reading over seeing is reflected by Ridolfo's gaze. Although the Paduan map of Wallachia displays several layers of information, his ability to understand the non-textual ones seems to have been rather limited. For instance, of the three Wallachian regions ruled directly by the Ottomans, the so-called *kaza* districts, he mentions only Brăila, leaving out Giurgiu and Turnu. On the map, all three districts are clearly delineated by graphic lines, but only Brăila contains an inscription explaining it was ruled directly by the Ottomans. To conclude, Ridolfo's cartographic abilities and map literacy were rather modest and his systematic effort of transcribing the map meant exactly that: copying out and ordering the texts, legend, cartouche, inscriptions and toponyms, inscribed on the map. For Ridolfo, the map was a geographically framed collage of texts.

CONCLUSIONS

While Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz was writing his Wallachian memorandum, drawing extensively on the Paduan map, little did he know that the Habsburgs had acquired, as early as 1707, a manuscript copy, enlarged and improved, of the same map.⁹⁹ Whether his prospective employers discovered the plagiarism or not, Ridolfo's memorandum failed to impress them. Except for the partial copy from prince Eugene of Savoy's archive and for a singular reference in a diplomatic missive,¹⁰⁰ there seems to be no contemporary echo of his memorandum. Nevertheless, despite its limited impact, his prose cartography is of interest to scholars, as it reveals the strategies of an Enlightenment adventurer, admittedly not a very successful one. Ridolfo's attempts to find a lucrative position with the Habsburgs were mainly based on his geographic mobility and on his

⁹⁸ In the chapter on the Vlaşca county, Ridolfo introduces a once-used rubric: medium-sized monasteries (*monasteri medii*), comprising the convents of Cobia and Glavacioc. It seems to be just a slip of the quill. When discussing the Prahova county, Ridolfo includes salt mines as a rubric on its own, but usually he refers to the mines in the introductory descriptive texts and not in the place-names section.

⁹⁹ The copy made by Schierl von Schierendorf was 1690 × 780 mm, whereas the Paduan printed original had 1400 × 650 mm. A digital version is available on Österreichische Nationalbibliothek website <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?1110534F>, last accessed on 20.03.2022.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander Randa mentions a *Sistema del Governo Politico Militare ed Economico della Wallachia* written by a certain *Ridolfo Damiano de Brüner*, but unfortunately does not provide any reference, see "Wiener Archivalien über die Geschichte des Hauses Cantacuzino", in *Actes du II^e Congrès International des Études du Sud-Est Européen, Athènes 1970*, III, Athènes, 1978, p. 343.

language skills. He seized the opportunity to stir the Habsburgs' interest in the context of their impending expansion into Wallachia and posed as a good catholic with a thorough knowledge of the realm. He concealed his Transylvanian origins (assuming these were real and not just an invented pedigree concocted to deceive the Lucerne authorities) and pretended to have travelled extensively across Wallachia. Ridolfo's strongest assets were his ability to learn, at least superficially, different languages and alphabets, but also his talent of telling stories. The adventurer had a good knowledge of Italian and of some Latin, he was able to read Greek and, probably, to understand some of the language. He was also ready to copy some Slavonic terms, although he did not know how to fill in the abbreviated and superscripted letters, and he even memorized some Wallachian words. The genre of a memorandum clearly does not suit him, as sometimes the desire of telling stories takes precedence over the need of a systematic account. He wrote the memorandum in the hope of receiving an audience, as he seemed more confident in his elocutionary skills and, probably, in his social abilities. He brought along different notes and documents that might have been of help in his endeavours. He had access to Wallachian chancery documents, from where he copied the Slavonic terms, and he had acquired a copy of the 1700 Paduan map. Most likely, he procured the map in Italy, and, although the item was not extraordinarily rare, it clearly went beyond Ridolfo's social status.¹⁰¹ His cartographic literacy was rather limited and he valued more his traveling experience than his bookish or mapping knowledge. Therefore, he concealed the cartographic source of his memorandum, pretending instead to have an unrivalled topographical and toponymical familiarity with the realm of Wallachia. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz was a conman and a professional liar and any attempt to capture his identity or to describe his personality is extremely risky. The alleged Transylvanian fugitive, the good catholic hovering on the periphery of a cardinal's entourage, the self-proclaimed expert on Wallachia or the adopted citizen of Lucerne, were all carefully constructed personae. Such a character is not easy to untangle, but I do hope I was able to unravel, even if just partially, Ridolfo's web of lies and deceptions.

¹⁰¹ If we leave aside the people involved in its making, Chrysanthos Notaras, Constantin Cantacuzino and Constantin Brâncoveanu, the early eighteenth-century documented owners of this map are just a few: the English epigraphist Edmond Chishull, Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens and the Italian secretary Anton Maria del Chiaro; for details see Ionuț Cruceru's study in the present volume.

THE MAP OF WALLACHIA PUBLISHED IN PADUA IN 1700. PRODUCTION, CONTENT AND EARLY USE

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The present study aims at discussing the interrelation between the production, the thematic content and the concrete usage of the map of Wallachia, published in Padua in 1700. The first part of the article contains a brief introduction to the history of the map and a discussion of the current state of research. In the following, the documentary sources on which the cartographic project is based, as well as the social, political, cultural and economic context of Wallachia at the time of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu are examined. Additionally, it investigates the functions that the map of Wallachia was originally intended to fulfil. In the light of this new information, the famous map of Wallachia, the result of the collaboration between the *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino, Ioannis Komminos and Chrysanthos Notaras, is interpreted as a multifunctional product: a real "field guide" for foreign diplomatic missions to Wallachia, as a means of disseminating historical-geographical information about Wallachia abroad, and as a teaching tool. The concluding part of the article considers the dissemination of the map and its critical reception in the academic milieu of eighteenth-century Europe.

Keywords: Wallachia; Eighteenth-Century; Cartographic Functions, Regional Chorography; History of Cartography.

INTRODUCTION

The existence of a map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700, was known long before it became the subject of scholarly research in the twentieth-century. Two works printed at the beginning of the eighteenth-century contributed significantly to the circulation of the Paduan map of Wallachia: *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli Abitanti*, published in Venice in 1718, by Antonmaria del Chiaro, and Meletios de Arta's *Geography*, which appeared a decade later, in 1728, also in Venice. However, before 1926, no one could be sure whether a copy of the 1700 map, attributed to Constantin Cantacuzino, had survived. The vain attempts of Professor Vittorio Lazzarini – a close friend of Nicolae Iorga – to locate the map in the library of the Episcopal Seminary in Padua left little hope.¹ However, in 1926, the Romanian consul in London, Dimitrie Dimăncescu, managed to track

¹ See N. Iorga, *Istoria învățământului românesc*, ed. by I. Popescu Teiușan, București, 1971, p. 19.

down a specimen of the map, which remains the only known copy to this day, and make it public.²

Given its historical and documentary value, the Padua map became the subject of intense scholarly debate shortly after its discovery in the British Museum, especially among Romanian scholars.³ During the following decades, the debate widened from a local, Romanian to a European level. Scholars who have made notable contributions to this on-going discussion include: Constantin C. Giurescu (1943)⁴, Maria Nicolescu (1966)⁵, Ana Toșa-Turdeanu (1975)⁶, Germaine Aujac (1997)⁷, George Toliás (2010)⁸ and Timotei Rad (2013).⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu's 1943 study arguably had the most enduring influence on subsequent scholarship, through its first in-depth description of the map's contents and its investigation of the social, economic and political context in which it was produced. Giurescu was also the first to publish a copy of the map (unfortunately on a small scale and with low resolution). Notwithstanding the fairly laborious documentation, Giurescu was not able to provide convincing and conclusive answers to some key questions, including that of the map's authorship. The term "the stolnic Constantin Cantacuzino's map", which became established in the wake of Giurescu's study, suggests a single author. Time and again, this position has been challenged. Constantin Cantacuzino had unquestionably made a fundamental contribution to the production of the Paduan map, but the merits of its co-authors, Chrysanthos Notaras and Ioannis Komninos, should not be downplayed or eclipsed. Similarly, the "Romanian map" / "Greek map" dichotomy inaugurated by Giurescu, and based on the ethnic

² Despite all scholarly endeavours, the history of the copy preserved in the British Library's collections remains a mystery. According to Peter Barber, curator of the collection, the map has reached the British Museum after the 1878 Berlin Congress. An educated guess would be that the map was brought to England by Lord Paget or by the epigraphist Edmund Chishull (see G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie", *Geographia Antiqua* XII, 2003, p. 139–140). The cabinet of maps of the Library of the Romanian Academy holds two photographic copies of the British Library original. The first, registered under the inventory number S 50, on which the present study is based, is a 1:1 reproduction, of excellent quality, brought from London in 1929. The second copy, registered under the inventory number S 270, is a reduced copy of lesser quality; see C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. O descriere a Munteniei la 1700", *Revista Istorică Română* 13, 1943, p. 2.

³ Meanwhile, the map has been transferred to the British Library, where it has been registered under the signature: Maps.*44170 (1). See <https://hoe.ub.rub.de/retrieve/Map/be65f2e8-31de-4f1e-b266-b2b0eaba5a8d> last accessed on 28.02.2022

⁴ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 1–27.

⁵ M. Nicolescu, "Prima hartă întocmită de un învățat român asupra Țării Românești: harta stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino din anul 1700", *Natura, Seria geografie-geologie*, 18, 1966, 1, p. 21–28.

⁶ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică în hărțile secolului XVIII*, Craiova, 1975.

⁷ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques en grec moderne imprimées à Padoue en 1700", *Geographia antiqua* N° 6, 1997, p. 165–182; Idem, "La première carte de Valachie...", p. 129–140.

⁸ G. Toliás, "Maps printed in Greek during the Age of Enlightenment, 1665–1820", *e-Perimetron* 5, 2010, 1, p. 1–48. http://www.e-perimetron.org/vol_5_1/tolias.pdf last accessed on 28.02.2022.

⁹ T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții Valahiei de la 1700; Dimitrie Cantemir primul român care a realizat o hartă pentru un teritoriu locuit de români*, 2013. online at: <https://nelucraciun.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/ioannis-komninos-autorul-hc483rc5a3ii-valahiei-de-la-1700-timotei-rad.pdf> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

criterion, proved problematic and counterproductive. To avoid these shortcomings, a rather neutral wording was adopted in the present study.

The map of Wallachia published in Padua (1700) measures 140 x 65 cm and consists of 4 sheets that were subsequently mounted canvas.¹⁰ In terms of content, it displays all the features of European maps of its time, from mathematical framework through the ornamentation and cartouche inscriptions, to the techniques of geographical representation and the lettering types (Fig. 1). The multitude and variety of elements depicted on the map (geographical, economic, social, and archaeological) turned it into a reference point in European cartography of the time and even into an influential source of inspiration for later map works. Currently two contemporary copies are known: the manuscript map commissioned by Christian Schierl von Schierendorf in 1707¹¹ and the reduced-scale copy prepared by the Venetian engineer Marco Antonio Gigli¹², annexed to the 1718 edition of Antonmaria del Chiaro's *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti*.¹³

Chronologically, the Paduan map coincides with the cultural flowering period during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), and its cartographic content sheds light on an impressive variety of subjects, such as the political boundaries, the administrative-territorial divisions, the nature of the landscape, the hydrography, the settlement network, the bridges, the archaeological remains and much more.¹⁴ Unlike other secular maps inspired by the Western European cartographic tradition, which had legends and inscriptions written exclusively in Greek, the map drafted by Constantin Cantacuzino, Chrysanthos Notaras and Ioannis Komninos was bilingual, in Greek and Latin.

In view of the question about the original function of this map, central to the present study, it appears significant that it had been printed in the Episcopal Seminary in Padua. The addressee was thus a broader audience. Moreover, it

¹⁰ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului . . .", p. 2.

¹¹ Full title: Augustissimo Invictissimoque Romanorum Imperatori Iosepho I. Mappam hanc geographicam Principatus Valachiae in XVII. themata divisae ab exemplari graeco, quod, juxta accuratissimam descriptionem Sapientiss(imi), Viri Constantini Cantacuzeni, et Excellentiss(imi) Medici ac Philosophi Ioannis Comneni, novissime edidit ac Celsissimo Principi Valachiae D(omi)-no Ioanni Constantino Bassarabae Woewondae dedicavit Chrysanthus Presbyter, Apostolici ac Sanctissimi Hierosolymarum Patriarchalis Throni Archimandrita, Desumptam, ac in formam politioem redactam et Latinitate donatam. Obsequiosissime Dat, Dicat Consecrat Schierendorff. Available online: <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?1110534F> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹² Indice topografico del principato di Valachia. Diviso in XVII. Parti, secondo l'esattissima Descrizione, che ne diede il fu Conte Constantino Cantacuzeno al celeberrimo Medico, e Filosofo Giovanni Commeno ora Arcivescovo di Dristra, e dedicato al Celsissimo Costantino Brancovani Principe di Valachia. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962803x> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹³ Antonmaria Del Chiaro was a Florentine scholar who served as Constantin Brâncoveanu's secretary. His familiarity with the social, cultural and economic realities of Wallachia and with some of the outstanding personalities at Constantin Brâncoveanu's court were instrumental in the elaboration of his work. Regarding the relationship between the map of Wallachia (1700) and its reproduction in the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* (Venezia, 1718) see the concluding part of this article.

¹⁴ G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie . . .", p. 133.

should be remembered that the map was not conceived as an aide-memoire to a historical-geographical work on Wallachia. Any attempt to link the Paduan Map of Wallachia of 1700 with the *History of Wallachia (Istoria Țării Românești)*, a work which some Romanian scholars, most notably N. Iorga, have attributed to Constantin Cantacuzino, would be highly speculative; all the more so since Cantacuzino's authorship of the *History* has recently been questioned on sound grounds.¹⁵ Instead of dwelling on the authorship question, the present study intends to cast a novel look at the map data, especially at the latitude coordinates of the city of Bucharest, indicated on the map. Previous research has not paid too much attention to these coordinates, assuming that the latitude data had been from an astronomical table. Although such an explanation is plausible and handy, I propose to consider another possibility that may provide new insights into both the content of the map and its production.

DATA SOURCE AND THE MAKING OF THE MAP

Commonly, it is assumed that the map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700 was the only cartographic project realised during Constantin Brâncoveanu's reign. The statement is accurate, but only inasmuch as it refers to secular mapping. If one considers other types of mapping, such as military or religious, the Paduan map of Wallachia is no longer exceptional. Starting from the last quarter of the seventeenth-century, cartography had an important role at the princely court in Bucharest mostly because of the strategic military maps. Moreover, under the auspices of the same Constantin Brâncoveanu, a map of the Mount Athos monasteries drafted by Ioannis Komninos, had been printed at Snagov in 1701.¹⁶ This growing interest for cartography at Constantin Brâncoveanu's court can be directly associated with the prince's political and cultural undertakings, fostered by his close contacts with leading European scholars, such as Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli.¹⁷ At one of his diplomatic meetings with Marsigli, Constantin Brâncoveanu offered him a Turkish map of the mouth of the Dniester, relevant both for strategic considerations and for its unique documentary value, considering Marsigli's intention to prepare a publication on the history of the Tatars.¹⁸

Among the scholars at Brâncoveanu's court were the physician and professor of "physical and mathematical sciences" Ioannis Komninos, the archimandrite and astronomer Chrysanthos Notaras, and last, but not least, Constantin Cantacuzino. The

¹⁵ See O. Dragomir, *Istoria Țării Românești*, atribuită stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino. Ediție critică, studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic, București, 2006, p. 19–38.

¹⁶ G. Tolias, "Maps printed in Greek", p. 20, No. 14a–14b.

¹⁷ J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680–1730. The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso*, New Haven – London, 1994, p. 80–81.

¹⁸ A. Gardi, "La Valacchia nella Descrizione delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1698)", in G. Borghello (ed.) *Per Teresa: Studi e ricerche in ricordo di Teresa Ferro*, vol. I, Udine, 2009, p. 595.

latter was actually Constantin Brâncoveanu's uncle and had engaged in an intensive and fruitful diplomatic activity in between 1688–1715.¹⁹ These three scholars were directly involved in the production of the Paduan map of Wallachia, that was dedicated to Constantin Brâncoveanu, as the map title explicitly states:

Πίναξ γεωγραφικός τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης Ἡγεμονείας Ὀυγγροβλαχίας εἰς δεκαεπτὰ θέματα δι(ο)ρημένης τὴν ἐξηκριβομένην καταγραφὴν καὶ διατύπωσιν ἣν πεποίηκεν ὁ εὐγενέστατος, ἐνδοξότατος καὶ σοφώτατος Ἄρχων Στόλνικος Κύριος Κύριος Κωνσταντῖνος Καντακουζηνός, σπουδῆ τοῦ ἐξοχοτάτου ἰατροφιλοσόφου Κ. Κ. Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ. Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐλληνικῆς ἐκδοθεὶ ἐλληνικοῖς ἐκδοθεὶς καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἀφιερωθεὶς τῷ γαληνοτάτῳ καὶ θεοσεβστάτῳ Αὐθέντῃ καὶ Ἡγεμόνῃ πάσης. Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κύριῳ Κύριῳ Ἰωάννῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ Βασσαράβα Βοεβόνδα παρὰ Χρυσάνθου Πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τοῦ Αποστολικῆ καὶ Ἀγιοτάτου τῶν Ἱεροσολεϊμῶν Πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου.

The geographical tabula of the all high and mighty Principality of Ungrovlahia divided into seventeen counties, according to the description and very exact form prepared by the almighty noble, almighty learned and almighty wise boyar *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino for the documentation of the mighty eminent physician and philosopher Ioannis Komninos. Now for the first time printed in Greek letters and reverently dedicated to the all high and mighty pious Lord and Ruler of all Ungrovlahia Prince Ioan Constantin Basaraba Voevod by Chrysant the Presbyter and Archimandrite of the Apostolic and Almighty Holy Patriarchal See of Jerusalem.²⁰

Arguably, the map of Wallachia is the product of a Greek-speaking network centred around the lord of the country, Constantin Brâncoveanu, and his close relative and dignitary, *stolnic* Constantin Cantacuzino. However, it is less clear to what extent each of the three scholars contributed to the making of the map, which has led to the emergence of divergent hypotheses. Previous scholars considered the map either the work of Constantin Cantacuzino or a product of the collaboration between Ioannis Komninos and Constantin Cantacuzino. Most recently, Komninos has been attributed a more significant role in the creation of the map than Cantacuzino.²¹

Ioannis Komninos is also known as the author of the aforementioned map of Mount Athos (1701)²² and of a narrative of the life of the Byzantine emperor John Kantakouzenos.²³ The latter writing, included in a manuscript dated 1699, is dedicated to no other than Constantin Cantacuzino, which is an unequivocal

¹⁹ V. Căndea, *Stolnicul între contemporani*, București, 1971, p. 41–53. See also A. Pippidi, *Constantin Brâncoveanu, stolnicul și lordul*, București, 2014.

²⁰ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului ...”, p. 2–3.

²¹ T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*

²² I. Κομνηνός, *Προσκυνητάριον του Αγίου Όρους του Αθωvos*, Snagov, 1701.

²³ P.P. Panaitescu, “Contribuții la opera geografică a lui Dimitrie Cantemir”, *Academia Română, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, T. VIII, 1927–1928, p. 177.

testimony to their friendship. The second scholar mentioned in the title of the Paduan map of Wallachia is the Archimandrite Chrysanthos Notaras, who later became Patriarch of Jerusalem (1707–1733). Notaras was entrusted with the publishing the map in Padua, where he had completed part of his studies.²⁴ It is not evident from the title inscription whether Chrysanthos Notaras was involved in the actual compilation of the map. However, given Notaras's training and previous works in the field of astronomy, it stands to reason that he was involved in the preparation of the map along with Cantacuzino and Komninos. It should be noted that Notaras had also published a world map in Padua in 1700, the same year that the map of Wallachia was printed. The world map was reproduced 1716, on a smaller scale, in Notaras's own cosmographic essay *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*.²⁵ Moreover, Notaras would later become a disciple of the famous cartographer Jean Dominique Cassini (1625–1712).²⁶ Evidently, in 1700, Notaras was not only a well-trained astronomer, but also a skilled cartographer. Both cartographic works published by Notaras that year are of major importance in the history of the secular mapping of the Balkan regions.²⁷ Nevertheless, it was Constantin Cantacuzino (1639–1716), whom the chronicler Constantin Dapontes significantly refers to as “the learnt one” (ὁ ἐπιστήμων), who provided the local geographical information and ensured that the map of Wallachia was accurate.²⁸

Regarding the motivations for the compilation and publication of the map, the hypothesis formulated by Constantin C. Giurescu appears somewhat unconvincing. In this scenario, Komninos and Notaras had requested Cantacuzino to provide a detailed map of Wallachia in support of their scholarly interests, and Cantacuzino complied with this request.²⁹ This scenario, however, ignores Cantacuzino's earlier involvement in the geographical and cartographical debates relating to Wallachia. In this respect, his friendship with Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli seems to have been very decisive.³⁰ The letters exchanged between the two reveal a common scientific interest. Marsigli, for example, asked Constantin Cantacuzino to complete and to correct the geographical and historical data regarding Wallachia and Moldavia for his project *Descrizione naturale, civile e militare delle Misie, Dacie e Illirico*.³¹

²⁴ O. Cicanci, “Date noi despre Hrisant Notara în arhivele rusești”, *Sud-Estul și Contextul European. Buletin al Institutului de Studii Sud-Est Europene. Mentalitate și Politică V*, București, 1996, p. 118.

²⁵ G. Toliaș, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 4.

²⁶ G. Aujac, “La première carte de Valachie...”, p. 132; O. Cicanci, “Date noi despre Hrisant Notara...”, p. 118.

²⁷ G. Toliaș, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 4.

²⁸ N. Iorga, “Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Al doilea memoriu. Ședința de la 5 februarie 1899”, *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria II. Tom. XXI, 1898–1899, p. 62.

²⁹ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 2–3.

³⁰ See N. Iorga, “Manuscripte din biblioteci străine...”, p. 62–73.

³¹ See L. Nagy, “Le „Triplex Confinium.” Le rôle de Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli dans l'établissement de la frontière entre la Moldavie, la Valachie et la Transylvanie”, *Analele Universității din Oradea. Fascicula*

Moreover, in a letter from 1694, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli reported Cantacuzino that “there is already an excellent map of this province,” i.e. Wallachia, which however lacked administrative boundaries.³² Although, we cannot tell which specific map Marsigli was referring to, his reference testifies the scholarly interest in the cartographic representation of Wallachia in the last decade of the seventeenth-century.

Very likely, Cantacuzino was aware of the inadequacies and gross inaccuracies of the Western maps of Wallachia that circulated at the end of the seventeenth-century. To get an idea of how poorly Wallachia was known by some Western mapmakers of the late seventeenth-century one can take as an example a highly popular atlas of the time: Jacques Peeters’ *L’Atlas en abrégé ou nouvelle description du monde* (Antwerp, 1692). The atlas consists of 42 maps, each with two pages of text.³³ Wallachia is included in the map entitled *Le Grand Royaume de Hongrie ou Partie Septentrionale de la Turquie en Europe*. The most important Wallachian settlement indicated on this map is *Tergovisk* (Târgoviște). Besides this town, the following oiconyms are also mentioned: *Ialonick*, *Dembrovisa* (probably Bucharest), *Brassou* (derived from the Hungarian version “Brassó” of the name of the city Braşov), *Cholownic* (probably Zimnicea), and west of the river Olt, *Torsura* (probably Craiova, considering its position).³⁴ However, the corresponding text from the atlas does not contain any reference to Wallachia. Jacques Peeters’ scarce and deficient geographical knowledge of Wallachia is indicative for late seventeenth-century Western mapmaking. The cursory knowledge of the territories inhabited by Romanians, in the mentioned period, can be observed among other prominent European cartographers, who strived to represent this part of Europe using the most advanced knowledge and means available. As an example, we bring two maps found in the atlas drawn up by Nicolas Sanson for the use of heir to the throne of the King of France entitled: *Nouvelle introduction à la géographie pour l’usage de Monseigneur le Dauphin /, Par le Sr. Sanson* (Paris, 1693). On the map showing the course of the Danube, both the natural elements (the hydrographic network, the mountains) and the human settlements or the borders of the Principality of Wallachia (*Principaute de Valaquie*) are represented in a very vague way, being more hinted at than faithfully indicated according to a territorial reality.³⁵ The second map, including Hungary and its adjacent areas, shows Wallachia with the same shortcomings and errors, mainly due to a lack of direct knowledge of the situation on the terrain.

Limba și Literatura Română (ALLRO), nr. 1, 2012, p. 114; A. Gardi, “La Valacchia nella Descrizione delle Misiè...”, p. 597–598.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 73.

³³ Available online: <https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/object/files/236503/display/Default> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

³⁴ I. Lepși, “Țările Române în J. Peeters, «Atlas en Abregé ou Nouvelle Description du Monde ». Anvers, 1692”, *Arhivele Basarabiei. Revistă de Istorie și Geografie a Moldovei dintre Prut și Nistru* 9, 1937, 1–4, p. 75.

³⁵ Available online: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/en/islandora/object/atmintis%3AVUB01_000520053#00048 last accessed on 29.02.2022.

Unlike Western cartographers, Cantacuzino was in the privileged position of having direct and -indirect access to a wide range of geographical data. He was himself a high-dignitary of the country, and he could obtain further information from various collaborators. Above all, Cantacuzino was conversant in the scientific idiom used by contemporary Western geographers and mapmakers, as his library in Mărgineni (Prahova County) demonstrates impressively.³⁶

The Romanian scholar-boyar had read and, probably, studied, Strabo's *Geography*, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Opera geographica et historica*, the atlases of the Dutch mapmakers Willem and Johan Blaeu and the map of Dacia, entitled *Daciarum Moesiarum et Thraciae vetus et nova descriptio* from 1629, compiled by the German geographer Philipp Clüver.³⁷ Among the volumes in his library, there is also the atlas *Praecipuarum Universi Terrarum Orbis* by Gabriel Bucelin, printed in Ulm in the second half of the seventeenth-century.³⁸ Thus, Constantin Cantacuzino had access to various seventeenth-century cartographic works, which left their marks on the graphic and cartographic concept of the Paduan map of Wallachia. He likewise collected many notices from magazines, almanacs or calendars, some of which are currently held in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest.³⁹ All these geographical works shaped Constantin Cantacuzino's own cartographic approach, scientifically as well as philosophically and aesthetically. In chronological terms, it seems that Constantin Cantacuzino's interest in geography and astronomy intensified as from 1694, when Marsigli had sent him an atlas.⁴⁰ Two years later, in 1696, he was pursuing his scientific interests, as Georg Philipp Schreyer, Lord William Paget's secretary, sent him several optical instruments (*canocchiali* and *occhiali*) for his research.⁴¹ We have good reason to believe that Cantacuzino's interest in optical instruments had been sparked by the material published that year in the magazine *La Galleria di Minerva* under the title "*Nuove Invenzioni di Tubi ottici dimostrate nell'Accademia Fisicomatematica Romana l'anno 1686, da Carlo di Napoli*".⁴² The article was nothing but a lengthy presentation of astronomical telescopes accompanied by several suggestive drawings. The first two issues of the magazine, published in Venice (1696–1697), were in the library of the great Romanian scholar.⁴³ An additional study, Antonio Foresti's *Mappamondo istorico*, published in the same

³⁶ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Un catalog necunoscut al bibliotecii Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino", *Revista Arhivelor* 7, 1964, 2, p. 286–303.

³⁷ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Orizonturi umaniste în cultura românească din secolul al XVII-lea (Biblioteca unui mare cărturar român, Stolnicul Constantin Cantacuzino)", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 19, 1966, 4, p. 672.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 667.

³⁹ I. Ionașcu, "Din viața și activitatea stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino (1640–1716)", *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 19, 1966, 14, p. 649.

⁴⁰ N. Iorga, "Manuscripte din biblioteci străine...", p. 67.

⁴¹ E.D. Tappe, "Documents concerning Rumania in the Paget Papers", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 33 (No. 80), 1954, p. 205.

⁴² *La Galleria di Minerva*, Parte Quatra, Anno 1696, p. 105–117.

⁴³ C. Dima-Drăgan, "Orizonturi umaniste....", p. 682.

issue of *La Galleria di Minerva*, had also been in Cantacuzino's library in Mărgineni.⁴⁴ Naturally, the question arises: what were the optical instruments that Schreyer had sent to Cantacuzino used for, if not to make astronomical observations? Furthermore, were these observations in any way related with the map of Wallachia, which was published four years later and to whose creation Cantacuzino also had contributed?

Previous research assumed, based on the mathematical cartographic framework, that no astronomical measurements or determinations were made during the drafting of the Paduan map of Wallachia.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, one detail inscribed on the map casts doubt on this assumption: the indication of the latitude of the city of Bucharest. Most importantly, the city's latitude has not been recorded on any earlier map. Chrysanthos Notaras was considered by many scholars to be the first astronomer to calculate the geographical coordinates of Bucharest, and it is reasonable to assume he was responsible for determining the latitude on the map of 1700. However, if we compare figure for the latitude of Bucharest provided by Notaras in his *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά* (1716), of 45°0'⁴⁶, with the value of 45°40' northern latitude recorded on the 1700 map of Wallachia, we notice a significant difference in minutes. This inconsistency is rather unusual; bearing in mind that Notaras compiled his cosmographic essay prior to April 1702, i.e. immediately after or even during the preparation of the map of Wallachia, which can be roughly dated in between 1694 and 1699.⁴⁷

Some further details could explain this inconsistency by pointing to two different sources used by the astronomer Notaras. On the 1700 map, the latitude of the city of Bucharest is provided in the form of a brief note: *Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ Πόλου ἐστὶ μοιρῶν 45 καὶ 40 λεπτῶν. Nota autem in Bucurestio altitudinem Poli esse Graduum 45 et Minutorum 40* (It is noted that in Bucharest the height of the Pole is 45 degrees and 40 minutes).⁴⁸ (Fig. 2) By contrast, in Notaras's cosmographic book, the geographical coordinates of different cities and islands around the globe contain both latitude and longitude values. Customarily, Notaras specifies in the title of the list that the coordinates are taken from geographical *tabulae* (maps), but in the case of Wallachia he omits such an indication.⁴⁹ Furthermore, it should also be noted that in addition to the coordinates of Bucharest (Β8κ8ρέσιον Μητρόπολις τῆς Βλαχίας), Notaras specifies for the first time the coordinates of the city of Târgoviște (Τριγόβυσον, ἢ Τεργόβυσον τῆς Βλαχίας).⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 682.

⁴⁵ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ X. Notarás, *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*, Παρίσι, 1716, p. 165.

⁴⁷ M. Stavinschi, "Introductio ad Geographiam et Sphaeram, a lesser-known book on Astronomy", *Romanian Astronomical Journal* 27, 2017, 1, p. 74.

⁴⁸ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului ...", p. 4.

⁴⁹ X. Notarás, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 165, 174.

The most likely explanation seems to be that Constantin Cantacuzino, having received the optical instruments (*canocchiali* and *occhiali*) referred to in the above-mentioned letter from 11 July 1696, made his first attempts to establish the latitude of the Wallachian capital. It is possible that in doing so he was guided by Chrysanthos Notaras, who was still in Bucharest and was not to leave for Padua until May 1697.⁵¹ It should be noted that the astronomical determinations of the two scholars from the Wallachian capital were not unique in the second half of the seventeenth-century. For example, between April 17th and August 29th, 1696, Luigi F. Marsigli determined the latitude for two points in the Batschka (Bačka) region, assisted by Johann Christoph Müller.⁵²

The result of 45°40', which is inscribed on the map of Wallachia, was obtained by measuring the height of the North Star above the horizon.⁵³ It should be noted, however, that this latitudinal value was not included in any of the copies of the map or in any other geographical works. Later, in his cosmographic essay, Notaras omitted this value himself, although he explicitly referred to the Paduan map of 1700 in another section of the work.⁵⁴ It is likely, that the 45°40' latitude was considered an inaccurate result of the first attempts to measure the geographical coordinates of Bucharest and was soon abandoned.⁵⁵

It is also possible that the optical instruments obtained by Cantacuzino and the astronomical measurement he made for cartographic purposes prompted Notaras to make similar attempts himself. In his cosmographic essay, Notaras not only provides the geographical coordinates of Bucharest, but also those of the city of Târgoviște. This seems to indicate not only a detailed knowledge of the local topography, but also a direct involvement in the actual measurements. Despite all efforts made by Constantin Cantacuzino and/or Chrysanthos Notaras, both latitudinal values, indicated on the 1700 map and in the cosmographic essay, are quite far from the value of 44°26' N actually measured by modern science.

FUNCTIONS OF THE MAP

There are two opposing opinions about the intended use of the map among scholars. According to some researchers, the map was supposed to be used by a

⁵¹ G. Aujac, "Chrysanthos Notaras et les systèmes du monde", *Pallas*, No. 59, 2002 [*Mélanges Jean Soubiran*], p. 75.

⁵² Cf. A.A. Deák, *Térképek a félhold árnyékából = Carte geografiche dall'ombra della mezzaluna*, Budapest, 2005.

⁵³ Chrysanthos Notaras discusses the fundamental issues related to the horizon in *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά...*, p. 17–19. See also the Observation Table (*Πίναξ των Αντανakλάσεων*) in the preface to the same paper.

⁵⁴ See X. Notarά, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Antonmaria del Chiaro claims that he "rigorously revised" the 1700 map. This redaction also entailed the elimination of the information on the latitude of the city of Bucharest, see A.M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni...*, Venezia, 1718, p. 9.

foreign audience, whereas others believe that it was designed for internal, administrative use.⁵⁶ In the handbook *Istoria Literaturii Române* (1964) the initial use of the map is described as follows: “Being written in Greek, the map was not intended for internal, administrative use, but was destined for use abroad. It addressed foreign rulers and merchants and publicized the riches of the realm and its network of roads”.⁵⁷ Ion Ionașcu adopted a similar position in 1966, stating that Constantin Cantacuzino drew up the map of Wallachia “in order to bring to the attention of the educated European world the geographical position of his country and its economic importance”.⁵⁸ However, another group of scholars, such as George Tolias and Ana Toșa Turdeanu, considered that the 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia should be classified as an administrative map.⁵⁹ Due to its format, it was also referred to as a “wall map”, rather exaggerated given its actual size. The dimensions of the map (140 × 65 cm) allowed it to be easily handled both indoors and outdoors. The map could be equally used in an armchair or on the road, and it offered a fairly generous space for displaying both impressive graphic features and detailed written texts. The key to decipher the intended functions of the map lies primarily in the interpretation of its content and form. The multitude of spatial elements included on the map and its decorative features, such as the numerous inscriptions, the portrait, the coat of arms and, not in the least, its bilingual format, indicate that the map was designed to serve a representative purpose.

The map presents Wallachia from a physical-geographical, political, economic, social, administrative and archaeological point of view.⁶⁰ Considering the average value of the scale at which it was drawn (about 1:435,000 according to T. Rad), and its thematic layout, it can be included in the category of *regional chorographies*. A statistical analysis tallied more than 700 toponyms, far more than on any other contemporary map of Wallachia.

The map shows the area between the Carpathians and the Danube, respectively between the Siret River and the Cerna Valley, including some small parts from the neighbouring historical regions of Dobruja, Moldavia, Transylvania and Banat. The map is divided into longitudes and latitudes, taken from other maps, and is drawn according to the Mercator projection. Thus, the area is shown exaggerated in the direction of the meridians as well as in the direction of the parallels.⁶¹ The overall

⁵⁶ Recently, D. Ursprung connected the making of the 1700 map with the chronicle-production of the period, both reflecting an increasing self-reflection on the Wallachian identity, in “Raumvorstellungen und Landesbewusstsein: die Walachei als Name und Raumkonzept im historischen Wandel”, in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, eds. J.O. Schmitt and M. Metzeltin, Vienna, 2015, p. 500–501.

⁵⁷ *Istoria Literaturii Române. Folclorul. Literatura română în perioada feudală (1400–1780)*, ed. by G. Călinescu, M. Beniuc, Al. Rosetti, T. Vianu, Al. Dima, G. Ivașcu, M. Novicov, I. Pervain, Vol. I, București, 1964, p. 567.

⁵⁸ I. Ionașcu, “Din viața și activitatea stolnicului...”, p. 649.

⁵⁹ See G. Tolias, “Maps printed in Greek...”, p. 11; A. T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică*..., p. 22.

⁶⁰ G. Aujac, “La première carte de Valachie...”, p. 133.

⁶¹ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică*..., p. 20

location on the globe is also inaccurate. Placed on a modern map, the 1700 coordinates of Wallachia overlap almost completely with the Black Sea.⁶² The improvement of optical instruments during the seventeenth-century significantly improved the latitudinal measurement, with the use of astronomical observations. However, the challenge of correctly determining the longitude was not mastered until the invention of a more efficient chronometer in 1764, which enabled seafarers to accurately determine the time at two different locations simultaneously.⁶³

The cartographic projection is also inconsistent all over the map, since it combines the perspective and the horizontal projection.⁶⁴ Such mathematical and cartographic errors are rather common for that period, and they are equally to be found (although not to the same extent) on the map of Moldavia made by Dimitrie Cantemir.⁶⁵ Their origin does not lie in the poor geographical expertise of the mapmakers, or in their lack of technical training, but simply to the limited scientific knowledge of the time. Considering the geographical coordinates noted on the edge of the map, which follows one another in ascending order from left to right, between 44°50' and 53°30' east longitude, the reference meridian was that of Ferro Island.⁶⁶

The thematic content of the map is impressive, as it is the result of laborious documentation. The cartographic elements of the map of Wallachia can be divided into two categories in terms of their geographical accuracy: 1) low accuracy and 2) higher accuracy. The low accuracy elements refer to the geographical features and are largely due to the lack of terrestrial measurements and the inefficient cartographic techniques of the time. For instance, the mountainous relief is indicated only roughly by rows of molehills⁶⁷. The hydrographic network, although represented in greater detail than on other maps, has numerous inadequacies; in particular with regard to the minor watercourses (i.e. the meanders of the rivers are only approximately drawn). The mapmakers also did not intend to accurately depict forested areas; such an intention is not documented for late seventeenth-century European cartography. Nevertheless, the existence of certain peculiar forests that had some special purpose was signalled with the use of some trees, portraying a few areas of indefinite extent.⁶⁸ The cartographic depiction of these forests was most likely done depending on their landscape, economic or for-hunting relevance.

⁶² T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*, p. 12.

⁶³ Șt. C. Hepites, "O primă încercare asupra lucrărilor astronomice din România până la finele secolului al XIX-lea" in *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Științifice* 24, 1902, p. 472; see also D. Sobel, *Longitudinea. Povestea unui geniu*, București, 2015.

⁶⁴ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 21.

⁶⁵ See T. Rad, *Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții...*, p. 12; G. Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei de Dimitrie Cantemir", *Academia Română, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III. Tomul VI. Mem. 9, 1926, p. 7.

⁶⁶ For additional information on Chrysanthos Notaras' worldview and his attempts to reconcile the theological and geographical views, see M. Stavinschi, "*Introductio ad Geographiam et Sphaeram...*", p. 76–78.

⁶⁷ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques..." p. 173.

⁶⁸ This fact did not prevent some authors from considering the map of Wallachia "the first botanical map made by a Romanian and related to a Romanian land", see T. Săvulescu, "Începuturile și dezvoltarea

The forest massifs highlighted on the map include those that extend around some monasteries, as Glavacioc, Snagov or Căldărușani, functioning as a buffer zone. Some of the forests depicted on the 1700 map are probably those mentioned by late seventeenth-century written sources. For instance, a document from the 22nd February 1697 refers to the forests of Câmpulung, Mățău, Rucăr and Dragoslave, which used to supply masts for the Giurgiu shipyard.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the 1700 map of Wallachia rarely mentions the actual names of the forests, with very few exceptions, such as the Groși forest in Argeș County, the Lumini forest in Olt County and the Plopii Rumâneștilor forest in Dâmbovița County.⁷⁰

The Paduan map of Wallachia, also indicates the conventional border with Transylvania, which ran along the peaks of the Carpathians. Most importantly, it also includes the internal administrative boundaries and visualizes for the first time the territorial shape of the 17 Wallachian counties then in existence. An interesting fact is that the Paduan map of 1700, by displaying the administrative units, fills one of the lacunae that Marsigli had pointed out in his earlier correspondence of 1694, with Constantin Cantacuzino. Of the new information provided by the map, the administrative division of the realm seems to have had the strongest impact among its contemporary readers. The administrative boundaries were echoed both by Antonmaria del Chiaro's, as well as by Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, in his *Geography*. The 1700 map also depicts the three Ottoman districts located north of the Danube: Brăila, Giurgiu and Turnu.⁷¹

Moving on to the geographical features, which are depicted with greater accuracy, it should be said at the outset that they are much more numerous and constitute the most consistent and original part of the map. These features come from various sources, external and internal, administrative and non-administrative – and it is very tempting to assume that Constantin Cantacuzino was involved in gathering them. Equally important, all these geographically relevant data have a common advantage. They could be abstracted and mapped more efficiently and easily through the use of pictorial signs. The map of Wallachia was intended to provide an overview of all the territorial features that the cartographers considered most important, as was customary with regional chorographies. The administrative information and the data related to the so-called *oikoumena* (inhabited space) seem to predominate and give the map with a rather practical appearance.

The inhabited space consists of towns, boroughs, villages (set apart into two different categories: with or without a boyar residence), fortresses and monasteries (divided into three types: large monasteries, small monasteries, and nunneries). As

Botanicei științifice în România”, *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Științifice*, Seria III, XVIII, 1942–1943, p. 473.

⁶⁹ C.C. Giurescu, *Istoria pădurii românești din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi*, Ediția a doua, București, 1976, p. 68.

⁷⁰ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului...”, p. 11.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

Constantin C. Giurescu observed, the map comprises only some of the existing settlements at that time.⁷² Due to the complexity and variety of functions that human settlements fulfilled at that time, we cannot know in each individual case what exactly prompted the cartographers to depict them on the map. But even if the criteria for the selection of the sites remain unclear, the overall geographical accuracy of the data is impressive. Once again, one cannot help thinking that of all the people involved in the creation of this map, Constantin Cantacuzino was the only one who had the best knowledge of the realm and the personal experience necessary to gather all the data. Even the inconsistencies are only apparent on closer inspection. For example, when Ana Toșa Turdeanu compared the 1700 map with other sources such as the chancery documents, she noticed that some older towns, such as Calafat and Târgu Bengăi, are not on the map, while newer ones, such as Ocnele Mari, Cerneți and Brâncoveni are included.⁷³ Actually, this is no mistake, as the 1700 map captures the ruralisation of some former cities and the development of new urban centres. The map seems particularly accurate as regards the counties of Romanați and Vâlcea, which can be explained with the many estates and foundations of Brâncoveanu in this region. Even more significantly, to the east of the Olt River, the map records the village of Mărgineni in Prahova County, which was Cantacuzino's main residence, as well as the monastery of the same name, which he helped consolidate.

Some of the names indicated on the map have been simplified for various cartographic considerations, such as lack of space. For example, the villages of Cucuteni, Coțieni, Glodeni, and Brănești in Dâmbovița County figure in Constantin Brâncoveanu's *Anatefter*, in 1690, under the following designations: Cucuteni Vieri, Coțieni Vieri, Glodeni Vieri, Brănești Vărniceri and Vieri. As the very names reveal, all above-mentioned villages were specialized in viticulture, a socio-economic detail that was not implemented in the map.⁷⁴ Other villages with compound names, whose inhabitants were involved in guarding the roads, were Obidiți Drumași, Bertești Drumași from Ialomița County, and Olteanița Drumași from Ilfov County, which appear on the 1700 map only as Obidiți, Bertești and Oltenița.⁷⁵

Another important feature of the map, reminiscent of the Italian regional chorographies from the first quarter of the seventeenth-century, is the ecclesiastical mapping. A total of 73 monasteries are recorded, of which most, i.e. 12, are located in the Vâlcea County.⁷⁶ A map designed by those close to Constantin Brâncoveanu and dedicated to him, could not have missed the religious topography of the realm ruled by a well-known defender and supporter of the Greek-Orthodox faith. In the lower right corner, the following note in Greek precedes the signs legend:

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁷³ A.T. Turdeanu, *Oltenia. Geografie istorică...*, p. 142.

⁷⁴ In Romanian, the word "vieri" designates the people dealing with viticulture.

⁷⁵ See D.C. Giurescu, "Anatefterul. Condiția de porunci a visteriei lui Constantin Brâncoveanu", *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 5, 1962, p. 434; C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 16.

⁷⁶ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului", p. 19–20.

Σημείωσαι ὅτι εἰ καὶ δύο πόλεις ἔχουσι τὸ ἴδιον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς σημεῖων, ἀλλ' ὁμῶς εἷς Ἡγεμῶν καὶ εἷς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὑπάρχει ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἡγεμονείᾳ (*It is noted, that although two cities bear the proper sign of the Archbishopric, yet only one lord and only one Archbishop govern this Country*) (Fig. 3).⁷⁷ The mapmakers were not interested solely in the ecclesiastical geography of the Wallachian church, but also in the rather insular phenomenon of Hesychasm. The 1700 map indicates the “hermitages of the monks” (Σκηῆται Μονάχῶν) located in the Buzău Mountains, most likely cave hermitages, labelled through five small houses.⁷⁸

The 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia, however, marks an important advancement in geographical knowledge, not only in terms of the administrative and ecclesiastical geography of the realm, but also with regard to practical issues. As the correspondence of the Marquis François-Gaston de Béthune attests, detailed maps of the region were urgently needed for the use of travellers. During the 1686 campaign in Moldavia, in which the latter participated alongside the king of Poland, the planning of the itinerary was greatly hampered by the lack of a reliable map. The king was reluctant to take a road from Galați to the mouth of the river Siret, as it did not appear on his maps.⁷⁹ Prior to the publishing of the 1700 map in Padua, in 1700, the cartography of Wallachia was equally vague and unreliable.

Evidently, the target audience for a travel map of Wallachia was relatively small: boyars, ambassadors, missionary monks, and merchants, who journeying out of diplomatic, religious or economic motives. Their travel was not without risk, as robbers often threatened the voyagers. In the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu, special guard points were set up, manned with “plăieși” (guards of the mountain areas), to supervise the roads and protect the travellers.

On the 1700 map of Wallachia, the distances between settlements are indicated in temporal units, such as day hours or league hours. Most significantly, one of the few eighteenth-century references to the actual use of the 1700 map comes from a traveller. The English epigraphist Edmond Chishull noted in his diary that he had used a Greek map on his journey with Lord Paget through Wallachia in May 1702:

We continue our journey four hours thro the same sort of way, that is, along a narrow shady vale, which conveys the winding waters of the Dembowitza; which having crossed several times, we at length arrive at the village of Dragoslave, and in half an hour farther at that of *Rukar*, in the Greek map, *Ρθβαλο* (sic)⁸⁰, where we pitch and repose this evening. This village is considerably large, consisting of houses all of the Valachian fashion, that is,

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁷⁹ *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. VII, ed. Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, București, 1980, p. 411.

⁸⁰ This place is named Ρούβαλον on the map, which substantiates the hypothesis that the epigraphist Edmund Chishull consulted it on his way to Transylvania.

built round with trees laid even upon one another, covered with an high and steep roof consisting of wooden tiles, and within having no funnel or chimney to convey the smoke, but open only in several parts of the roof to supply that defect.⁸¹

As the passage through Wallachia took place shortly after the publication of the map in 1700 and, moreover, Chishull had met before that with Constantin Cantacuzino, who had given him several books on April 27th,⁸² it seems certain that the Greek map referred to which the Englishman referred corresponds exactly to the one printed in Padua. Chishull's testimony is valuable from at least three points of view: 1) it records the distances covered by land in units of time; 2) it confirms that eighteenth-century readers looked on the map for the largest villages and cities (such as Rucărul), in order to choose their resting places; and 3) it attests the use of the map as a guidebook or, at least as a useful tool for remembering the itinerary. There are several other features, such as its format, that suggest that the map had not been designed for purely scientific purposes, but also to serve as an auxiliary tool in exploring, the territory of the realm, literally or imaginatively.

But the 1700 map of Wallachia also fulfilled a representational purpose. In the upper left corner, framed in a medallion is the portrait of Constantin Brâncoveanu (Fig. 4), accompanied by the following inscription: ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΣΑΡΑΒΑΣ ΒΟΕΒΟΝΔΑΣ ΕΛΕΩ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΗΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΟΥΓΓ (Ioan Constantin Basarab Voevod, by the mercy of God Lord Ruler of all Ungro-Wallachia).⁸³ Another important visual feature of the map is the coat of arms of Wallachia, an eagle with a cross in its beak, framed in a medallion with a crown above it. At the base of this coat of arms, there are inserted some visual reference to military prowess: the battle banner of the Wallachian army, with the same eagle holding a cross in its beak, several cannons and some musical instruments (drums, trumpets) reminiscent of military music. To the left and to the right of the coat of arms are inscribed the letters: Ι, Κ, Β, Β, Ε, Θ, Α, Η, Π and ς, an acronym for : Ι <ω> Κ <ωνσταντίνος> Β <ασαράβας> Β <οεβόδας> , ἐ <λέω> θ <εοῦ> α <ύθέντης> <καὶ> ἡ <γεμόνος> π <άσης> Οὐ <γγροβλαχίας>⁸⁴ (I, Constantin Basarab Voevod, by the mercy of God, Lord ruler of all Ungrovlahia) (Fig. 5). In addition, there are some other symbols that allegorically illustrate the wealth of the land: the cornucopia, inserted above the cartouche with the Greek title of the map, and some grapes surrounding the Latin title, alluding to the quality of Wallachian wines.

⁸¹ E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England*, London, 1747, p. 84; See also I. Bianu, "Un épigraphiste anglais en Valachie", *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* 1, 1924, 10–12, p. 411; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, ed. Maria Holban, M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Vol. VIII, București, 1983, p. 195–216.

⁸² E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 80.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ I would like to thank Ovidiu Olar for his assistance in understanding the Greek-language passages.

Apart from the explicit vignettes and the simple texts meant to praise Constantin Brâncoveanu, the 1700 map of Wallachia reveals some unexpected similarities upon closer inspection. A rather large number of the villages recorded on the map had military attributions (the so called in Romanian “plăieși villages”, in the mountain areas, and “drumași villages”, in the plain areas), whose main task was to secure the roads. Constantin Brâncoveanu played an important role in setting up this system and a comparative view of the 1700 map and the *Anatefter*, one the most important administrative source from the end of the seventeenth-century, is revealing. (Table 1).

Table 1

The situation of the villages in charge of guarding the roads, mentioned in Constantin Brâncoveanu’s *Anatefter* and existing on the map of Wallachia (1700). * Note: Non-existent data in *Anatefter* for Olt, Romanați, Dolj and Mehedinți counties.

County	Total number of villages (on the map)	Number of villages with boyar residence (on the map)	Number of villages involved in guarding the roads (both in the <i>Anatefter</i> and on the map)
Slam Râmnic	35	2	2
Buzău	34	3	2
Saac	11	1	2
Prahova	28	9	7
Ialomîța	28	3	2
Ilfov	50	11	1
Dâmbovița	51	6	16
Vlașca	32	7	1
Teleorman	48	0	3
Muscel	21	2	4
Argeș	40	7	9
Vâlcea	32	2	9
Gorj	23	3	4
Total:	433	56	62

Of the villages involved in guarding the roads documented both by Constantin Brâncoveanu’s *Anatefter* and by the 1700 map of Wallachia, most are to be found in Dâmbovița County: 16 villages. They are followed by Vâlcea and Argeș counties, each with 9 villages, and Prahova with 7 villages. In addition to the villages that were to guard the roads, there was another important category, namely those communities bound to provide hospitality.

As the Ottoman rule strengthened north of the Danube, the sultans initiated the reform of the old Wallachian system of communications with the use of stage-coach horses (“cai de olac”). Thus, in the seventeenth-century, a specialized institution, called *menzil*, was set up, to transport couriers, news and passengers.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ M. Păduraru, “Din trecutul poștei Țării Românești în perioada regulamentară. Înființarea stațiilor de poștă de la Urlueni și Șerboeni, județul Teleorman (iulie-august 1833)”, *Argesis. Studii și comunicări, Seria Istorie* 17, 2008, p. 173.

The inhabitants of several towns and villages were obliged to accommodate officials and to allow them to exchange their horses. In return, they were exempt from the payment of taxes.

In the Lovișteea region, none of the four *menzil* villages mentioned in Constantin Brâncoveanu's *Anatefter* – Titești, Greblești, Boișoara, Câineni – is missing from the 1700 map of Wallachia.⁸⁶ It appears that the privileged fiscal regime and the special administrative function of these villages were factors influencing their inclusion on the map. Tax-exempted, guard and *menzil* villages, as well as those having boyar residences were important territorial “pillars” of the administration of the Wallachian state.

Compared to the previous regional maps that circulated in Western Europe, the 1700 map of Wallachia presented ample information to those interested in visiting the realm. The aforementioned English traveller Edmund Chishull reported in his diary how, out of curiosity, he visited the monastery of Cotroceni, half an hour from Bucharest, on the evening of 27th April 1702.⁸⁷ On the 1700 map of Wallachia, the Cotroceni monastery is depicted nearby Bucharest, among the large religious communities of Ilfov County, along with Bucharest (?), Căldărușani and Snagov.⁸⁸ In addition to information on human settlements and monasteries, the 1700 map also provided accurate data on the fishing potential of the province (lakes, ponds), on the best water sources (wells) and resting places, and on mineral resources (salt, copper, iron, sulfur).

As for the wine-growing areas of the country, the mapmakers preferred to list them in a separate table, accompanied by the indication: Δάλιοι ήτοι Τόπος όρινοσ ένθα γίνωνται άγαθοί οίνοι *Dali seu loca Montana ubi optima vina gignuntur* (Hills, i. e. mountainous places where the best wines are made) (Fig. 2).⁸⁹ The quality of Wallachian wines, highly appreciated abroad, is confirmed by several sources from the reign of Brâncoveanu. Edmund Chishull praised the local wines, especially those from the Târgoviște region.⁹⁰ Viticulture was most likely introduced on the 1700 map under the influence of northern-European cartographic models.⁹¹

Another group of features of the landscape depicted on the 1700 map are the archeological vestiges. Given the growing interest of scholars in the past and origin of the Romanian people, closely related to the passion for Roman antiquities, the Paduan map makes a significant contribution to the knowledge of historical ruins in

⁸⁶ See D.C. Giurescu, “Anatefterul. Condica de porunci...”, p. 421.

⁸⁷ E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 82.

⁸⁸ C.C. Giurescu, “Harta Stolnicului ...”, p. 20.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁹⁰ “The wines of this province, especially about Tergovist, are exquisite fine” (E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey...*, p. 85).

⁹¹ Abraham Ortelius, for example, inspired by Münster's *Cosmography* (1545) noted on a map from 1570 the upper limit of viticulture in Bohemia: “these hills mark the boundary of the vineyards” (See C. Delano-Smith, “Signs on Printed Topographical Maps, ca. 1470 – ca. 1640”, in D. Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography*. Volume 3, Part 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago-London, 2007, p. 574).

late seventeenth-century Wallachia. Apart from three medieval fortresses – at Turnu Măgurele, on the right bank of the Olt and at Severin – the 1700 map signals the ruins of Trajan's bridge, built between 103–105 AD by Apollodorus of Damascus, the site of another bridge near Celei, built by Constantine the Great, and the course of the Roman road along the Olt Valley.⁹² According to Giurescu the crucifix on the map near Călugăreni is a reference to the monument commemorating the 1595 victory of Michael the Brave against the Ottomans.⁹³ The battle site was located on the old road that connected the capital of Wallachia with Giurgiu. However, no road is marked on the 1700 map of Wallachia, which is surprising, especially considering that the map was also used as a travel guide, as I argued above. The Paduan map does not include the Wallachian network of roads, but even in Western Europe, around 1700, cartographers paid little attention to the representation of roads. The post route maps, essential documents for the knowledge of functional roads, bridges and crossings, mainly used by official courier services, were just at their beginning.⁹⁴ Among the firsts cartographers to transpose onto a non-military map road and passes, was Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli. On May 8th, 1700, Marsigli finalized an extremely elaborate map of the routes and post offices in the eastern parts of the Habsburg Empire, entitled *Mappa Geographica facta in usum Officialium ab Officio Postarum Caesareo deputatorum*.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know if Constantin Cantacuzino was informed of the cartographic project of his friend. The absence of road network and of mountain passes on the 1700 map of Wallachia might be also determined by another cause: the mapmakers' self-censorship, due to the military relevance of these territorial features. Certainly, a map published in Western Europe comprising the Wallachian network of roads would have been considered an act of betrayal by the Ottoman Empire, one with major political consequences. One exception was the Roman road along the river Olt, which was nothing more than a historical vestige, depicted on the map by two parallel dotted lines, with its two branches, from Celei and Islaz. The mapmakers tried to compensate somehow the absence of roads by noting on the map no fewer than 24 bridges.⁹⁶ The cartographic marking of bridges was meant to help viewers to identify the places of passage over natural obstacles, where taxes were levied. When comparing the 1700 map with the later ones that comprise the network of roads (Specht, Schwantz) or with written sources, one can notice that the bridges marked on the Paduan map of Wallachia are located at the crossing points of the big roads.

⁹² S. Lazăr, "Situri arheologice marcate pe harta Stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino", in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopșor”* 15, 2014, p. 45–51; C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 21.

⁹³ See Ș. Andreescu, "Câmpurile de bătălie – locuri ale memoriei. O nouă mărturie", in *Analele Putnei* 6, 2011, 1, p. 303–308.

⁹⁴ D. Măndescu, "Drumuri și trecători peste Carpați – primele reprezentări în cartografie", in *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in honorem Professoris Ionel Căndea septuagenarii*, edidit C. Croitoru, București-Brăila, 2019, p. 500.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 499.

⁹⁶ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 12–13.

Among these roads, ones of the most important were those who connected Wallachia with the regions across the Carpathian throughout the Middle Ages.⁹⁷ I suspect that the 1700 map of Wallachia indirectly refers to the postal system at the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu. For instance, the name of Olăcari village, which appears on the map in Ilfov County, is a toponymical reference to the postal couriers. Apart from the important boroughs and towns of the realm, there are numerous other such references.

Therefore, to summarize, the 1700 Paduan map of Wallachia not only depicted the human and physical geographical features, but also outlined the basic infrastructure of the realm and provided clues to safer and more efficient routes. Another function of the map, which I have not discussed so far, was the didactic one connected with its use as illustrative material in the princely academy in Bucharest. As previous research has shown, the geographical works prepared by Meletios and Hrisant were studied in the upper classes of the Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iași.⁹⁸ The didactic use of the map is interwoven with its greater scientific influence on the geographical and cartographic knowledge of Wallachia in the early eighteenth-century.

THE SCHOLARLY IMPACT OF THE MAP

Constantin Cantacuzino was a distinguished diplomat who played a key-role in the Wallachian foreign policy during the reigns of Constantin Brâncoveanu and Ștefan Cantacuzino, Constantin's own son.⁹⁹ Constantin Cantacuzino's scholarly fame and reputation, fostered by his mastery of several languages, contributed to the immediate success of the 1700 map. Shortly after its publication, the map gained widespread recognition, as was probably hoped for and intended by all those involved in its production. The prompt and enthusiastic reception of the map, as shown by the numerous references in different geographical writings, testifies both to its significant influence on European cartography of the region at the beginning of the eighteenth-century and to its scholarly appreciation.

One of the first scholars to use the map published in Padua in 1700 was Chrysanthos Notaras.¹⁰⁰ In *Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά*, a book

⁹⁷ For more information about the trans-Carpathian medieval roads between Wallachia and Transylvania see M. Coman, *Putere și teritoriu. Țara Românească medievală (sec. X–IV–XVI)*, Iași, 2013, p. 218–220.

⁹⁸ A. Camariano, *Academiile domnești din București și Iași*, București, 1971, p. 184.

⁹⁹ I. Ionașcu, "Din viața și activitatea stolnicului...", p. 649.

¹⁰⁰ M. Popescu-Spineni mentioned the existence of a copy, which he ascribed to Chrysanthos Notaras. The copy was composed of six beautifully decorated plates and had the following title in the right corner: "*Augustissimo invectissimoque Romanorum Imperatori Iosepho I Mappam hanc geographicam Principatus Valachiae in XVII themata divisae ab exemplari graeco quod, juxta accuratissimam descriptionem Sapientissimi, Viri Constantini Cantacuzeni et Excellentiss-i Medici ac Philosophi Ioannis Comneni, novissime edidit, ac Celestissimo Principi Valachiae D-no Ioanni Constantino Bassarabae Woewondae dedicavit Chrysanthus*

written before 1707, Notaras mentions the map of Wallachia more than once.¹⁰¹ Another scholar known for using the map of Wallachia was Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, the teacher of Dimitrie Cantemir. In the treatise on *Geography* written by Meletios around 1701–1702 and published in Venice in 1728, the author explicitly refers to the 1700 map.¹⁰² Meletios mentions the Roman road on the right bank of the Olt, the bridge built by Emperor Trajan, the division of Wallachia into 17 counties and last, but not least, the small number of towns, compared to the number of villages, aristocratic courts and monasteries.¹⁰³

A first copy of the Paduan map was commissioned in 1707 by Christian Schierl von Schierendorf, a cameralist and administrative official of the Vienna Court Chamber.¹⁰⁴ The map, with its extraordinarily elaborate graphic design, was dedicated to Emperor Joseph I. It contains some elements of the model, such as the portrait of Prince Brâncoveanu, the coat of arms of Wallachia and the panel with the legend symbols (Figs. 3, 4, and 5). In addition, it features a number of improvements, such as the scale of the rendering (1:250,000), additional local points, and partially altered relief renderings.¹⁰⁵ The coloured rendition of the boundary lines clearly defines both the structure of the inner administrative units and the outer boundaries of the principality. The second known copy had been made by Marco Antonio Gigli Veneto and published in Venice in 1718 as part of the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* by Antonmaria del Chiaro.¹⁰⁶ On the legend of the map, printed at a reduced scale, the author of the historical and ethnographic writing mentions the cartographic source of this illustration:

First of all, at the beginning of this history, I wanted to place the reduced geographical *tabula* of that province, for the more comfortable use of the book, [copied] after a large one, printed in 1700 at the Seminary in Padua, but with Greek letters. The author of this *tabula* was Count Constantin Cantacuzino, miserably strangled in 1716 in Constantinople. I have had this *tabula* rigorously reviewed and examined by several people who have a special knowledge and practice of even more distant places...; and being assured by these people that

presbyter, Apostolici ac Sanctissimi Hierosolymarum Patriarchalis Throni Archimandrita". In the left corner, in the medallion, the map included a portrait of Constantin Brâncoveanu and the date, 1717. Marin Popescu-Spineni did not provide any bibliographical reference for the copy, but based on his description, it most certainly is the manuscript copy commissioned by Schierendorf, in 1707. (See M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice, din antichitate până în pragul veacului nostru*, București, 1978, p. 164, footnote 21; V. Căndea, *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecții din străinătate*, Serie nouă, I *Albania-Etiopia*, București, 2010, p. 107).

¹⁰¹ C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 25; G. Aujac, "Deux manuels grecs de géographie à l'aube du XVIII^e siècle", in *Platon* 53, 2003, p. 62–73.

¹⁰² G. Aujac, "La première carte de Valachie...", p. 134–135.

¹⁰³ M. Μελετίου, *Γεωγραφία παλαιά και νέα*, Εν Βενετία, 1728, p. 229–231.

¹⁰⁴ <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?1110534F> last accessed on 28.02.2022.

¹⁰⁵ See T. Rad, Ioannis Komninos autorul hărții..., p. 4.

¹⁰⁶ G. Aujac, "Cartes géographiques...", p. 172.

there can be no more accurate or credible map, it gave me the courage to have it engraved on a copper plate, without looking at the expense.¹⁰⁷

Therefore, practical reasons determined del Chiaro to revise and to simplify the 1700 map, whose reading was hindered by its rather large size and by the multitude of information it contained. The 1700 large terrain map was unsuited for del Chiaro's editorial purposes.

Some scholars even speculated on the possible influence exerted by the Padua map of Wallachia upon Prince Dimitrie Cantemir and especially upon his map of Moldavia.¹⁰⁸ However, these speculations are based solely on the relationship between Cantemir and the Cantacuzinos and on their common ties with the great Greek scholar Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens.¹⁰⁹

The scholarly impact of the 1700 map of Wallachia significantly diminished in the eighteenth-century, as it became more and more difficult to find. D'Anville refers to the 1700 map of Wallachia in 1764, leading Romanian scholar George Vâlsan to mistakenly claim that the famed French geographer actually used it. Here are the exact words of d'Anville: "Il existe une carte particulière de la Valakie, dont l'auteur port le nom de Cantacuzène, & qui est dédiée à un Comnène, archevêque de Distrâ".¹¹⁰ Therefore, can it be concluded, only based on this statement, that d'Anville actually used the 1700 map of Wallachia? Most likely, he did not. First of all, on the map of Hungary, drawn up by d'Anville in between 1771 and 1779, the toponymy shows visible linguistic influences from Italian: Cornazzel, Affumazzi, Oddaia, etc., pointing thus to the use of the 1718 Italian revised copy. The French geographer seems to have also been used a map with Slavic toponymy, as it includes names such as "Alba Voda", instead of Balta Albă (in Râmnicul Sărat County), but there are no traces of the Greek names inscribed of the 1700 Paduan map. However, Vâlsan's misinterpretation was largely due to the scholarly state of the art, as the sole surviving copy of the 1700 map of Wallachia had not yet been discovered at the British Museum. Coming back to d'Anville's map of Hungary, the mountains form continuous-looking strings that seem to penetrate the Sub-Carpathian and the plain area. Such a detail is not to be found on the 1700 map of Wallachia, where major landforms have a much more compact appearance in the upper register. Therefore, the confusion was generated by d'Anville's use of the map included in the *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia* by Antonmaria del Chiaro. The French geographer found in the title of the 1718 map, all the details with regard to the 1700 original: "*Indice topografico del Principato di Valachia, diviso in XVII parti, secondo l'esattissima descrizione che ne diede il fu Conte Constantin Cantacuzeno al celeberrimo medico e filosofo Giovanni Comneno ora*

¹⁰⁷ A.M. del Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni...*, p. 9. The map has been placed at the beginning of the first chapter.

¹⁰⁸ G. Vâlsan, "Harta Moldovei...", p. 201.

¹⁰⁹ P.P. Panaitescu, "Contribuții la opera geografică...", p. 176.

¹¹⁰ M. d'Anville, "Mémoire sur les Peuples qui habitent aujourd'hui la Dace de Trajan", *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Tome 30, 1764, p. 261.

Arcivescovo di Dristra e dedicato al Celestissimo Constantino Brancovani Principe di Valachia".¹¹¹ Therefore, the famous French geographer d'Anville had not seen the 1700 map, but only the 1718 revised copy.¹¹²

There is one other eighteenth-century map inspired by the model provided by Antonmaria del Chiaro's publication, that of C. M. Roth, entitled *Carte speciale de la Principauté de Valachie* (St. Petersburg, 1771). In addition to the original data, pertaining to the economic and human geography, the Russian map also includes the battlefields of the war that began in 1768.¹¹³ Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all scholarly discussions of the Padua map of Wallachia were exclusively based on secondary sources, as the original was considered definitively lost, despite the numerous attempts to locate a surviving copy. History professor F. Aaron, from Saint Sava National College in Bucharest, mentions the existence of the map in the *Manualul de istoria Principatului Romaniei* in 1839. However, Aaron ascribed all merit to Constantin Brâncoveanu, stating that: "He produced the first map of the country that was engraved on a copper plate at Padua in Italy and served as a foundation for other later maps".¹¹⁴ The 1700 map of Wallachia printed in Padua had a major impact on the eighteenth-century cartography of the region. In the first decades after its publication, the map exerted a direct influence, while in the second part of the century its content was primarily known by proxy, that is through the 1718 revised printed copy.

CONCLUSIONS

This study investigates the functions that the map of Wallachia, published in Padua in 1700, fulfilled in the early eighteenth-century. Although the map, a single copy of which is preserved in the British Library in London, is one of the most important cartographic sources for the history of Wallachia, the subject is surprisingly under-researched. By considering the wider, political, economic, social and cultural regional context, looking at the various actors involved in the production of the map, interrogating its sources and exploring its cartographic features, I was able to identify three main functions that the map fulfilled. First, one of the cartographers' intentions was to make Constantin Brâncoveanu's Wallachia known on a larger European scale, which was largely successful. Secondly, the 1700 map was used as a travel guide, at least by some foreign diplomats visiting Wallachia in the early eighteenth-century. Thirdly, the map of Wallachia served as teaching material for the Princely Academy in Bucharest. Another aim of the study was to identify the possible sources of the geographical

¹¹¹ Online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962803x/fl.zoom.r=indice+topografico.langEN> last accessed on 10.11.2020.

¹¹² C.C. Giurescu, "Harta Stolnicului...", p. 27.

¹¹³ M. Popescu-Spineni, *România în izvoare geografice și cartografice...*, p. 189.

¹¹⁴ F. Aaron, *Manualul de istoria Principatului Romaniei*, București, 1839, p. XVII.

data used in the making of the map. By comparing and evaluating the 1700 map with other late seventeenth-century historical sources, such as the correspondence between Cantacuzino and Marsigli, the *Anatefter* of Constantin Brâncoveanu, the catalogue of Constantin Cantacuzino's library in Mărgineni, I managed to trace two different categories of sources. The mapmakers had access to some internal administrative sources, but they equally used some of the atlases or geographical books documented in the Mărgineni library. Finally, I also suggested that the latitudinal data for the city of Bucharest, recorded on the map, could be the result of some astronomical determinations and measurements made by no other than Chrysanthos Notaras and Constantin Cantacuzino.



Fig. 1. The map of Wallachia published in Padua in 1700. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 2. The latitude of the city of Bucharest and the wine-growing areas. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 4. The portrait of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu engraved on the map. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.



Fig. 5. The coat of arms on the map of Wallachia. Source: Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library, Maps Department, S 50.

THE MOTLEY MAP: THE GAME-CHANGING EFFECT OF ETHNOGRAPHIC CARTOGRAPHY ON THE ROMANIAN-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS, 1914–16

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Romania's negotiations to enter the First World War were a long and tortuous journey. A key issue in the negotiations was the list of Romanian territorial demands. The present article, based on newly published telegrams between Constantin Diamandy and Ion I.C. Brătianu as well as the discovery of some of the maps used in the negotiations analyses these territorial demands. In particular, both sides claimed to justify their opposing positions on the same ethnographic principle. The article argues that the two sides had very different understanding of the ethnographic principle. A key aspect in the negotiations was the use of ethnographic maps, which changed the understanding of the ethnographic principle. The maps were fundamental in the negotiations and shaped the demands and the result of the negotiations.

A key concept in the negotiations was that of territories inhabited by Romanians, in effect a notion of the ideal Romanian state based on history as well as ethnography. This concept in places conflicted with the ethnographic principle. The negotiations showed how Romanian diplomacy tried to merge the two principles and adapt them to the demands of the Russian side.

The article also analyses the territorial claims of Ion I.C. Brătianu in light of Romanian ethnographic cartography and the Romanian image of the ideal Romanian state. It argues that Ion I.C. Brătianu was in fact only demanding what most Romanian intellectual and political elites would consider to be Romanian territory and it discusses the role ethnography had in these ideal claims.

Keywords: Romanian ethnographic cartography, territories inhabited by Romanians, Romania's negotiations to enter the First World War, Constantin Diamandy, Ion I.C. Brătianu, Greater Romania.

In 1878 Romania was obliged, against its will, to accept the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin relating to its own territory. The same situation recurred in 1919 when Romania was treated as a minor power in regard to its Western border. In 1940 as well as in 1947 Romania was again forced to accept borders imposed by others. The only time in modern history when Romania gained acceptance on an equal footing with a Great Power was during the direct negotiations conducted between 1914–16 with Russia regarding its entry into the war. After many meetings with the Russian Foreign Ministry in Petrograd the talks ended with assurances that almost all of Romania's demands would be met. And yet, even before the negotiations ended, there were signs that the negotiations were not a success. Why

did they last so long and what went wrong? What really happened in Tsarskoye Selo?¹

This article re-examines Romania's negotiations to enter the First World War.² It is not, however, a complete history of these negotiations. It will leave aside the other clauses or the intricacies of diplomatic exchanges and will instead focus on the ethnographic principle as it was used at the core of the negotiations. We are very fortunate to have, for these negotiations, a series of telegrams exchanged between Ion I.C. Brătianu, Sergei Sazonov and their representatives with the other side, respectively. Taking as a basis the telegrams and the ethnographic maps used in the negotiations, the article explores the various ways in which both sides used and interpreted ethnographic maps. These written and graphic documents enable us to understand the principles underlying the negotiations, in particular the ethnographic principle and the way it was supposed to be applied in defining the frontiers.

For the history of the Romanian-Russian negotiations these documents provide a glimpse behind the scenes, an insight into the mindset of the main diplomatic players. They enable us to look beyond the text of the treaties into the thinking and contradictions of each side. Based on these insights, we argue that from the start both sides sought the same outcome: a Romanian state based on the ethnographic principle. Throughout the two years of negotiations they did not fundamentally change their position. Yet the two sides had two very different views of what the ethnographic principle should mean for Romania. Because of this, the negotiations were very long and were, in the end, a partial failure.

THE BACKGROUND

The start of the war took Romanian leaders by surprise. Romania had a secret alliance with the Triple Alliance dating from 1883, but Romania's relations with

¹ This article would not have been possible without the generous help of many individuals. Above all I owe mountains of gratitude to the professionals who helped me find, study and scan the maps and documents. From the National Archives of Romania I am particularly indebted to Codruța Mihailovici, Claudiu-Victor Turcitu, and Laura Dumitru. I particularly thank Mariana Radu from the Library of the Romanian Academy and Stelian Obiziuc from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Last but not least I am deeply indebted to Marian Coman and Robert Born, who edited this thematic section of the *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, for their infinite patience and very useful comments and suggestions.

² There is an extensive bibliography on these negotiations. The main titles in chronological order: C. Nuțu, *România în anii neutralității, 1914–1916*, București, 1972; A. Iordache, *Reorientarea politică a României și neutralitatea armată, 1914–1916*, București, 1998; V. Guzun, (ed.), *Intrarea României în Primul Război Mondial. Negocierile diplomatice în documente din arhivele ruse, 1914–1916*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016. See also Daniel Cain's introduction to the two volumes of Diamandy's correspondence published so far, E. Mușat and L. Dumitru (eds.), *Constantin Diamandi, ministru al României la Petrograd, Vol. I. Memorii, corespondență diplomatică 1914–1915*, București, 2020 (henceforth *Diamandy ANR I*); Idem, *Constantin Diamandi, ministru al României la Petrograd, Vol. II. Corespondență diplomatică 1915–1916*, București, 2021 (henceforth *Diamandy ANR II*).

these powers and especially with Austro-Hungary had cooled down considerably in previous years. According to the post-war memoirs of the general Radu Rossetti, for a few days Brătianu contemplated declaring war on Russia. If this was the case, he quickly changed course and settled on neutrality.³ In the crown council of July 21st, 1914, Brătianu argued for neutrality and, according to some sources, that the sufferings of Romanians in Transylvania were Romania's national interest.⁴ Brătianu's point of view settled the issue.⁵ Shortly after the council Brătianu would receive the first telegrams from the Russian Foreign Minister, Sergei Sazonov. This was the start of negotiations that would last for more than two years.

The negotiations were conducted between the Russian Foreign Minister and the Romanian minister-president residing in Petrograd and Bucharest respectively. They raised arguments, proposed and counter proposed through their representatives in each other's capital to whom they sent numerous telegrams which constitute the bulk of our primary sources.⁶ Constantin Diamandy⁷ was the Romanian legate in Petrograd and Stanislav Alfonsovici Poklevski-Koziell (from now on Poklevsky)⁸ was the Russian equivalent in Bucharest.

³ R. Rosetti, *Mărturisiri (1914–1919)*, București, 1997, p. 50. For the political atmosphere of those days see D. Cain, "Introducere", in *Diamandy ANR I*, p. 7–17.

⁴ The main witness accounts of the 1914 and 1916 crown councils have been gathered in I. Mamina, *Consiliu de Coroană*, București, 1997, p. 27–87. Brătianu's argument, that Romania's national interests were connected with the suffering of Transylvanian Romanians, is recorded by Costinescu and I.G. Duca, see Mamina, *Consiliu...*, p. 38 and 45.

⁵ King Carol I and some of the political leaders were leaning towards declaring war on Russia. Brătianu postponed the news of Italy's neutrality until the council to help influence the King and the opposition. See Mamina, *Consiliu...*, p. 27–52.

⁶ Many of these telegrams have been published in several volumes. The complete list of documents used in this article is listed in the Annex below. A few unpublished documents are also used in this article, from the archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest. Other documents will no doubt appear in the future as well.

⁷ Constantin Diamandy (sometimes spelled Diamandi) was one of Brătianu's closest political advisors. On his life see D. Cain, "Introducere" 2020, p. 12–17. Although he published little during his lifetime, he left a large number of documents to the Romanian National Archives. The two volumes of telegrams from Diamandy to Brătianu and vice-versa published by Elena Mușat and Laura Dumitru of the Romanian National Archives constitute the most important source for the present article: *Diamandy ANR I* and *Diamandy ANR II*. Diamandy himself published a series of articles on these negotiations: Ct. Diamandy, "La Grande Guerre vue du versant oriental. I. Un nouvel «homme malade» en Europe", in *Revue des deux mondes* LVII, 1927, 4 (15 decembre), p. 781–204; Idem, "La Grande Guerre vue du versant oriental, II. L'entrevue de Constantza", in *Revue des Deux Mondes* LVIII, 1928, 1 (1 janvier), p. 129–142; Idem, "La Grande Guerre vue du versant oriental. III. La tragédie d'une conscience royale" in *Revue des Deux Mondes* LIX, 1929, 4 (15 novembre), p. 794–820; Idem, "La Grande Guerre vue du versant oriental, IV. Ma mission en Russie. Octobre 1914 – Mai 1915", in *Revue des Deux Mondes* LX, 1930, 2 (15 novembre), p. 421–432. These articles, which chronologically cover the period until May 1915 amount to a combination of memoirs and essays on various diplomatic topics. Several versions of the events of the following weeks are preserved in his archives. Some are used in the present articles. One has already been published: Ct. Diamandy, "Cum s-a creat harta României Mari" in D. Preda, Șt. Pâslaru, M. Georgescu, M. C. Stănescu (eds.), *România în timpul primului război mondial. Mărturii documentare, vol. 1: 1914–1916*, București, 1996, p. 147–176.

⁸ On Poklevsky's career see S. Suceică, "A Russian Diplomat in Bucharest: S. A. Poklevski-Koziell and the 'Bessarabian Cause', 1919–1920", *Arhivele Totalitarismului XXII*, 2014, 1–2, p. 10–30.

THE TELEGRAMS AND MAPS AS HISTORICAL SOURCES

Diplomatic negotiations generally result in documents binding for both sides. Often these negotiations are prepared by published arguments, historical, ethnographic, economic or military which develop one's arguments. Yet these documents show already prepared arguments. Rarely however can we glimpse into the kitchen of these preparations to understand the nascent arguments. In the case of the Romanian-Russian negotiations, we know a great deal more and this is largely due to a wealth of telegrams, sometimes a few each day, written on the spur of the moment with a plethora of details and comments on the ongoing negotiations. The telegrams allow us a direct window into the thinking of each side, which would otherwise be lost. Thanks to them we have a number of succeeding drafts of the neutrality and later alliance agreements, together with comments, reports of conversations and suggestions on continuing the negotiations. We are also very fortunate to see how the players used and related to maps and overall to understand the role maps played in the negotiations. There were two types of maps used in the negotiations. Some were made specifically to provide clarifications and arguments. At other times pre-existing maps were used as authorities.

Most of the telegrams are messages exchanged between Diamandy and Brătianu and so they largely document the Romanian perspective to the negotiations. There are some telegrams between Poklevsky and Sazonov which help uncover the Russian perspective. Sazonov himself, in his memoirs did not dwell on the negotiations. An article written in 1930 by Albert Pingaud in 1930 however focuses on Sazonov's perspective. In his narrative of the negotiations, Pingaud often includes Sazonov's personal reactions or opinions, which the French author could have only obtained from the Russian Foreign Minister himself. Sazonov spent the last years of his life in France and may have shared his recollections with Pingaud.⁹ Further documents from Russian archives would offer a much more balanced view, but those available so far concord with the Romanian ones.

THE NARRATIVE

Negotiations started from the beginning of the war. Although Sazonov was hoping at first that Romania would join the war as soon as possible, he realized that the sympathies of the Romanian king, Carol I, as well as the pro-German sentiments of a good part of the political elite would preclude such an option. The Russian Foreign Minister had to settle for a convention for neutrality and this would be eventually signed in October 1914.

⁹ A. Pingaud, "Études Diplomatiques: L'Entente et la Roumanie. 3 Mai – 22 Aout 1915", *Revue des Deux Mondes* LVII, 1930, 1 (1er mai), p. 144–161. The article includes a map showing Pingaud's or perhaps Sazonov's interpretation of the two opposing sides (p. 148). Not all aspects raised by Pingaud appear in the telegrams between Diamandy and Brătianu, yet the key concepts are present.

A first batch of telegrams documents these lively negotiations. From the start, the convention was to include a clause in which Romania's territorial demands were described as a principle, or as it would later be called, a pact (no. 65).¹⁰ This principle, in the form in which it was finally signed, spoke of all provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy inhabited by Romanians (*les provinces austro-hongroises dont la population est roumaine*, no. 16). A map was supposed to be annexed, which turned the principle into actual territory. The convention was signed in hurry and the map was not ready, so it was decided to add the map at a later date. (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12).

There was also another clause, concerning Bukovina. This clause stated that :

Pour Bucovine principe majorité de la population servira de base à la délimitation des territoires à annexer soit par Russie soit par la Roumanie. Cette délimitation sera effectuée à la suite études spéciales sur les lieux (no. 12).

This clause apparently repeated the first, general one, identifying Romanian claims as those inhabited by Romanians, yet was only limited to one province. In fact the two clauses are quite different and they constitute, as we shall see, the key divergence in the negotiations.

The border map was supposed to be annexed to the text of the convention, but in the end the text was signed without the map. This caused some confusion as to the real border. King Carol I, commenting on an early draft of the convention called it imprecise. The king also referred to a 'vague reference' to Bukovina.¹¹

After the signing of the neutrality convention, Diamandy returned to Romania in the winter of 1914. The death of Carol I, the ascension of a new Romanian king, Ferdinand, well disposed towards the Entente, changed the political situation in Romania. Brătianu was also fearful that were Romania not to enter the war, it would not receive its full territorial demands even after the signing of the October convention. According to Sazonov, the convention "would only allow Romania to occupy Transylvania and southern Bukovina without our help" but did not mean that Romania would automatically receive those territories without fighting.¹²

It was also becoming clear to both parts that the text of the neutrality convention gave neither party what they wanted. As we shall show below, the text was interpreted by both parties in very different ways. Brătianu decided to start negotiations for an alliance treaty. In the spring of 1915 Diamandy returned to Petrograd with a map. This map was intended by the Romanian side to fulfil the terms of the October convention. The map should be stored in the archives of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Until now it has not been found, but as we can piece

¹⁰ From here on all references to documents refer to the annex published at the end of the article.

¹¹ Al. Marghiloman, *Note politique*, ed. Stelian Neagoe, București, 1993, vol. I, p. 179–180. See also below, n. 28.

¹² Quoted by V.N. Vinogradov, "Romania in the First World War: The Years of Neutrality, 1914–1916", *The International History Review* 14, (1992), 3, p. 455 and n. 10.

together from the correspondence it presented Romanian demands in the shape of a detailed border line (no. 20). In one of his memoirs, the Romanian minister describes this map as “on a large scale, on which our demands were marked with a blue line” (no. 29c). It was probably a large-scale map, probably a topographic one on which the demanded border was drawn. It was created by a certain Major Sârbu of the Cartographic service of the Army (no. 19). Although we do not have that map we can reconstruct the border from several telegrams which spell out the border in words (no. 20). Generally speaking, it is probably similar to the border found in the 1916 alliance treaty, as it was published in 1919 (**Fig. 1a**).

Revealing of the atmosphere reigning in Bucharest, after Diamandy arrived in Russia, Brătianu telegraphed several times with corrections to the border map (nos. 20, 25, 26). Diamandy seems to have been confused by what exactly to demand. He asked for a new map and in the meantime decided not to show Sazonov the map he had brought from Bucharest (nos. 21 and 29a–c). A new map was sent by mail but would not arrive in time for the crucial meeting on the territorial demands which took place on May 3rd 1915.

THE MEETING BETWEEN SAZONOV AND DIAMANDY ON MAY 3rd 1915

Having returned to Petrograd, Diamandy had a crucial meeting with Sazonov on May 3rd. The resumé of the meeting as presented by Pingaud (and perhaps based on Sazonov’s recollections) describes the meeting as a formal one in which the Diamandy presented orally the message he had been asked to deliver.¹³

We also have, for this meeting, Diamandy’s later recollections (texts nos. 29a–c). These are accounts Diamandy wrote at various points after the war and which are preserved in several manuscripts. One text was originally written in Romanian (no. 29a). Perhaps Diamandy meant to publish one himself and was preparing several versions.¹⁴ In the end he did not, and we do not have any internal clue as to which version of the texts was seen by Diamandy as more accurate.

In all drafts the meeting of May 3rd is given a particular importance. At this meeting Diamandy, who had decided not to show his own map, was surprised that Sazonov presented his own map. All versions of Diamandy’s memoirs record that this was a small-scale ethnographic map in which the Slavic element was green and

¹³ Pingaud, *Études Diplomatiques...*, p. 147.

¹⁴ In the end the text Diamandy published his own memoirs of the negotiations, in four episodes, between 1927 and 1930. The last episode ended right before this meeting and dealt with Italy’s entry in the war (C. Diamandy, “La Grande Guerre vue du versant oriental. Ma mission en Russie II, octobre 1914 – mai 1915”, *Revue des deux Mondes* LX, 1930, 2 (15 novembre), p. 421–432). In one of the versions of the May 3rd meeting Sazonov states: ‘now that Italy entered the war, Romania’s price has dropped’, it is probable that the various versions of the May the 3rd meeting are drafts which were meant to become episode V of Diamandy’s diplomatic memoirs.

that it was a few decades old, perhaps from 1878. In one text the map is described as coming from an Atlas. Diamandy stresses his indignation at the large amount of green on the map (which apparently made him see red):

Mr. Sazonov ... presented me with a map which, curious detail, dated from 1875 and in which the nationalities between the Tisza and the Pruth, that is Transylvania, the Banat and Bukovina, exactly the *territories* that had to be negotiated between us, were marked in colours and the dominant colour, at first sight, was green representing the Slavic element...I couldn't stop myself telling Mr. Sazonov: the map has a horrible appearance through the green colour and allow me to bring forth a more modern map than this one. (no. 29a)

I had a great surprise seeing the one he was showing me. For whatever reason, Mr. Sazonov used, on this occasion, an old atlas which dated from 1878 and in which most of Bukovina and more than 3/4th of the Banat were coloured in green, the colour of Slavic populations. ... I sent mr. Sazonov a map at the same time correct and without Slavic hachures... (no. 29b)

Sazonov presented me with a minuscule map from an atlas published in 1859 and where the green colour, which marked the Slavic element in Bukovina, Maramuresh and the Banat were abundant and, as I told him, made the map so motley as to make it difficult for the eye... (no. 29c)

Diamandy wrote these accounts over a decade after the meeting so could we trust his recollections as true or were they retouched, after the fact? There are signs that his reaction was genuine. His description of the map shows that he did not try to research it after the war. He did not remember the author and had doubts about the year of publication. He remembered vividly the predominant green colour and the small size of the map. Overall, the Romanian legate was full of shock and surprise. He did not expect an ethnographic map to be used in the negotiations. He seems to have understood, while studying the map, that patches of colour provided an excellent argument for border delimitations and that these did not correspond to his demands. The ethnographic map had a strong impact on the negotiations.

This impact was visible in his ongoing correspondence with Brătianu. Ethnographic maps do not appear in the telegrams before this meeting, but they become a regular issue afterwards (starting with no. 46). Diamandy started demanding ethnographic maps 'favourable to our claims'. We will examine this change further on.

THE RUSSIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP

Diamandy had another meeting with Sazonov on May 12th, in which the Banat and Bukovina were again discussed. Sazonov again produced an ethnographic map (nos. 47 and 48), described as bearing the date of 1878. There is no reason to believe that Sazonov used another map. In both meetings he probably used the same one so the most probable date is 1878.

- So what clues did Diamandy give to help us understand what map Sazonov used?
- **Date:** 1859, 1875 or 1878. The latter appearing in a telegram written shortly after the meetings, so the stronger one.
 - **Colour:** it was a coloured map in which each ethnic group is allocated one colour. Slavic colour is green. Both Serbs and Ruthenians seem to have shared the colour green.
 - **Size:** it was small and came from an atlas.
 - **Origin:** it was “an official Hungarian map” (no. 47), based on the Austro-Hungarian census.

Based on these clues we could not precisely identify the map. Diamandy did not provide the author and the biggest difficulty is the date of the map, 1878. No official Austro-Hungarian ethnographic maps were produced in this year. Yet the year could refer to the redrawing of borders in the Berlin Congress of 1878, the most recent date Romania’s borders had been changed, not to the actual year of the map. Leaving the authorship and date aside, the other details about the map are coherent with each other. Diamandy states that the map was based on official statistics. This means that the map most certainly came from German or Austro-Hungary. Many ethnographic maps from these countries presented the Slavs in Green.

The most useful details given by Diamandy is that of size. The map was of small size and came from an atlas. These maps were numerous but fortunately for us very similar. The most popular maps used in Atlases in the period, be they Meyer’s *Lexikon*, Freytags, Schultzer’s or other atlases had ethnographic maps of the Austro-Hungarian lands which were very similar to each other. They followed the same principle of ethnographic representation, that is one colour to identify the majority population, ignoring minorities. They were popularization maps not created directly from statistics but from redrawing a source, authoritative map. This source was Kiepert’s 1869 (updated in 1882) map. Kiepert’s map strictly followed the official data, the Austro-Hungarian census. It had had been used in negotiations in Berlin in 1878 and was by far regarded as the most authoritative ethnographic map of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of the century¹⁵. “Even today must one use Kiepert’s map”,¹⁶ lamented Aurel Popovici in his 1906 famous project of the United States of Greater Austria. Many cartographers were, at the turn of the twentieth-century, highly critical of Kiepert’s mono-colour system of representation and were developing more advanced methods. The map Sazonov used however, dating from the 1870s was probably based on Kiepert’s system.

We can reconstruct Sazonov’s map using Kiepert’s 1882 ethnographic map of the Danube lands.¹⁷ This was an updated version of his 1869 map, with the new

¹⁵ A case in point was that of Romanian geographers in this period. See *Analele Academiei Române, S. II, XXXIII, 1910–1911, Partea Administrativă și Dezbaterile*, p. 224.

¹⁶ A. C. Popovici, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Großösterreich. Politische Studien zur Lösung der nationalen Fragen und staatsrechtlichen Krisen in Osterreich – Ungarn*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 287.

¹⁷ H. Kiepert, *Völker- und Sprachen-Karte von Österreich und den Unter-Donau-Ländern*, Berlin, 1882. URL: <https://goobi-viewer.univie.ac.at/viewer/fullscreen/AC03904675/1/>. Last accessed: 25.04.2022.

borders drawn after the congress of Berlin in 1878. We can be confident that the map Sazonov used was similar to this one, albeit on a smaller scale. On Kiepert's map (**Fig. 2a**) we can see compact green areas in the very areas under discussion: the North and West of Bukovina (**Fig. 2b**) as well as the South-West of the Banat (**Fig. 2c**).

THE IMPACT OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP

After early May 1915 meetings with Sazonov, Diamandy urgently telegraphed Brătianu to ask for ethnographic maps “advantageous to the Romanian side” (no. 47) as well as other ethnographic bibliography and statistics to support his claims. Two days later Brătianu sent a memorandum on the Banat drafted by Nicolae Iorga, which he described as being “written in haste” (no. 49). Brătianu warned that the memorandum should not be quoted directly, perhaps fearful that it was, in part, inexact (no. 49). In the Diamandy files of the Romanian archives there is an unsigned, handwritten memorandum on the Banat which could well be that of Iorga (no. 51). The memorandum speaks, as was the norm in Romanian historiography, of Romanian historical rights on the Banat, based on the Dacian past, on the testimony of the Byzantine historian and rhetorician Priscus and on the testimony of the Italian scholar and natural scientist Francesco Grisellini (from 1774). The memorandum argued that if there are Serbs in the Banat it is because of immigration after the defeat of Kosovo Polje (1389) and of course to the vicissitudes of Romanian history. This type of argumentation was characteristic of argumentations of many Romanian intellectuals during the war and of the Romanian delegation at the Peace Congress of 1919.

THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION PRESENTS ITS OWN ETHNOGRAPHIC MAPS

Besides the memorandum, Brătianu sent Diamandy Romanian-made ethnographic maps, as described in a telegram dated May 17th (no. 50). There Brătianu spoke of a map of Banat, one of the areas under discussion. As it had happened before, as soon as the map was sent, it was discovered that changes were needed. In the same telegram in which the sending of the map was announced, Brătianu asked Diamandy to modify it by suppressing the ethnic data on the margins.

Until now the Romanian ethnographic map of the Banat has not been found.¹⁸ By a fortuitous circumstance a manuscript map preserved in the collection of the Library of the Romanian Academy, called *an Ethnographic Sketch of the Lands of*

¹⁸ In the telegram (no. 50) Brătianu asks Diamandy not to use the data on the sides of the map. Perhaps this lack of trust means that Diamandy destroyed it.

Hungary inhabited by Romanians, dated to 1915 bears a hand-written note: ‘Map which was used as a base for the diplomatic negotiations in the spring of 1915’¹⁹ (from now on called *General Sketch*).

This map is focused on the lands of the crown of Hungary, so it does not cover Bukovina, but it does cover the Banat. Yet another manuscript map, covering only Bukovina, preserved in at least two copies bearing a similar title and date to the *General Sketch*.²⁰ It is called an *Ethnographic Sketch of the Lands of Bukovina inhabited by Romanians* (from now on called the *Bukovina Sketch*). Not only does the title use the same wording as the *General Sketch*, but the fonts and the legend show remarkable similarities. There are, to my knowledge, no other Romanian made ethnographic maps that present these similarities. It is very probable that the *Bukovina Sketch* was also used in the negotiations.

Both maps prominently display administrative divisions, such as counties, which as we shall see serve a key role in Romania’s claims. Although Diamandy complained at length about the green colour of the Slavic hachures, the Romanian ethnographic maps are also full of shades of green, this time representing Romanians.

Both maps use a more complex method of ethnic representation than Kiepert’s map. Hachures are used to display minorities and the width of this hachure is proportional to the strength of the minority. The general map has 20%, 30% and 50% divisions while the Bukovina one 5%, 10%, 20%, 30%, 35% and 40%. The traditional, mono-colour system of representing ethnographic maps, such as the one used by Kiepert, was slowly being challenged in the early years of the twentieth-century. The main disadvantage of the mono-colour system was the absence of minorities. There was also no differentiation between urban and rural areas. Even though the majority of Eastern Europe still lived in villages, urban population was increasing.

THE GRAPHIC SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION

In the first decades of the twentieth-century there was no generally agreed principle on the principles of ethnographic representation. There was a general dissatisfaction with the mono-colour system, in particular in regards to minorities and urban areas. In the mono-colour system minorities were completely ignored while cities were dwarfed by their immediate surrounding countryside. When the population of the city was different from that of the surrounding villages it would not be distinguishable at all on the map. There was no agreement as to how to improve it. Hachures, shades or symbols were all tried, but no system was perfect.

A good example of one of the most complex systems attempted was the 1915 map of Paul Langhans (**Fig. 5a**). The map provided a wealth of details. Yet

¹⁹ BAR, Cabinetul de Stampe, Muzică, Hărți, D.XVII.55.

²⁰ The one presented here is preserved in the map collection of the University of Cluj (BCU Cluj, Catalog hărți și atlase, 62/5). Another copy is preserved at the Romanian Academy, BAR, Cabinetul de Stampe, Muzică, Hărți, C.XLI.108.

Bukovina was a small province and so Langhans produced a map on a very large scale (1:200.000). If the map needed to cover a larger area and so the scale was smaller, some detail would inevitably be lost. We can observe this on another Langhans map published in the same year, covering all Romanian population within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the scale of 1:1.500.000. That map still provides a lot of details for Bukovina but the urban population has been sacrificed (**Fig. 5c**). Another particularity of Bukovina was that the population was clearly divided with Romanians occupying the South and East and Ruthenians occupying the North and West. This situation did not repeat everywhere. In the Banat, the same map of Langhans did not allow a clear division between Romanians and Serbs (**Fig. 5d**).

The fundamental reality of ethnographic cartography was that the more complex the system, the better was the level of accuracy. However, the map became clogged and difficult to read. Simpler systems offered the advantage of clarity yet they sacrificed accuracy. A successful cartographer should try to reach a good balance, always keeping in mind the purpose of the map.²¹

The *Bukovina Sketch* does present a more complex method of representation than the mono-colour one used by Kiepert. It falls short of a full representation of minorities, but this could be explained by the need to use the map to draw clear borders. The system of representation chosen by the Romanian cartographer and in particular the absence of other ethnic groups besides Romanians and Ruthenians shows that he did indeed have negotiations in mind.

There is an important difference between the *General* and *Bukovina Sketches*. In Bukovina only Ruthenians and Romanians are considered. Other ethnic groups, such as Hungarians, Polish, Germans or Jews are ignored. In Bukovina this was a key issue, in particular in and around the capital Czernowitz.

The general map considers other minorities, in particular German and Hungarian. Yet here the minorities did not matter so much. The most important contentious point was with the Serbs who did not occupy any major urban centres on the borders of the regions Romanian claimed, with the possible exception of Timișoara/ Temesvár. Timișoara does not appear directly in the negotiations.

To understand what these choices meant we can study in more detail the case of the capital of Bukovina, Czernowitz. The city comprised roughly 10% of the population of the province (80.000 out of 800.000), Czernowitz fell on the rift between Ruthenian population in the North and Romanian population in the South. In the mono-colour system (**Fig. 2c**) the rift was clearly visible and it creates the impression that the city is inhabited by either Romanians or Ruthenians, or by a mixture of both. Yet these two nationalities made up only about 33% of the city population in 1910, the other inhabitants numbering Jews (more than 33%), Germans or Poles.²² In the mono-colour system it would be completely

²¹ This is the argument of E. de Martonne, "Essai de carte ethnographique des pays roumains", *Annales de Géographie* 29, 1920, 158 (15 mars), p. 87–88.

²² The exact numbers are: Romanian 13.440; Ruthenian 15.253; Jewish 28.613; German 12.747; Polish 14.893; Other 1.182. From C. Turliuc, M. Șt. Ceaușu, D. Vitcu, eds., *Izvoare statistice privind mutațiile demografice la est de Carpați în secolele XX–XXI*, Iași, 2011, p. 166–171.

indistinguishable from the surrounding countryside (**Fig. 2c**). In Langhans' map of Bukovina (**Fig. 5b**) the city is clearly distinguishable from the surrounding countryside. In Langhans' general map of the Romanian population Czernowitz fell within a patch of Ruthenian population.

The maps drawn by the Romanian delegation for the negotiations used a medium level of complexity for the period. The level of detail and of clarity was overall no better or worse than many other maps for the purpose of drawing borders.

ACCURACY

Are the Romanian ethnographic maps accurate? The question of accuracy is always on someone's mind when studying an ethnographic map. It is however a very difficult question to answer, especially when our data is incomplete.

The reference to statistics in one of the telegrams (no. 50) is in our view important. Maps are only graphic representations of statistical data. Cartographers with good reputations in that period published or referenced the statistical source of their maps. Many, such as Kiepert or Langhans used the official Austro-Hungarian census data. De Martonne in 1919 slightly modified the census data but carefully described his alterations²³. The maps we discussed above may have been accompanied by data which are now lost. Without the data we cannot see how these cartographers turned statistical numbers into patches of colour.

In the absence of the statistical data on which the maps were drawn, the only way of providing an answer to the question of accuracy is by comparative analysis with other contemporaneous maps.

We can overall note that the *Bukovina Sketch* (**Fig. 4a**) shows more Romanian population in areas where the Langhans map of Bukovina does not (**Fig. 5a**), but that area is mountainous and hardly populated. When the population is limited to a few villages it is difficult to know exactly how much colour each village occupies.

However, if we study the map in comparison with the Langhans (**Fig. 5a**) and the Kiepert (**Fig. 2c**) maps, we can notice a fundamental difference. In both German maps the two dominant colours of the Romanian and Ruthenian populations is overall equal. This seems overall as a balanced result given that the two groups of population were roughly equal. In the *Bukovina Sketch*, the Romanian colour occupies visibly more territory than the Ruthenian one.²⁴

The *General Sketch* (**Fig. 3a**) however presents a rather picture. It shows a strong Romanian presence in the areas to the West of Arad-Oradea-Satu Mare line.

²³ E. de Martonne, "Essai de carte ethnographique ...", p. 81–98.

²⁴ How much colour should be attributed to each ethnic group is a difficult question for ethnographic cartographers. If one studies a certain locality, its colour should be based on the ethnicity of the place. What should one do when there is a strong disparity in the population size of adjacent localities? A good example is the city of Czernowitz, surrounded by villages of Romanians and Ruthenians. In many maps (such as *the Bukovina Sketch*) the importance of the city tends to be lost if surrounded by villages of different ethnic groups.

This presence is not attested by any other map of the period.²⁵ Whatever the data behind the map would have been and no matter the interpretation, it would be difficult to defend a cartographic solution not adopted by any other cartographer.

To complete the analysis of the maps we need first to study the language and concepts used in the negotiations.

THE PAINFUL WAY TOWARDS A COMPROMISE

We unfortunately do not know what impression Romanian ethnographic maps had on Sazonov. There is no hint in the telegrams preserved so far that the Romanian ethnographic maps were even presented to the Russian Foreign Minister. We do know that after the May meetings Sazonov will maintain that Romanian claims do not respect the ethnographic principle, even though they invoke it (nos. 30, 37, 38, 54, 65).

As both sides seemed entrenched in their positions, a compromise solution was proposed by one of Brătianu's closest collaborators and Finance Minister, Emil Costinescu. We first hear of it in Poklewsky's telegram dated April 19th (no. 28). Diamandy also mentions it (no. 59) so it seems that everyone was aware of it. This solution gave Romania the capital of Czernowitz and most of the line of the Pruth which Brătianu had demanded. It however gave Russia the West part of the Bukovina, facing Galicia.

The so called Costinescu line seems to have originally been proposed by Iancu Flondor in a memorandum to Brătianu dated February 1915 (no. 17). Flondor was a native of Bukovina and politically active in supporting Romania's claims.²⁶ His memorandum was extremely well prepared, focusing on the historical aspect of the negotiations, but also on the ethnographical and geographical ones. Flondor argued that the Ruthenian population was the result of immigration, of Ruthenization and of the Austrian policy of asking the inhabitants what language they spoke rather than what their identity was. As a result Ruthenians increased disproportionately to Romanians between 1870 and 1910. Many of these remarks were common among his contemporaries, in particular the critique of the Austrian census policies. He then presented a table of villages in Bukovina in which he records the ethnicity of the local nobles, who were, in their vast majority, Romanian.

At the end of the memorandum Flondor attaches his own ethnographic map of the province (Fig. 6). Using a topographical map he drew a red line which separated the West and North of Bukovina, compactly occupied by Ruthenians and the rest which was, as one moved east, "mixed but more and more Romanian". This line seems to be identical to the one proposed by Costinescu (nos. 28, 59, 60).

²⁵ We can compare it for example with Kiepert's map (fig. 2a), with Langhans' 1915 general map (P. Langhans, *Der rumänische Anteil der Bevölkerung Ungarns, der Bukowina und Bessarabiens*, Berlin 1915), or with de Martonne's 1919 map (Em. de Martonne, *Répartition des Nationalités dans les pays ou dominant les Roumains*, Paris, 1919). See also E. de Martonne, "Essai de carte ethnographique ...". p. 88.

²⁶ On Iancu Flondor see E. Satco, ed., *Enciclopedia Bucovinei*, vol. I, A-F, Iași, 2004, p. 753–756 and Ctin. Loghin, *Iancu cavalier de Flondor (1865–1924)*, Cernăuți, 1944.

Flondor's line presented Brătianu with a well thought compromise supported by a rather balanced understanding of the ethnographic principle. While it still left Ruthenian ethnic territory on the Romanian side, there was also Romanian ethnic territory north of the Pruth to be left to the Russians, so it proposed a quid pro quo. Critically it left Romania the capital of the Province, Czernowitz. Flondor's position was also a step forward from the traditional Romanian concept of countries inhabited by Romanians²⁷ and he took account well of the new method of using ethnographic maps. Flondor concluded: "*Without the Pruth as a border, no deal.*" (italics in the original).

Both Flondor and Costinescu were close friends of Brătianu. Their proposal was also presented in the ethnographic map sent to Petrograd. So, it is safe to assume that Brătianu himself was prepared to accept this line as a solution to the negotiations.

The Costinescu line was more than Sazonov had been initially prepared to concede. Yet he would eventually do so on June 4th 1915. The Russian Foreign Minister telegraphed Poklevsky: "Russia has decided to satisfy all Romanian claims in Bukovina..." (no. 60). In the telegram announcing the same decision, Diamandy recorded Sazonov's informal comments "adopting the Costinescu line we are abandoning to you 30.000 Orthodox Ruthenians. He added *en passant*: we ask you not to deprive them of schools or to denationalize them." (no. 60)

The territorial negotiations would continue for a few weeks. On June 27th Sazonov accepted all of Brătianu's territorial demands (no. 64). Yet there are signs that these concessions were made only under extreme pressure. When Romania would eventually sign the Alliance Treaty in 1916, the new Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, Boris Vladimirovich Stürmer asked Western powers to bear in mind that Romanian claims were exaggerated and would need to be reinterpreted (no. 64). It was another way of stating the hitherto Russian position: Romanian claims overstepped the ethnographic principle, although they claimed to be based on it (nos. 30, 37, 38, 54, 65).

LET'S AGREE TO DISAGREE: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLE

It is by now clear that although the negotiations had ended successfully the two sides in fact kept their position. Brătianu would remain with the illusion that his demands had been met, while the Russian side had merely postponed them until after the war. Both sides claimed to base their claims on the ethnographic principle, which was the very key point of difference invoked by both sides and from which neither wanted to back down.

²⁷ For these see below, p. 142 ff.

In fact, this difference appeared from the very start of the negotiations in July 1914. From the very first drafts of the neutrality convention two ethnographic clauses were included which spoke of the ethnographic principle: a general one and a particular one for Bukovina.²⁸ In October 1914 this seemed to make both sides happy. Yet by the spring of 1915 both sides returned to negotiate completely dissatisfied with the text of the same convention.

When Diamandy returned to Petrograd in the spring of 1915, he told Poklewsky that he had instructions to conclude an alliance treaty “based on our (i.e. Russian, n.a.) *first proposals* to Romania” (no. 18, italics by us). Among the recently published telegrams in the second volume of Diamandy’s correspondence is a report of a conversation between Diamandy and the British ambassador to Russia, dated 24th of May 1915 (no. 44). Diamandy in his conversation with the ambassador stated his bewilderment at the Allied rejections of Romanian demands. The text of the neutrality convention already had them, Diamandy claimed, he was just presenting the map which illustrated the text. Diamandy was not lying. He had come to the negotiations with a large-scale topographic border map. Romanian demands were not different from the 1914 ones, they were the same, but expressed in a clearer way, in a cartographic form.

Ironically, the same position was taken by Sazonov, after the famous meeting on May 3rd (no. 31). Writing to Poklewsky, Sazonov complained that “the frontier in Bukovina must be drawn, *as we have convened* in our 18th September convention (no. 16, n.a.), based on the *ethnographic principle*, admitting only smaller corrections in regard to reciprocal exchange of small areas, to draw the frontier better.” (italics by us). The same conclusion was drawn in 1930 by Albert Pingaud, perhaps based on Sazonov’s recollections. In this text Sazonov understood, on May the 3rd 1915, that Romanian claims are an exposition of the ethnographic principle as stated in the October 1914 convention, but that in his view they wildly overstretch that principle²⁹.

In fact, when negotiations restarted in the spring of 1915, both sides looked back to the 1914 convention. In that text Romania’s Western and Northern border was presented as based on the ethnographic principle. For both sides the 1915 negotiations meant transforming that principle into a map. As it turned out the way each side interpreted this principle was radically different.

THE TWO OVERLAPPING CLAUSES

Why was there a need, in the 1914 convention for two overlapping clauses?

There was a general clause in which both sided undertook to “reconnait le droit de la Roumanie d’annexer les provinces austro-hongroise dont la population

²⁸ See above, p. 129.

²⁹ Pingaud, *Études Diplomatiques...*, p. 147–148. The article also presents a map of the Romanian proposals and Russian counter-proposals (fig. 1b). This map differs slightly from the Romanian 1919 map (**Fig. 1a**) in Maramuresh and Transcarpathia.

est roumaine” (no. 16). This clause in fact referred to all provinces, Bukovina included. Yet, immediately following the first clause, there was a second one that stated that “cette délimitation sera établie dans la Bucovine par une commission spéciale et composée sur le principe de la majorité mathématique de telle ou telle population...” (no. 16). Placed next to each other this meant that outside of Bukovina the principle of the mathematical majority of the population would not be applied. It is also a sign that the two sides were just beginning to understand what the other side meant by ‘Romanian provinces’.

The wording of the two clauses suggests that the Bukovina clause was added to the general one. This is supported by the first documents as well. The very first telegraphic exchanges about convention does not seem to mention Bukovina, at least on the Romanian side. King Carol I also complained in late August of only vague mentions to Bukovina. In a meeting with leaders of the conservative party he showed that he was informed about the ongoing negotiations with the Russians. In his diary entry of August 24th / September 5th, Marghiloman notes that the king spoke of “the country inhabited by a majority of Romanians” which is exactly the same wording as used in the Diamandy telegrams in the same period. The king also added that he knew nothing of Bukovina.³⁰ The same meeting is attested by another conservative leader present, Nicolae Filipescu. In both texts it is emphasized that the text of the convention was not clear without a map, which had not yet arrived.³¹

The other provinces appear to have been the issue of discussion even later. In the first months the question of the Banat was not raised at all in the negotiations. At least until October 1914 it seems that the only provinces under discussion were Transylvania and Bukovina. On September 10th (no. 4) Sazonov spoke exactly of these two entities and the same is repeated next day. In the journal of Maurice Paléologue, France’s ambassador to Petrograd, he notes on August 6th that Sazonov was offering “the territories inhabited today by a Romanian population, that is largest part of Transylvania and Northern Bukovina.”³² It is interesting that

³⁰ Al. Marghiloman, *Note Politice*, vol. I, p. 179–180: “September the 5th (1914, n.a.). Sinaia. ... Audience with the King (Carol I, n.a.). Four points. 1. Verification of Russian proposals. For the first point, the King: nothing precise in the Russian proposal, only once formulated at the beginning of August. “The country inhabited by a majority of Romanians”. They should have sent an annexed map in 3 days, but it never arrived. And for Bukovina, only a vague mention.” (trans. by author).

³¹ N. Polizu-Micșunești, ed., *Nicolae Filipescu. Însemnări 1914–1916*, București, 2017, p. 122: “Filipescu knows about Marghiloman’s audience with the King. About the agreement with Russia, the King knows only what Brătianu let him know, that the Russians are not sending the map with the details of the agreement, which, Filipescu thinks, shows the perfidy of Brătianu because he himself knows the exact opposite is true from Poklevsky.” (trans. by author).

³² M. Paléologue, *Rusia țarilor în vremea Marelui Război. 20 iulie 1914 – 2 iunie 1915*, 2017, p. 78: “6/19 August 1914. Sazonov tells me that he has called on the legate of Romania, Diamandy, to ask for the immediate cooperation of the Romanian army against Austria. In return he offers to guarantee to the cabinet in Bucharest the right to annex all territories inhabited today by a Romanian population, that is the largest part of Transylvania and Northern Bukovina; what’s more the Entente powers will guarantee Romania the integrity of its territory.” trans. by author.

Paléologue felt the need to explain what territories inhabited by Romanians actually mean. The same lack of familiarity with the detailed ethnographic situation (who can blame him) could explain Northern Bukovina as a mistake for Southern Bukovina. Similarly, another conservative politician, Nicolae Grigore Polizu-Micșunești, a close collaborator of Nicolae Filipescu wrote in his diary on September 6th, 1914: “Everyone is worried that Russia will take Transylvania and Bukovina before we have entered the conflict.”³³ The Italian representative in Bucharest wrote a report on September 25th in which he described Romanian aspirations as the “territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians, that is part of Bukovina, Transylvania and most of the territories between Transylvania and the Tisza.”³⁴

These contemporary testimonies show that Romanian requests were formulated during the negotiations. Initially the discussion centred on a general clause speaking of Romanian territories/provinces/countries. Bukovina, situated between Romania and Tsarist Russia was the object of a special clause. Other Slavic population in the Banat or Maramuresh seems to have become a subject at a later date. This continuous series of stumbling blocks is perhaps telling of the haste in which the negotiations had been concluded. It also allows us to understand what the two clauses of the convention meant. Sazonov was ready to allow Romania claim anything it wanted from Hungary and so was content with the general clause. When it came to Slavic populations, he needed to add the second more detailed cause about Bukovina³⁵. These acted as safeguards against Romanian demands. The Romanian side resented these safeguards and seems to have preferred to return to the original, general, clause (no. 40).

What Sazonov meant by the ethnographic principle is quite clear. He proposed Romania occupy only *that part* of Bukovina inhabited by Romanians. For the Russian Foreign Minister, the ethnographic principle meant gathering statistical data in the field and separating those villages with Romanians from those with Ruthenians (nos. 6, 7). On the contrary, he had little interest in defining exactly what Romania claimed to be ‘territories inhabited by Romanians’ outside of Bukovina.

³³ Polizu-Micșunești, ed., *Nicolae Filipescu...*, p. 124 (trans. by author).

³⁴ Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, *1918 la români. Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român. Documente externe, 1879–1916*, vol. 1, București, 1983, p. 503–504: “Bucharest September 25th 1914, 22h, Rome, September 26th 1914, Nr. 9521. I am informed, strictly confidentially, that last night the Russian minister gave Brătianu the following proposals from which to choose: 1. In case of military cooperation, the obligation of the Triple Entente to ensure Romania’s right to rule the entire territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians, that is part of Bukovina, Transylvania and most of the territories between Transylvania and the Tisza. 2. In case of neutrality, only Transylvania.... (s) Fasciotti “(trans. by author).

³⁵ He states the same opinion in his memoirs: “There was no difficulty about giving Rumania parts of Hungary, populated by Rumanians, who were anxious to escape from the Magyar yoke; it was a foregone conclusion that they should be united to Rumania. Difficulties arose when M. Bratiano claimed provinces in which the Rumanian element was much less prevalent, as for instance in Bukovina and Banat, where Russian and Serbian interests were involved” quote from S. Sazonov, *Fateful Years, 1909–1916: The Reminiscences of Serge Sazonov*, London, 1928, p. 265.

COUNTRIES, LANDS, REGIONS, PARTS, PROVINCES, TERRITORIES

The various drafts of the military convention of 1914 show a continuous shift in the wording of the ethnographic clause. They speak of *pays*, *provinces*, *regions*, *parties* and *territoires*. In chronological order the terms used are the following³⁶:

No. doc.	Date	Terms used
2	8 Aug. 1914	The countries of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanian population
3	10 Aug. 1914	The countries of Hungary whose majority population is Romanian
4	11 Sept. 1914	The territories of Transylvania and Bukovina inhabited by Romanians in the majority
6	11 Sept. 1914	Transylvania and Bukovina inhabited by a Romanian population in the majority
8	13 Sept. 1914	The provinces of Austro-Hungary whose population is Romanian
9	13 Sept. 1914	All regions form the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians
10	15 Sept. 1914	The Russian and the Romanian parts of Bukovina
12	15 Sept. 1914	The Regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians
13	15 Sept. 1914	The Regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians
15	18 Sept. 1914	Territories of the monarchy inhabited by Romanians
16	20 Sept. 1914	The Austro-Hungarian provinces whose population is Romanian

What made the negotiators be so unsure of the terminology? What was the difference, in their mind, between all these terms? Taken in abstract, several interpretations of each term are possible. The term *province* points to administrative units such as the Banat. *Province* is similar to *region* although the latter could refer to smaller administrative units such as a county. Other terms however, such as *territoire*, are vaguer and could be applied to arbitrarily defined areas such as the partition of a single province in two. Yet the context shows that for the diplomatic actors in these negotiations these terms had a similar meaning.

The most telling of all these terms is the term *country* (in French *pays*, in Romanian *țară*) which was used right in the beginning of the negotiations (nos. 2, 3 and 4). The term *pay* usually refers to a historical and political construct with well-defined borders. It is a complex concept that combines people, soil, economy, routes of transportation and ethnicity. It is not a flexible concept that could be connected to an ethnographic map.

LES PAYS ROUMAINES AND ROMANIAN ‘NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS’

The term ‘country’, in Romanian cartography, referred to Romanian national aspirations ever since the unification of 1859. The first map to use this term

³⁶ The translations of the following terms from the original French were made by the author.

appeared in 1864, even before the name Romania became official. It was Filipescu-Dubău's *The Map of the United Principalities of Romania and of the neighbouring countries of Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia*³⁷. These countries were not Romania's neighbours, but precisely those regions Romania claimed. The habit of referring national aspirations as *countries*³⁸ stuck and by 1914 almost all maps and schoolbooks used it. Although the list of countries that formed part of the ideal national state continued to change, they were still referred to by this term of *neighboring countries inhabited by Romanians*. They were present in all history and geography schoolbooks. Take for example the map of Traian Georgescu, *Romania and the neighbouring countries inhabited by Romanians*, Bucharest 1915 (Fig. 7).³⁹ It covers the land between the Tisza, Dniester and Danube, with the addition of Dobrudja. The title of this map implies that it is an ethnographic map, yet it does not represent ethnographic presence through patches of colour or other means. It is not based on census data. It simply takes it for granted that these countries *are* inhabited by Romanians.

It is not by chance that the wording of Traian Georgescu's map is exactly the one of the ethnographic clause in the negotiations. The idea of 'countries inhabited by Romanians' referred specifically to those territories where the ethnographic principle favoured (in a general way) Romanians. It did not mean those territories where "the mathematical majority of the population" was Romanian. Brătianu and Diamandy were demanding in the negotiations Romanian national aspirations with which they were familiar. They, from their point of view, were not motivated by greed, but by the Romanian cultural image of what national aspirations should be.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLE AS SEEN BY THE ROMANIAN SIDE

For the Romanian side the ethnographic principle should be understood as a combination of history and ethnography. It meant an area, as much as possible historically defined and maintaining administrative and political borders, which was inhabited at least in part by Romanians and which was claimed based on historical grounds.

The Timok, for example was inhabited by Romanians, but was not historically part of Romanian national aspirations, so Diamandy or Brătianu never

³⁷ N. Filipescu-Dubău, *Charta Principatelor Unite ale României cu circumvecinele terri Banatul, Transilvania, Bukowina și Bassarabia redigiata după cele mai sigure izvoare și dedicate în altimei sale Alessandru Ioan I, primulu Domnu alu României*, Iasi, 1864.

³⁸ On the implications of this vocabulary see M. Coman, "Spațiul Românesc. Interpretarea teleologică a geografiei naționale", *Revista Istorică* XVII, 2006, 1–4, p. 54–61; D.A. Lixandru, "L'invention de la «Grande» Roumanie: nationalisme territorial et pratique géographique jusqu'au lendemain de la première guerre mondiale", *Romanian Journal of Geography*, 63, 2019, 1, p. 19–40.

³⁹ T. Georgescu, *Harta generală a României cu țările învecinate locuite de români*, București, 1915. The 1:900.000 scale this map was probably designed for public display in schools and other state institutions.

claimed it. Neither had Dobrudja been until 1878 when Romania was forced by the Great Powers to accept it. After 1878 it was gradually incorporated in the “territories inhabited by Romanians” and became a ‘Romanian country’.⁴⁰

Pursuing this concept meant that Romanian elites did not pay much attention to the actual ethnography of those territories. Very few ethnographic maps were drawn in Romania until 1915 and most of those focused on Cutzo-Vlachs in Greece or Macedonia. Romania’s claims were not justified by the disposition of Romanian ethnic population in the field. Rather Romania claimed provinces which had Romanian population and were seen as part of Romanian history. True, a Romanian country could contain other ethnic groups as well, but this was seen as the result of immigration or forced de-nationalization. The presence of other ethnic groups did not break the unity nor change the Romanian character of a country.

It was also argued that provinces were historical entities which could not be divided, even when ethnographically this would be possible. The clearest case was Bukovina, where population was largely homogenous and could be easily divided on ethnographic lines. Flondor argued against small scale separations in his memorandum on Bukovina (no. 20):

It is only natural that on the basis of the principle of nationalities the relative majority of the population will decide the fate of the territory it inhabits. It is also incontestable that small portions – communes or villages – will not be considered, but only larger territory with natural borders as much as possible....

Flondor’s position was shared by many in Romania’s political elites and especially by Brătianu. One of his closest collaborators, Gheorghe Duca, will state in his memoirs:

As for the whole Banat, this was a key point in Brătianu’s program. The Banat was, in his view, should be seen as a single unity, a geographical, political and economic unity. [...] Throughout history everyone respected this unity. So as a whole, not in pieces, did the Banat pass from one domination to another [...] The argument that in the Banat there were about 200.000 Serbs was without weight. In Serbia, in the Timok valley, weren’t there 300.000 Romanians? Is this a reason for Romania to invoke the strict application of the nationalities principle and to cross the Danube? [...] Of course, the principle of nationalities was the only criterion according to which the map of tomorrow’s Europe should be established, but people throughout the restless struggles of history settled in such a way that a rigid application of the principles of nationalities was impossible.⁴¹

The ethnographic principle meant for the Romanian claiming entire provinces, rather than arbitrarily divided ones.

⁴⁰ On Dobroudja see C. Iordachi, “*La Californie des Roumains: L’intégration de la Dobroudja du Nord à la Roumanie, 1878–1913*”, *Balkanologie* VI, 2002, 1–2, p. 167–197.

⁴¹ I.G. Duca, *Memorii*, Vol. 2. *Războiul*, București, 1993, p. 182, 183.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE ROMANIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCHES

Both the *General* and the *Bukovina Sketches* adopted cartographic choices which may at first sight appear curious. They also show differences between each other, even though they were probably drawn by the same cartographer at the same time. All these choices can be easily understood if we contextualize the maps in the negotiations.

The first question is that of date. Brătianu mentions sending the Romanian ethnographic maps on the 17th/30th of May 1915. This means that the preparation of the maps had begun in the early spring. The nature of the negotiations, as we have discussed above, changed radically after the meeting on May 3rd. First, it became clear that Bukovina and the Banat were the main points of contention and not the Romanian-Hungarian border. Second, it became clear to the Romanian side, who had prepared itself to argue for whole provinces that the Russians would insist on a 'rigid' application of the principle of nationalities. The two ethnographic maps actually show this shifting point.

The *Bukovina Sketch*, as we have shown, displays more Romanian green than Ruthenian yellow. It does so in contradiction to most other ethnographic maps of the period (Kiepert, Langhans or de Martonne). This system of representation is perfect if one argues for the whole province. So, this map supported the initial Romanian demands for the whole of Bukovina. Yet when negotiations shifted to dividing the province, the *Bukovina Sketch* offered the Romanian side less territory than it wanted to concede, even less than the Costinescu line.

The *General Sketch* likewise, supports Romania's initial arguments. In the Banat Romanian mono-colour is overall dominant. Yet in Eastern Banat the Serbian element is dominant and Romanian colour is attested only as a 30% minority. So, the map is an excellent tool to argue for the whole of the province but a poor tool if the division of Banat is considered.

The *General Sketch* shows a strong Romanian presence (50%) to the West of the Arad-Oradea-Satu Mare line, in an area where other ethnographic maps show very little. Again, this choice was intended to show an overall Romanian majority in the counties of Csanád, Békés, Bihar and Szatmár.

The Romanian cartography that was designed to document the negotiations supported the same arguments as those apparent in the telegrams themselves: the ethnographic principle should be applied only over large areas such as provinces or counties.

THE 'RIGID APPLICATION' OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITIES

It is worth asking at this point how did other people expect to apply the principle of nationalities? Was Duca right in claiming that it could not be applied to very small areas?

In Romanian society Duca's opinion was clearly well supported. The idea of 'countries inhabited by Romanians' was very popular and even more so the expression 'from the Tisza to the Dniester'. This situation deserves a more systematic treatment which would derail the theme of the present article, but there are signs of this even in the negotiations correspondence.

On the 16th of April Brătianu telegraphed Diamandy to assure him that Take Ionescu had given his support for the 'Tisza and the Pruth' (no. 19). It is true that later on, when he found out that the city of Czernowitz was stalling negotiations, Take Ionescu favoured giving it up. The Conservative leader wanted a rapid entrance into the war and therefore was more flexible on the negotiations. He exploded: "Czernowitz? But we do not need Czernowitz. Czernowitz is not a Romanian city, it is a Jewish city. If I were Brătianu (an idea everpresent in Take's mind – n.a.), I would be happy to get rid of a few thousand Jews. Don't I have enough of them in Moldavia?"⁴² These are not contradicting sources. Take Ionescu was willing to compromise, but if negotiations would allow him to get all "the countries inhabited by Romanians", even better. In that he would have seen no harm. For the same reasons Flondor and Costinescu (and behind them Brătianu himself) were willing to accept Bukovina up to the Pruth, but only because it was proving almost impossible to obtain all of it.

We can better understand the thinking of Romania's political elite if we look at the Crown Council of August 14th, 1916. By then Brătianu had concluded the negotiations and had decided to enter the war. A Crown Council was convened to gather the support of the Romanian political elites. In several sources it is stated that Brătianu described what Romania would receive for entering the war⁴³:

Marghiloman: (Brătianu speaking, n.a.): '...we will be admitted the right to annex [territory, n.a.] up to the Tisza, the Banat, Crişana, Upper Maramuresh, which is Slav and Bukovina up to the Pruth' (trans. by author)

Filipescu: (Brătianu speaking, n.a.): '...the conditions in which we are entering the war are: Transylvania to the Tisza, the Banat, Crişana, Maramuresh (north), Bukovina to the Pruth'. (trans. by author)

What is striking in these two independent sources is that Brătianu aggrandized the extent of his diplomatic achievements. He did so to impress political leaders and to make the war more appealing. He claimed to have obtained more of the "countries inhabited by Romanians" than he actually did. Most noteworthy is Northern Maramuresh, which, he added, 'is Slav'. Brătianu had in fact not obtained this part, but it was a rather minor loss. He could easily explain later that one difficulty or another meant sacrificing Northern Maramuresh.

There was, of course, no protest in the Crown Council about obtaining territory which was not ethnographically Romanian, because it was part of the 'countries inhabited by Romanians'.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 185.

⁴³ Mamina, *Consilii*..., p. 65 (Marghiloman) and 67 (Filipescu).

Outside of Romania the concept of “the countries inhabited by Romanians” was largely unknown. Nobody expected Romania to demand so much territory. We can see this in several maps produced before or during the war. In a German map of 1909 that explained the troublesome situation in the Balkans, Romania’s aspirations were thought to be those loosely based on the ethnographic principle (Fig. 8). Even more telling is a map published by Emmanuel de Martonne in 1915, called *La Roumanie Carpathique* (Fig. 9). The map was a direct call for Romania’s intervention from one of Romania’s closest friends⁴⁴. De Martonne, clearly without connection to Brătianu, proposed that Romania achieve its national aspirations on the basis of a strict application of the ethnographic principle (Fig. 9b). In fact, the borders de Martonne proposed on this map are smaller than those he himself would advocate in his more famous 1919 map⁴⁵. On the map, clearly drawn outside Romanian territory was the capital of Bukovina, Czernowitz.

There was a clear divide between the Romanian and Western views of what Romanian national aspirations should be. The concept of “countries inhabited by Romanians”, so dear to Romanian elites was not accepted and not even understood outside the country. This dissonance would shake Romanian political and cultural elites in 1919 and, closer to our theme, led in 1914–1916 to the *de facto* failure of the negotiations.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE ROMANIAN-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS

Today we would have little difficulty in understanding that the Romanian Russian negotiations were in fact a dispute over the separation of single provinces on strict ethnographic lines versus keeping them intact. Yet in 1914 this was not clear. The telegrams between Diamandy and Brătianu and between Poklewsky and Sazonov show that the two sides did not understand each other. The Russian side did not understand the meaning of the phrase “*territories / countries / provinces*

⁴⁴ Very little has been written on de Martonne’s activity in 1914–1915 before he left for the United States. On de Martonne’s relationship with Romania see T. Ter-Minassian, “Les géographes français et la délimitation des frontières balkaniques à la Conférence de la Paix en 1919”, *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 44, 1997, 2, p. 252–86; E. Boulineau, “Un géographe traceur de frontières: Emmanuel de Martonne et la Roumanie”, *L’Espace géographique*, 30, 2001, 4, p. 358–369; G. Palsky, “Emmanuel de Martonne and the Ethnographical Cartography of Central Europe (1917–1920)”, *Imago Mundi* 54, 2002, p. 111–119; G. Bowd, *Un géographe français et la Roumanie. Emmanuel de Martonne (1873–1955)*, Paris, 2012; Idem and D. Clayton, “Emmanuel de Martonne and the wartime defence of Greater Romania: Circle, set square and spine”, *Journal of Historical Geography*, XXX, 2014, p. 1–14; N. Enciu, V. Ursu, *Emmanuel de Martonne, l’avocat de la Roumanie à la Conférence de Paix à Paris en 1919–1920 en matière de la Bessarabie*, 2018; S. Suveica, “Between Science, Politics and Propaganda. Emmanuel de Martonne and the debates on the status of Bessarabia (1919–1920)”, in *Cahiers du monde russe* 58, 2017, 4, p. 589–614.

⁴⁵ More on this in S. Anghel, *The War of Maps. Romanian Cartography at the Paris Peace Conference*, forthcoming.

inhabited by Romanians” in Romanian minds and that the Romanian side did not at first grasp that the ethnographic principle meant dividing territory based on census returns and on coloured maps.

One element would shake the negotiations to the very core: the use of an ethnographic map. Diamandy’s reaction to the patches of colour shows that the map made Sazonov’s arguments much more appealing than that of “territories inhabited by Romanians”.

Ethnographic map and the principles attached to them would actually signal the failure of the negotiations. As we have seen above the Russian side gradually gave in to Brătianu’s demands. We have also seen that they were not ready to actually follow through at the end of the war. In fact the very text of the political alliance of 1916 made this clear. In this document the ethnographic principle was completely abandoned (no. 65). The text spoke only of territories, but not of ethnography:

Art. 3. – La France, la Grande Bretagne, l’Italie et la Russie reconnaissent à la Roumanie le droit d’annexer les territoires de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise stipulés et déterminés à l’article 4.

Art. 4. – Les limites des territoires mentionnés à l’article précédent sont fixées comme suit : ... (there follows a long list of geographical markers, n.a.)

Article 3 only refers to article 4 and the latter is only a textual version of the border map Romania had presented (**Fig. 1**). Removing the ethnographic principle from the territorial clause also meant depriving it of its strength. At any time, the ethnographic principle could be invoked against the alliance, as in fact it would be in Paris in 1919. Articles 3 & 4 were for Russia a safeguard against Romania’s claims.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PRINCIPLE, NEGOTIATIONS AND ROMANIAN CARTOGRAPHY

Ethnographic maps were not unknown in Romanian culture, but until 1914 they were not perceived as important. In fact, there were almost no Romanian drawn ethnographic maps on which Diamandy could base his negotiations at Tsarskoye Selo.⁴⁶ There was an excellent map of the province of Transylvania made by Nicolae Mazere in 1909. It was a personal effort by Mazere based on an exhaustive research of local Romanian church censuses.⁴⁷ In cartographic matters he was guided by Emmanuel de Martonne. Yet the map covered only the province Transylvania proper which was not really under discussion in the negotiations.

⁴⁶ Very little has been written on Romanian created maps before 1914. See O.-C. Ioniță, *Les Cartes de la Grande Roumanie*, Dissertation Université Laval, Québec, 2006, p. 15–27 and p. 32–8.

⁴⁷ N. Mazere, *Harta etnografică a Transilvaniei*, București, 1909; Idem, *Supliment la Harta etnografică a Transilvaniei*, București, 1909.

There were also very few popularization maps available. The first one was, to our knowledge, Gheorghe Munteanu Murgoci and Ion Popa-Burcă's *Ethnographic Map of Romania of the Territory situated between the Danube, the Dniester and the Tisza*, published 1903 in Alexandru Vlahoutza's *La Roumanie Pittoresque*.⁴⁸ On the preceding page of the same volume, the same authors published another map called *Map of Romania and the surrounding countries inhabited by Romanians*. Murgoci and Burcă were the most popular authors of geography schoolbooks before the war. In these schoolbooks they use the terms territory and countries interchangeably.⁴⁹ There was also a map in the third volume of the first Romanian Encyclopedia edited by Corneliu Diaconovich and published by Astra 1904. Entitled '*Ethnographic Map of the Countries Inhabited by Romanians*', it is unsigned (**Fig. 10**) and we will refer to it as the Diaconovich map.⁵⁰ It was a curious combination of motley elements. It was mono-coloured map which represented only the Romanian ethnic group on a white background. The spatial layout of the Romanian ethnic group follows that of Austro-Hungarian maps of the period and the Diaconovich map certainly followed Austro-Hungarian official census data. So, patches of Romanian colour occupied far less space to the West compared to later Romanian maps, but a lot of space to the East, in Transnistria. In fact, the Tisza is not present on the map, in contrast with most Romanian maps of the period. The most curious element is the title. Although it speaks of Romanian *countries*, these are not addressed on the map. Not even the name Transylvania appears. The concept of 'countries inhabited by Romanians' is of Romanian origin, but it was not carried through. It was simply added to an ethnographic map on which almost no modifications were made. The combination of the terms ethnography and that of "countries inhabited by Romanians" would at first sight seem obtuse and self-contradictory. Yet seen in the light of the negotiations which would happen 10 years later the title and the map are quite clear. It is in fact hybrid, a combination of Romanian and foreign cartographic elements, which were not yet harmonized.

The map accompanied the entry "Romanians", a long exposé signed by Dimitrie Onciul⁵¹ in which terms such as *territory*, *provinces*, *parts* or *countries* are used interchangeably. Onciul's text allows one to understand the fundamentally historical logic behind the 'countries inhabited by Romanians'. It also allows one to see how, in this logic, ethnography was subordinated to history.

With the war, Romanian ethnographic maps would dramatically increase in numbers. Most of them bore titles similar to the Diaconovich map:

⁴⁸ M. Murgoci, I. Popa-Burcă, "Carte ethnographique du territoire situé entre le Danube, le Nister et la Tisza", Al. Vlahoutza, *La Roumanie Pittoresque*, Bucarest, 1903, p. 330.

⁴⁹ M. Murgoci, I. Popa-Burcă, *România și Țările Locuite de Români*, București, 1914, p. 120–125.

⁵⁰ C. Diaconovich (ed.), *Enciclopedia Română publicată din însărcinarea și sub auspiciile Asociațiunii pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român.*, tom III: Kemet – Zymotic, Sibiu 1904, facing p. 794.

⁵¹ D. Onciul, 'Românii', in C. Diaconovich, ed., *Enciclopedia Română*, tom III Kemet – Zymotic, Sibiu 1904, p. 795–802.

- *The Ethnographic Map of the Romanian Lands under the Dominion of Austro-Hungary as well as a Part of the Spread of the Romanian Element on the Right Side of the Danube*, (by Aurelian Florinescu, 1914).⁵²
- *The Ethnographic Map of the Countries inhabited by Romanians under the dominion of Austro-Hungary including Transylvania, Temisana, Bukovina and five Counties from Crișana and Maramures* (by Florian Stanciovi, 1914).⁵³
- *The Ethnographic Map of Romanian territories of Hungary: the Banat (Timisana), Crișana and Maramures*, (by Valentin Popa 1915).⁵⁴
- *The Ethnographic Map of Romanian land* (by Valentin Popa and Nicolae Istrate 1916).⁵⁵

The titles of these maps combine the traditional Romanian concept of “territories inhabited by Romanians” with that of an ethnographic map in the same way the Diaconovich map did ten years before. The authors of these maps, none in fact professional cartographers, were apparently struggling with the same problems as the author(s) of the Diaconovich map. They had to combine the traditional Romanian mode of representation of Romanian countries with the medium of an ethnographic map.

This analysis of Romanian ethnographic maps shows that even as late as 1914 ethnographic maps were synonymous with maps of countries/territories inhabited by Romanians. Ethnographic maps had entered Romanian society but had not yet occupied an important space. They were thought to be just another type of argument that could be added to historical ones. They had been integrated in the concept of “countries inhabited by Romanian”. The Romanian-Russian negotiations served as a wakening call.

The first years of the First World War were transitional ones in Romanian ethnographic cartography, shifting towards new and more professional ethnographic maps. Truly professional ethnographic maps would appear only after the census of 1930 and the emergence of a new generation of cartographers, such as Vintilă Mihăilescu.

⁵² A. Florinescu, *Harta etnografică a ținuturilor românești de sub dominația Austro-Ungară cum și o parte a întinderii elementului românesc din dreapta Dunării*, București, 1914.

⁵³ A.F. Stanciovi, *Harta etnografică a țărilor locuite de români sub dominația austro-ungară incluzând Transilvania, Temisana, Bucovina Temisana, Bucovina și cinci comitate din Crișana și Maramureș*, Craiova, 1915.

⁵⁴ V. Popa, “*Harta etnografică a teritoriilor românești din Ungaria: Banatul (Timișana), Crișana și Maramureș*”, in V. Popa, N. Istrate, *Transilvania, Banatul, Crișana și Maramureșul*, București, 1915.

⁵⁵ V. Popa, N. Istrate, *Harta etnografică a ținutului românesc*, București, 1916.

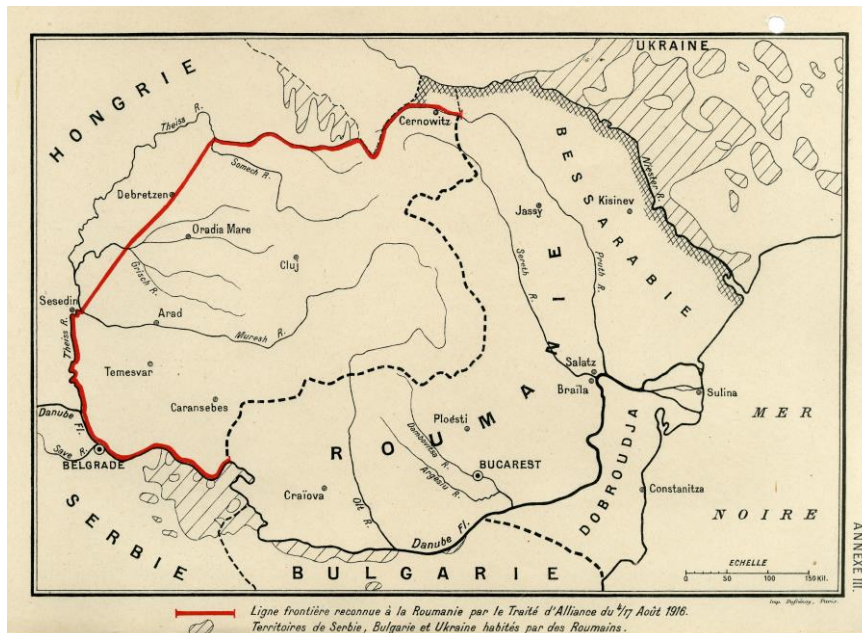


Fig. 1a. La Roumanie devant le Congrès de la Paix, Bucharest 1919. Annexe III. approx. 1:5.000.000.

Legend : This map was published in 1919 as preparation for the Peace Conference in Paris. It was annexed to the text of the Alliance Treaty of 1916. It also serves as an ethnographic map only where Romanian ethnic population existed outside of Romania's borders (i.e. the Timok and Transnistria).

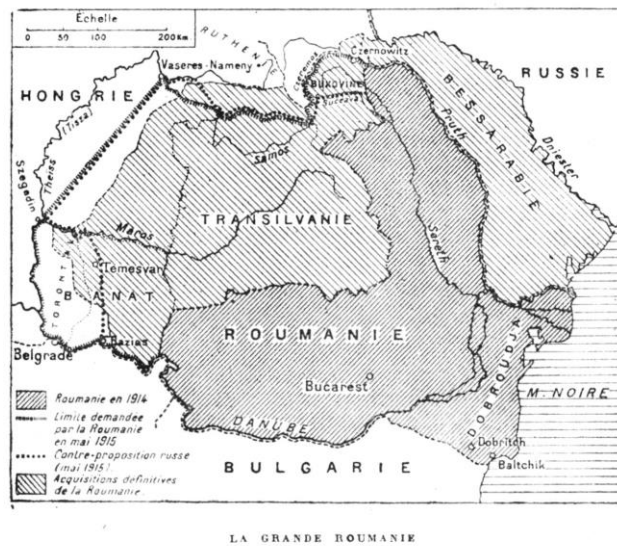
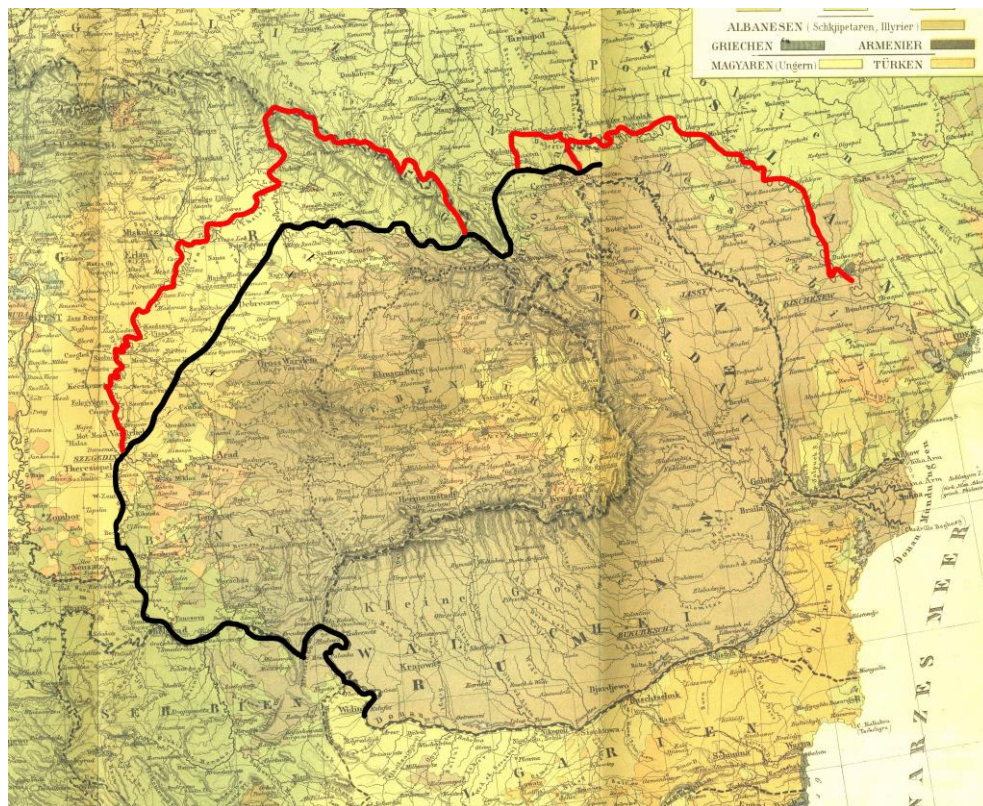
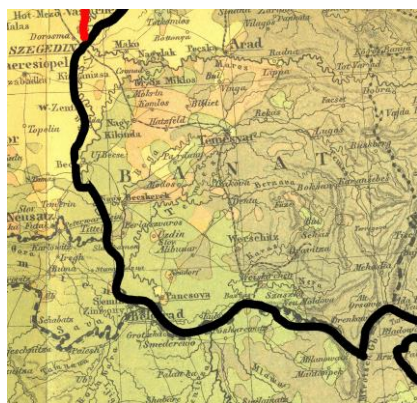


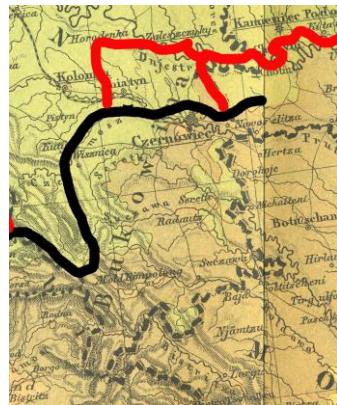
Fig. 1b. Albert Pingaud, *Greater Romania*, from A. Pingaud, "Études Diplomatiques: L'Entente et la Roumanie. 3 Mai-22 Aout 1915", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, (1er MAI 1930), pp. 148. Approx. 1:8.000.000.



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 2a, 2b, 2c.: Fragments of Kiepert's 1882 ethnographic map. H. Kiepert, *Völker- und Sprachen-Karte von Österreich und den Unter-Donau-Ländern*, Berlin, 1882. 1:3 000 000 <https://goobi-viewer.univie.ac.at/viewer/fullscreen/AC03904675/1/> 2a: Romania and claimed territories. 2b: the Banat. 2c: Bukovina. Lines added by author. In red, the "countries inhabited by Romanians." In black, the Brătianu line.

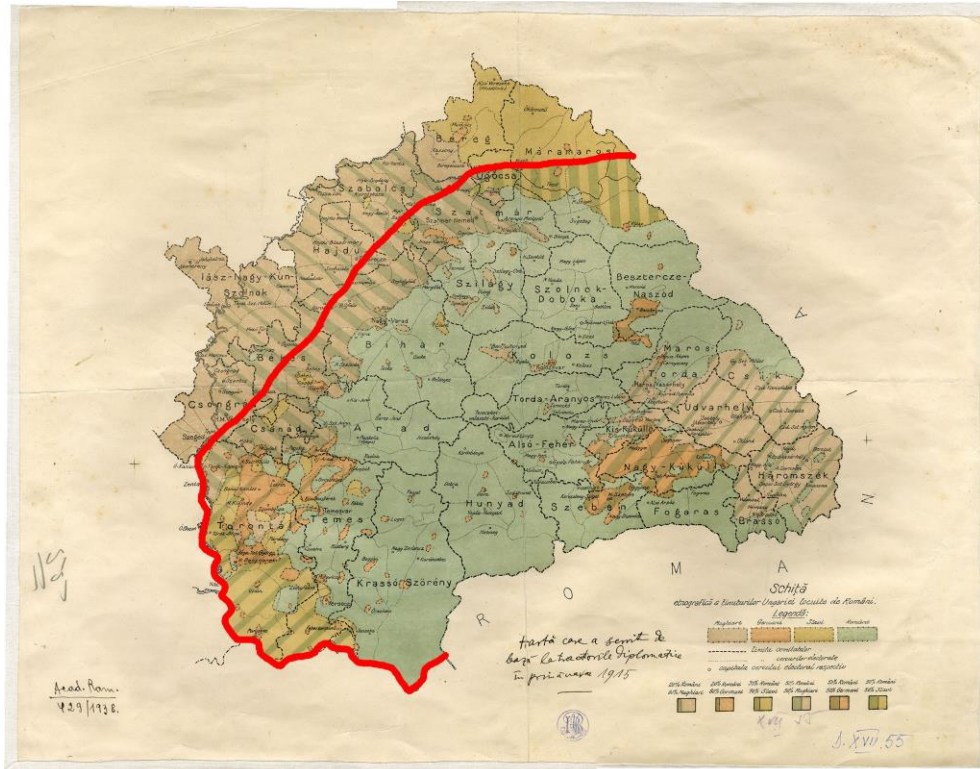


Fig. 3c Same map with the Brătianu line.

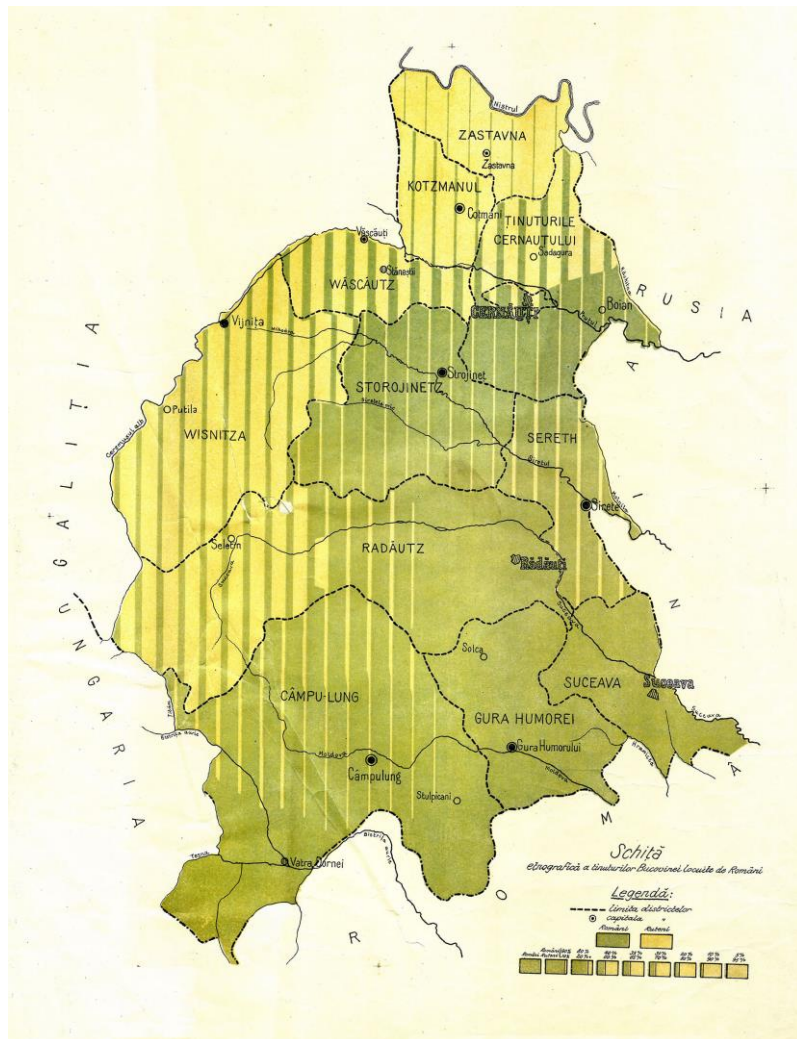


Fig. 4a. Unknown author, *An Ethnographic Sketch of the lands of Bukovina inhabited by Romanians*, 1915. BCU Cluj.

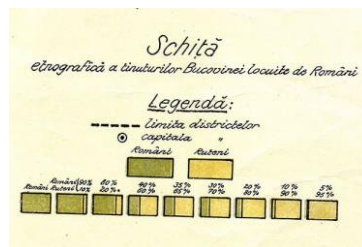


Fig. 4b Legend of the same map.

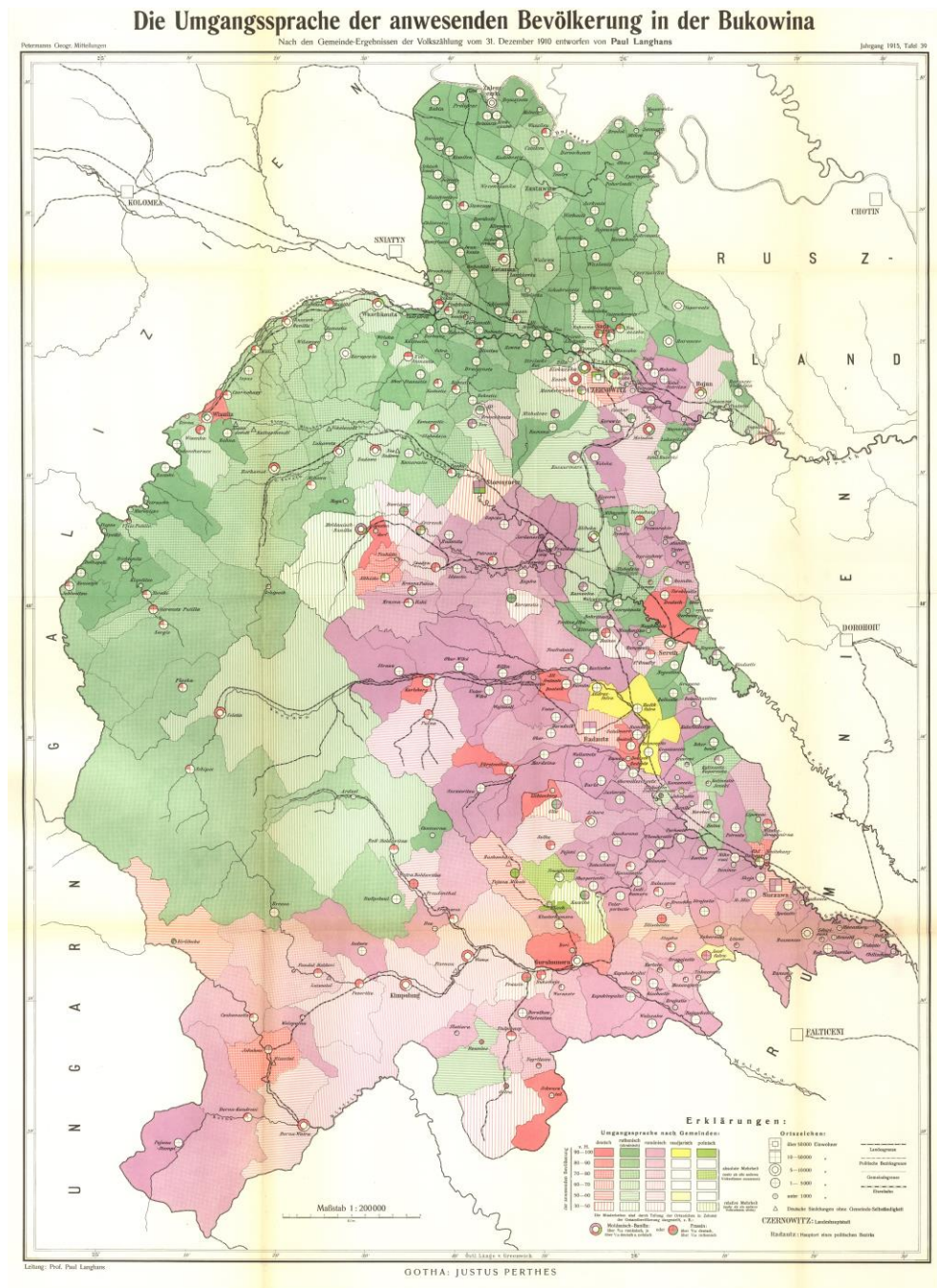


Fig. 5a P. Langhans, Die Umgangssprache der anwesenden Bevölkerung in der Bukowina, Berlin 1915, Berlin; 100×80cm; 1/300.000.



Fig. 5b Fragment of the same map showing the capital Zernowitz and its immediate surroundings.

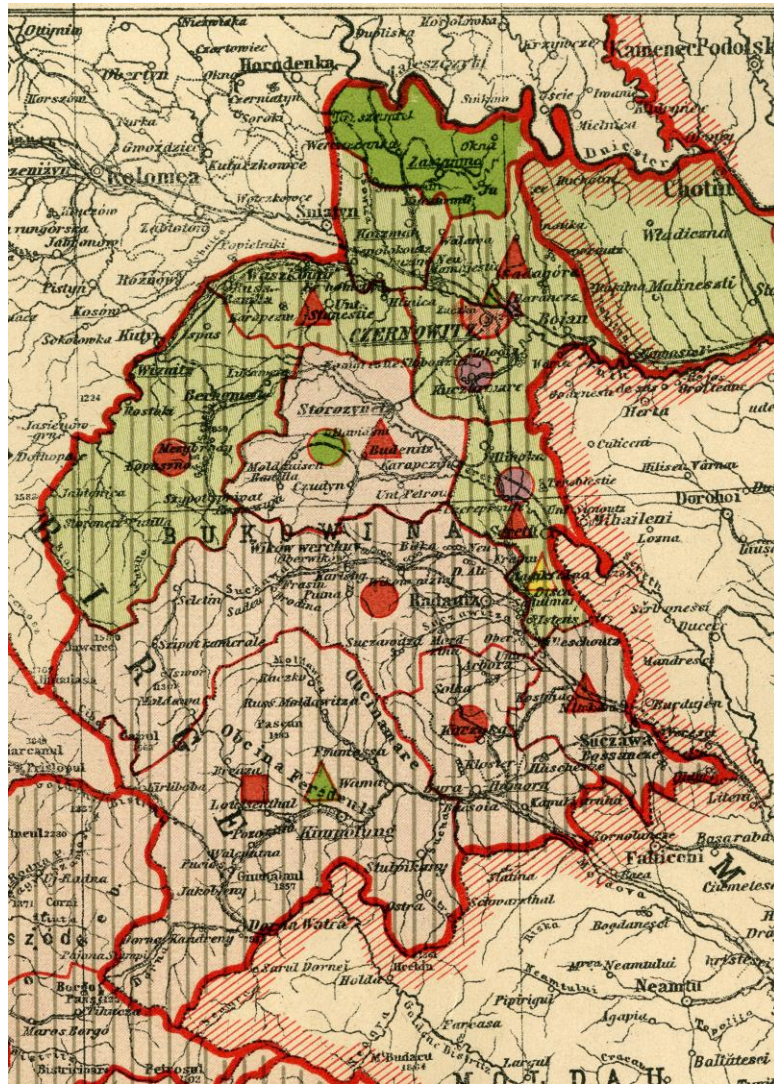


Fig. 5c Fragment P. Langhans, *Der rumänische Anteil der Bevölkerung Ungarns, der Bukowina und Bessarabiens*, Berlin 1915 50 × 63cm; 1/1.500.000 showing Bukovina.

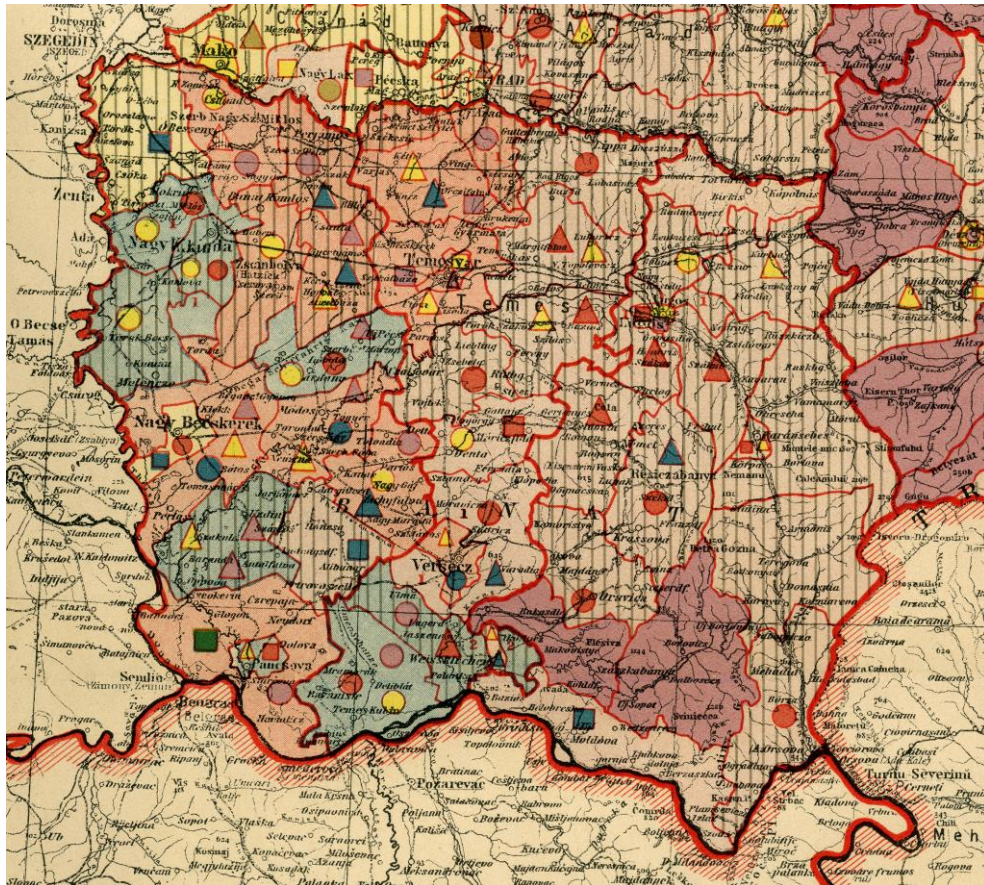


Fig. 5d. Fragment of the same map showing the Banat.



Fig. 6a. Flondor’s map of Bukovina, 1915. ANR, SANIC Fond Flondor 945 f 15. This map was annexed to his memorandum on the possible division of the province. On a topographical map he added a dotted red line and a legend, which reads: “*** the line that separates the West of Bukovina inhabited in compact masses by Ruthenians.” (trans. by author).

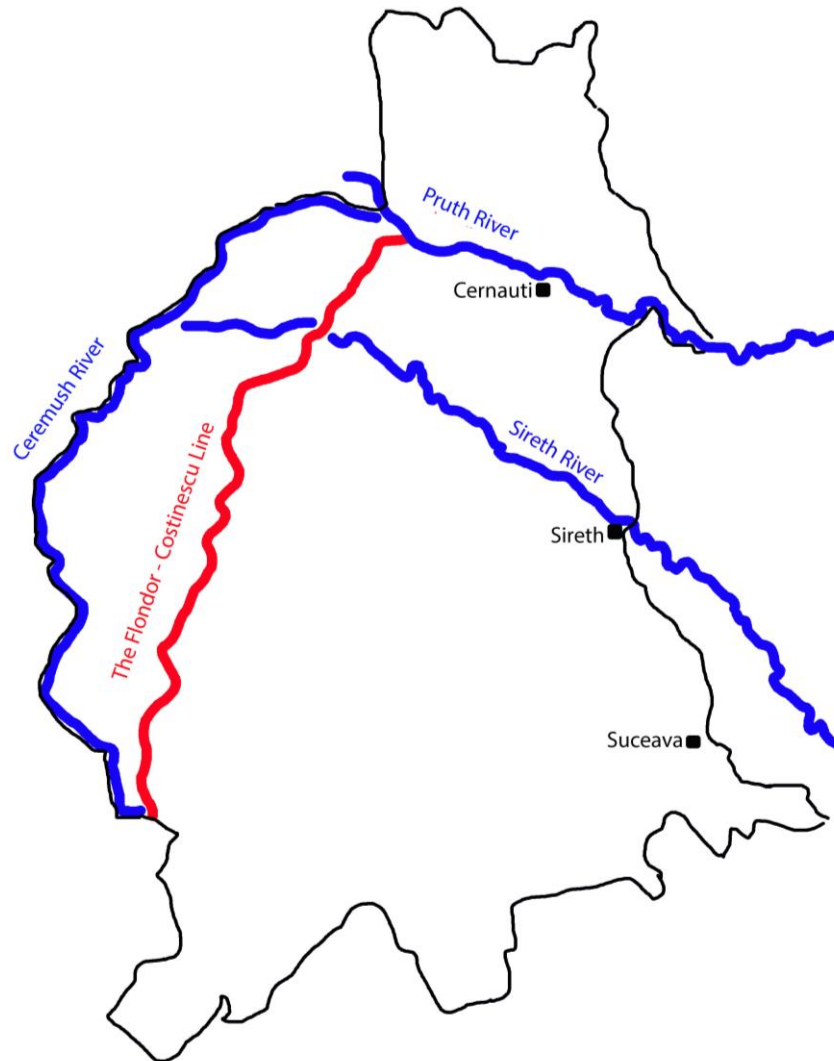


Fig. 6b. Interpretation of Flondor's map, redrawn by author.



Fig. 7. Georgescu's 1915 map of Romania and neighbouring countries inhabited by Romanians.
Property of the author.



Fig. 8. Map of Balkan aspirations. Original German of 1909 reprinted in French in 1915.
L'Instantané, no. 11 (3/3 1915) fig. 25761. Romanian aspirations are thought to be well East
of the Tisza river.

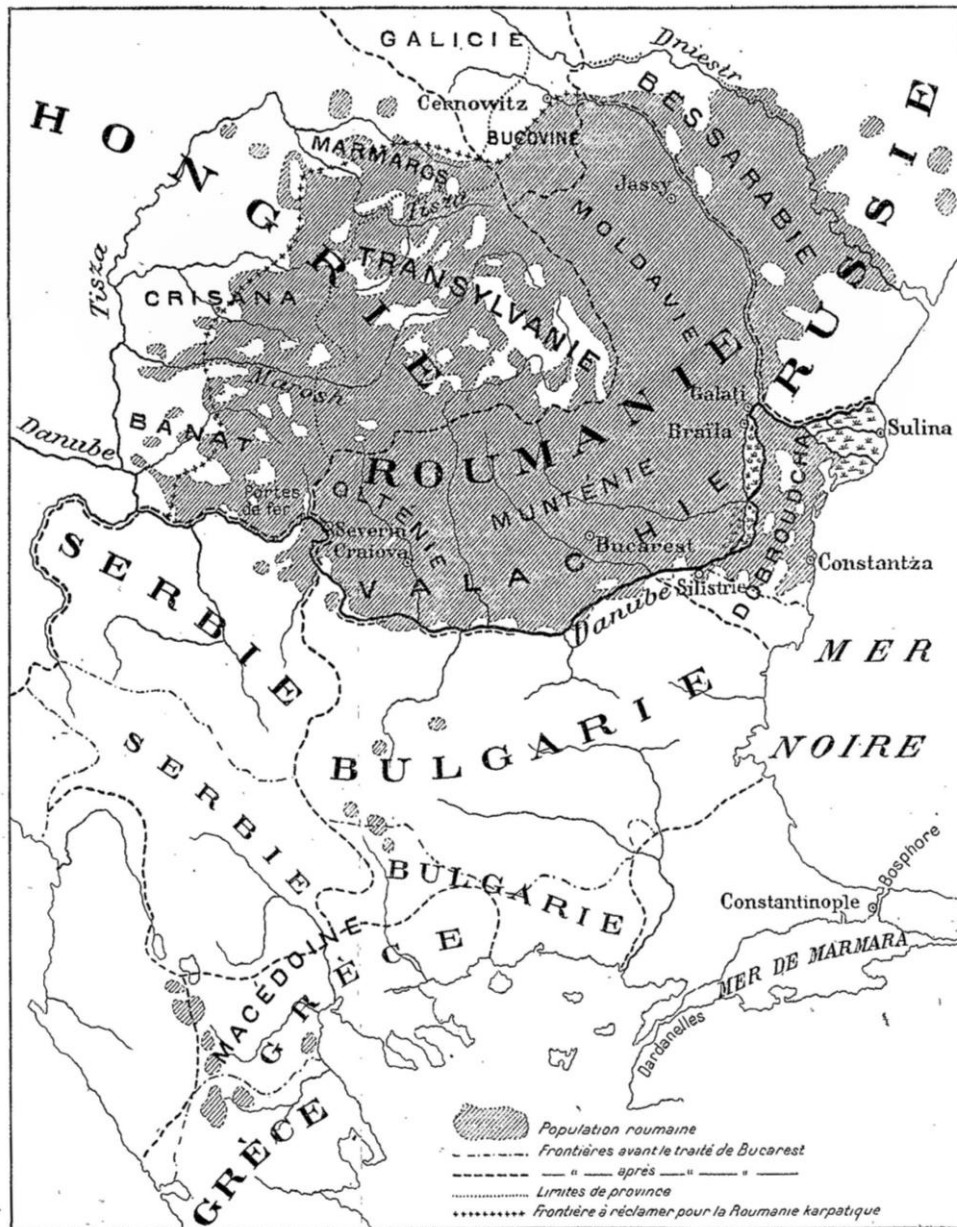


Fig. 9a. Emmanuel de Martonne, *La Roumanie Carpathique*. 1915.
With a dotted line is de Martonne's proposed Western border for Romania.

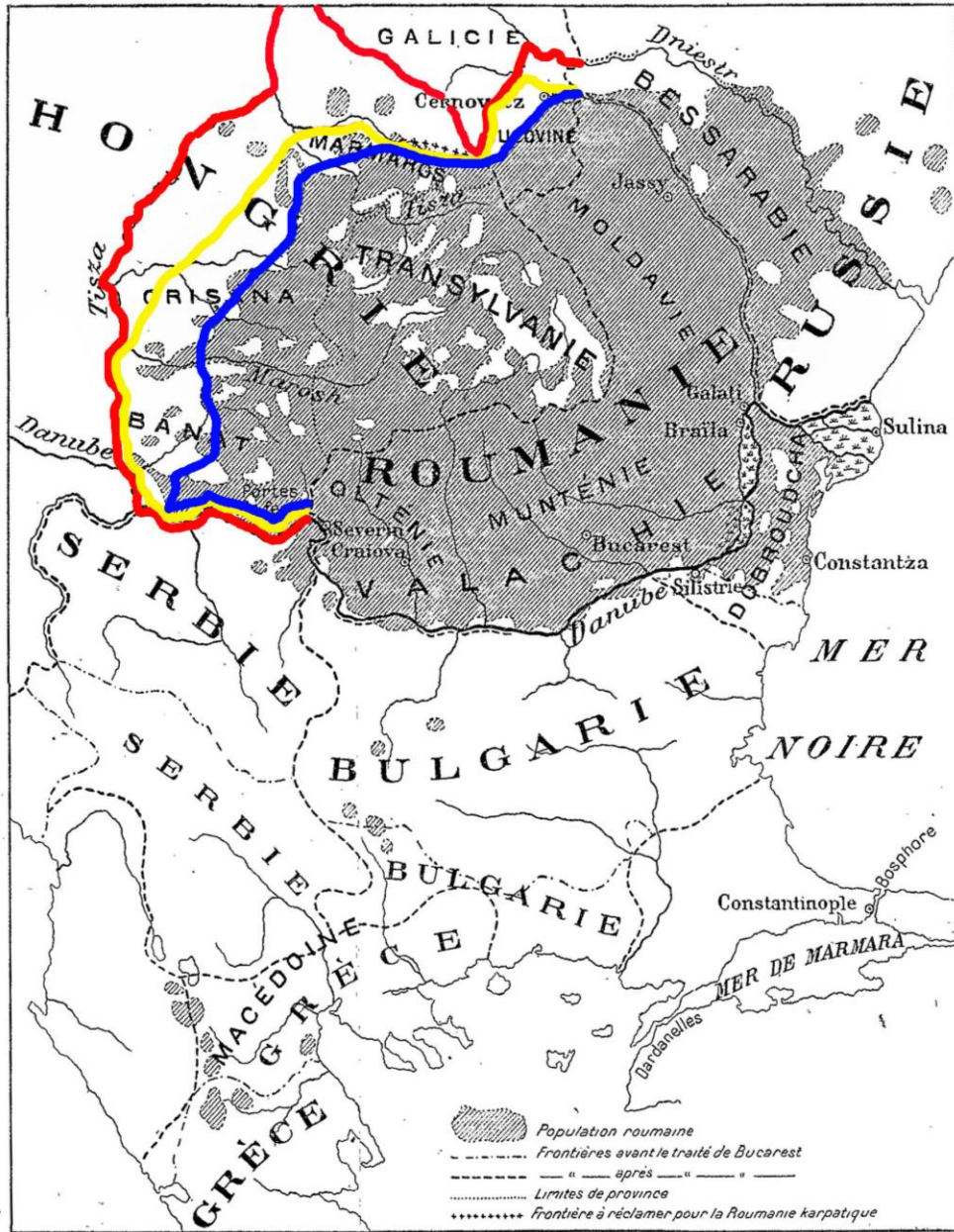


Fig. 9b. Same map superimposed with proposed border lines. Lines added by author.
 In red, the "countries inhabited by Romanians." In yellow, the Brătianu line.
 In blue, the line drawn by de Martonne (fig. 9a).

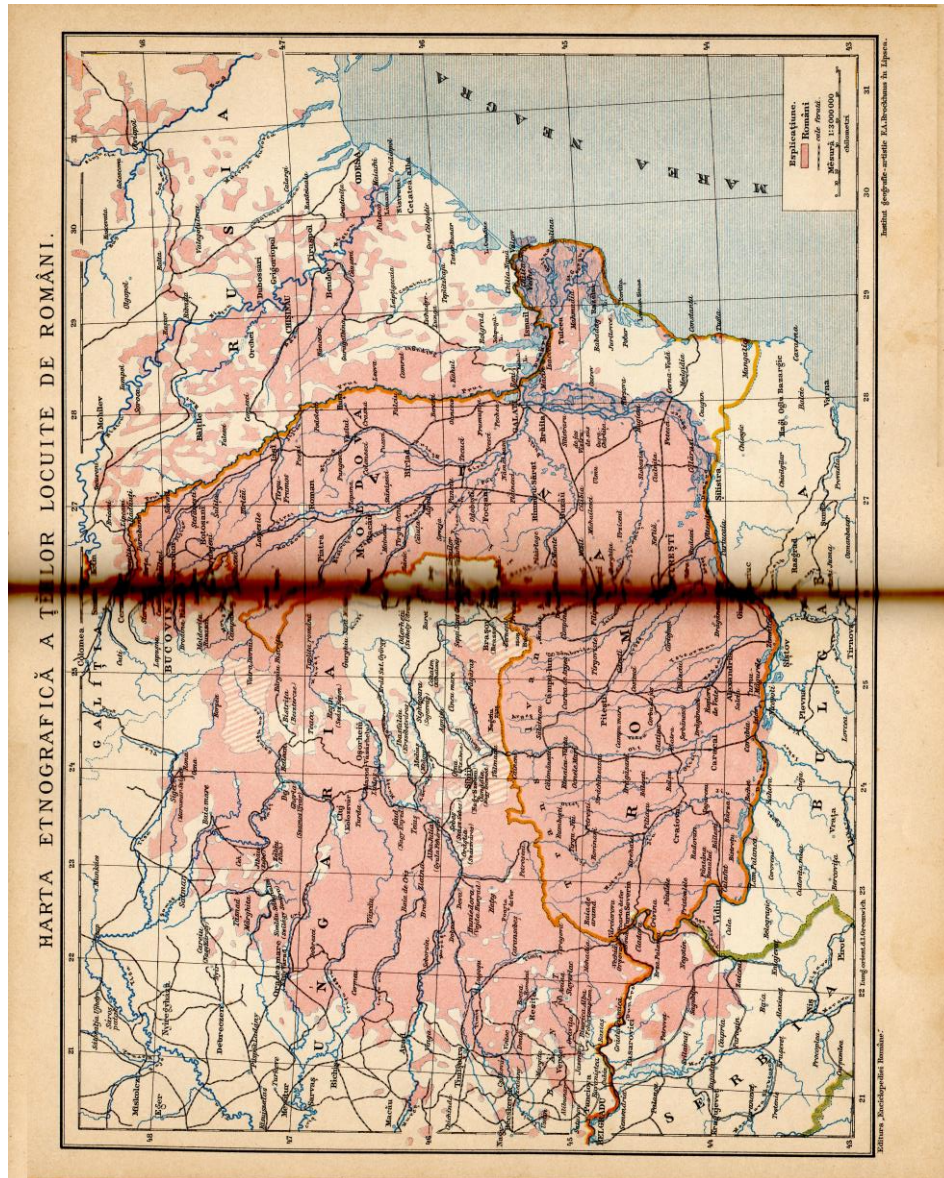


Fig. 10. The Ethnographic Map of the Countries inhabited by Romanians, 1904.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

The list of documents presented herewith is gathered from various archives, which are listed below. Very few are unpublished. All the documents were written in French. Wherever possible we have left the documents in the original French, but in the cases in which we have seen only a Romanian version of the French original we translated the Romanian into English. For the sake of brevity we only present the fragments relevant to the territorial clauses of the negotiations.

1. Telegram from Diamandy on Sazonov's proposal of a Romanian-Russian neutrality convention

From Petersburg. No. 855. Year 1914, 23rd July/5 August
Urgent. Excellence Porumbaru, Externe, Bucarest. Strictement personnel et confidentiel
Aujourd'hui le mercredi 23 Juillet, a 7 heures du soir, j'ai eu un entretien avec Mr. Sazonow. Il m-a remis le texte du projet de la convention éventuelle russo-roumaine, à laquelle serait annexée une carte. [...]

(s) Diamandy

Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (henceforth AMAE) 1914 E71 partea 2, vol. 32, f. 67. Unpublished.

2. Telegram from Diamandy on Sazonov's draft of the text of a Romanian-Russian convention

Deciphered telegram. From the Legation in Petrograd. Nr. 874 din 26 iulie/ 8 august 1914
Excellence Porumbaru, Externe Bucharest
De la part de Monseieur Sazonov [...] il mettait de l'insistance pressante que je télégraphie d'ici le text de l'accord que le Gouvernement Imperial propose à la Roumanie. [...]

II. La Russie s'engage de ne pas cesser la guerre contre l'Autriche-Hongrie avant que les pays de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise habitées par une population roumaine ne soient réunis à la Couronne de Roumanie. L'étendue des pays compris par cet article est indiquée sur la carte ci-annexée. [...] FINIS

[what follows are Sazonov's notes on the text of the convention.] [...] La carte dont traite le paragraphe II reste à être encore déterminée. Le principe de la majorité de la population d'après la statistique même austro-hongroise pourrait servir de norme.

(s) Diamandy 874

AMAE 1914 E71 partea 2, vol. 32, f. 82, 82v, 83. Unpublished.

3. Brătianu telegraphs his response to Poklevsky's proposal of a military convention between Romania and Russia.

Sinaia, le 28 juillet / 10 août 1914. Résumé d'une conversation de Monsieur Bratiano, Président de Conseil, avec Monsieur Poklewski, Ministre de Russie.

Monsieur Poklewski est chargé par son Gouvernement de proposer une convention militaire ayant pour but une coopération contre l'Autriche-Hongrie; en échange, les trois puissances de la Triple Entente garantissent que la paix ne sera pas conclue sans annexer à la Roumanie, les pays de Hongrie, où la majorité de la population est roumaine, conformément à une carte que Monsieur Poklewski attend par le premier courrier.
[sans signature]

Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciului Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale (henceforth ANR SANIC), Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 110-112. *Documente privind istoria românilor, colecția „Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki”, Seria a 3-a, volumul I, Legația Română la Petrograd (1914-1918)/ Documente*; editori: Gheorghe E. Cojocaru, Eugen-Tudor Sclifos; București – Brăila, 2018, nr. 13 (henceforth *Legația Română*); Elena Mușat, Dumitru Laura, eds., *Constantin Diamandi, ministru al României la Petrograd, Vol. I. Memorii, corespondență diplomatică 1914-1915*, București, 2020 (henceforth *Diamandy ANR I*).

4. Telegram from Diamandy to Brătianu concerning the ongoing negotiations with Sazonov on the text of a military convention between Romania and Russia

Pétrograd, le 11 septembre 1914. Télégr. Chiffré N° 1081. Exc[ellence] Brătianu, Président Conseil – Bucarest.

Suite de mon dernier télégramme no. 1067 (no. 3 above).

Territoires de Transylvanie et Bucovine habités majorité roumains sont réservés à Roumanie et constituent son lot, qu'elle peut occuper et dont elle peut prendre possession le moment venu; mais ce geste elle doit le faire elle-même.

Legația Română, nr. 17, *Diamandy ANR I* 94.

5. Poklevsky telegraphs Sazonov regarding Romanian worries

1/14 September 1914, nr. 261

[...] faire entrer les troupes Roumaines dans la partie de la Bucovine occupée par nos troupes et peuplée de Roumains...dissiperait la crainte qui existe dans certains milieu de notre intention d'annexer à la Russie les provinces de l'Autriche-Hongrie peuplées de Roumains.

(s) Poklevski

Documents diplomatiques secrets Russes, 1914-1917: d'après les archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères à Pétrograd, trans. by J. Polonsky, Paris, 1928, 175 (henceforth Polonsky), Vadim Guzun, ed., *Intrarea României în Primul Război Mondial. Negocierile diplomatice în documente din arhivele ruse, 1914-1916*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, 32, p. 152 (henceforth Guzun).

6. Telegram from Diamandy to Brătianu concerning the ongoing negotiations with Sazonov on the text of a military convention between Romania and Russia.

Pétrograd, la nuit du 10 au 11 septembre 1914. Tel. chif. N. 1067

Ex[cellence] Bratiano Presid[ent] Cons[eil] Buc[arest].

3) Russie, après tous les sacrifices et les efforts surhumains qu'elle fait, veut arriver à créer de choses stables parmi les peuples de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise, sur base principe nationalités. Du traine dont vont les choses en Galicie – a poursuivi M. Sazonow, l'appoint militaire de la Roumanie ne nous est plus nécessaire. Maintenant nous convions simplement la Roumanie à occuper ce qui lui revient, c' à d[ire] Transylvanie et Bucovine, habitées par des populations roumaines. Russie n'occupera pas la Transylvanie puisqu'elle n'a pas intention de la garder pour elle. En Bucovine nous pourrions établir un condominium.

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 123–124.

Legăția Română, nr. 14, *Diamandy ANR I 90*.

7. Sazonov invites Romania to occupy part of Bukovina

3/16 September 1916, nr. 2680

La distribution dans la Bucovine des troupes russes et roumaines pourrait être faite sur une entente mutuelle des commandants en chef des deux armées, et fondée uniquement sur des raisons d'ordre militaire, sans que cela influe plus tard sur la délimitation des territoires, qui aura lieu à son heure après une entente entre les gouvernements et d'accord avec l'ethnographie de la population.

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky 176, Guzun 34, p. 153.

8. Sazonov telegraphs Brătianu about the draft of the text of the convention

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.
13/26 septembre 1914, no. 2922.

[...] J'ai élaboré d'accord avec Diamandi le projet suivant d'une entente avec la Roumanie, que vous voudrez bien transmettre à Bratiano: „La Russie s'engage à reconnaître le droit de la Roumanie à annexer les provinces de l'Autriche Hongrie dont la population est roumaine. Dans la Bucovine, la délimitation des provinces qui doivent être annexées par la Russie ou la Roumanie aura pour principe la majorité ethnique de la population. [...]

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky p. 178.

9. Diamandy reports on the same draft as the one described by Sazonov above.

P[é]t[ro]g[rad], le 13 / 26 sep[tembre] 1914

Ex[cellence] Bratiano, Président Conseil Bucarest. tél. ch. N. 1098

I improvised a text which had been redacted by us [Diamandy and Sazonov, n.a.] and I even submitted it to his approval. We agreed on the following formulae: [...] Russia undertakes to accept Romania's right to annex all regions from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy inhabited by Romanians. In regards to Bukovina, the principle of the majority of the population will serve as criterion to delimit the territories and to have them annexed by Romania or by Russia. [...]

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 148, 148v, 149.

Diamandy ANR I 101.

10. Poklevsky reports on Brătianu's answer to the text received on sept. 13/26

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.
15/28 septembre 1914, no. 294.

[...] Bratiano [...] autorise Diamandi à entamer un échange des notes et demande seulement l'addition de deux choses: [...] 2. que la frontière entre les parties russes et les parties roumaines de la Bucovine soit délimitée par le Prout, car cela fera une solide frontière entre les deux Etats et cela correspond aussi à la délimitation ethnographique dans cette région. [...]

(s) Poklevsky

Guzun 42, p. 166.

11. Brătianu's telegram to Diamandy with instructions on Romania's position in the ongoing negotiations to sign a military convention between Romania and Russia

Télégramme chiffré nr. 1104. Bucarest, le 15 / 28 septembre 1914, 11 à matin. T. C. de Bucarest expédié 15 sept. à I. nuit).

Ex[cellence] Diamandy, Ministre Roumanie Pétrograd.

Pour Bucovine il faut exiger frontière Pruth qui correspond aussi approximativement à la délimitation ethnographique. La garantie intégrale du territoire actuel est nécessaire.

(s) Bratiano

Legăția Română, nr. 18, *Diamandy ANR I 104.*

12. Diamandy transmits another draft of the text of a Romanian-Russian convention

P[e]t[ro]g[rad], le 15 / 28 septembre 1914. T. C. n. 1108.

Ex[cellence]Bratiano Présid[ent] Cons[eil] Buc[arest].

La Russie s'engage également à reconnaître à la Roumanie le droit d'annexer régions de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise habitées par les Roumains.

Pour Bucovine principe majorité de la population servira de base à la délimitation des territoires à annexer soit par Russie soit par la Roumanie. Cette délimitation sera effectuée à la suite études spéciales sur les lieux. Une Commission mixte sera nommée à cet effet munie d'instructions qui s'inspireront de l'esprit de conciliation qui anime les deux Gouvernements.

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 158, again 161–163.
Legăția Română, nr. 20, *Diamandy ANR I 105*.

13. Diamandy transmits more notes on the draft of the text of a Romanian-Russian convention

P[é]t[ro]g[rad], le 15 / 28 sep[tembre] 1914. T. C. N. 1109.
Ex[cellence] Bratiano, Président Conseil Bucarest.

Suite tél. ch. N. 1108. Voici ma note réponse:

„J'ai l'honneur accuser réception à V. E. de sa [Sazonov – n.a.] déclaration. En échange de cette déclaration, je suis autorisé par M. Bratiano, Président du Conseil de Roumanie de déclarer à V. E. que la Roumanie, de son côté, s'engage à observer jusqu'au jour où elle [va] occuper les régions de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise habitées par des Roumains – une neutralité bienveillante à l'égard de la Russie.”

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 156.
Legăția Română, nr. 19, *Diamandy ANR I 105*.

14. Diamandy continues to explain the ongoing Romanian-Russian negotiations

Pétrograd, le 15 septembre 1914 (expédié à 11 h. du soir). Télégr. Chiffré n° 1110.
Ex[cellence] Bratiano, Président Conseil Bucarest.

Suite explicative mon télégramme chiffré n° 1108 au sujet frontière Pruth Bucovine Sazonow m'a dit qu'il lui était impossible de prendre décision immédiate sans consulter militaires et base ethnographique. J'ai cru comprendre qu'il tenait à Czernowitz. Il a promis partage dans esprit large et conciliant ainsi que stipulé dans sa note.

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 164.
Legăția Română, nr. 21, *Diamandy ANR I 106*.

15. Telegram of Diamandy to Brătianu on the ongoing negotiations

P[é]t[ro]g[rad], 1 octobre 1914. T. C. no. 1203
Ex[cellence] Bratiano, Prés[ident] Conseil Bucarest.

Je réponds à votre tél. ch. d'aujourd'hui: [...] Sazonow, avant offre notre neutralité, m'a fait déclaration que territoires Monarchie habités roumains, restent lot Roumanie qui l'occuperait quant elle le voudrait.

(s) Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 27, f. 198.
Legăția Română, nr. 25, *Diamandy ANR I 125*.

16. Text of the Russian-Romanian convention as agreed by Sazonov and Diamandy

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.
20 septembre/3 octobre 1914, no. 3028

J'ai échangé avec l'ambassadeur de Roumanie des notes contenant les déclarations suivante : [...] 2. la Russie reconnaît le droit de la Roumanie d'annexer les provinces austro-hongroise dont la population est roumaine et cette délimitation sera établie dans la Bucovine par une commission spéciale et composée sur le principe de la majorité mathématique de telle ou telle population [...]

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky p. 179-180.

17. Iancu Flondor Memorandum on the Borders of Bukovina

It is only natural that on the basis of the principle of nationalities the relative majority of the population will decide the fate of the territory it inhabits. It is also incontestable that small portions – communes or villages – will not be taken into account, but only larger territory with natural borders as much as possible [...] As it has so far transpired in the public sphere as to the opinion of Russian deciding factors it seems to me that – with great pains – we will have to give up the part of Bukovina situated on the left side of the Pruth river. One must vigorously fight so that the rest of this country once broken from the bosom of Moldavia will be considered an integral part of our claims because it is certain that if it is now lost it will be a hard and irreparable blow [...] I admit that the West of Bukovina – the right side of the valley of the Ceremus river – is inhabited by a compact Ruthenian population; yet we have the right to claim this part as well as compensation for the Romanian population on the left bank of the Pruth river which numbers 10653 souls. The territory just mentions – “the Ruthenian mountains” starts from the Western Border towards the East up to a line which I define thus: [there follows a minute description of this line, n.a.]

East of this line population is mixed but increasingly more Romanian [towards the East].

In a worst-case scenario and as a *ultima ratio* it would be much more favourable to give up the “Ruthenian mountains” than the disputed territory [the area around Cernauti, n.a.]. [...]

[A map was annexed to the memorandum, which we present in **Fig. 6a-b.**]

February 1915

ANR SANIC, Personal file of Iancu Flondor, v. 15, 1–10.

Published in Andrei Popescu (ed.), *Iancu Flondor, Bucovina și Romania Mare*, București, 2017, doc. 24.

18. Poklevsky informs Sazonov on Diamandy's imminent departure to Russia

9/21 April 1915 – no. 234

Diamandy's instructions are to agree with you on the precise borders of future Romania [...]

These are the informations Diamandy has given me so far. It results from them that Brătianu wants to conclude with us a convention [of alliance, n.a.] based on our first

proposals to Romania, which included not only the occupation of Transylvania by Romania but also military cooperation and drawing a map, fixing exactly the future borders of the new conquests obtained by Romania.

(s) Poklevsky

Guzun 66, p. 199.

19. Brătianu telegraphs Diamandy with instructions on the ongoing negotiations to signed a convention of alliance between Romania and the Allied Powers.

Télégramme chiffré, no. 646 Reçu le 16/29 Avril 1915. à II heures. Urgent.

Excellence Diamandy à Petrograd.

[...] Take Ionescu et Filipescu m'ont promis leur concours pour Theiss et Pruth. No. 170 6h soir 15 Avril.

SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, f. 75

Diamandy ANR I 238

20. Brătianu sends instructions on an incoming map

Télégramme chiffré, no. 647 Reçu le 16/29 Avril 1915. à II heures. Urgent.

Excellence Diamandy à Petrograd.

Dans la carte que nous vous adressons du Major Sârbu il faut introduire modifications suivantes : De Seghedin frontière suivra cours Theiss vers Nord jusqu'à la hauteur du village Algyo, d'ici elle se dirige Nord-Est faisant une petite courbe à trois kilomètres Ouest du village Bekes-Samson d'où elle continue 25493 ligne direction N. jusque trois mille mètres O. de la confluence de Bes-Crisch, ensuite dans la direction du N. passant six K. à la droite de Debreczen et 25017 ant ainsi arrive à quatre mille mètres N. confluence Theiss avec Somes, alors laissant de notre cote village Vasaros-Nameny retrouve ancient 15560 que vous possédez a trois mille mètres du mont Ko-30081-la.

No. 170 6h soir 15 Avril.

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, f. 74

Diamandy ANR I 239.

21. Diamandy demands a new, updated map.

Urgent. Télégramme chiffré, no. 663 16/29 april. 1915

Excellence Brătianu, President Conseil, Bucarest.

Pour éviter toute erreur prie Votre Excellence m'envoyer d'urgence Carte précise avec délimitations nos revendications.

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, f. 73.

Diamandy ANR I 242.

22. Russian foreign affairs secretary Neratov writes to the Russian ambassador in Paris.

Télégramme secret du minister-adjoint aux Affaires Etrangères de Russie a l'ambassadeur à Paris, no. 1978.

[...] De mon cote je vous autorise à dire à Delcasse que si la Roumanie, délaissant le principe ethnique, insiste sur l'acquisition de presque toute la Bucovine au détriment des intérêts russes, et de tout le Banat à enlever aux Serbes, l'Entente va se heurter à des difficultés insurmontables. [...]

(s) Neratov

Polonsky p. 188 ; Guzun 68, p. 202.

23. Diamandy informs Brătianu on a meeting with the British ambassador.

18 April/1 May 1915 Cyphered telegram nr. 675

During the meeting he added that settling the question of Bukovina falls only to Russia. He finds our demands exaggerated. He always believed, like Sazonov, that they will be limited to Transylvania. The principle of nationalities must be respected and it was impossible for Serbia, displaying so much heroism, to leave its capital, Belgrade at the mercy of a third party.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 28, 28v.

Diamandy ANR II 15.

24. Diamandy asks for statistical data on Transylvania and Austro-Hungary

18 April/1 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 679

I ask you to emergently send me [...] statistical works in Hungarian, German on the Romanian population in Austro-Hungary as well as the book of Cheradamme on Austro-Hungary and other favourable documentations.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 30.

Diamandy ANR II 17.

25. Brătianu sends a new map with border corrections

18 April/1 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 682

I repeat here my telegram of 15/28 April and I add the requested map by mail. In the map you have you must add the following correction: from Szeged the frontier follows the course of the Tisza to the North [...]

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 31.

Diamandy ANR II 18.

26. Brătianu sends adjusted border in Ruthenia and hints to concessions

18 April/1 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 686

In regards to our future frontiers, starting from the joint of the Somesh with the Tisza until Bukovina, please replace your previous instructions with the demand of the basin of the

Tisza until the line of the separation of the rivers, that is until the border of Galicia. In this way I have presented to the minister of Russia our demands, allowing them to understand that in this region I am ready to make some concessions to the Ruthenians.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 35.

Diamandy ANR II 21.

27. Diamandy demands three maps besides the one sent before.

Urgent. Télégramme chiffré, no. 691. 19 April [2 mai]. 1915

Excellence Brătianu, President Conseil, Bucarest.

Prie V. Ex. vouloir bien m'envoyer urgence trois cartes avec délimitations nos revendications en autre celle déjà expédiée. Pour éviter toute erreur prie Votre Excellence m'envoyer d'urgence Carte précise avec délimitations nos revendications.

(s) Diamandy.

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, f. 78.

Diamandy ANR I 244.

28. Poklevsky reports on a possible compromise in Bukovina, the so called Costinescu line.

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.

19 avril/2 mai 1915, no. 277.

Kostinesco m'a fait part aujourd'hui du profond désenchantement qu'a éveillé en lui le refus du gouvernement russe de donner à la Roumanie Czernowitz, à laquelle la Roumanie est liée par son passé historique et national et qui est la résidence du métropolitain roumain. Selon l'avis de Kostinesco il faudrait pour être équitable faire passer la frontière de la Roumanie le long du Pruth et aussitôt après Czernowitz, laissant cette ville à la Roumanie, la faire suivre au sud-ouest en laissant à la Russie les populations d'origine russe qui vivent auprès de la frontière de Galicie. Ce que Kostinesco m'a dit n'est absolument que son opinion personnelle.

(s) Poklevsky

Polonsky p. 190. Guzun 78, p. 215 (although labeled no. 274 and dated 12th of May).

29. Diamandy reports on the 20th April /3rd May meeting with Sazonov in his memoirs

- a. [Cum s-a creat harta Romaniei Mari] At the meeting of May the 3rd, with Mr. Sazonov I had come with the map of our claims, but he, from the start, presented me with a map which, curious detail, dated from 1875 and in which the nationalities between the the Tisza and the Pruth, that is Transylvania, the Banat and Bukovina, exactly the *territories* that had to be negotiated between us, were marked in colours and the dominant colour, at first sight, was green representing the Slavic element. I couldn't stop myself telling Mr. Sazonov: the map has a horrible appearance through the green colour and allow me to bring forth a more modern map than this one.

See above, footnote 14.

- b. From the start Romania was accused of intransigence and when, on the 3rd of May 1915 I was heading to Pont-aux Chantres and when, for the first time, I was presenting the claims of my country, I realized how many difficulties we will have in obtaining what we considered indispensable so as to ensure the ethnic unity of Romania. [...] The map I had in my hand and which I wanted to show Sazonov, I had not shown at my first meeting, then, as I have already related, he approached me in this way: "Now that Italy enters the war, the price for Romania [‘s entry into the war, n.a.] has dropped". I therefore withdrew [...] the map I had in my hand and I had a great surprise seeing the one he was showing me. For whatever reason, Mr. Sazonov used, on this occasion, an old atlas which dated from 1878 and in which most of Bukovina and more than 3/4th of the Banat were coloured in green, the colour of Slavic populations. I formulated our claims: in Bukovina the line of the Pruth and in the Banat the thalweg of the Danube and of the Tisza [natural frontier]. He cried out in protest saying that our claims were exaggerated. The meeting ended on a friendly tone but the two were on profound disagreement. [...] In what regards me, even from the moment I presented my claims and I sent Mr. Sazonov a map at the same time correct and without Slavic hachures, I withdrew in my shell [...]
- ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 130 6–9v.
- c. [La Délimitation Territoriale]. Je suis venu de Bucarest avec une grande carte contenant délimitations territoriales de la Roumanie pour la convention politique. À ma première entretenu avec Mr. Sazonov, je n’avais pas ma carte: en échange Sazonov m-a soumis une carte minuscule prise dans un atlas de 1859 et où la couleur verte qui marquait les éléments slaves en Bucovine Maramuresh et Banat était prépondérants et, ainsi que je le lui dis, bariolait la carte au point de faire mal à voir. Je lui promis d’apporter la mienne, qui était sur une plus grande échelle et où nos revendications étaient marquées au crayon bleu.
- ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 108, f. 1–5.

30. Sazonov reports on the meeting with Diamandy, 3rd of May 1915

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l’ambassadeur à Bucarest. 20 avril/3 mai 1915, no. 2040.

J’ai vu pour la première fois aujourd’hui Diamandi, qui m’a énumère les acquisitions territoriales que la Roumanie voudrait se voir garantir pour une entrée en guerre à nos côtés contre l’Autriche-Hongrie> la Bucovine jusqu’au Pruth, la Transylvanie, le Banat jusqu’à la Tisa, une part de la Hongrie jusqu’à Szegedin, au confluent de la Tisa e du Somes, et plus loin les Carpathes de la Bucovine. L’ai répondu que pareilles exigences n’étaient pas acceptables, car nous ne pouvons consentir ni à ce que la population russe de la Bucovine et de l’Ugorczina soit remise au pouvoir de la Roumanie, ni à ce que les Roumains s’approchent de Belgrade pour lequel ils peuvent devenir une menace aussi grande que la menace autrichienne. [...]

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky, p. 189. Guzun 72, p. 208.

31. Diamandy reports on the meeting with the French ambassador.

21 April/4 May 1915 Cyphered telegram nr. 706

[...] Délcassé as well lets it be understood that our claims are limited to Transylvania. He recommends Romania adopts moderation and conciliatory spirit [...]

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 40, 40v.

Diamandy ANR II 26.

32. Sazonov telegrams Poklevsky his answer to Romania's claims

22st April/5th May 1915, no. 2083

Under no circumstances can we accept the line of the Pruth. The frontier in Bukovina must be drawn, as we have convened in our 18th September convention [18.09/1.10 1914, see above no. 19], based on the ethnographic principle, admitting only smaller corrections in regards to reciprocal exchange of small areas, to draw the frontier better. Likewise, the Russian population of Transcarpathia cannot be given to Romania. [...]

(s) Sazonov

Guzun 75, p. 211.

33. Brătianu responds to the remarks of the British ambassador.

25 April/8 May 1915 Cyphered telegram nr. 731

Sir Edward Grey believes that our aspirations are limited to Transylvania, when, in reality, as you well know, it was always about Hungarian lands inhabited by Romanians [...] The day before yesterday I have sent you by mail the one and only map with the definitive shape of the demanded border.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 48 (2), 48 (2v).

Diamandy ANR II 32.

34. Diamandy reports on a meeting with Sazonov.

25 April/8 May 1915 Cyphered telegram nr. 734

[...] I replied that, if he wanted to call an ultimatum bargaining our national aspirations, he would be forced to admit that this is a friendly ultimatum. Russia, he continued, could not show a lack of interest in leaving Belgrade exposed or in abandoning the Ugro-Russians of Maramuresh or the Ruthenians of Bukovina. If we would take all of Banat, in a few years there would be a war with Serbia.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 50, 50(v).

Diamandy ANR II 33.

35. Diamandy demands bibliography supporting Romania's claims.

From the Legation in Petrograd. Nr. 754 28 april./11 mai 1915

Contzesco Externe Bucarest.

Je vous prie de m'envoyer l'ouvrage de Monsieur Aurel Morariu intitulé « Bucovine » et la meilleure histoire sur les roumains de la Transylvanie.

(s) Diamandy. No. 754.

AMAE 1914 E71 partea 2, vol. 33, f. 87 Unpublished.

36. Poklevsky proposes a compromise solution for the Banat.

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.
30 avril/13 mai 1915, no. 277⁵⁶.

[...] D'autre part, si nous laissons à la Serbie seulement le district de Pantchev, qui est contigu au Danube et peuple de Serbes, ou bien un tiers du district de Torontal, et si nous consentions à la frontière proposée par Kostinesco en Bucovine, alors la situation de Bratiano en deviendrait très difficile [...]

(s) Poklevsky

Polonsky p. 191.

37. Diamandy writes an Aide-Mémoire of a meeting with Sazonov on May the 14th.

Pétrograd, le 1 / 14 mai 1915. Aide-Mémoire.

Se conformant à ce principe qui fonde la répartition des territoires en question sur la majorité ethnique, le Gouvernement croit devoir esquisser la ligne suivante qui, en thèse générale et sauf quelques rectifications de détail, pourrait servir à indiquer les futures acquisitions de la Roumanie.

Partant de la frontière actuelle près de la localité de Botouchanitzza, cette ligne rejoindrait, un peu au nord au Gadac, la Suchava et remonterait ensuite le cours de cette rivière jusqu'à Schipot, d'où elle continuerait à peu près en ligne droite jusqu'à la frontière actuelle de la Transylvanie au sud de Borsa. Suivant de là cette frontière jusqu'à Guttin, la ligne de délimitation se dirigerait ensuite vers l'ouest en passant un peu [au] sud de Nad-Bania et, après avoir atteint le Samosz, irait (illisible) droit au Nord-Ouest sur Tisza-Ulak pour longer ensuite la Tisza jusqu'à Vasaros-Nameny. Depuis cette localité la future frontière Roumanie suivrait la ligne indiquée dans la notice que Mr. Diamandy a remise à Mr. Sazonow jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Maros dans la Tisza. De là elle devrait suivre la Maros à peu près jusqu'à Peska pour se diriger ensuite vers le Sud-Sud-Est en laissant Temeswar et Biela-Serkow à la Serbie et, après avoir rejoint le Danube près de Bazias continuerait en descendant ce fleuve jusqu'à la frontière actuelle de la Roumanie.

La ligne ainsi tracée englobe de vastes territoires comprenant toutes les régions où la population roumaine est en majorité et même en plus, certaines parties du pays habitées

⁵⁶ The publication gives the same telegram number for two documents.

surtout par d'autres nationalités que les Puissances sont cependant disposés à inclure dans la part qui doit revenir à la Roumanie pour donner à la frontière une meilleure configuration.

Mr. Sazonow aime à croire que, de son côté, le peuple Russe chez lui le sentiment national est si développé, comprendra que toute autre obligation morale pour la Russie et pour la Serbie de se réserver les territoires où leurs nationaux sont, à leur tour, en majorité, comme c'est le cas en Bucovine Septentrionale et dans le Banat Occidental.

[sans signature]

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 80–81.

Legăția Română, nr. 54, *Diamandy ANR I* 246.

Same document is sent by Sazonov to Poklevsky, see Guzun 80, p. 217.

38. Sazonov instructs Poklevsky on the ongoing negotiations.

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest.

1/14 Mai 1915, no. 2235.

Le no. 2231 vous transmet le texte d'un mémorandum date d'aujourd'hui [see next item on our list, n.a.] [...] La délimitation que nous proposons laisse à la Roumanie non seulement toutes les provinces ou la majorité de la population est roumaine, mais beaucoup de provinces aussi qui sont peuplées presque entièrement de Hongrois, Serbes et même de Russes en partie. [...]

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky, p. 191–2, Guzun 81, p. 220.

39. Diamandy sends suggestions to the point of continuing negotiations.

2/15 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 792

[...] 1. In this agreement (i.e. the neutrality agreement of October 1914, n.a.) the principle of the ethnic majority does not exist, with one reserve, Bukovina, which is an ex-Romanian province. [...]

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 56, 57.

Diamandy ANR II 39.

40. Diamandy offers suggestions on continuing the negotiations

3/16 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 798

These proposals [i.e. the original Russian offers of July 1914, see no. 2 above, n.a.] speak of lands inhabited by Romanians without a single reference to Bukovina [...]. We could add [in our counterproposals, n.a.] the suggestion that the same Romanian territories or others which Russia concedes that should be occupied by Romania, according to the accord and in return for our neutrality [...]

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 60.

Diamandy ANR II 40.

41. Diamandy demands more bibliography supporting Romania's claims.

De la Legatiunea din Petrograd. Nr. 797. 3/16 mai 1915

Contzesco Externe Bucarest.

Suite à mon télégramme no. 754. Je vous prie de m'envoyer aussi livre Cheradame sur l'Autriche-Hongrie.

(s) Diamandy. No. 797.

AMAE 1914 E71 partea 2, vol. 33, f. 88. Unpublished.

42. Poklevsky reports on Brătianu's reaction to Russian offer

5/18 May 1915, nr. 286.

[...] during a long, friendly talk, Brătianu stated the following.

The border we propose leaves out almost half of the ancient historic Romanian province of Bukovina...

Brătianu stated that in these conditions he will report to the king that he cannot assume responsibility to immediately declare war on Austro-Hungary and that he supposes that he would, with time, occupy those Austro-Hungarian provinces with a Romanian population, just as Romania was told it could do in our agreement from September last year [...]

(s) Poklevsky

Guzun 82, p. 222.

43. Diamandy asks for more bibliography supporting Romania's claims.

De la Legatiunea din Petrograd. Nr. 869. 7/20 mai 1915

Contzesco Externe Bucarest.

Suite à mes télégrammes chiffres n°. 754 et 797. Je vous prie de m'envoyer d'urgence l'histoire des Roumains d'Autriche-Hongrie par Monsieur Iorga, le livre de Monsieur Cheradame sur l'Autriche-Hongrie et les conférences ainsi que les publications des meilleures sur les Roumains d'Autriche-Hongrie.

(s) Diamandy. No. 869.

AMAE 1914 E71 partea 2, vol. 33, f. 89, unpublished.

44. Diamandy reports on a meeting with the British ambassador

11/24 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 859

[...] We already had the agreement with Russia (the neutrality agreement of October 1914, n.a.) ; all we did was to present the map which illustrated the text.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 73, 73v.

Diamandy ANR II 49.

45. Brătianu sends new instructions on the demanded border

12/25 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 860

Do not forget to show that Serbia crossing the Danube does not match the ethnic importance [of Serbs North of the Danube, n.a.] and would cause wars in the future.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 75, 75v.

Diamandy ANR II 50.

46. Diamandy asks for clarification as to which map he should use.

12/25 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 861

[...] for more clarification please telegraph whether in Maramuresh we fall back to the old map I brought with me from Bucharest.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 76

Diamandy ANR II 51.

47. Diamandy reports on a meeting with Sazonov.

12/25 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 863

Regarding the Banat, Sazonov told me he could not abandon the Serbs and showed me, on an ethnographic map a demarcation line which left the Serbs most of the Torontal district.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 77, 77v.

Diamandy ANR II 52.

48. Diamandy reports on Sazonov's ethnographic map

13/26 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 866

The ethnographic map shown to me by Sazonov and about which he says it is the Hungarian official one bears the date of 1878. It is on this map that he based his argumentation and on which he obtained the approval of the Allies.

It would be opportune to signal to Paris and London and for all of us to procure the most advantageous Romanian and Hungarian ethnographic maps. Please urgently send the map and books I have requested in my cyphered telegram nr. 679 [see above no. 24].

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 81.

Diamandy ANR II 54.

49. Brătianu sends bibliography justifying Romania's territorial claims

Le 15 / 28 mai 1915.

Monsieur le Ministre, Vous trouverez ci-joint les arguments politiques et historiques de nos revendications. Ces derniers nous ont été par M. Iorga – comme leur travail a été fait à la hâte il y a certaines parties qu'il vaut mieux ne pas faire connaître. Le Président du Conseil

vous les envoie plutôt pour que vous eut puissiez ce que vous trouverez nécessaire. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

C. Bratiano

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 84–84 v.

Legea Română, nr. 56, *Diamandy ANR I 249*.

50. Brătianu sends instructions regarding the ethnographic map.

17/30 May 1915. Cyphered telegram nr. 904

In the ethnographic map of the Banat please suppress the margins containing useless numbers.

ANR SANIC, *Colecția 50*, dosar 5918, f. 92.

Diamandy ANR II 62.

51. The unsigned memorandum on the Banat found in the Diamandy file concerning the Banat

Le Banat n'est qu'une partie du territoire ethnique roumain, habité par une population incontestablement aborigène, que les rois de Hongrie ayant à résister aux attaques des empereurs byzantins, fortifiés dans le duché de Belgrade et Branitschero, détachèrent sous des bans ou capitaines de frontière, pour en faire une marche, à une époque qui doit être le onzième et le douzième siècle. [...]

Le caractère purement roumain de cette région, un des anciens centres des Daces, ancêtres de la race, est attesté dès le Ve siècle par le récit du chroniqueur byzantin Priscus, qui mentionne même les termes d'origine latine dont se servaient les habitants [...]

La vie politique des Serbes prit naissance sur les rivages de l'Adriatique....Ce n'est que bien tard, surtout après la catastrophe de Cossovo (1389) qu'elle se groupa en se retirant vers le Danube pour chercher un dernier abris. Belgrade le même fut, après cette époque aussi une forteresse avancée des Hongrois [...] Le grand ouvrage de Jirecek n'a pas une seule page concernant les Serbes du Banat jusqu'à la mort du Tzar Douchane [...]

Pour montrer l'infériorité absolue de l'élément Serbe dans le Banat, nous citerons le témoignage non suspect de Grisellini, qui employait, vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle, des sources officielles, dans sa célèbre „Geschichte du Temesvarer Banats. (Vienne 1780). 181.639 Roumains et seulement 78.780 Serbes sur une population totale de 317.928 (p. 196).

Et il n'y a pas de village Serbe, de bourg au caractère plutôt Serbe, ou une minorité roumaine ne s'affirme et ne gagne du terrain, grâce à ses efforts aussi bien qu'à la conscience que les droits historiques sont de son côté [...]

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 109. Unpublished.

52. Diamandy suggests a compromise on Bukovina and Maramures

19 mai / 1 juin 1915. Télégramme chiffré enregistré sous No. 920.

Excellence Bratiano, Bucarest.

Entretien que je viens, d'avoir avec l'Ambassadeur Angleterre m'a laissé l'impression que si nous cédions sur question Banat, laquelle Triple Entente s'est engagée et

Sir Edw. Grey ne démord pas, il y aurait peut-être moyen s'accorder sur Bucovine et Maramouesch par concession que ferait Russie.

signé: Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 85.

Legăția Română, nr. 57, *Diamandy ANR I 251*.

53. Diamandy reports on negotiations and suggests compromise solution on Bukovina

Pétrograd, le 21 mai / 3 juin 1915. T. C. No. 942.

Il [i.e. Sazonov, n.a.] m'a laissé ensuite entendre qu'on pourrait trouver accommodement au Maramouesch. J'ai insisté sur Pruth et Banat. J'ai rencontré résistance. J'ai fait appel à ses vues larges en le mettant amicalement en garde contre personnages influents qui nous sont hostiles ici; j'ai laissé entendre Grand Duc Nicolas, Princesse lointaine Monténégrine, et Etat-Major. Il m'a affirmé que ces influences n'avaient pas de prise à Tzarskoe-Selo.

J'ai l'impression que pour arrangement final il faudra examiner si comme ultimatum et maximum concession en Bucovine ligne partant du Pruth qui nous resterait, suivant séparation des eaux et allant Iablontza, portion qui est peuplée Ruthènes.

ss Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 88–88v.

Legăția Română, nr. 59, *Diamandy ANR I 253*.

54. Sazonov comments on the ongoing negotiations between Romania and Russia

Pétrograd, le 21 mai / 3 juin 1915. À la Légation de Roumanie. Aide-Mémoire.

Pour ce qui concerne les territoires que la Roumanie pourrait obtenir si elle entrait en guerre, sans délai contre l'Autriche-Hongrie, Monsieur Sazonow a le regret de constater que le Gouvernement Roumain ne fait pas suffisamment droit au principe des nationalités que, par ailleurs, il invoque lui-même pour justifier ses aspirations. À ce point de vue l'abandon par la Roumanie de ses revendications pour ce qui touche la région de la haute Tisza ne peut résoudre la question, car, en dehors de cette région forte limitée, le Gouvernement Roumain continue à réclamer de vastes territoires habités par une incontestable majorité Russe ou Serbe.

Désirant cependant donner une preuve de ses dispositions conciliantes, bien qu'il n'ait pas encore reçu du Gouvernement Roumain une réponse à son aide-mémoire du 1-er Mai, le Gouvernement Impérial serait, pour sa part, prêt à apporter quelques amendements à la ligne-frontière tracée dans cet aide-mémoire, notamment pour ce qui concerne la partie Nord-Est du Comitat de Torontal ainsi que la Bucovine, où la ligne du Seret pourrait, à la rigueur, être substituée à celle de la Suchava, mais il faudrait pour cela que le Gouvernement Roumain, de son côté, se montrât réellement animé du désir d'aboutir à un accord sur une base équitable en tenant compte des devoirs que la Russie et la Serbie ont chacune vis-à-vis de leurs nationaux respectifs.

[sans signature]

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 89–89v.

Legăția Română, nr. 60, *Diamandy ANR I 254*.

55. Diamandy comments on the ongoing negotiations and proposes a compromise solution

Télégramme chiffré 960. 24 mai / 6 juin 1915, dans l'après-midi.

Excellence Bratiano, Président Conseil Bucarest.

[...] Si Russie a intérêt Bucovine cause Ruthènes et territoriale, il est caractère plutôt local. Par contre Banat entre dans calculs politiques Triple Entente baser politique balkanique sur entente Serbo-Bulgare par concession dont Banat serait appoint. [...]

Il y a lieu de considérer qu'il n'y aurait pas avantage pour nous annexer toute la Bucovine, ni même tout Maramouesch englobant éléments slaves que Russie a convoité et auxquels elle pourrait continuer à s'intéresser.

...

signé: Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 94–94v.

Legăția Română, nr. 65, *Diamandy ANR I 258*.

56. Brătianu sends Diamandy bibliography and an answer to Sazonov's comments (no. 54 above)

Télégramme chiffré 1009. Bucarest, le 30 mai / 12 juin 1915, 9 h. 25, nuit.

Excellence Diamandy, Pétrograd.

Je vous envoie aujourd'hui, par la poste, réponse à l'Aide-Mémoire Russe dans lequel nous maintenons, sous forme amicale, les points essentiels de nos revendications.

Avant de le remettre, je vous autorise à me proposer, télégraphiquement, les modifications que vous jugez opportunes.

signé: Bratiano

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 101.

Legăția Română, nr. 71, *Diamandy ANR I 261*.

57. Brătianu sends Diamandy Serbian bibliography on the Banat

Télégramme chiffré 1012. Pétrograd, le 30 mai / 12 juin 1915, 6 heures 12 soir.

Excellence Diamandy, Petrograd.

Je vous ai fait expédier, par la poste, dix exemplaires d'un Mémoire que les Serbes ont répandu sur la Question du Banat, ainsi que sa réfutation, point de vue roumain, fait par une personne connaissant à fond la question.

Veillez utiliser à bon escient cette publication, dans laquelle à vous de puiser abondamment arguments pouvant servir notre cause.

signé: Bratiano No. 266

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 99.

Legăția Română, nr. 69, *Diamandy ANR I 263*.

58. Brătianu sends Diamandy instructions

Pétrograd, le 30 mai / 13 juin 1915. T. C. 1010

Excellence Diamandy, Pétrograd.

[...] Cette démarche de Poklewsky m'a donné l'impression que l'entrée en matière immédiate pourra entraîner accord complet, donc Danube, Theiss et Pruth.

signé: Bratiano

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 100–100v.

Legăția Română, nr. 70, *Diamandy ANR I 262*.

59. Diamandy reports on the latest negotiations and proposes the Costinescu line in Bukovina

Pétrograd, le 4 / 17 juin 1915, soir. T. C. No. 1054.

Ex[cellence] Bratiano, Président Conseil B[u]C[a]R[est].

Sazonow m'a dit que question Banat empêchait accord; pour Bucovine il était disposé à faire concession nous concédant Pruth et Cernovitz, en adoptant la ligne Costinescu, qui laisserait à la Russie la portion ouest entre montagnes Ruthènes et Ceremus. Nous vous abandonnerions 30 000 Ruthènes orthodoxes. Il a ajouté en passant: nous vous demanderions de ne pas les priver d'écoles et les dénationaliser.

signé: Diamandy

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 107–107v.

Legăția Română, nr. 77, *Diamandy ANR I 268*.

60. Sazonov telegraphs Poklewsky Russia's decision to compromise on Bukovina.

Télégramme secret du ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'ambassadeur à Bucarest. 17/30 mai 1915, no. 3102.

La Russie a décidé pour s'adjoindre la Roumanie à satisfaire à toutes les exigences des Roumains en Bucovine [...] Bratiano consent à son tour à certaines concessions dans l'Ugorczina [i.e. Maramuresh, n.a.] mais continue à insister sur l'annexion de tout le Banat [...]

(s) Sazonov

Polonsky, p. 198.

61. Poklewsky proposes a compromise solution for the Banat and Bukovina, based on the Costinescu line

Secret telegram of the ambassador in Bucharest to the Foreign minister. 5/18 June 1915, no. 399.

[...] We [Poklevsky with the Italian and the French ambassadors, n.a.] also believe that we must accept the Costinescu line in Bukovina and to leave the Serbs only a few tens of square kilometers in the Banat North of the Danube and in the Torontal. Regarding the latter, perhaps it would be better to let Romania and Serbia submit this border to arbitration [...]

(s) Poklevsky

Guzun 88, p. 231.

62. Brătianu sends Diamandy instructions

Sent 11/24 June 1915; 1a.m.; received at 9 am T. C. 1094

Excellence Diamandy, Pétrograd.

Poklevsky has just told me that Russia agrees to give up Bukovina up to the Pruth, that it requires Tisza as a border for all of Maramures but that it cannot take away South-Western Banat to the Serbs. I thanked him for Bukovina, I accepted Tisza for Maramuresh but I maintained the Danube as a frontier of the Banat, declaring that I am giving him no hope [...]

(s) Brătianu

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 130.

Diamandy ANR I 279.

63. Brătianu sends Diamandy instructions

Sent 13/26 June 1915; 12.30 a.m.; received at 8.30 am T. C. 1094

Excellence Diamandy, Pétrograd.

Urgent. Here is the answer I gave today to the request the Russian ambassador made the day before yesterday: As I said, I have been happy to find out the Imperial Government is willing to accept the Pruth through all its track in Bukovina, as the future frontier with Romania. If agreement is reached in other points I am willing to reduce our claims to the thalweg of the Tisza in Northern Hungary, from its sources. To rectify the breach Galicia forms between Romania's possessions [between Maramures and Bukovina, - n.a.], I hope the Russian government will agree that the Southern part of that bulge, almost devoid of population, be annexed by Romania. [...]

(s) Brătianu

ANR SANIC, Fond personal „C. Diamandy”, dosar 30, vol. I, f. 135, 135v, 136.

Diamandy ANR I 283.

64. Sazonov accepts all of Brătianu's demands

27 June/10 July 1915, no. 3303

In agreement with France and Britain it has been decided to satisfy all of Brătianu's demands, that is: to give up all of Bukovina up to the Pruth, Transcarpathia to the Tisza and the entire Banat [...]

(s) Sazonov

Guzun 98, p. 245.

65. Russian Foreign Minister Stürmer telegraphs his ambassadors in London and Paris

31 July/13 August 1916

At the same time the Imperial Government is certain that the great concessions and sacrifices it has made for the general success [of the war, n.a.] will be dealt with the appropriate attention and that would the need arise in the future to interpret certain pacts, which are not clear enough in the convention, the Allied governments will not hesitate to support Russia's point of view.

(s) Stürmer

Polonsky no. 3513, p. 209. Direcția generală a Arhivelor Statului, *1918 la români. Desăvârșirea unității național-statale a poporului român. Documente externe, 1879–1916*, vol. 1, București, 1983, p. 756, no. 232.

66. Alliance Treaty signed between Romania and the Allied Powers

August 4/17, Bucharest

Article III

La France, la Grande Bretagne, l'Italie et la Russie reconnaissent à la Roumanie le droit d'annexer les territoires de la Monarchie Austro-Hongroise stipules et délimites à l'article IV.

Article IV

[...] Les limites des territoires mentionnés à l'article précédent sont fixées comme suit: [...] [there follows a long list of geographical markers, n.a.]

REVISITING A NATIONAL CARTOGRAPHIC PROJECT.
THE PLACE NAMES FROM THE 'PLAN DIRECTOR DE TRAGERE'
MAP SERIES (1916–1959)

CEZAR BUTEREZ
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The 'Plan Director de Tragere' of the Army Geographic Service was the first large-scale national map collection covering all Romanian regions and also the first in the country's history to use a uniform projection system. Although the maps were initially graphically copied from earlier sources, they were continuously updated after 1921. The maps were used until 1959, when they were replaced by Soviet-inspired cartographic works based on the Gauss-Krüger coordinate system. The maps clearly had a military function, yet their rich content could be a valuable resource for the historical-geographical reconstruction of the natural and cultural landscape.

However, the 'Plan Director de Tragere' collection is proving particularly difficult to use due to its lengthy production, as its editions vary widely in style and content. As a result of the initiative of a geo-spatial.org project named *eHarta* to digitally preserve and share old cartographic material, many map sheets from different editions have been scanned, georeferenced, and made available via the web, increasing the general interest in the collection. A highlight of the 'Plan Director de Tragere' are the place names, for which the cartographers, officers of the Romanian Army, received specific instructions on how to collect and display them on the maps.

The present study aims to investigate the possibility of a systematic indexing of the "Plan Director de Tragere" as a resource for toponymic research. It draws new conclusions from previous projects that have used the maps and will highlight the problems that should be considered when turning to the collection as reference material. In addition, the article will also address the still unresolved issue of using the maps as a basis for a strongly needed Romanian digital gazetteer.

Keywords: Plan Director de Tragere, historical maps, Romania, gazetteer, place names.

In the mid-19th century, after the unification of the principalities of Moldova and Wallachia, the newly formed nation-state did not dispose of a map of its own. The reliance on Austrian and Russian map series, which were perceived as rather cursory and often inaccurate, was considered a deficiency that needed to be thoroughly remedied.¹ Although the country was amid a period of great social, economic and cultural transitions, the knowledge of its own territory was, still quite deficient.

The establishment of the General Staff of the Romanian Army in 1859 raised for the first time the issue of conducting systematic topographic, geodetic and statistical work and their application to the production of a national cadastral map.²

¹ G.G. Pârjolescu, *Din istoricul hărților Principatelor și harta României*, București, 1908, p. 23.

² The idea of a cadastral map both for military and civilian needs did not arise at that time.

However, it was not until the establishment of the Scientific War Depot in 1870 that the work really took off. The first office, later transformed into a department, was named *Map of Romania – Surveying and Cartographic Works*. The Ministry of War appointed Colonel Constantin Barozzi as the head of the Depot, and in 1873 he began the survey work for the production of the first national topographic map of Romania based on a unified concept.³ The project commenced in northern Moldavia, but work was halted three years later, in 1876, due to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. In its aftermath, the surveyors decided to resume their work in the newly won province of Dobrudja (1880–1884). Meanwhile, the Scientific War Depot was renamed and designated as *The Third Department* of the General Staff of the Army. So it continued the surveying work in Moldavia (1884–1894) and in Muntenia (1894–1899), from east to west, up to the meridian that passed through the town of Zimnicea.⁴ In 1895, a new law on the General Staff led to the creation of the Military Geographical Institute.⁵ However, its first Director, Brigadier General Constantin Brătianu, recognizing the need to rework the existing map, initiated work on a second geodetic concept, which was based on new methods and tools. Besides many technical issues that needed to be addressed, a different projection system was chosen and it was decided that the 1:20,000 scale reference map would be used to create smaller map series (1:50,000, 1:100,000, 1:200,000).⁶

The cartographic materials produced in this period constituted a real novelty for Romanian mapmaking, yet there was an obvious lack of uniformity between the outcomes of the two geodetic concepts and their outputs.

Romania's participation in the First World War entailed an important shift in the work of the Geographical Service of the Army. The Service was requested to produce maps that were not only up-to-date, but could also be used by the artillery units, which were becoming more and more important. This prompted, starting from 1916, a new conceptual change of the whole project, advocated by the representative of the French mission that supported the Romanian Geographical Service, André-Louis Cholesky. In this way, the map known as 'Plan Director de Tragere' was born,⁷ which was to become an important milestone in Romanian cartography.

THE 'PLAN DIRECTOR DE TRAGERE' MAP COLLECTION

The basic map 'Plan Director de Tragere' of the Geographical Service of the Army was printed at a scale of 1:20,000. With the help of Cholesky, a standard

³ M. Rotaru, Gh. Anculete, I. Paraschiva, *Evoluția concepției geodezice militare în România*, București, 1989, passim.

⁴ G. Iannescu, "Conspect asupra lucrărilor Institutului Geografic al Armatei", *Buletinul Societății Geografice Române* XXIX, 1908, 1, p. 1–24.

⁵ In the period from 1895 to 1950, the institution had two different names – Military Geographical Institute (1895–1910, 1930–1950) and Army Geographical Service (1910–1930).

⁶ M. Rotaru, Gh. Anculete, I. Paraschiva, *Evoluția concepției geodezice...*, p. 92.

⁷ 'Direct Firing Map', as translated by the Library of Congress – Geography and Map Division, *Acquisitions*, Library of Congress, Washington, 1983, p. 27.

cartographic projection was used for the first time by employing a Lambertian conical grid based on the Clarke ellipsoid.⁸ The ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ thus became the first Romanian cartographic work in which the entire territory of the country could be represented with a uniform projection system. Unlike all its predecessors, the project was surprisingly long-lived. Although it went through many changes, both technical and aesthetic, some of which were apparent and others subtler, the maps were produced almost continuously from 1916 to 1959.

Although the base map was printed in only a few colors, it contains a large number of features – inhabited places, roads and railroads, land use and production, boundaries, and many other details including hills, enclosures, cottages, mills, and telegraph lines (Fig. 1). But even for the untrained map reader, the place names are the most striking feature of the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’. Their number is both inspiring and intimidating, especially when compared to more recent maps, which contain so few names as if entire regions were true *no-man’s land*.

However, the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ was by no means an entirely new map. For most of the territories that belonged to the Old Kingdom, the work was based on older cartographic material drawn up during the field surveys carried out between 1880 and 1907 at a scale of 1:20,000. In the eastern part of Moldavia (Bessarabia), the map was based on the Russian 1:42,000 topographic map, and in Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina, on the Austrian 1:25,000 map.⁹ Starting in 1921, the Army Geographic Service strove to conduct new surveys to update the sheets copied from foreign maps. On the other hand, attempts were also made to improve the general map layout by expanding the color palette and by modifying the symbols and labels. While these amendments provided the much-desired unification of the series, they also led to a growing number of map editions. Tellingly, none of these editions managed to cover the entire territory of Romania. A major problem was the pace at which new sheets were produced and made available, which was simply too slow to match all the changes that were taking place in the country. The lack of an adequate, up-to-date map of the country was soon criticized by many geographers, who found the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ not reliable enough and called for an urgent update.¹⁰ However, there was no significant improvement. After 1948, the new political regime recognized the need to introduce a new and modern projection system in Romania, nevertheless, during the extensive surveys that began in 1951, various editions of the old sheets continued to be reprinted with minimal changes, even though most of the information they contained had long since become obsolete. Gradually, their content and accuracy no longer satisfied military requirements, and their printing

⁸ A conformal projection preserves the angles and ensures the correct relative local directions at any point. The Lambert projection was developed by the Swiss polymath Johann Heinrich Lambert and presented in 1772, but was hardly used until the first half of the twentieth century.

⁹ I. Pavelescu, *Topografia. Studiul terenului – citirea hărților și planurilor directe*, București, 1924.

¹⁰ V. Tufescu, “Inactualitatea hărții noastre topografice”, *Arhivele Basarabiei* 4, 1932, 1, p. 47–50.

and distribution was finally halted in 1959, shortly before the appearance of the new generation of Gauss-Krüger topographic maps.¹¹

In 2010, the geo-spatial.org community¹² began a crowdsourced project called *eHarta*¹³ to document and georeference a large portion of the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ collection.¹⁴ The project was successful and in 2011 the maps were published as a raster mosaic through a web interface and also made available through geo-spatial.org's Web Map Server (WMS).¹⁵ The accessibility of the maps to both Geographic Information Systems¹⁶ professionals and map aficionados sparked a great deal of interest in historical cartography and in using the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ in various fields of scientific research, including archaeology,¹⁷ architecture, and urban history.¹⁸ The project was also used as an optional base map in the cartographic web interface of the National Cultural Heritage.¹⁹ However, one of the most important but mostly overlooked achievements of the project was that eHarta initiated a referential framework for the study of the maps themselves. Viewed as a mosaic, the Plan Director de Tragere collection appears so heterogeneous that it reaches a point where it seems like a pure puzzle of different maps (Fig. 2). Beyond aesthetics, however, there are some methodological questions that must be addressed first before using the map collection as a database for a gazetteer research.

The missing sheets. The maps scanned as part of the *eHarta* project do not cover the whole country. There are many missing sheets, especially in the area of the Southern Carpathians and in the lands that after the Second World War no longer belonged to Romania. Some of these sheets have been identified in recent years in a previously unknown archive at the Faculty of Geography in Bucharest, but the sheets remain to be added to the digital collection. Filling in the remaining gaps is turning out to be an extremely difficult, if not impossible, task, when one considers that there were doubts that these maps had actually been produced.

¹¹ V. Crăciunescu, I. Rus, Șt. Constantinescu, I. Ovejanu, Zs. Bartos-Elekes, *Master Shooting Plans*, 2011, accessible online on www.geo-spatial.org.

¹² A community-driven project founded in Bucharest in 2007 that operates as a platform for the exchange of geo-knowledge and geodata. The official website is <https://geo-spatial.org>.

¹³ V. Crăciunescu, Șt. Constantinescu, I. Ovejanu, I. Rus, “Project eHarta: a collaborative initiative to digitally preserve and freely share old cartographic documents in Romania”, *e-Perimetron* 4, 2011, 4, p. 261–269.

¹⁴ The majority of the maps originate from the collections of the Faculties of Geography in Cluj and Bucharest.

¹⁵ A Web Map Server (WMS) is a standard protocol developed by the Open Geospatial Consortium for serving georeferenced image files over the Internet. Its specifications can be accessed at: <https://www.ogc.org/standards/wms>

¹⁶ A Geographic Information System (GIS) is a computer system used to capture, store, analyse and visualize geographical data. GIS has become widely used to study and extract information from historical maps.

¹⁷ V. Diaconu, “Toponimele „cetățuia” și „cetate” din zona Neamțului – confirmări și infirmări ale prezenței unor situri arheologice”, *Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare* 1, 2019, 1, p. 85–104.

¹⁸ T.O. Gheorghiu, «Sisteme de organizare a centrelor urbane din Țara Românească în raport cu traficul zonal – secolul al XIX-lea», *Historia Urbana* 27, 2019, p. 225–258.

¹⁹ Accessible online on <https://map.cimec.ro/Mapserver/index.html>.

The substantial number of editions of the maps. From 1916 to 1959, the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ underwent numerous redesigns, which led to a large number of editions, sometimes even printed simultaneously. While new sheets were produced mainly due to new surveys or further revisions, some reprints did not show any changes. As it is quite difficult to see whether an issue follows a certain spatial pattern, an overall survey of the collection remains unfeasible to this day. Due to the lack of possibility to compile a homogeneous mosaic based on one or two editions, the geo-spatial.org initiative had to compromise methodologically in order to produce a unified dataset that can be shared via standard web services and thus be accessible by the largest possible number of users.

The accuracy of the maps. In order to obtain all potential benefits from the maps in any type of manual or automatic feature extraction, the scanned images had to be accurately georeferenced. Although the entire processing procedure was greatly simplified by the use of GDAL,²⁰ the results varied considerably from region to region in terms of accuracy. The reasons for these variations are manifold – errors in crowdsourcing the coordinate pairs used as ground control points, minor inconsistencies in the parameters of the projection transformation and in the original projection system of the maps themselves, and the poor condition or the quality of the paper onto which the maps were printed. Since the original scans were also made available, users could download and georeference the sheets themselves.

Lastly, there is the issue of the place names, which is of particular interest to this study. Although the project attracted much attention among local historians and map aficionados, especially after the sheets became accessible online, it went almost completely unnoticed by scholars interested in toponymy, linguists or geographers alike. In fact, the General Survey Instructions written for the officers of the Army Geographical Service included an extensive section devoted to place names. The instructions emphasized the responsibility of the surveyors to thoroughly research and record place names during their fieldwork and also provided some guidelines for their recording onto the maps.²¹ Considering the numerous references that demonstrate the obvious effort to accurately record place names, both in the field and in the recorder’s office, an important question arises. There is still no definitive answer to this question, which has long preoccupied Romanian geographers and historians. Could the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ series be used as a basis for the construction of a national gazetteer? The next section of this study addresses this question and searches for a minimal general methodological framework that could be used to build a digital gazetteer using historical maps.

²⁰ The Geospatial Data Abstraction Library (GDAL) is an extensive open-source library that contains utilities and tools for the analysis of geographic data formats (<https://gdal.org>).

²¹ I. Pavelescu, *Harta României – instrucțiuni provizorii asupra lucrărilor de topografie*, București, 1910, p. 176–183.

EARLIER UTILIZATION OF THE MAP COLLECTION

Despite the difficulty of using the map collection available through *eHarta* for any kind of large-scale project, in 2016 a group of five enthusiastic students from the Faculty of Geography in Bucharest embarked on an ambitious project reminiscent of early historical research in the field of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Using standard desktop GIS software, the team wanted to compile a dataset of all the settlements that appear on all the sheets of the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ collection. Little can be said about the workflow, as it was largely a simple on-screen digitization on a sheet-by-sheet basis assigned to each of the five members. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, the team chose to digitize polygons for the built-up areas of the settlements as the main dataset and extract their centroids to provide an additional point layer. The two resulting datasets were uploaded to geo-spatial.org, but went largely unnoticed. The students were heavily criticized for failing to address any of the issues described in the previous section, thus producing rather incomplete and highly unreliable datasets. Nevertheless, in addition to the problems already noted, the team's notes reveal other difficulties encountered in working with the maps that had previously been completely overlooked.

One major and rather unexpected deficiency was the illegibility of numerous place names. For example, the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ showing the area around the village of Broasca in the Buzău Valley is not physically damaged or incomplete, yet it is quite difficult for any human eye to read all the names correctly without a solid knowledge of the region (Fig. 3). Many sheets from the 1950s, mostly copies of older sheets, have similar problems due to poor print quality on thin acidic paper.

Even if the maps are legible, the question remains about the real significance of the various place names. A thorough study of an appropriate edition of the Atlas of Conventional Signs should probably eliminate this problem.²² However, the atlas does not explain the symbols or names taken from foreign maps, especially those sheets relating to Transylvania and the Banat. For example, near the SW of Hațeg (Hunedoara County), along the old road leading to the town, there are two small captions near what appear to be small groups of houses – Martin and Kukuk (Fig. 4).

The map sheet, although printed a few years after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is an almost an identical copy of an Austrian map at a similar scale of the Third Military Survey (1869–1887).²³ The use of such editions therefore requires a good knowledge of the source material, since the cartographic tradition is often much older than the date of printing (and may even have been obsolete at the time of the original map production).

²² Serviciul Geografic al Armatei, *Noul atlas al semnelor convenționale. Ridicările topografice și lucrările cartografice ale României*, București 1921.

²³ L. Zentai, G. Gercsák, “Cross-border topographic mapping, cross-border orienteering: the Hungarian overview”, *International Journal of Cartography* 5, 2019, 2–3, p. 255–268.

PLACE NAME CHANGES

About shortly after the Great Union of 1918, the Romanian authorities determined to change the “foreign” place names of many settlements, particularly from Transylvania and Dobrudja. This was intended to adjust the toponymy in order to adequately reflect the cultural identity of the new Romanian Kingdom.²⁴ The Military Geographical Institute quickly updated the maps and even conducted a field study in 1932 dedicated exclusively to the changes of the place names.

Nevertheless, a comparison of the same sheets, taken from different editions, can sometimes bring to light unexpected changes in place names, apart from those regulated by law. For example, west of Doblea, an isolated village from Argeş County, at the intersection of two local roads stood a cross named *Crucea Iorgăi* (*Iorga Cross*), according to the 1930 edition of the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ (Fig. 5). Most likely, Iorga was the name of its founder, and as with numerous other wooden or stone crosses in Wallachia, its location made it a useful landmark when navigating by map. This seemingly insignificant detail was slightly changed in the 1957 edition, with the application of the new Soviet-inspired conventional symbols. *Crucea Iorgăi* now became *grădina Iorgăi* (*Iorga’s garden*), although the symbol for a wayside cross remained in the same place.²⁵ The 1957 edition offers no clues how and when the small toponym was changed. Instead, it brings to our attention another hitherto unforeseen obstacle in the construction of a gazetteer. There could very well be numerous other place names that have been changed from one edition to another with no one noticing.

MINOR SETTLEMENTS

In numerous cases, the bases for a gazetteer are the names of what some technical guides call “inhabited places”,²⁶ a generic term employed for all types of settlements. However, there are numerous examples, on a large number of sheets from different editions, of problems that can be encountered when using the maps to gazette place names.

The 4353 Cătina sheet, printed in 1952, which replicates an earlier edition without significant changes, features the settlements on the upper *Muscel Creek*, a small tributary of the Buzău in the Subcarpathian area. During the period when the field recordings were conducted (1890–1895), official administrative handbooks

²⁴ C. Brătescu, “Noile numiri de sate din Dobrogea Veche”, *Analele Dobrogei* V–VI, 1924–1925, p. 193–202.

²⁵ On more recent topographic maps, the place name has been completely removed.

²⁶ Ordnance Survey, *OS Open Names – technical specification*, version 2.1, 2019, online at www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk; the term is also widely used in the GeoNames gazetteer – online at www.geonames.org.

confirm the existence of several villages belonging to the rural commune of *Valea Muscelului*: *Brusturișu*, *Calea Chiojdului*, *Mihăilești*, *Malu Alb*, *Măceșu*, *Manolești*, *Poiana* and *Muscelu*, which constituted the seat.

Out of all these villages, the map names only *Muscelu* and *Valea Muscelului*, without clarifying that the latter actually refers to the name of the whole commune (Fig. 6). It is rather surprising that all the other settlements, although clearly indicated at house level, were not mentioned at all on the map. Moreover, during a recently conducted field research²⁷, the inhabitants also revealed that they do not regard *Muscel* as a separate settlement, but as a group of somewhat scattered hamlets – *Cămunul Bisericii* (also known as *Manolești*), *Drăgulinești* and *Gârla*.²⁸ Also the village of *Poiana*, which is SSE of the church of *Muscel*, includes the hamlet of *Pâcle*, whose name also does not appear on the map. Some of these small hamlets, such as *Drăgulinești*, *Gârla* and *Pâcle*, have never been officially recognised as separate settlements, although their specific identity is still apparent to locals today.

It appears that the smaller settlements, in particular those that did not have official administrative status, were systematically missed by the older surveys upon which the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ was based. A thorough examination of other sheets, however, shows that this was not in fact the case. On the margin of the Mehedinți district, on the right bank of the *Motru River*, lies a village called *Buicești* (Fig. 7). The 1908 administrative law mentions a second *Buicești* that is part of a neighbouring rural commune, though it is nowhere to be found on the map. Instead, the map features in brackets four smaller place names – *Peret*, *Ciuculani*, *Mitulani* and *Mango*, which refer to the four hamlets that have never made an appearance in the official administrative documents.²⁹

Lastly, the toponymy used on these maps should be taken with a grain of salt. Ion Conea voiced a sensible warning to all those who rely solely on maps when studying place names, contending that many maps were “toponymic graveyards” because they were rife with errors and misspellings that would easily mislead the uninitiated reader.³⁰ Conea’s remark came as a direct critique directed at those Romanian historians and linguists who practised toponymy without field research experience and sound geographical knowledge. Conea’s admonishing words are by no means exaggerated. If a scholar could still judge the accuracy of toponymy relatively easily during a local study, this is hardly possible for a larger project.

²⁷ Conducted in July, 2019.

²⁸ These settlements were recently studied by D. Turnock and N. Muică, “Settlement and Toponymy in the Pătârlagele Depression: the Muscel and Viei valleys”, *Geographica Timisiensis* 18, 2009, no. 1–2, p. 121–148.

²⁹ Mitulani is mentioned as part of Buicești in a botanical paper – I. Costache, “Floristic contributions”, *Buletinul Grădinii Botanice Iași* 16, 2006, p. 63.

³⁰ * * *, *Clopotiva: un sat din Hațeg – monografie sociologică întocmită de Echipa Regală Studențească 19/935 sub conducerea lui Ion Conea*. Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, București 1940, vol. I, p. 122.

THE CREATION OF A DIGITAL GAZETTEER BASED ON THE 'PLAN DIRECTOR DE TRAGERE' COLLECTION

Gazetteers are structured inventories of geographical names that are essential tools for matching texts to spaces and places. In recent years, interest in (digital) gazetteers has increased, and their compilation is considered a central task of the Geohumanities today.³¹ The primary reason for the increased interest lies in the fact that gazetteers fulfil an important function in geographically enabled information management systems.³² They are excellent connectors between the geographic web and the much broader web of information, links and data of all kinds.³³ Given their increasing relevance, several standards for digital gazetteers have been developed that attempt to consider many of the technical issues involved, such as classifications and ontology creation and interoperability, to name but a few.³⁴ According to the Alexandria Digital Library (ADL) standard, a minimal gazetteer requires three core components: a name, a classification or feature type, and a spatial footprint.³⁵ Gazetteers and services based on gazetteers can be used in many different fields, such as cultural history, heritage conservation, public health, urban and rural planning, and digital libraries. Numerous gazetteers, created long before the digital age, have become authoritative name sources that provided the framework for regional and national toponymic guidelines.³⁶

Gazetteers are not a new subject matter in Romanian geography. To the contrary, they seem to have been one of the major scientific endeavours of the discipline since its first ventures into the academic world. One of the first undertakings of the Romanian Geographical Society, even prior to the proclamation of the Kingdom (1881), was a very audacious one: to compile a National Geographical Dictionary. Following several unsuccessful approaches, mostly caused by shaky methodological approaches, the monumental work was eventually completed. Its result was the five volumes published between 1898 and 1902, as a collation of 32 smaller gazetteers, with one for each 'judeţ' (district). While the *Great*

³¹ *Geohumanities* is a generic term that refers to a variety of scholarly works and research projects at the intersection of geography and humanities disciplines (M. Dear, J. Ketchum, S. Luria, D. Richardson (eds) *GeoHumanities. Art, history, text at the edge of place*, London 2011). For recent perspectives on toponymy as a topic in geohumanities see: M.L. Berman, R. Mostern, H. Southall (eds), *Placing Names. Enriching and Integrating Gazetteers*, Bloomington, 2016.

³² E. Acheson, S. De Sabbata, R. S. Purves, "A quantitative analysis of global gazetteers: Patterns of coverage for common feature types", *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems* 64, 2017, p. 309–320.

³³ H. Southall, R. Mostern, M. L. Berman, "On historical gazetteers", *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 5, 2011, no. 2, p. 127–145.

³⁴ M.F. Goodchild, L.L. Hill, "Introduction to digital gazetteer research", *International Journal of Geographical Information Science* 22, no. 10, 2008, p. 1039–1044.

³⁵ L.L. Hill, "Core Elements of Digital Gazetteers: Placenames, Categories, and Footprints", *Research and advanced technology for digital libraries*, 2000, p. 280–290. A legacy webpage of the ADL project can still be browsed at <http://legacy.alexandria.ucsb.edu/>

³⁶ Many of these national guidelines are available online on the website of the *United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names* – <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/ungegn/>

Geographical Dictionary of Romania [Marele Dicționar Geografic al României], as it was referred to, had quickly become a landmark of Romanian culture, it was not long before scholars noticed what they called *compositional shortcomings*. As a matter of fact, the Society's failure to provide a uniform schedule of work, together with the rather superficial and haphazard approaches of several of the 32 Gazetteers, which were mostly compiled by passionate amateurs, produced an enormous number of errors that eventually raised suspicions about the work as a whole. Realising that *The Great Geographical Dictionary* failed to fulfil its primary function of being a national gazetteer, a group of historians and geographers raised the question whether it could be replaced through another undertaking that might be more consistent and based on a sounder methodological approach,³⁷ but it eventually never came to be published.

Finally, one of the main reasons that impeded the production of gazetteers in Romania was the lack of a consistent standardisation of place names. Notwithstanding the numerous orthographic revisions of the Romanian language and the efforts of linguists on the one hand,³⁸ and the often-laborious scholarship and fieldwork of geographers on the other,³⁹ the two groups of scholars hardly cooperated.⁴⁰ Consequently, the inventories of place names compiled by the linguists were usually inaccurate and halting, while those compiled by the geographers were inconsistent regarding classification and spelling.⁴¹ Yet it is surprising that both have equally and almost exclusively focused on printing voluminous works, often in multiple volumes, while completely dismissing the possibility for developing some kind of digital gazetteer.

In the same way, there is the conspicuous problem of a decidedly mismatch between place names and their cartographic application, which is quite disturbing when one considers that many gazetteers were, and still are, by-products of mapmaking. The collection of place names for the map of one's country was perceived as a responsible task and sometimes inspired valuable contributions towards the knowledge of toponymy.⁴² Despite this, few cartographic works today are based on new toponymic surveys, as most cartographers tacitly copy place names found on earlier, though not very old, maps, still willing to change some of them but without adhering to any definite sets of rules.⁴³

³⁷ A.O., "Pentru un nou dicționar geografic", *Arhivele Olteniei* XIII, 1934, 74–76, p. 257–266.

³⁸ Th. Capidan, "Numele geografice din România și Dicționarul Toponimic Român", *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Literare*, Series III, XV, 1946, p. 35–76.

³⁹ I. Conea, Dr. Bugă, "Familia termenilor geografici din limba poporului român cu semnificația „un loc adânc într-o apă curgătoare”", *Studii și cercetări de Geologie-Geofizică-Geografie, seria Geografie* XVII, 1971, no. 1, p. 91–97.

⁴⁰ Gh. Dragu, "Toponimia (știința numelor geografice) și interdisciplinaritatea", *Buletinul Societății de Științe Geografice* VII (LXXVII), 1984, p. 221–224.

⁴¹ V. Șerban, "Unele aspecte ale ortografierii toponimicelor românești", *Limba Română* XI, 1962, 5, p. 568–573.

⁴² I. Conea, "Toponimia în harta țării", *Geopolitică și Geoistoria* III, 1944, 1, p. 112–121.

⁴³ The problem of multiple names for the same geographical feature is still of topical interest, as discussed by M. Buza, "Standardizarea denumirilor geografice din România – stabilirea unor norme de scriere corectă a denumirilor geografice", *Studii și cercetări de geografie* XLII, 1995, p. 101–106.

The youngest work published by geographers, and courageously translated into English as the *Gazetteer of Romania* (two volumes, 2008–2009), strove to follow all the recommendations of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, and followed the very latest norms of Romanian orthography.⁴⁴ Its reviewers were very favourable and ranked the *Gazetteer* alongside *The Great Geographical Dictionary* in the group of notable reference works.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the affirmative reviews, however, the project is not all that impressive. All the 40,000 or more place names it contains were compiled exclusively from the last major Romanian topographical map series, which suffers from a considerable number of serious errors, such as misspellings, confused names and toponyms of questionable authenticity. A more comprehensive but still untrustworthy version of the same collection, built on the same methodology and containing some 94,000 entries, has been published as Romania's official dataset for the Geographic Names theme on the European Union's INSPIRE Geoportal.⁴⁶ Regardless of this somewhat failed attempt, there are quite a few successful gazetteer projects in Europe that could be inspiring for a committed Romanian venture.

A contemporary gazetteer initiative of particular methodological weight that has attracted the attention of many scholars and enthusiasts is GB1900, a collaborative project between the University of Portsmouth, the National Library of Scotland and three Welsh institutions. Designed as an extension of the earlier Cymru1900 project, this project used crowdsourcing to transfer all place names from the Ordnance Survey 6-inch to the mile (1:10,560) County Series topographic maps.⁴⁷ The project team has published two papers discussing the contribution of user involvement to the success⁴⁸ of the project and the evaluation of the resulting gazetteer.⁴⁹ Apart from the technical aspects of developing the actual web application and selecting the database, the project was based entirely on a series of maps that is considered to be an excellent record of geographical features for the entire Great Britain.

Most interestingly, the 'Plan Director de Tragerie' series bears many similarities to these British maps, however by now it should be obvious that the collection in its current state is not suitable for the development of a gazetteer. Its

⁴⁴ M. Buza, "Repertoriul denumirilor geografice standardizate din România (Gazetteer of Romania)", *Comunicări de Geografie* II, 1998, p. 144–147.

⁴⁵ I.S. Jucu, "Gazetteer of Romania Volume II M-Z – book review", *Review of Historical Geography and Toponomastics* IV, 2009, 7–8, p. 161–162.

⁴⁶ The dataset can be downloaded free of charge from <https://inspire-geoportal.ec.europa.eu/> and browsed using standard Geographic Information Systems software packages.

⁴⁷ The original surveys were made between 1842–1893, the mapping was revised between 1888–1914, and updated, mainly in urban areas, until the 1940s.

⁴⁸ H. Southall, P. Aucott, C. Fleet, T. Pert, M. Stoner, "GB1900: Engaging the public in very large-scale gazetteer construction from the Ordnance Survey "County series" 1: 10,560 mapping of Great Britain", *Journal of Map & Geography Libraries* 13, 2017, 1, p. 7–28.

⁴⁹ P. Aucott, H. Southall, "Locating past places in Britain: Creating and Evaluating the GB1900 Gazetteer", *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 13, 2019, 1–2, p. 69–94.

incompleteness, the large number of undocumented editions and the plethora of sometimes inaccurate or outdated sources on which the sheets were based are all important drawbacks that need to be considered when devising a gazetteer methodology.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has outlined that digital gazetteers have provided a new way of representing our geographical knowledge and linking it to many other types of semantically organised content. As a result, the priority of scholars should shift from printing traditional gazetteers to developing digital gazetteers, extracting place names from crowd-sourced resources. However, while other European countries are striving to create better gazetteers, Romania itself lacks an elementary gazetteer. The lack of a suitable methodology for standardising place names, recognised and used by both linguists and geographers, has long hindered the development of gazetteers. Further scholarly investment in large printed reference works has also been unhelpful, to a lesser extent due to the format itself, but rather to a mostly flawed methodology used for the collection and localisation of place names. We explored a different approach, looking at one of the most comprehensive Romanian map series, the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’, known for the large number and accuracy of place names it contains.

Spurred on by the relative success of a geo-spatial.org project to georeference and publish online a large part of the collection, the possibility of using the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ collection to build a Romanian digital national gazetteer was explored. From today’s perspective, we unfortunately have to conclude that this map series, although a great achievement of Romanian cartography, is not yet suitable for the creation of a gazetteer. The collection is incomplete, the number of editions is overwhelming, and the maps were based on a large number of outdated sources, which were also not always reliable. There are considerable differences even between adjacent sheets of the same edition, especially with regard to missing place names or, on the contrary, toponyms that are included on maps but are not supported by any other written or cartographic source. Prior to any further consideration of the use of the maps, the entire collection of the ‘Plan Director de Tragere’ must be restored and thoroughly documented in order to assess the various map editions and to trace the toponymic selections made by the cartographers.

Nevertheless, the sorting of the maps does not necessarily mean that we are ready to move forward. Ultimately, just because a Romanian gazetteer does not yet exist is not a sufficient reason to create one. The past precedents of flawed Gazetteers should serve as a warning. Moreover, to serve its purpose, the longed-for gazetteer should meet the requirements of potential users, something we have not even begun to think about.

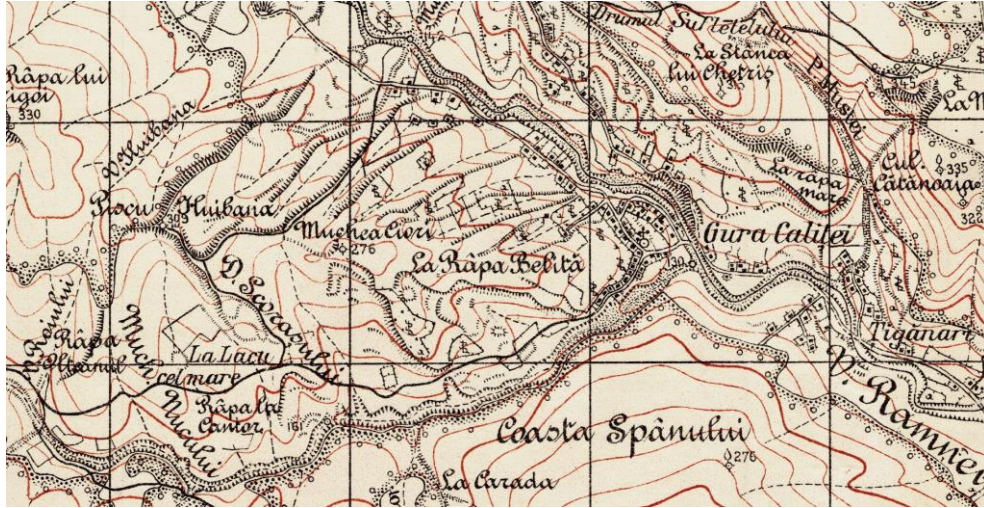


Fig. 1. Gura Calitei on the Râmna valley (Râmnicu Sărat District); excerpt from the 'Plan Director de Tragere' 4756 – Plăinești, 1:20,000, the 1940 edition.



Fig. 2. The 'Plan Director de Tragere' mosaic featured in the *eHarta* web interface;
Source: www.geo-spatial.org/harti.



Fig. 3. Broasca village and its surroundings (Buzău District); detail from the 'Plan Director de Tragere' 4355 – Gura Siriului, 1:20,000, the 1953 edition.



Fig. 4. Area SW of Hațeg town (Hunedoara District); details from the 'Plan Director de Tragere' 2656 – Hațeg, 1:20,000, the 1940 edition (left) and the Third Military Survey of Austria-Hungary, sheet 5770/2, unknown edition, scale 1:25,000 (right).

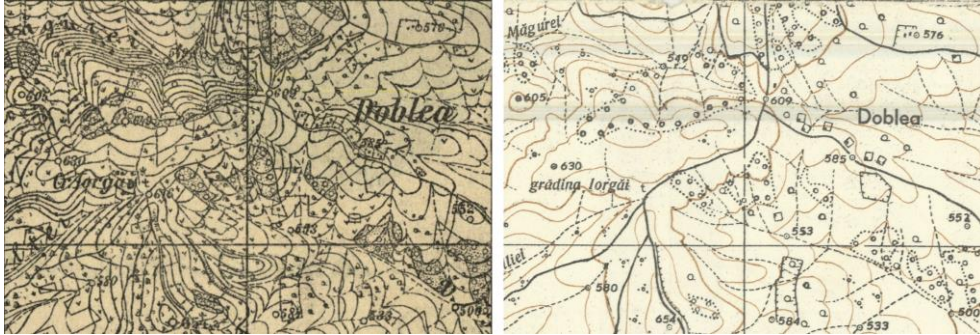


Fig. 5. Doblea village (Argeş District) and its western surroundings; details from 'Plan Director de Tragere' 3552 – Cerbureni, scale 1:20,000, the 1930 edition (left) and the 1957 one (right).



Fig. 6. The settlements from the upper Muscel valley (Buzău District); detail from 'Plan Director de Tragere' 4353 – Cătina, scale 1:20,000 – Note the rough marks that reveal the extent of the older topographic map sheets.



Fig. 7. Buiceşti (Mehedinţi District); detail from 'Plan Director de Tragere' 2845 – Butoeşti, scale 1:20,000, surveys from 1912 to 1923, printed in 1951.

**SORTIR DE LA GRANDE GUERRE.
LES SOCIÉTÉS SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES DE 1918 À 1923**

Actes de la session organisée dans le cadre du 12^e Congrès international
d'études sud-est européennes, Bucarest, 2–6 septembre 2019

Éditeurs: FLORIN ȚURCANU et VOJISLAV PAVLOVIĆ

INTRODUCTION

La sortie de guerre de la société roumaine se trouve au centre de ce groupe d'articles inspiré par un objet d'étude – la sortie de guerre des sociétés européennes à partir de 1918 – qui s'est imposé dans l'historiographie internationale récente de la Première guerre mondiale. Les innombrables facettes de ce conflit inaugural du XX^e siècle se laissent une fois de plus éclairées à travers la variété des expériences, individuelles et collectives, d'un glissement hors des espaces et des épreuves de la violence de guerre qui ne représente pas, pour autant, une rupture totale avec celle-ci. Les textes ici réunis témoignent de l'existence de plusieurs sorties de guerres non seulement en fonction des différents paliers d'ordre politique et social qui s'y trouvent éclairés (milieux politiques, institution monarchique, prisonniers de guerre, le monde de la culture) mais aussi en fonction d'une chronologie qui place la Roumanie dans la situation d'une sortie de guerre précoce par rapport à ses alliés. Si le caractère précoce de cette sortie de guerre est illustré par le retour des prisonniers de guerre et par les déchirements qui opposent, en 1918, les partisans roumains des démocraties occidentales aux « germanophiles », les effets de la recomposition des rôles et des légitimités politiques se prolongent au-delà de l'issue de la guerre à travers les réaménagements de la scène politique et de l'institution monarchique elle-même.

Florin ȚURCANU et Vojislav PAVLOVIĆ

REPUDIATED BIOGRAPHIES DURING THE GREAT WAR. SOME ROMANIAN “COLLABORATIONISTS” AND THEIR HISTORICAL CULPABILITY¹

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The Great War left behind it numerous broken destinies. Historians have recorded the loss of human lives, the destruction of goods, the physical suffering and even the psychological trauma. However, the statistics of this war only provide a limited perspective on what became of the survivors. Their reintegration into the new post-war society, the uncertainty of the present and the threats coming from their immediate past left their mark on the fate of many people who were the target of accusations and blame. The name “collaborationist” was applied during the war and in the subsequent years to a group of personalities whose reputation had meanwhile become doubtful. This group was never a homogeneous one. Even though most of those affected were labelled as “Germanophile”, their group never included just the sympathisers of German politics or culture. Similarly, it was not only politicians who were included here. During the war there were many accusations (sometimes supported by “compromising” documents, other times not) directed at individuals from the elites who allegedly “cohabited” with the enemy. The limits and the excesses of this cohabitation were also interpreted in a disproportionate manner, oftentimes according to the direction of the political disputes. It is down to the historians to recover (albeit partially) these broken destinies and to interpret without the contemporaries’ bias such “compromising” moments. Apart from the collaborationists, another, special category is targeted: the traitors. The existence of this group “apparently” clarifies part of the social fracture at the end of the war, by making the separation between the heroes and those who allegedly sold off the nation’s interests. Unlike the collaborationists, who could not be considered all traitors, the latter (some proven as such, others receiving this label as a matter of speculation) are mentioned frequently in the everyday (oftentimes offensive) discourse and in the rhetoric of the end of the war. Here, again, a historical analysis could clarify the fate of controversial individuals and, in some cases, even slow their fall into disgrace within the collective memory. This paper aims to deconstruct historical verdicts. It does not intend to rehabilitate historical characters, but rather to rediscover the mechanisms through which the memory of war has assimilated their vulnerabilities and stigmatised their culpabilities.

Keywords: war; victims, collaborationism; biographies; traitors; historical perspective.

In the modern post-war era, the fate of collaborationists was an extremely harsh one all over Europe. Revenge proved to be a form of purifying therapy, even

¹ This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS/CCCDI – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-1868, within PNCDI III.

though insufficient at times, for the endured suffering, for the grotesque treatments and for the population's unimaginable grief. For numerous Europeans, thirst for revenge has weighed more than anything else at the end of the war, even more than the joy of freedom. The violence climax was reached after the end of World War II. Both in the East and in the West of Europe, "collaborationists" have been tried and executed, sometimes publicly. Hundreds of thousands of people were arrested for treason, for war crimes and for collaborationism. Some were found guilty of minor crimes and thus released shortly, while others had to undergo longer periods of imprisonment². A mere two decades and a half before, in the final stage of the Great War, there was also much talk about treason, more than in any other war before it. In many post-war states, internal conflicts had arisen, escalating in the years of the reconstruction. Part of Europe faced, beginning with 1917, a massive proliferation of civil wars³, while in some countries, proclaimed as winners by the Paris Peace Conference, the wounds of war reclaimed "internal" pacifications, in the spirit of the victor's justice.

One iconic photograph of the time was the one that inspired Liviu Rebreanu to give the title *The forest of the hanged* to one of his most successful novels. The writer had seen a forest in which bodies of Czech soldiers were hanging, somewhere behind the Austrian front in Italy. The hanged were guilty of treason. Most of them had "committed treason" because they felt they had been fighting against their real fatherland, that bit of land they felt in their hearts they were connected to. The war had nipped in the bud the hopes that they could ever achieved the territorial integrity of their nations⁴. Their fate was shared by others, maybe the same as idealistic, who felt they were fighting against their sacred beliefs. The deserters' dramas were revealed soon after the war. It was there that the ordeal of the accused and of the suspects began in earnest, a long line of judicial sentences and their humiliation in the eyes of the posterity.

Romania was not spared the effects of resentment and division. The war was barely over when the moral crisis brutally struck society. The readers of the newspapers of the era saw a war of accusations between two (unequal) halves of Romania. The press printed in Iași was criticising the German administration and accused the conservatives remaining in the capital of collaborating with the enemy. The press in Bucharest, printed under the enemy's bayonets, condemned the actions of the government in retreat in Moldavia, denouncing the "cowardly" alliance with the Russians⁵. One of the newspapers printed here, the Romanian-language *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, a government mouthpiece inspired by the Germans, trained its sights on the authorities in exile in Moldavia. The titles discredited the

² I. Kershaw, *Drumul spre Iad. Europa, 1914–1949* [original title: *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914–1949*], Bucharest, 2017, p. 578–580.

³ R. Gerwarth, *Cei învinși. De ce nu s-a putut încheia Primul Război Mondial 1917–1923*, [original title: *The Vanquished: Why the First War Failed*], Bucharest, 2017, p. 25.

⁴ Liviu Rebreanu, *Pădurea spânzuraților*, ed. by N. Gheran, Bucharest, 1978. Foreword, p. XII.

⁵ *Romania*, year 1/183, Tuesday, 8 August 1917.

government in Iași. Here are just a few examples: “Brătianu’s terror – Russian terror”; “Fugitives and traitors”. A scandalous allusion to the liberal Prime Minister Ion I.C. Brătianu’s “clan” and to the so-called Takists (Take Ionescu’s partisans)⁶. Similar accusations had been published in Constantin Stere’s *Lumina*. The publication, invented for propaganda purposes at the time, was bringing before the public eye the government’s “treason” and “corruption”, asking for a fair trial for the huge losses of human lives⁷. On 30 August 1918 (after the ratification of the Bucharest Peace), the Parliament convened in Iași in order to debate pressing issues, such as the general amnesty. The time had come to discuss the political attitudes assumed during the war. The Germans had asked that the former liberal government be taken to court. They would have liked the main charge against Brătianu’s “clique” to be the declaration of war. Conservative Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman’s partisans (transitory holders of a feeble majority in parliament) intelligently opposed the move. They insisted on the topics of corruption in the administration and on the poor material preparation of the war. Thus, 12 new charges were formulated. Most of the charges pointed to the liberals’ thefts, incompetence and corruption⁸. Some of the charges (e.g. granting export licenses to private individuals to the disadvantage of the state; using means of transport for personal purposes instead of transporting ammunition and the wounded; the shipment, without solid grounds, of the treasury and of the archives to a foreign country) were hotly debated even after the war was over. We see that division had darkened the Romanians’ hearts. A propaganda flyer thrown across the trenches towards Walachia carried a skilful retort to the Germans’ venomous messages, as the thought of revenge strengthened the hope of the downtrodden in a better future: “Lift up your hearts. Do not listen to the traitors, who sold their souls to the Germans, the Hungarians and the Bulgarians. Trust the King, the army and our government. We shall return victorious to Muntenia. We shall punish without mercy the traitors and the cowards. And we, the real patriots, shall enjoy in Greater Romania a standard of life that neither we, nor our parents have seen before”⁹. The authors did keep their word: they came back as victors and they dealt with the cowards and the traitors who had “sold out” their country. It was a noisy fight, and it could not be settled immediately after the war. In his memoirs, Constantin Argetoianu wrote: “After the victory, after we had returned from Iași, a few years had to pass before we could erase the traces left by the severe deviations of conscience that some had condemned

⁶ *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, year II, nr. 394, Saturday, 19 January 1918.

⁷ *Lumina*, nr. 43, Sunday, 14 October 1917. The article “Tragedia bieteii României. Ce au făcut rușii în Moldova” [Poor Romania’s tragedy. What the Russians did in Moldavia]. Another article, “Iadul din Moldova. Rușii se poartă mai rău ca în țara inamică” [Hell in Moldavia. The Russians behave worse than in an enemy country] in *Lumina*, Thursday, 18 October 1917.

⁸ I. Bulei, *Un război în cenușa imperiilor*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 91–93.

⁹ The Romanian National Military Archives (ANMR), Pitești, General Headquarters/Intelligence Bureau fonds. Dossier 1195/1917. German subversion propaganda on the Russian-Romanian front, 06.03 – 18.10.1917, leaf 24.

without understanding and others had been embarrassed about, after the failure of their prudence, before denying them altogether”¹⁰.

However, many more years than what Argetoianu predicted had to pass in reality. During this time, the concept of “the patriots” having achieved the Greater Romania unification remained untouched. It was them who deserved honours, the others deserved nothing. But who were, in reality, these “true patriots”? This is a difficult question, one that history tried hard to provide an answer to, but has not always been successful. And if we see how hard it was for the posterity to understand this notion without ambiguity, we see how difficult this must have been for those who experienced first-hand the turmoil of those years. Concern for the echoes left in posterity pushed some of the “patriots” to proclaim, soon after the war, that they had been more devoted to the cause than others, that they had been, as they said, the saviours of the national ideal. They were the first of a long line of characters that seized patriotism. Politicians, public officers perpetually appointed for sinecures, bureaucrats obedient to their parties, false statesmen, whose courage was not present when it came to face the enemy in the country, fell over themselves trying to glorify their “contribution” to the history of the war that had taken place under their eyes. They have thus engraved their names for eternity in the nation’s book of victories, in the place usually reserved for legendary heroes. At the end of the war, after a long period of calm, their voice was miraculously reborn. Many had taken up the reins of the new Romania. Of course, this was also the will of destiny. France’s victory helped some of them “frame” their contribution to the triumph of the national cause. Maybe fate would not have smiled upon them, had Germany not lost the war. The popularity of Brătianu’s government had plummeted anyway during the months of retreat. The ritual invocation of collective sacrifice could not justify all the liabilities of the war. Each individual had lost something, but not all losses were equal and thus their sacrifice could not be considered as having been a common one. All kinds of denigrating brochures were circulating, some with crosses adorning obituaries that included denigratory folk verses¹¹. When victory dawned on the horizon, it was time to punish the traitors. But who exactly were these “traitors” then, after the war?

In the eyes of the public, they appeared to be foreign to the nation, the enemy’s instruments inside the country. Their ill-willed success meant Romania’s ruin. Without a doubt, the big moment to settle accounts had arrived. Using juridical instruments, orchestrating political trials, inventing press campaigns, cleverly manoeuvring its influence in administration, the government, re-established in Bucharest, had prepared for their former opponents a dishonourable exit from the stage of history. Part of the Romanian elite, which had shined before the war, was

¹⁰ Constantin Argetoianu, *Pentru cei de mâine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri*, vol. III, part V, (1916–1917), Bucharest, 1992, p. 68.

¹¹ Virgiliu N. Drăghiceanu, *707 zile sub cultura pummului german*, ed. by I. Oprișan, Bucharest, 2012, p. 207.

forced to defend its honour against the politicians' intrigues that brought before the eyes of the contemporaries distorted interpretations of the past. The Great War had shown Romania two types of "traitors". First, there were those who had betrayed through various proven actions. The example of the former colonel Alexandru D. Sturdza stands at the top of a list that included many other prominent figures of the Romanian elite.

The case of Sturdza's treason remains iconic for understanding the manner in which the manoeuvres of war destroy the splendid biographies of characters meant to fulfil a greater destiny. Alexandru D. Sturdza grew up and was educated in an old aristocratic family, where he became familiar from an early age with the spirit of German culture. His father was Dimitrie A. Sturdza, a remarkable figure in the political and academic life in modern Romania. He prided himself in having given his son a soldier-like upbringing, stating that his son will be proud to call himself a Romanian soldier. The old Sturdza was dreadfully wrong. For 12 years, his son did attend famous schools and military training stages in Germany, he did acquire the education and the skills required of an accomplished officer, but when he returned to Romania and when he faced the reality of war, his remorse made him break down and defect to the enemy. The remorse had its roots in his childhood and youth, when both his family and his friends had unthinkingly encouraged his disdain for the Russians¹². He did not think of himself as a deserter before the enemy. He made it clear that he had not betrayed his Romanian comrades and that he had taken this action in order to save the country from the Russian slavery. Sentenced in absentia to death and military degradation by the Second Army War Council, the former colonel Sturdza tried to clear his name throughout the rest of his life. All his attempts, however, were in vain. Even his father-in-law, the venerable Petre P. Carp, a Germanophile politician, refused to allow him into his home. Sturdza carried on living like a ghost, like the walking dead¹³.

Apart from the proven and condemned traitors, the war revealed an intermediary category, that of suspected traitors. Proven at first as "collaborationists", friends with the occupants, they ended up being treated as fully-fledged traitors. This category appears to be quite large: it accommodates, without discrimination, army officers, diplomats, politicians, writers and journalists. Sometimes labelled as "traitors", these individuals with "remarkable" biographies were viewed either with caution or with revenge in mind, a reminiscence from the war years. This attitude can be explained by the fact that they used to belong to old diplomatic elite of the country and move in the top circles of power in politics. Initially it was difficult to categorize them strictly under "collaborationists" or under outright "traitors". What is certain is that their imposing biographies did not help them much. Their

¹² P. Otu, M. Georgescu, *Radiografia unei trădări. Cazul colonelului Alexandru D. Sturdza*, Bucharest, 2011, p. 11–35.

¹³ Baron Valeriu Kapri, *Cazul fostului colonel Alexandru Sturdza. Un episod din războiul mondial 1914–1918 pe frontul român*, Oradea, 1926, p. 42.

“Germanophile” past was fatal to them; therefore, it was easy for the posterity to judge them.

Few books written by historians have approached until today the topic of war liability in Romania. This state of historiographical comfort made it easier for old clichés (some used in communist times as well) to be picked up, with no examination of liabilities from an equidistant point of view. An accommodating category, which featured prominently for a long time the “outcasts”, was generically identified with the Germanophiles. It is to them that Lucian Boia dedicated a remarkable book. Today we have access to a collection of “repudiated biographies”, but also to a pertinent analysis of the circumstances in which various characters, accused at the time, acted then. The revelations’ nature is above the temptation of a delayed historic judgment. Lucian Boia has rediscovered the “Germanophiles”, a substantial part of the Romanian intellectual elite, but without attempting to carry out (again) an act of “historic justice”, which some of them believed they had already carried out themselves. He states that the Germanophiles either were right or wrong, or, more likely, that they were right and wrong at the same time, something that remains a sort of multiple-choice question. Thus, justice/being right has various faces, that do not necessarily overlap completely, but which also do not necessarily exclude each other¹⁴. This book has shined some light on a topic that had been left to languish in solitude for nearly one hundred years. Lucian Boia’s analysis not only revealed the path taken by the “outcasts”, but also placed the accusers’ rhetoric in a new light. Unfortunately, this approach was not continued with diligence to the present time. The topic of the liabilities of war, or as little of it as it has emerged so far, knowingly ignores the agenda of the liberal government in Moldavia. If something has gone wrong during the war, the ones to blame are the “collaborationists” with the military occupation. Whenever questions are asked, the moral responsibility for what happened slowly turns to the feeble and politicised debates of the inter-war years. If the war was won in the end, this means that the liberal government did what it was supposed to do. Of course, this is not what happened. But this story has a hard time finding a story-teller for itself.

We can assume that Lucian Boia really did not intend to include all the “Germanophiles” in his book. Some of the key characters of the era are missing, some remarkable biographies, people with a brilliant past, thrown by fate into a decadent present. Our paper aims to recover the image of some of them: Alexandru Beldiman and Lupu Kostaki. The former was a diplomat. On 18 January 1896 he was made Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, replacing Grigorie I. Ghica, transferred in the same quality to the French government¹⁵. Alexandru Beldiman

¹⁴ L. Boia, „*Germanofilii*”. *Elita intelectuală românească în anii Primului Război Mondial*, Bucharest, 2009, p. 339.

¹⁵ The Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter AMAE), fonds 77, Personal Dossiers, No. 24, Letter B.

frequented the high society in Germany. He spent not only his youth, but also a great part of his adult life in Berlin. He often seemed to be out of place, as he behaved like an authentic German even in the relations with his compatriots. It appeared that his Germanophile spirit could never be broken. His contemporaries view him with detachment and accused him of collaborationism. In the 1980s, a reputed historian from Iași, Leonid Boicu, accused him of treason, believing him to have served mainly foreign interests instead of the interests of the Romanian government¹⁶. Practically, Alexandru Beldiman became colonel Sturdza's equivalent in diplomacy. During the neutrality years, the diplomat had tried in vain to stop Romania's slide towards the Entente. Resigning himself, he sent Ion I.C. Brătianu from Charlottenlund (Denmark) a vitriolic letter the very day Bucharest was occupied by the Germans. The letter was ascribing to the government the entire responsibility for the "catastrophe" that has overcome the country. It was a diatribe against Brătianu's policies, published in the press in March 1917¹⁷. Without a doubt, both the contents and the context of the publication contributed to the condemnation of this character. The moment of the declaration of war found him away from Berlin. He was at a spa resort, in the middle of the summer vacation! Louis Basset, King Ferdinand's secretary, described the diplomat's reaction when he heard the news: "That same morning I also saw Mr. Beldiman: he was out of his mind, he felt profoundly humiliated by the undignified role his country was forced to play, and he qualified the declaration of war as a suicidal act"¹⁸. As soon as Romania entered the war, Alexandru Beldiman spoke against the government's policies. One could say he had acted against the interests of the nation, should the latter have indeed represented the will of an easily quantified majority. But the Great War was not taking place in a democratic era, and thus popular majorities were downright artificial, preponderantly "manufactured" according to the interests of the group currently in power. It was this populist majority will, in favour of the war against the Central Powers, that was always invoked when justifying the mobilisation of the Romanian armed forces, although it had never been legitimised through a plebiscite-type consultation. Alexandru Beldiman acted as if the popular orientation in favour of the Entente was not the dominant one throughout the country, or, more likely, as if he were aware that this orientation would not have actually counted in the process of decision making. Similar to other suspects, Beldiman could not avoid retaliation and the judgement of the inquiry commission. When the Berlin Legation was closed down, he remained only nominally part of the diplomatic corps, at the disposal of the ministry. He had become ostracised, since he did not even know the new cipher of the diplomatic correspondence. He

¹⁶ L. Boicu, "Cazul insolit al ambasadorului Al. Beldiman în Arhiva Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen", in *Cronica* (Iași), XVIII, nr. 21 (904), 27 May 1983.

¹⁷ Al. Beldiman, *România înșălată și jertfită. Scrisoare adresată domnului Prim-ministru Ion I.C. Brătianu în ziua căderii Bucureștilor, București, septembrie 1917*.

¹⁸ L. Basset, *Războiul unui slujitor devotat. Jurnalul inedit al secretarului regilor Carol I și Ferdinand 1916–1921*, ed. by A. Pavelescu, Bucharest, 2019, p. 31.

was supposed to send to Romania, through the Allies' courier, the documents and the official papers from the Berlin Legation archive¹⁹. During the military occupation, he rallied himself to the propaganda in favour of the King Ferdinand's abdication and of the reformation of the country under German control. A follower of Petre P. Carp's ideas, he remained loyal to this orientation until the war ended. Like others around him, he was accused of conspiring against His Majesty King Ferdinand. Suspected of plotting and collaborationism, he featured on the shortlist of traitors. We should add here a few circumstances that force us to take a more balanced view, when it comes to his labelling as a traitor. Alexandru Beldiman has spoken against the Bucharest Peace Treaty, signed by the Marghiloman government with the acknowledgment of King Ferdinand. His opinion was that this peace agreement, humiliating as it was for the Romanians, did not serve Germany's interests either. Irritated by Beldiman's hostile vociferations, the secretary of state Richard von Kühlmann, head of the German delegation at the peace talks, wrote to baron von dem Bussche, the former plenipotentiary in Bucharest, located in Berlin at the time, asking him to try to calm down the critical agitations against the constraints of the peace treaty²⁰. Although he did return to the enemy occupied territory, Beldiman used his personal connections in order to persuade the Germans leaders that Romania needed to be rebuilt, not humiliated. Under the military occupation, he had believed in a close connection with Germany, one that was different from the past. The people had to want this and to support it consistently. What appeared to be a utopia in the eyes of many contemporary, had remained a genuine political credo for Beldiman himself. For this, he paid a substantial price at the time. History is still trying currently to find a wright place for him in the evolution of Romanian belligerence.

Probably not too far from Alexandru Beldiman's politics during the German military occupation we should place Lupu Kostaki's attitude. An old Moldavian aristocrat, owning lands near Bârlad county, he had chosen to return to Bucharest at the request of Vasile Morțun, minister of Interior in Ion I.C. Brătianu's cabinet. Lupu Kostaki chose the title "Memoirs of a traitor" for his memoires, as a sign of his indignation in relation to the way his contemporaries treated him after the war. His confession presents a credible version of the life of common Romanians under the authority of the foreign occupants. During his youth, his family had cultivated in him a strong Russophobic sentiment. He went to high-school at the French Gymnasium in Berlin, attended for a few semesters the Polytechnic Institute in Zürich, but then returned to Romania and had followed a predominantly administrative career. In 1888 he had been appointed secretary general of the Ministry of Interior in the government formed by Theodor Rosetti, then became a prefect in some

¹⁹ AMAE, Problem 77. Personal dossiers, vol. II, B24, Alexandru Beldiman. Télégramme chiffré. Expédié par l'entremise de la Légation d'Angleterre.

²⁰ PA AA [Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes] Berlin. R 22122: *Akten betreffend Friedensverhandlungen mit Rumänien*, von 25. April bis 8. Mai. 1918., Kühlmann to Bussche, Bucharest, 1 May 1918, c. 258–260.

counties such as Prahova, Tutova and Covurlui. When the war broke out in 1914, he was acting as a member of the Superior Administrative Council and was distinguishing by a bitter hostility against the alliance with Russia. “The Russians are our fatal and irreducible foes” he stated in an interview published by the *Convorbiri literare* magazine. The moment the royal family and the authorities retreated to Iași, evacuating the capital city of Bucharest remained under German occupation, Lupu Kostaki was appointed “Verweser” (guarantor) of the Ministry of Interior, a high-ranking officer, empowered to represent the Romanian government before the German authorities²¹. His mandate at the head of the Interior Ministry profoundly displeased the liberals after the war. Minister I.G. Duca wrote in his memoirs that Brătianu had made two big mistakes when he left the capital: he had left behind as chief of police general Mustață, a pensioner with Germanophile inclinations, and as the Secretary of the Interior – Lupu Kostaki. According to him, the latter had betrayed the trust that the government had placed in him²². While in prison at Văcărești he drafted a memorandum of justification, and we may conclude that he did not feel in any way guilty: “My conscience is clear – he wrote in the end – I have done my duty honestly, defending the population in the occupied territory. The reward I get are prison and contempt”²³. Lupu Kostaki stood out due to his zealous activity in Petre P. Carp’s group. He had deep appreciation for honourable tory Carp, seen as a symbol of verticality in politics. Although of similar age with Carp, Lupu Kostaki was the one who dutifully learned from the former. They both belonged to the old aristocracy, naturally. Moreover, time had cemented their ties so much, that Kostaki had become old Carp’s right hand. Alexandru Marghiloman wrote maliciously in his *Note politice* (Political Notes) that whoever visited the Ministry of Interior at that time could find Petre P. Carp there giving orders²⁴. It is hard to say how much old Carp’s advice helped Kostaki in his administration work. More useful appear to be the connections created, the doors opened for him in high society. One thing should be certainty: old Carp’s political ambitions were no help at all. For instance, Kostaki Lupu’s involvement in writing the list of adhesions tailored to suit the political ambitions of Carp’s group. The plebiscite imagined by Lupu Kostaki thereafter was given a cold reception in the territory. Apart from the Prahova (P. Ciorăneanu) and Argeș (Nicolae Lupu Kostake) prefectures²⁵, very few adhesions were added to Carp’s political platform.

²¹ M.D. Sturdza, *Rușii, masonii, Mareșalul și alte răspântii ale istoriografiei românești*, Bucharest, 2013, p. 133–135.

²² I.G. Duca, *Memorii*, volume II, ed. by Stelian Neagoe, Bucharest, 2015, p. 89.

²³ Romanian Academy Library (hereafter BAR), Lapedatu Archive, XIX, varia 8–17, “Memoriul Domnului Lupu Kostaki, girantul Ministerului de Interne, în timpul Marelui Războiu, pe care l-a încredințat avocatului N.A. Papadat, pentru a-i face apărarea în cazul că s-ar deschide contra sa acțiune penală”, p. 131.

²⁴ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897–1924*, volume II, 1916–1917, Bucharest, 1927, p. 95.

²⁵ About Kostaki Lupu’s son later behaviour pattern, some had unpleasant memories. Pia Alimănișteanu, sister of Ion I.C. Brătianu, reproduced the “memento” signed by him in the register of a Transylvanian peasant, a man without means who was going from door to door, asking for money from various personalities. He apparently wrote “Your book, old man, is to be preserved like a holy relic, as proof on

Many of the “subscription lists” sent to other counties returned to the ministry untouched²⁶. The same way failed, we could say, the famous declaration regarding King Ferdinand’s abdication, a document signed by Petre P. Carp, which Lupu Kostaki read out before the delegates who had arrived from Moldavia to assess the “Germanophiles” directions regarding the signing of a separate peace²⁷. His anti-dynasty attitude seems to have been an error of strategic positioning. King Ferdinand’s abdication had little chance of succeeding, and therefore those who had supported this idea suffered after the war. Unfortunately, the “bad” things did not stop here. His ill repute was based on more revolting actions. According to Marghiloman, Kostaki seems to have inspired Metropolitan Konon’s famous manifesto²⁸. Gala Galaction, a famous Romanian priest and writer, had placed the entire burden of responsibility for the manifesto on Virgil Arion’s²⁹ shoulders. One day in July 1917, Virgil Arion, by that time Minister of the Education and Religious Affairs, summoned Kostaki and informed him, with emotion in his voice that the German army was preparing to invade Moldavia. Believing that the Romanian forces would be crushed anyway like so many “clay pots”, Virgil Arion allegedly ordered him to write a manifesto to the population of Moldavia.³⁰ Irrespective of whose idea that had been, the manifesto generated a wave of outrage that threatened to get out of control. The “appeal” encouraged the Romanians’ defeatism. The manifesto called for submission to the “victor”, whose heart had been softened through “divine intervention”³¹. After the war, the accounts began being settled. Lupu Kostaki had been sentenced from a moral point of view for spreading the Metropolitan’s “appeal” to the people. Even though his adhesion to the text remains uncertain, the current of retaliation assimilated him to the other “traitors”, erasing a great part of his remarkable deeds. For instance, during the occupation, faced with many requests for aid, he had helped the poor a great deal³². He had used his privileged position in order to help the oppressed. As far as his situation allowed him, he made sure that the population was supplied with food and

that great judgement day, when responsibilities will be established and the guilty ones will be stigmatised. It is the picture of the criminal lack of reasoning that has brought upon this country the terrible times of exodus of autumn 1916, when “Greater Romania” stretches from the Siret to the Prut. With the bloom of its sons crushed, with devastation and ruin in the fields. May God forgive you, if, through your wandering and begging, you have added to this unprecedented catastrophe.” Cf. P. Alimănișteanu, *Însemnări din timpul ocupației germane 1916–1918*, Bucharest, 1929, p. 40–41.

²⁶ Anibal Stoenescu, *Din vremea ocupației*, Bucharest, 1927, p. 82.

²⁷ National Library of Romania (hereafter BNR)], fonds Saint Georges, Kostaki Collection, CDXLIV/15, dossier 4277, p. 91–92.

²⁸ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice*, vol. II, p. 69.

²⁹ He was the brother of Constantin C. Arion, Foreign Affairs Minister during the Alexandru Marghiloman government.

³⁰ Gala Galaction, *Jurnal*, volume III, ed. by Teodor Vârgolici, Bucharest, 1999, p. 47–51.

³¹ BNR, fonds Saint Georges. Lupu C. Kostaki Archive 1870–1923, CCLXXX, dossier 2209, *Chemarea Mitropolitului Primat*, Bucharest, 24 July 1917, p. 157.

³² “Adevărul”, year XXXVI, nr. 12104, Monday 16 July 1923. Dim. Th. Pascu, *Lupu Kostache “Amintiri” [Lupu Kostache, Memories]*.

with fuel during the winter. He had tried – and partially succeeded – to stop the population’s chaotic migration when the approaching enemy had struck fear into it³³.

CONCLUSIONS

The Great War had left behind too many broken destinies. It was not only a matter of treason accusations. What hurt the most was the collaborationism of the elites. The “collaborationist” label included, in Great Romania, an elitist group, whose reputation had begun to falter even during the war. This group was never a homogeneous one, judging by their professions. It included individuals with remarkable biographies, from various backgrounds. They were lumped together as belonging to the “Germanophile” current, although this label is somewhat questionable. Not all of them had the same sympathies for Germany. The intensity of such feelings was at the very least debatable during the years of military occupation. As Lupu Kostake himself noted: “The Germans who had come to punish us, as they said, because after 33 years of alliance we had deserted them and defected to their enemies, attempted to humiliate me because in my position I was representing the Romanian authorities”³⁴.

Probably *Russophobia* would be just as common a trait in this group. The latter acted subconsciously in an even more subversive manner than the propensity for Germany’s policies. It becomes apparent that the “outcast group” had been genuinely appreciated by the Germans, something that at the time was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the German’s gratitude added prestige to seasoned careers and boosted other, promising ones. On the other hand, the “enemy’s” appreciation was an argument in favour of the collaborationism accusations. Whenever the Romanian high society was mingling with the leading representatives of the German High Command at soirees, there were always voices denouncing shamelessness and dishonesty: “What an example of forgetfulness and dishonesty”, concluded in his diary counsellor Cancicov, talking about a reception held by *Gazeta Bucureștilor*³⁵. These contrasts in perception further cloud the interpretations given by the posterity. When we talk about “collaborationists” would it be more appropriate to take into account only their adherence to the German policies, or should we look more into the “biography” of these characters, i.e. what remains after the excesses of indignation wear off? Maybe we should remember what Ioan Slavici, one of the most gifted Romanian novelist, wrote while he was imprisoned in penitentiary Văcărești: “I have written many books that are being read today and will be read in the future, mainly by the young. It is not in the interest of the

³³ BNR, fonds Saint Georges, XCIII/1. Telegram to the Prahova Prefecture, 2.12.1916, p. 37–38.

³⁴ *Hiena*, year II, no. 20, Cf. *The Krefeld trial. Mr. Lupu C. Kostaki’s statement*, p. 5-6.

³⁵ Vasile Th. Cancicov, *Jurnal din vremea ocupației. Impresiuni și păreri personale din timpul războiului României*, vol. II, 14 August 1917–31 December 1918, ed. by D. Cain, Bucharest, 2016, p. 91–93.

Romanian nation for those who read them to say ‘But the one who wrote this is an outlaw!’. I have written booklets with advice on national education, both physical and moral. It would not be a good thing for their readers to say ‘the man who wrote this was a scoundrel, who, in his old age, became a traitor for being short on money! Let us throw his books into the fire’³⁶. Before the court, Slavici had attempted to show he had been a victim at the end of the war. However, his plea did not soften the judges’ hearts, and they denied him suspension for the execution of his penalty. The writer had to wait for the king’s pardon in order to leave the prison where he had served time for 11 months. Posterity, however, remembers little of his correctional past. Slavici was not perceived so much as a victim of post-war retaliation, as he was seen as a profiteer during the years of the war and as a notorious collaborator. Similar to him, many other have had great hopes about having moral sentences reviewed, expecting history to rediscover the facts of that nebulous past.

³⁶ Ioan Slavici, *Închisorile mele*, Caracal, 2017, p. 172.

EXPÉRIENCE DU RAPATRIEMENT ET TÉMOIGNAGE
SUR LA CAPTIVITÉ: LA SORTIE DE GUERRE DES PRISONNIERS
ROUMAINS EN BULGARIE (1918–1919)

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For most of the Romanian prisoners in Bulgaria – captured at the start of hostilities during the battle of Turtucaia/Tutrakan (September 1–6, 1916) – the violence of war became identified with the violence of captivity. Their exit from the war rhymes, essentially, with the end of this particularly brutal and trying experience, as evidenced by their numerous testimonies delivered to the Romanian military authorities or published after the war. During the last year of the world conflict, while the war continues to rage on the French, Italian and Macedonian fronts, the Romanian prisoners return from Bulgaria to a country anguished by their fate, partially occupied and obliged to sign a peace separated with the Central Powers in May 1918.

Keywords: Great War, prisoners of war, captivity, repatriation, Turtucaia / Toutrakan.

Un des acquis les plus importants de l'historiographie internationale consacrée depuis les années 1990 à la Grande Guerre consiste dans le développement d'un champ d'études spécifique consacré aux prisonniers de guerre, ceux qu'Annette Becker appelait « les soldats oubliés » du premier conflit mondial. Ce champ d'études a déjà produit des travaux classiques comme ceux de l'historienne française déjà citée, des historiens allemands Mark Spoerer et Uta Hinz, de l'israélien Alon Rachamimov sur l'expérience de la captivité sur le Front de l'Est ou de la britannique Heather Jones sur la violence subie par les prisonniers de guerre dans les camps britanniques, français et allemands. Au sein d'une historiographie est-européenne de la Première guerre mondiale qui doit encore combler de nombreux retards sur ce terrain, l'histoire des prisonniers de guerre n'est encore qu'à ses débuts en Roumanie. Bien que la captivité fut l'une des expériences les plus communes parmi les soldats de la Grande Guerre – éprouvée par à-peu-près un quart des militaires roumains mobilisés fin août 1916¹ – et malgré la mortalité effroyable

¹ La Roumanie avait mobilisé quelques 850.000 soldats et officiers (Constantin Kirițescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României 1916–1919*, 2e édition, t. I, Bucarest, 1925, p. 192). Un grand nombre de ces prisonniers roumains dans les camps des Puissances centrales – autour de 230.000¹ – dont 148.000 passés par les camps allemands après avoir été capturés pour la plupart pendant les deux derniers mois de 1916 lors de la débâcle de l'armée roumaine dans le sud pays (Lisa Meyerhofer, *Zwischen Freund und Feind – Deutsche Besatzung in Rumänien 1916–1918*, Munich, 2010, p. 273).

qui frappa les prisonniers de guerre roumains – 29% dans les camps allemands selon Heather Jones² et peut-être jusqu'à 21,6% dans les camps bulgares selon Rumen Cholakov³ – des pourcentages largement supérieurs à la mortalité subie dans les mêmes camps par les prisonniers français ou britanniques – l'historiographie roumaine n'a abordé ce sujet que de manière occasionnelle et très limitée.

La captivité des militaires roumains en Bulgarie dans les années 1916–1918 est l'une des moins étudiées bien que cette expérience dramatique ait provoqué à l'époque une forte émotion dans l'opinion publique roumaine. Du point de vue des témoignages des prisonniers eux-mêmes cette expérience est bien documentée dans les archives militaires qui renferment des centaines de déclarations individuelles ainsi que des mémoires collectifs – ces derniers rédigés par des officiers – qui décrivent avec beaucoup de détails le quotidien de la captivité dont la mémoire est centrée sur la violence et les pénuries de toute sortes subies pendant cette épreuve. Aux nombreux témoignages préservés dans les archives il faut y ajouter les souvenirs de captivité en Bulgarie qui furent publiés dès l'entre-deux-guerres, dont ceux – les mieux connus – de l'écrivain George Topîrceanu ou qui parurent beaucoup plus tard comme dans le cas du capitaine Traian Grigorescu⁴.

En signant le 9 décembre 1917, son propre armistice avec les Puissances centrales, quatre jours après l'armistice russe de Brest-Litovsk, la Roumanie se dirigeait vers une difficile sortie de la guerre où elle s'était engagée le 28 août 1916. Le traité de paix préliminaire du 5 mars 1918 ouvrait la voie aux pourparlers qui aboutiront à la paix séparée entre Bucarest et les Centraux signée le 7 mai.

Peu après l'armistice du 9 décembre 1917 des pourparlers ont eu lieu entre des délégations spécialement constituées par la Roumanie d'une part et les Puissances centrales de l'autre qui aboutirent à une première *Convention sur l'échange des prisonniers de guerre invalides* signée par les deux parties le 17 janvier 1918⁵. Ce premier échange officiel de prisonniers entre la Roumanie et ses ennemis qui permit le retour de 2191 soldats roumains invalides détenus par les Centraux⁶ allait ouvrir la voie, après la signature des préliminaires de la paix, à une nouvelle *Convention pour l'échange des prisonniers de guerre entre les Puissances centrales et la Roumanie*. Conclue le 23 mars 1918, elle permettait le retour en masse des militaires roumains détenus dans les camps allemands, austro-hongrois, bulgares et turcs⁷.

² Heather Jones, *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War. Britain, France and Germany, 1914–1920*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 24.

³ Rumen Cholakov, *Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the First World War* [Dissertation submitted as part of the Tripos Examination in the Faculty of History, Cambridge University, April 2012], p. 64.

⁴ George Topîrceanu, *Amintiri din luptele de la Turtucaia. Pirin-Planina (episoduri tragice și comice din captivitate)*, Bucarest, 2014; Vintilă Panta, *În robie. Amintirile unui fost prizonier în Bulgaria*, Bucarest, 1919; G. Millian-Maximin, *În mâinile dușmanului*, Bucarest, 1920; Pictorul C. Vlădescu, *Bulgarii... Memoriile unui ofițer român fost prizonier în Bulgaria*, Bucarest, 1926; G. Banea, *Zile de lazaret. Jurnal de captivitate și spital*, Bucarest, 1938; Traian Eremia Grigorescu, *Însemnări din războiul reîntregirii*, Iași, 2019.

⁵ Bogdan Negoii, *Mărturii documentare. Lagărele de prizonieri din România în timpul Primului Război Mondial*, Geamăna, 2009, p. 132–138.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

⁷ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897–1924*, tome III, entrée du 5 avril 1918, Bucarest, 1927, p. 423; B. Negoii, *Mărturii documentare*, p. 143–147.

Le retour des prisonniers de guerre roumains détenus en Bulgarie a été subordonné par Sofia à la l'obtention de 11.000 tonnes de céréales en provenance du sud de la Bessarabie qui se trouvait alors sous contrôle militaire roumain⁸. Le rapatriement des prisonniers roumains de Bulgarie qui aurait dû s'achever après 9 semaines selon la convention s'est déroulé d'une manière beaucoup plus lente et devait se prolonger jusqu'au 9 novembre 1918⁹. Vers la mi-août moins de 12.000 prisonniers roumains étaient de retour dans leur pays sur les quelques 27 à 30.000 qui étaient passés depuis septembre 1916 par les camps bulgares¹⁰. Les témoignages des soldats roumains prisonniers suggèrent qu'une des raisons de la lenteur du rapatriement était le souci des autorités bulgares à faire travailler le plus longtemps possible les prisonniers avant de leur permettre de franchir le Danube. Les statistiques roumaines actualisées en 1922 estimaient à quelques 5100 le nombre des prisonniers roumains morts et disparus en captivité en Bulgarie¹¹.

Le retour de ces prisonniers s'est déroulé par Roussé et Giurgiu, les deux ports danubiens qui se font face du côté bulgare et du côté roumain du Bas-Danube mais aussi par le port roumain de Galați¹². Certains prisonniers détenus en Macédoine ont été rapatriés à travers la Serbie occupée par la ville de Turnu Severin¹³. Pour une partie des prisonniers la détresse de la captivité se prolongeait dans le port de la ville-frontière de Roussé jusqu'à deux à trois semaines durant lesquelles ils étaient pour la dernière fois utilisés comme portefaix par les autorités bulgares. Dans sa déclaration devant les autorités militaires roumaines le caporal Gheorghe Perșoiu parle des 18 jours qui ont précédé sa libération pendant lesquelles, dans le port de Roussé, « nous fûmes obligés de décharger du sel, du charbon et des traverses de bois apportés par des barges venues de Roumanie en travaillant 16 heures par jour » (f. 21). Après avoir quitté, le 28 mars 1918, avec ses camarades, le camp de prisonniers de Veles en Macédoine, le soldat Gheorghe Gavril arrive finalement à Roussé où il sera astreint aux travaux pendant deux semaines avant d'être transféré sur l'autre rive du Danube, à Giurgiu¹⁴.

Certains prisonniers, arrivés à Roussé, sont retenus moins de temps sur la rive bulgare avant d'être transférés en Roumanie. Le soldat Dumitru Ilie, astreint au travail dans les mines de Plakalnitsa dans des conditions qui avaient entraîné la mort de plusieurs de ses camarades, attends cinq jours à Roussé avant de traverser le Danube à bord d'une péniche. A Giurgiu « nous avons été accueillis par un capitaine roumain et plusieurs officiers ennemis [allemands]. A partir de là nous

⁸ A. Marghiloman, *Note politice*, p. 423 et 450–451 ; B. Negoï, *Mărturii documentare*, p. 142 et 145.

⁹ Daniel Cain, « Prizonierii de război români în lagărele din Bulgaria », dans Bogdan Popa et Radu Tudorancea (dir.), *Războiul de ficcare zi. Viața cotidiană în tranșee și în spatele frontului în Primul război mondial (1914–1919)*, Târgoviște, 2018, p. 222.

¹⁰ B. Negoï, *Mărturii documentare*, p. 146–148.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 236.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 143 ; Daniel Cain, « Prizonierii de război români în lagărele din Bulgaria », p. 222.

¹³ Arhivele Militare Naționale Române (ci-après AMNR), 5470, MR Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 4022, f. 15.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 21, 27.

avons été escortés par des sentinelles allemandes jusqu'au camp de Giurgiu où je suis resté pendant 3 jours avant de recevoir les papiers nécessaires pour regagner nos foyers »¹⁵.

En général, les groupes de prisonniers roumains accompagnés d'officiers bulgares franchissaient le Danube à Giurgiu où des listes nominales de captifs étaient remises à la commission mixte d'officiers roumains et allemands en charge de la réception des prisonniers. Un procès-verbal était rédigé lors de la réception des prisonniers qui se trouvaient ensuite mis en quarantaine dans un camps spécial¹⁶. Les ex-prisonniers originaires de Moldavie étaient embarqués dans des trains qui franchissaient la ligne de démarcation entre les troupes roumaines et allemandes sur l'ancien front moldave pour être mis en quarantaine dans leur province natale qui, à la différence du Sud de la Roumanie, ne subissait pas l'occupation des Puissances centrales¹⁷. Le rapatriement des captifs avait parfois lieu en absence de listes nominales¹⁸, voir même de manière individuelle.

Dans le contexte de la culture de guerre dominante, l'opinion roumaine était préparée à associer les représentations de la captivité en Bulgarie à des formes de violence extrême. Même si les détails sur cette captivité ont dû rester nécessairement peu connus avant le retour des prisonniers au printemps 1918, les préjugés négatifs à l'égard des Bulgares dans la société roumaine de l'époque ainsi que les échos des atrocités des guerres balkaniques avaient modelé à ce sujet un certain « horizon d'attente » anxieux bientôt renforcé par la présence de forces d'occupation dans le sud de la Roumanie. De surcroît l'ampleur que les rumeurs avaient donné à la mise à mort (attestée au demeurant) de blessés et de prisonniers roumains par les troupes bulgares victorieuses lors de la bataille de Turtucaia /Toutrakan (déroulée entre le 1^{er} et le 6 septembre 1916) avait renforcé les craintes sur le sort des captifs détenus en Bulgarie et en Macédoine. Jusqu'au rapatriement des prisonniers roumains de Bulgarie en 1918, l'opinion était persuadée que nombre de ceux capturés à Turtucaia avaient été massacrés en masse à la mitrailleuse¹⁹ en associant ainsi capture et massacre des prisonniers. En même temps on avait pu se faire une première image visuelle du sort des prisonniers détenus en Bulgarie lorsqu'une faible partie d'entre eux étaient revenus de captivité au printemps et à l'été 1917. Il s'agissait, notamment, comme l'écrit dans son journal l'homme politique germanophile Alexandru Marghiloman, président de la Croix Rouge, resté à Bucarest sous l'occupation allemande, de « 180 malheureux de retour de Monastir qui sont des loques humaines ; leurs plaies ont des vers. Le dernier degré de réduction par la faim... Ils ont fait partie du contingent employé à Monastir pour faire des tranchées ; la

¹⁵ AMNR, 5470, MR Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 2895, f. 870.

¹⁶ B. Negoi, *Mărturii documentare*, p. 224.

¹⁷ AMNR, 5470, MR Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 4022, f. 11, 27.

¹⁸ B. Negoi, *Mărturii documentare*, p. 224.

¹⁹ Florin Țurcanu, « Turtucaia/Toutrakan 1916 : la postérité d'une défaite dans la Roumanie de l'entre-deux-guerres », *Balkanica. Annual of the Institute for Balkan Studies* (Belgrade) XLIX, 2018, p. 209.

majorité, à leurs dires, ont péri par le froid et l'épuisement ! »²⁰. Ces « loques humaines » représentaient un nombre infime parmi les 8867 prisonniers roumains enregistrés début 1917 comme travaillant dans différentes localités de Bulgarie²¹. Marghiloman note dans son journal une démarche qu'il fait en juillet 1917 auprès du colonel Richard Hentsch, chef de l'Etat-Major de l'administration militaire allemande dans le sud de la Roumanie et dont le résultat ne nous est pas connu, au sujet de « l'état affreux de nos prisonniers en Bulgarie »²².

Lorsque les Allemands commencent, en octobre 1917, leur politique de transfert en Bulgarie d'une partie des otages civils qu'ils détiennent dans le sud occupé de la Roumanie²³, l'inquiétude gagne l'opinion publique car, selon un témoin, « l'envoi en Bulgarie donne des sueurs froides »²⁴. Après l'armistice du 9 décembre 1917, dans la perspective du retour des prisonniers et des négociations difficiles entre la Roumanie et les Centraux, la presse gouvernementale roumaine publiée à Iași, dans le territoire resté libre de la Moldavie, multiplie les articles sur le « calvaire des prisonniers roumains en Bulgarie », les « bestialités » et les « horreurs » dont ceux-ci avaient été victimes²⁵. Début juillet 1918, alors que le retour des prisonniers roumains de Bulgarie a commencé depuis deux mois, un chiffre circule à Bucarest : 15.000 militaires roumains parmi ceux qui avaient été capturés en septembre 1916 à Turtucaia – c'est-à-dire plus de la moitié - auraient péri dans les camps bulgares²⁶. La légende des mitraillages en masse des prisonniers roumains juste après la bataille avait apparemment été remplacée par un chiffre exagéré des décès de ces mêmes prisonniers en captivité.

Le retour des prisonniers roumains des camps des Puissances centrales s'est superposé en partie avec la démobilisation de l'armée roumaine de Moldavie commencée en mars 1918. Au printemps et à l'été, combattants démobilisés et prisonniers de guerre font une expérience simultanée de sortie de guerre et de retour aux foyers alors que les combats continuent sur le front de l'Ouest et au cœur des Balkans. Dans le sud occupé de la Roumanie les autorités allemandes s'évertuent à empêcher toute célébration publique du retour des démobilisés et des anciens prisonniers par peur de rallumer la fierté nationale et l'esprit de résistance de la population. Les anciens prisonniers ne bénéficieront donc pas d'un accueil public ritualisé et festif des administrations locales susceptible de consacrer leur réintégration sociale et leur statut retrouvé. Ils se contenteront de l'accueil spontané

²⁰ A. Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897-1924*, tome II, Bucarest, 1927, entrée du 31 mai 1917, p. 553.

²¹ Daniel Cain, « Prizonierii de război români în lagărele din Bulgaria », p. 220.

²² A. Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897-1924*, tome III, entrée du 22 juillet 1917, p. 40.

²³ Lisa Meyerhofer, *Zwischen Freund und Feind*, p. 105.

²⁴ Constantin Bacalbașa, *Capitala sub ocupația dușmanului 1916-1918*, Brăila, 1921, p. 54.

²⁵ « Un document al bestialității bulgare », *România*, II, n° 335 du 6/19 février 1918 ; Locotenent Alexandru Filipescu, « Calvarul prizonierilor români în Bulgaria », *România*, II, n° 336 du 7/20 février 1918 ; A.M., « Ororile bulgărești », *România*, II, n° 336 du 8/21 février 1918.

²⁶ Vasile Cancicov, *Impresii și păreri personale din timpul războiului României. Jurnal zilnic*, t. II, Bucarest, 1921, p. 491, entrée du 22 juin/7 juillet 1918. L'auteur utilise le calendrier julien qui était encore officiellement en usage en Roumanie.

des populations civiles et, pour certains, des membres de leurs familles. A Giurgiu, signale *La Gazette de Bucarest* en avril, sur le chemin entre le port et le camp où ils seront placés en quarantaine, les ex-prisonniers « sont accueillis par des hommes, des femmes et des enfants qui attendent impatiemment, espérant apercevoir parmi eux un parent ou un ami »²⁷. En apprenant que les officiers de retour de Bulgarie avaient été accueillis avec des bouquets de fleurs par la population, l'avocat bucarestois Vasile Cancicov s'inquiète dans son journal de l'éventuelle réaction de l'occupant allemand contre cette manifestation publique de joie²⁸. Selon *La Gazette de Bucarest* à cette occasion la bonne société de Giurgiu héberge dans ses maisons les 86 officiers arrivés le 3 /16 avril en les soustrayant, en fait, à l'obligation de la quarantaine, tandis que les notables de la ville tentent de pallier l'absence de tout cérémonial d'accueil en offrant à ces mêmes officiers un dîner dans les deux principaux restaurants, le tout accompagné de la musique des tarafs « qui est censée leur rappeler le bon vieux temps »²⁹. Un geste d'autant plus remarquable étant donné le degré de destruction de la ville qui, la première, accueillait les anciens prisonniers sur la rive gauche du Danube et que la germanophile *Gazette de Bucarest* évitait avec soin de mentionner. En fait « la ville était complètement détruite, détruite comme ne le fut peut-être nulle autre pendant la Grande Guerre », note, impressionné, George Banea, grand blessé libéré par les Bulgares au début du printemps 1918³⁰ tandis que le peintre Constantin Vlădescu, qui avait connu la captivité dans plusieurs camps bulgares de prisonniers se souvient que « l'aspect de la première ville roumaine que nous rencontrions, démolie à fond par les obus ennemis, remplit nos cœurs d'une nouvelle amertume »³¹. Une destruction qui datait des combats de novembre 1916 et qui vaudra à Giurgiu d'être décorée de la « Croix de Guerre » française en 1922.

Un autre détail que *La Gazette de Bucarest* évitait de signaler figurait, cependant, dans le dramatique rapport d'un officier roumain, le capitaine Gheron Netta, chargé de la réception des prisonniers à Giurgiu, ce même jour du 3 avril 1918. Après avoir noté que la faiblesse physique et l'insuffisance des vêtements et des chaussures « donnaient à la plupart de nos prisonniers en Bulgarie (...) l'air d'un attroupement de mendiants », Gheron Netta ajoute : « Je dois spécialement souligner l'état des malheureux qui avaient travaillé en Macédoine. Ils ne savaient plus depuis très longtemps ce que sont une chemise ou une paire de caleçons. Leurs vêtements tombaient en lambeaux et laissaient voir leurs corps épuisés. Les pieds, lorsqu'ils n'étaient pas tout simplement nus, étaient enveloppés dans des chiffons qui donnaient à nos soldats...un aspect horrible »³². Un soldat roumain portant les

²⁷ « Sosirea prizonierilor români din Bulgaria », *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, II, n° 473 du 8 avril 1918.

²⁸ V. Cancicov, *Impresiuni și păreri personale*, p. 382, entrée du 25 mars/7 avril 1918.

²⁹ « Sosirea prizonierilor români din Bulgaria », *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, II, n° 473 du 8 avril 1918.

³⁰ G. Banea, *Zile de lazaret. Jurnal de captivitate și spital*, Bucarest, 1938, p. 246.

³¹ Pictorul C. Vlădescu, *Bulgarii... Memoriile unui ofițer român fost prizonier în Bulgaria*, Bucarest, 1926, p. 153.

³² AMNR, Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 1070 « Diversă corespondență », f. 83.

traces de très dures sévices physiques est même montré à plusieurs officiers allemands de l'administration militaire locale par les membres de la commission roumaine qui accueille les prisonniers³³. Le rapport du capitaine Netta – qui rejoint un rapport bulgare de février 1917 sur l'image lamentable que donnaient les prisonniers roumains privés, en plein hiver, de vêtements appropriés et de chaussures³⁴ – n'était qu'un des premiers dans l'abondante suite de témoignages qui confirmera pendant les mois à venir le degré de violence particulièrement élevé auquel les prisonniers roumains avaient été soumis dans les camps de Bulgarie et de Macédoine. L'étude de Rumen Cholakov sur les prisonniers de guerre en Bulgarie pendant le premier conflit mondial ainsi que celle de Gueorgui Peev consacrée aux prisonniers français dans les camps bulgares³⁵ montrent l'existence d'une hiérarchisation ethnique dans l'imaginaire national bulgare de l'époque qui place les prisonniers Serbes et Roumains au bas d'une échelle en haut de laquelle se trouve les Britanniques et les Français. « Prisoners from these Balkan states [Serbie et Roumanie] were viewed as the subjects of inferior nations in the same way as the French and British prisoners were revered as the representatives of superior civilizations. (...) Moreover, Serbia and Romania figured in the Bulgarian national mentality as archetypical enemies who had betrayed the country in a malicious and indecent manner during the Second Balkan War and now depended on British, French, and Russian assistance to fight in the conflict. They were thus viewed with profound and undisguised animosity»³⁶. Ceci explique pourquoi les limites de la violence considérée comme acceptable à l'encontre des prisonniers roumains avaient été poussées très loin dans les camps bulgares comme l'attestent aussi bien les nombreux témoignages des rescapés que le taux de mortalité en captivité qui semble avoir été de 21,6% selon Rumen Cholakov³⁷.

Tous les prisonniers de retour en Roumanie étaient soumis à l'interrogatoire d'une commission spéciale destinée à établir au cas par cas les circonstances dans lesquels ils avaient été capturés et leur expérience de la captivité. Sur l'immense majorité des prisonniers roumains rentrés de Bulgarie pesait le poids de la défaite de Turtucaia qui les avaient livrés aux Bulgares victorieux : quelques 28.000 prisonniers dont 480 officiers avaient alors été capturés. L'impact considérable que cette défaite d'entrée en guerre avaient eu sur l'armée et la société roumaine était ravivé en 1918 dans les conditions de l'armistice et de la paix séparée, de la démobilisation et du rapatriement des prisonniers, autant de circonstances qui favorisaient la libération de la parole et, plus encore, une puissante tendance –

³³ AMR, *ibid.*

³⁴ Daniel Cain, « Prizonierii de război români în lagărele din Bulgaria », p. 220.

³⁵ Rumen Cholakov, *Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the First World War* [Dissertation submitted as part of the Tripos Examination in the Faculty of History, Cambridge University, April 2012] ; Gueorgui Peev, « Les prisonniers de guerre français en Bulgarie (1915–1918) », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, 254, n°2/2014.

³⁶ R. Cholakov, *Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the First World War*, p. 54.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

encouragée par les Allemands et les germanophiles roumains – à exiger des comptes aux anciens décideurs politiques et militaires accusés d’avoir mal préparé l’entrée du pays dans le conflit. Les débats devenus publics sur les causes de cette catastrophe inaugurale et sur les responsabilités agitaient l’opinion et la presse roumaine avec la participation directe de plusieurs officiers supérieurs. La catastrophe de Turtucaia était située par l’opinion à l’opposé de la victoire roumaine de Mărășești contre les troupes allemandes en août 1917. La plupart de ceux qui revenaient de leur captivité en Bulgarie et notamment les nombreux officiers capturés à Turtucaia partageaient la double qualité de victimes -en tant que prisonniers de guerre - et de suspects en tant que vaincus dans une bataille qui faisait figure de défaite honteuse. Les officiers capturés alors se savaient acteurs d’un moment de déshonneur collectif, intimement lié à leur condition de prisonniers. Les grandes concentrations de ces officiers dans les différents camps bulgares avaient favorisé les discussions, les interrogations et les mises en causes du déroulement d’une bataille à laquelle la majorité de ces hommes avaient participé. Au milieu de ses camarades d’infortune dans le camp de Kirdjali, Gheorghe Banea, gravement blessé dans un autre combat en Dobroudja à la mi-septembre, assiste aux « discussions interminables sur Turtucaia » car « à cause du fait que presque tous étaient tombés prisonniers à Turtucaia, ils examinaient sans cesse tout le déroulement de la bataille, jour pour jour, secteur par secteur ». ³⁸ En revenant en Roumanie certains de ces prisonniers étaient prêts à donner leur propre version de l’histoire de cette obsédante défaite. En même temps les officiers roumains revenus de Bulgarie étaient porteurs de l’histoire poignante de leur propre captivité mais il faut souligner que, en 1918, dans l’opinion et dans la presse roumaine, la captivité en Bulgarie restait d’abord étroitement associée à la mémoire traumatique de la défaite de Turtucaia. Les enjeux politiques, le malaise de l’institution militaire et le besoin d’évaluer le comportement des officiers – aussi bien pendant la bataille que durant l’époque de la captivité – donna naissance à deux commissions spéciales d’enquête, l’une constituée le 9 juin 1918 et une autre, qui lui succéda, entre décembre 1918 et avril 1919 ³⁹. Loin d’éclipser la mémoire de la catastrophe militaire le retour des prisonniers contribua, donc, à en raviver le traumatisme et à alimenter le débat.

L’armée étaient intéressée, d’une part, par les circonstances de la capture des militaires et, dans le cas des officiers capturés à Turtucaia, par leur participation à la bataille pendant les dernières 24 à 36 heures, d’autre part, par les conditions de captivité – ces dernières informations devant fournir des arguments à la Roumanie contre la Bulgarie lors du futur congrès de la paix. A la lumière des centaines de témoignages préservées dans les archives militaires roumaines on saisit à quel point la sortie de la guerre signifie pour les anciens prisonniers en Bulgarie une sortie de l’espace des pratiques de violences spécifiques à la captivité. Bien que ce

³⁸ G. Banea, *Zile de lazaret*, p. 160. La principale ligne de défense roumaine à Turtucaia, de forme demi-circulaire, était divisée en 3 secteurs.

³⁹ Florin Țurcanu, « Turtucaia/Toutrakan 1916: la postérité d’une défaite dans la Roumanie de l’entre-deux-guerres », p. 212–213.

soit le combat qui est « l'épicentre de la violence de guerre »⁴⁰ la plupart des prisonniers roumains de retour de Bulgarie n'avaient pas eu le temps d'acquérir une expérience du combat consistante – certains d'entre eux, comme les troupes de renfort envoyées à Turtucaia vers la fin de la bataille n'avaient combattu que quelques heures. Leur expérience de la violence de guerre était avant tout celle de la violence vécue en tant que prisonniers pendant 19 à 27 mois⁴¹ et leur sortie de guerre était essentiellement une sortie de la violence des camps de prisonniers. Les témoignages renferment une mémoire de cette violence abondamment documentée dans le cas des officiers dont le désir et les moyens d'expression dépassent celui des simples soldats. Le contraste entre le corpus des témoignages d'officiers et celui des témoignages de soldats ou de gradés est saisissant, à commencer par leurs dimensions. Les récits des soldats sont sensiblement plus courts et, notamment dans le cas de ceux qui avaient été contraints à travailler pour l'effort de guerre bulgare et allemand en Macédoine – ils sont souvent orientés par des questionnaires préétablis comprenant 40 à 50 questions groupées dans des rubriques tel « vêtements, nourriture et logement », « travaux et traitement des prisonniers », « traitement sanitaire et mortalité » ou « correspondance » qui mettent l'accent sur les conditions de vie dans les camps et sur l'attitude de l'administration à l'égard des prisonniers. C'est donc la narration des officiers roumains qui construit l'essentiel de l'image de la violence exercée dans les camps de prisonniers bulgares car c'est dans leurs rangs que s'était manifesté pendant la captivité le refus du régime de travail avec, comme conséquence, des représailles humiliantes comme les châtiments physiques appliquées publiquement par les gardiens. Dans la mémoire de la captivité des officiers ce sujet occupe une place centrale car il engage la question sensible de leur statut particulier en tant que prisonniers et de la résistance symbolique qu'ils opposent à leurs gardiens pour préserver ce statut : il s'agit, en vertu des prévisions la IV^e Convention de la Haye de 1907 que la Bulgarie n'avait pas ratifiée, du refus de se laisser employer, en tant qu'officiers, pour des travaux. La répression violente de ce refus par les autorités bulgares avait choqué les officiers roumains et leurs déclarations abondent en exemples de ce genre : « Durant six jours [les officiers] furent privés d'eau et de nourriture après quoi, ceux d'entre eux qui persistèrent dans leur refus de travailler reçurent chacun 25 coups administrés de manière alternative par 2 soldats bulgares avec de gros bâtons tandis que 2 autres soldats immobilisaient le prisonnier »⁴². Ce sont toujours les officiers prisonniers qui s'étaient officiellement plaints aux délégués de la Croix Rouge qui visitaient les camps⁴³.

⁴⁰ Antoine Prost et Jay Winter, *Penser la Grande Guerre. Un essai d'historiographie*, Paris, 2004, p. 139.

⁴¹ De septembre 1916 à avril 1918 lorsque commencent les rapatriements respectivement à novembre 1918 lorsque les rapatriements des prisonniers roumains depuis la Bulgarie prennent fin.

⁴² Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Arhive Naționale Istorice Centrale, Ministerul Justiției, Direcția Afacerilor Judiciare, « Memoriu. Tratatamentul prizonierilor români în captivitatea bulgară », Dosar 33/1918, fila 10.

⁴³ R. Cholakov, *Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the First World War*, p. 60.

A l'échelle du corpus de témoignages conservés dans les archives cette mémoire élaborée et révoltée des officiers obscurcit en quelque sorte la mémoire des simples soldats beaucoup plus sommairement exprimée et dans des formes retenues, mais le sort de ces derniers – utilisés à large échelle pour des travaux épuisants – notamment en Macédoine – se laisse apercevoir clairement. Le témoignage d'un des soldats obligés à travailler à la construction d'une voie ferrée dans la région de Veles, signale la mort de 15 camarades « écrasés par la chute des pierres tombées de la montagne »⁴⁴ tandis que d'autres évoquent des cas d'exécutions sommaires pratiquées par des gardiens bulgares ou allemands⁴⁵ ou le taux important de mortalité provoquée par la faim et les maladies. L'enterrement des cadavres de prisonniers dénudés, placés dans des fosses communes et sans aucun service religieux est aussi souvent mentionné⁴⁶.

Qu'il s'agisse de récits courts de soldats ou de récits élaborés rédigés par des officiers ces témoignages - rédigés pour la plupart en 1918 et 1919 – sont une première manière de fixer une mémoire collective de la captivité au centre de laquelle quelques thèmes se dégagent: la dépossession systématique des prisonniers de leurs vêtements et objets personnels ; l'attitude hostile de la population civile bulgare surtout manifeste dans la phase initiale de la captivité - celle des marches à pied de longues colonnes de prisonniers en route vers les gares et vers les camps ; l'omniprésence de la violence physique exercée notamment sous la forme des coups et des châtiments corporels ; l'omniprésence de la faim et la carence chronique de soins médicaux.

Profondément liée dans la conscience publique à la défaite de Turtucaia, l'image de la captivité des prisonniers roumains en Bulgarie a connu le même sort après 1918 en se voyant reléguée dans un plan second de la mémoire collective par le télescopage d'événements qui allaient se conclure en moins d'un an de manière hautement favorable à la Roumanie : la seconde mobilisation de novembre, la reprise des opérations militaires en Transylvanie et la fin victorieuse de la guerre contre la Hongrie du régime Bela Kun en août 1919. L'oubli de cette expérience collective participe dans l'entre-deux-guerres au besoin d'oublier la défaite initiale elle-même.

⁴⁴ AMNR, 5470, MR Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 4022, f. 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 26, 28.

⁴⁶ AMNR, 5470, MR Fond Serviciul Statistic, crt. 2895, 4022.

L'ARCHÉOLOGIE ROUMAINE À L'ÉPREUVE DE L'HISTOIRE : OBSERVATIONS SUR LE CAS DE LA DOBROUDJA AU TOURNANT DE LA GRANDE GUERRE

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Since Romania entered the Great War in August 1916, the territory of Dobrudja, redrawn at the end of the Second Balkan War, was under military occupation until the autumn of 1918. Throughout this period, an important archaeological heritage, spread over several sites of the classical period (namely Tomis, Histria, Tropaeum Traiani, Callatis, Ulmetum), suffered the avatars of war. This contribution aims to present the situation of these archaeological sites and the destiny of their collections of antiquities during and after the war, based on documents from the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest (MNA). At the heart of the presentation is the figure of the scholar Vasile Pârvan, university professor and director of the MNA from 1910 to 1927. His efforts to organize Romanian archaeology on European bases and, at the same time, to do archaeological fieldwork and to create the first museums and site collections in Dobrudja are considerable throughout his directorship. The file is enriched with testimonies taken from the memories of the time, more precisely those of Monsignor R. Netzhammer, Catholic archbishop in Bucharest, which offer valuable information on the fate of the cultural heritage of this Romanian province throughout the period of the war. Finally, the presentation will discuss the steps taken by Vasile Pârvan, more particularly between 1918 and 1923, for the recovery of the classical antiquities of Dobrudja which were transported beyond the Romanian borders during the war.

Keywords : Great War ; Dobrudja ; Vasile Pârvan ; National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest ; Romanian archaeology.

L'archéologie roumaine¹ en Dobroudja représente un chapitre de l'histoire culturelle qui s'ouvre bien avant le premier conflit mondial, et représente un domaine qui, dans les années tourmentées de l'avant-guerre, vit une des étapes les plus complexes de son histoire.

Ni inédit, ni caduque, le thème exploré² est, dans cette perspective, une (ré)interrogation sur l'importance cruciale des ces années de début du XX^e siècle

¹ Gh. A. Niculescu, « Disciplinary Identity and Autonomy at the Beginnings of Archaeology in Romania », dans G. Klaniczay, M. Werner, O. Gecser (eds.), *Multiple Antiquities – Multiple Modernities: Ancient Histories in Nineteenth-Century European Cultures*, Francfort – New York, 2011, p. 381–405.

² Au sujet du patrimoine historique en Dobroudja durant la Grande Guerre, voir A. Păunescu, « Strădaniile lui Vasile Pârvan pentru salvarea și recuperarea obiectelor prețioase din Muzeul Național de Antichități precum și a pieselor arheologice din Dobrogea », *Carpica* 23/1, 1992, p. 15–39 ; A. Boroneanț, « Vasile Pârvan și patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean în timpul Primului Război Mondial. Documente în arhiva

dans le processus de développement de la recherche archéologique en Roumanie et, en particulier, en Dobroudja. *Vorland* de la Roumanie³, cette terre entre la mer et le Danube accueille, depuis les périodes les plus reculées jusqu'aux temps modernes, une mosaïque de civilisations qui ont laissé en héritage les traces de leur passée. Alliant l'histoire, la géographie et une construction politique tant discutée, Dobroudja permet donc d'explorer la destinée de son patrimoine archéologique dans un des moments les plus sensibles du siècle dernier⁴.

Pour ce faire, la matière de notre survol s'alimente des informations tirées des documents d'archives conservés à l'Institut d'archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de Bucarest. Grâce à la publication des éditions roumaines des certains œuvres de l'archevêque R. Netzhhammer⁵ une mise en perspective des archives est désormais plus facile, en accordant ainsi l'information officielle et celle extraite de la sphère privée, notamment des mémoires de l'un de plus importants membres de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique catholique présents à Bucarest durant toute la période de la Première Guerre mondiale.

GESTION DU PATRIMOINE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE EN DOBROUDJA ENTRE 1913 ET 1916

Après la mort de Grigore Tocilescu en 1909 et un bref directorat assuré par G. Murnu, la direction du Musée National des Antiquités de Bucarest (MNA) est assumée, à partir de 1910, par Vasile Pârvan⁶, héritier de Tocilescu à la chaire

Muzeului Național de Antichități », *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 58/3-4, 2007, p. 229-264 avec une ample bibliographie ; I. Opreș, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean – pradă de război », dans S. Colesniuc (coord.), *Marea Unire de la Marea Neagră. Volum omagial dedicat Centenarului Marii Uniri a românilor și împlinirii a 140 de ani de la unirea Dobrogei cu România*, 2, Constanța, 2018, p. 437-448.

³ Selon le géographe S. Mehedinți, « Deliormanul – o verigă între Carpați și țărmul Mării Negre », *Analele Dobrogei* 19/2, 1938, p. 226-239.

⁴ Sur la question du traçage des frontières dans les Balkans à l'issue de la Grande Guerre et pour une discussion sur la problématique de Dobroudja dans ce contexte, voir E. Boulineau, « Un géographe traceur de frontières : Emmanuel de Martonne et la Roumanie », *L'Espace géographique* 30/4, 2001, en spécial p. 360-362, 365, tableau 1, fig. 1 ; eadem, « Fronts et frontières dans les Balkans : les géographes et les enjeux frontaliers sur le Danube en 1919-1920 », *Balkanologie* 10/1-2, 2008, § 53-61 et fig. 3.

⁵ R. Netzhhammer, *Arhiepiscop în România. Jurnal de război (1914-1918)*, Bucarest, 1993 ; idem, *Antichitățile creștine din Dobrogea*, Bucarest, 2005 (seconde édition) ; idem, *Episcop în România într-o epocă a conflictelor naționale și religioase*, 2 vol., Bucarest, 2005 ; sur l'activité du prélat en Roumanie, voir aussi C.-G. Alexandrescu, « Arhiepiscopul Raymund Netzhhammer și problemele antichităților dobrogene », *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 58/3-4, 2007, p. 211-228 ; Z.K. Pinter, « Un cronicar al Dobrogei în preajma Marii Uniri – Raymund Netzhhammer », dans S. Colesniuc (coord.), *Marea Unire de la Marea Neagră. Volum omagial dedicat Centenarului Marii Uniri a românilor și împlinirii a 140 de ani de la unirea Dobrogei cu România*, 1, Constanța, 2018, p. 257-262.

⁶ À savoir le 18 décembre 1910, voir A. Zub, *Vasile Pârvan, efigia cărturarului*, Iași, 1974, p. 241-243 ; idem, *Vasile Pârvan (1882-1927). Biobibliografie*, București, 1975, p. XLVII ; R. Vulpe, « Activitatea arheologică în Dobrogea în cei 50 de ani de stăpânire românească », *Analele Dobrogei* 9/1, 1928, p. 128.

d'histoire antique et épigraphie de l'Université de Bucarest⁷ (vacataire depuis la fin de 1909, puis titulaire nommé à travers l'ordonnance de 9 mars 1913, effective à partir du 1^{er} mai de la même année). Commence ainsi une véritable époque d'or de l'archéologie roumaine, grâce à l'activité scientifique prodigieuse et à la vision novatrice de V. Pârvan⁸. Ses efforts d'organisation de l'archéologie roumaine s'orientent dans plusieurs directions à la fois : un vaste programme de publications scientifiques valorisant des sujets historiques et archéologiques, doublé par une remarquable activité didactique formatrice ; le développement du MNA et de ses sections locales ; l'initiation de fouilles systématiques en Dobroudja (avec l'appui financier du Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction publique, ainsi que de la Commission des Monuments Historiques), à travers un service des fouilles⁹ développé au sein du musée dont il est la force motrice pour presque deux décennies.

Entre 1911 et 1916, Pârvan place au centre de ses préoccupations l'étude des vestiges gréco-romains de Dobroudja dite « ancienne » (un territoire intégré aux frontières roumaines après le Congrès de Berlin de 1878, à l'issue de la Guerre d'indépendance)¹⁰. Deux grands projets de fouilles lui tiennent à cœur : Ulmetum (Pantelimonul de sus, dép. de Constanța)¹¹ et Histria (Istropolis ; de nos jours

⁷ A. Zub, *Vasile Pârvan ...*, p. XLIII–XLVI, LI ; idem, *Pe urmele lui Vasile Pârvan*, București, 1983, p. 139–141.

⁸ C. Borș, *Protejarea patrimoniului arheologic din România. Despre situri și monumente arheologice din perspectiva evoluției cadrului legislativ în context european*, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, p. 50–53. En général, sur la figure de l'historien V. Pârvan, voir L. Boia, „Germanofili?”. *Elita intelectuală românească în anii Primului Război Mondial*, Bucarest, 2009, p. 271–274.

⁹ Peu après son affectation à la direction du MNA, le 15 février 1911, Pârvan rédige un rapport adressé au ministre de l'Instruction publique, document qui résume l'état de l'institution au début de son mandat ; le savant défend vivement la nécessité de l'existence d'un département des fouilles archéologiques, organisé et financé en concordance avec les besoins de mise en valeur des antiquités gréco-romaines de Dobroudja, voir V. Pârvan, *Correspondență și acte*, ed. îngrijită cu introducere, note și indice de A. Zub, București, 1973, n° 117, p. 101–104, en particulier p. 104 ; voir aussi les commentaires d'A. Zub, *Pe urmele ...*, p. 291. Quelques mois avant sa disparition, dans l'émouvante introduction au premier volume de la revue *Dacia*, datée d'avril 1927, Pârvan remonte au fil de son activité jusqu'en 1906, à une époque quand il avait déjà parlé de l'organisation d'un tel service de fouilles systématiques, voir V. Pârvan, « Avant-propos », *Dacia* 1, 1924, p. V, n. 1.

¹⁰ C. Kirișescu, *Istoria războiului pentru întregirea României. 1916–1919*, 1, Bucarest, 1989 (troisième édition), p. 77–78, n. 69 ; voir également C. Iordachi, « Citizenship, Nation-and State-Building : the integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania, 1878–1913 », *The Carl Beck Papers. Center for Russian and East European Studies* 1607, November 2002, en particulier p. 7–16 et Map I ; idem, « La Californie des Roumains. L'intégration de la Dobroudja du Nord à la Roumanie, 1878–1913 », *Balkanologie* 6/1–2, 2002, en particulier § 5–19.

¹¹ Au cours de la première année de son directorat au musée, Pârvan souhaite démarrer son propre projet de fouille en Dobroudja et décide d'abandonner le travail de terrain à Adamclissi, un lieu étroitement lié à l'activité de son prédécesseur, Gr. Tocilescu. À l'appui de son desideratum il utilise un argumentaire convainquant et cohérent afin d'obtenir les fonds nécessaires pour le début de ses missions archéologiques à Ulmetum, comme le montrent deux rapports adressés au ministre de l'Instruction et des Cultes, voir V. Pârvan, *Correspondență...*, n° 150, p. 132 (rapport n° 260 de novembre 1911) et n° 158, p. 143 (complément au rapport n° 260, datant de 6 avril 1912). En même temps, la rupture avec la période antérieure et l'aube d'une nouvelle ère dans l'archéologie roumaine en Dobroudja est signée par la parution, en 1912, du volume dédié à la cité romaine d'Adamclissi, sans que son auteur soit impliqué dans l'exploration de ce site, voir V. Pârvan, *Cetatea Tropaeum. Considerații istorice*, Bucarest, 1912.

village d'Istria)¹², dans les environs marécageux de la commune de Caranasuf, du département de Constanța. Le rythme des fouilles est soutenu. En cinq ans, les remparts des deux agglomérations antiques sont entièrement dégagés, tout comme une partie de leur superficie intra-muros, bon nombre de pièces sculpturales, d'inscriptions et d'autres artefacts sont recueillis. Le savant s'investit pleinement dans l'activité de terrain, consacrant beaucoup d'énergie à ses deux chantiers, qu'il mène avec la participation d'un groupe de jeunes collaborateurs et anciens élèves¹³, parmi lesquels on retrouve D.M. Teodorescu, H. Metaxa, G. Mateescu, P. Nicorescu, S. Lambrino, M. Doraș, Sp. Cegăneanu, D. Pecurariu.

La publication des résultats suit le rythme des fouilles¹⁴, les rapports ayant une parution régulière dans les pages des publications telles que *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, mais aussi à l'étranger, dans des revues prestigieuses comme *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Archäologischer Anzeiger*¹⁵.

En parallèle avec la dimension scientifique de ses recherches, Pârvan est constamment préoccupé par la création des aires archéologiques protégées¹⁶ et par le développement de l'infrastructure des chantiers nouvellement créés, l'un de ses desiderata étant la construction des maisons de fouilles auprès des sites¹⁷. Une telle maison est érigée à Ulmetum¹⁸, faisant également office d'espace d'exposition d'une collection d'antiquités. En 1916 il démarre à Histria la construction d'une maison destinée au personnel scientifique et à la conservation des artefacts

¹² V. Pârvan, « Raport provizoriu asupra primei campanii de săpături la Histria », *Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice pe 1914*, Bucarest, 1915, p. 117–121 ; idem, « Histria IV. Inscricții găsite în 1914 și 1915. Ședința dela 12(25) Februarie 1916 », *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, II^e série, 38, 1915–1916, p. 533–732 ; idem, « Raport special nr. 4. Campania a II-a de săpături la Histria », dans *Raport asupra activității Muzeului Național de Antichități în cursul anului 1915 înaintat domnului ministru al instrucțiunii și cultelor de directorul Muzeului, tipărit întâi în « Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice »*, Bucarest, 1916, p. 18–29.

¹³ A. Zub, *Efigia* ..., p. 245, 276–277, n. 705.

¹⁴ Sur l'œuvre archéologique de V. Pârvan en général, voir idem, *Vasile Pârvan* ..., p. 3–29.

¹⁵ Idem, *Efigia* ..., p. 307 ; idem, *Pe urmele* ..., p. 172.

¹⁶ En 1911 et 1912, V. Pârvan prête une attention spéciale à l'organisation et au maintien du service de protection des monuments antiques de Dobroudja, insistant auprès du ministre de l'Instruction publique que le site identifié dans le village de Pantelimonul de Sus (Taxof, dép. de Constanța) bénéficie de son propre gardien (cf. rapport n^o 13 du savant au ministre de ressort, 14 septembre 1911), voir V. Pârvan, *Corespondență*..., n^o 138, p. 122–123, n. 1–2.

¹⁷ Une telle maison faisant l'office de musée de site est érigée à Adamclissi dans le mandat de son prédécesseur, le professeur G. Murnu, bien que les travaux se poursuivent à l'automne de 1911 (cf. rapports n^{os} 268 et 275 de Pârvan au ministre de l'Instruction publique, 20 octobre 1911), voir V. Pârvan, *Corespondență*..., n^{os} 146–147, p. 129–130.

¹⁸ Le musée de site à Ulmetum est déjà en fonction en 1914, voir V. Pârvan, *Raport 1915*..., p. 6. Une liste détaillée de la collection abritée par ce musée est disponible dans la publication de V. Pârvan, *Cetatea Ulmetum. III. Descoperirile ultimei campanii de săpături din vara anilor anului 1914, cu 1 hartă, 16 tabele și 21 figuri în text*, extrait de *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, II^e sér., 37, 1915, Bucarest, Leipzig, Vienne, 1915, p. 291–298 (Anexa. Inventariul obiectelor ce alcătuiesc Muzeul Cetății Ulmetum 1)/[français : Annexe. L'Inventaire des objets qui composent le Musée de la citadelle d'Ulmetum 1], fig. VIII/1–2, XII–XVI.

identifiés¹⁹. Un projet similaire pour le chantier d'« Abrit(t)us » (site aujourd'hui identifié avec Zaldapa)²⁰ n'a pas pu être mené à terme²¹.

En 1913, à l'issue de la Seconde Guerre balkanique²², dans sa sphère d'intérêts entre, pour la première fois, le territoire de la Dobroudja méridionale, dite « nouvelle », puisque le savant, volontaire réserviste au Ministère de la Guerre, avait accompagné les troupes roumaines dans le Quadrilatère²³. Il est donc impliqué dans les fouilles effectuées par les soldats roumains à Dissi-Pudak et Ekrené, le département de Caliacra²⁴, sans toutefois être à l'origine de cette initiative. De retour à Bucarest, le

¹⁹ À la fin du mois d'août 1916, après l'entrée de la Roumanie en guerre, le directeur du MNA dispose que le gardien en chef du musée central, C. Ionescu, se déplace à Histria (comm. Caranasuf) pour s'occuper du local du musée de site, dont la construction commencée avant la mobilisation et inachevée au début des opérations militaires courrait le risque de tomber en ruine pendant l'hiver, voir Archive de l'Institut d'archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie roumaine, Bucarest [ci-après IAVP], tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, copie n° 181/31 août 1916, f. 383.

²⁰ Ce site archéologique est à présent associé avec la cité tardo-romaine de Zaldapa (aux environs du village Abrit, dép. de Dobrich, Bulgarie), voir D. Moreau, G. Atanasov, N. Beaudry, « The Archaeology of the Late Roman City of Zaldapa: The *Status Questionis* in 2016 (with an Appendix on Seasons 2017–2019) », dans D. Moreau, C.S. Snively, A. Guiglia, I. Baldini, L. Milanović, I. Popović, N. Beaudry, O. Heinrich-Tamáska (eds.), *Archaeology of a World of Changes: Late Roman and Early Byzantine Architecture, Sculpture and Landscapes. Selected Papers from the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016) – In memoriam Claudia Barsanti*, Oxford, 2020, p. 38–39, n. 18–25, fig. 1 avec la bibliographie. Concernant le site aujourd'hui identifié avec Abrit(t)us, soit l'actuelle Razgrad, voir notamment D. Moreau, J.-P. Carrié, « L'agglomération romaine d'Abritus (Mésie inférieure / Mésie seconde) : sources textuelles et bilan archéologique », dans C. Freu, S. Janniard, A. Ripoll (eds.), « *Libera curiositas* ». *Mélanges d'histoire romaine et d'Antiquité tardive offerts à Jean-Michel Carrié*, Turnhout, 2017, p. 229–256.

²¹ En 1916, la section centrale du MNA entreprend des fouilles à *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa* (Devegikioi, dép. de Caliacra). D. M. Teodorescu, directeur adjoint du musée, et l'assistant G. G. Mateescu sont chargés des opérations archéologiques sur le terrain. Avant même le début de ces travaux, V. Pârvan soumet à l'autorisation du préfet de Caliacra, siégré à Bazargic, son plan visant la construction de la maison des fouilles, ainsi que le calendrier de l'expédition archéologique, comme le prouve le texte du télégramme envoyé par Pârvan au préfet George Georgescu – voir Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, copie n° 110/22 juin 1916, f. 317.

²² C. Kirîtescu, *Istoria războiului...*, 1, p. 94–97, n. 24 ; S. Lascu, « La rectification de la frontière du sud de la Roumanie (1913) – contexte historique et géopolitique. Quelques témoignages roumains », *Annals of the Academy of Romanian Scientists. Series on History and Archaeology* 8/1, 2016, p. 15–17 ; F. Anghel, « Cotidianul mărunț al Dobrogei de Sud. Ce a văzut Iordan Iovkov (1880–1937) la frontiera cu România », *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană* s.n. 18, 2019, p. 5–7.

²³ A. Zub, *Efigia ...*, p. 253, n. 735, place en effet Pârvan au Service de surveillance des informations (Serviciul supravegherii știrilor) de l'Armée de l'Est (X^e Division de Dobrich), pendant la Seconde Guerre balkanique. Le commandant des troupes cantonnées à Balchik facilite l'affectation du savant au II^e Bataillon du Régiment 71 réserve, voir idem, *Vasile Pârvan ...*, p. LII. Sa qualité de volontaire au cours de ce conflit militaire est confirmée par le savant même dans une lettre adressée à son fidèle ami, M. Simionescu-Rîmniceanu, le 11 août 1914, voir V. Pârvan, *Corespondență...*, Addenda n° 44, p. 402.

²⁴ Une série de documents dans les archives du MNA offre des détails sur ces opérations archéologiques, sur l'implication du savant et sur les rapports interministériels échangés après le Traité de paix de Bucarest (10 août 1913), à l'initiative de Pârvan – Archive IAVP, tome D19/1913, f. 346–347, 354, 358–362, 413–416, 418–419, 422–423, 435–436, 438–442, 451–453, 472. Un compte-rendu de ces fouilles est publié presque immédiatement après la guerre par le président de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, I. Kalinderu, « Relațiune despre săpăturile de la Ekrené și Dișipudac din Dobrogea nouă și despre starea monumentelor greco-romane desgropate la Constanța și Mangalia », *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 6/23, iulie–septembrie 1913, p. 135–139 ;

directeur du musée fait parvenir aux autorités ministérielles de la capitale, en octobre 1913, un ample rapport sur la nécessité de la protection du patrimoine inestimable en Dobroudja nouvelle, utilisant comme argument l'annexion partielle du Quadrilatère et la subséquente augmentation du patrimoine antique dans cette région²⁵.

Ce qui apparaît clairement dans l'activité du MNA au cours des deux premières années de la Grande Guerre c'est sans doute son engagement au service de l'archéologie. En 1914, mettant fin à ses campagnes à Ulmetum, le musée poursuit des travaux à Histria, avant que, en 1915²⁶, le MNA entame des explorations de terrain à Tomis et à Callatis, ainsi qu'en Dobroudja dite « nouvelle », à Chiosé-Aidin, Cadichioi et Vetren (dép. de Durostor), bénéficiant de l'appui financier d'I. Cămărășescu, le préfet du département, et à *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa/Devegikioi*, en 1916²⁷. Les délégués du MNA sont désormais activement impliqués dans l'activité archéologique systématique ou de surveillance partout en Dobroudja, avec un nouveau pôle d'intérêt dans le domaine de la préhistoire, dont la coordination est confiée à I. Andrieșescu²⁸.

En même temps, jusqu'en 1916 plusieurs sections locales du MNA²⁹ sont constituées à Adamclissi (1911–1912), Constanța (1911), Ulmetum (1914), Mangalia (1915) et Histria (1916). Des collections d'antiquités sont réunies à

un dossier complémentaire sur ces fouilles est réuni par I.S. Boțoghină, « Regăsirea antichității pe frontul din Cadrilater : cu Vasile Pârvan pe șantierul arheologic de la Disi-Puda », dans A. Panaite, R. Cîrjan, C. Căpiță (eds.), *Moesica et Christiana. Studies in Honour of Professor Alexandru Barnea*, Brăila, 2016, p. 321–327.

²⁵ Rapport du directeur du MNA aux ministres de l'Instruction publique, de la Défense et des Domaines – Archive IAVP, tome D19/1913, copies n^{os} 208, 210/5 octobre 1913, f. 413–416, 418–419, 422–423. Une année plus tard, les premiers volumes dédiés aux monuments antiques de Dobroudja méridionale parurent, notamment celui de G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Cetăți și orașe greco-romane în noul teritoriu al Dobrogei cu o hartă și 22 ilustrațiuni*, Bucarest, 1914.

²⁶ V. Pârvan, *Raport 1915...*, p. 7–8, 10.

²⁷ La première campagne de fouilles se déroule à *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa/Devegikioi* dans la période 29 juin – 13 août 1916 (voir Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, f. 318, 323–324, 341, 344, 352–354, 360–361, 423–427, 429–446, 448–458, 460 et télégramme datant de 13 juillet 1916, signée par G.G. Matéescu/non numérotée dans le dossier). La coordination effective des travaux a été assumée par l'assistant G.G. Mateescu, le financement étant accordé à son nom par la préfecture de Caliacra, à travers son Service de l'Administration départementale – voir Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, f. 353 (décision n^o 4570 du 8 juillet 1916) et 354 (copie n^o 145 du 15 juillet 1916, communication de la chancellerie du MNA à la préfecture de Caliacra). Deux autres collaborateurs de Pârvan ont rejoint l'équipe, M. Doraș et P. Nicorescu, tandis que la participation de S. Lambrino, prévue par son maître, ne semble pas avérée par les documents administratifs conservés dans les archives du MNA. La date de 14 août 1916 signe la cessation des travaux archéologiques à *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa*, dans le contexte de l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la guerre – voir Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, f. 434 (copie de la quittance de location de la maison pour le personnel ayant participé aux fouilles, au nom d'Ivan Ivanicu ou Ivanciu ?).

²⁸ A. Zub, *Efigia...*, p. 276, n. 798–800 ; V. Pârvan, *Raport 1915...*, p. 10–18.

²⁹ Comme indiqué dans le rapport n^o 23 du prof. I. Bogdan au ministre de l'Instruction publique, Archive IAVP, tome D23/1917, Dossier 1917, 9 juin 1917, f. 29–30 ; voir aussi R. Vulpe, « Activitatea arheologică... », p. 137 ; I. Andrieșescu, « Vasile Pârvan, membru al Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice † 26 iunie 1927 », *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 22/62, octobre-décembre 1929, p. 146–147 (en particulier sur le musée à Histria) ; A. Zub, *Pe urmele...*, p. 306 ; Z. Covacef, N. Mihail, A. Pop, A. V. Rădulescu, « Le Musée d'histoire nationale et d'archéologie de Constantza », *Pontica* 12, 1979, p. 9–54.

Hârșova³⁰ et Silistra³¹, grâce à l'implication de l'élite locale ou par les soins des autorités du lieu, comme c'est le cas du préfet I. Cămărășescu à Durostor ou du maire V. Andronescu à Constanța. Enfin, l'équipe du musée central est complétée par les gardiens permanents des sites archéologiques (à Histria, Adamclisi, Ulmetum et Callatis), qui sont rémunérés par le musée central de Bucarest.

Le 14/27 août 1916 la Roumanie quitte l'état de neutralité décidé au début de la Grande Guerre, pour rejoindre le camp de l'Entente³². Après le désastre de Turtucaia, les armées russo-roumaines commencent leur retrait sur la ligne Rasova-Cobadin-Tuzla³³. Les fouilles d'Histria et d'*Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa* cessent à la hâte, le personnel du musée recevant l'ordre de rentrer immédiatement à Bucarest. Des mesures sommaires de protection du patrimoine archéologique sont prises dans ce contexte³⁴ et les délégués du MNA sont également en charge de mettre à l'abri l'infrastructure de chantier³⁵ (outils, matériel de construction, matériel roulant). Les fiches de paie du musée central indiquent qu'à partir du 1^{er} septembre 1916 un nombre fluctuant de gardiens des sites archéologiques sont encore rétribués par le Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction (quatre en décembre 1916, un seul en mai 1917)³⁶. Une partie du personnel scientifique du musée est mobilisée, peu à peu les gardiens des sites quittent leurs postes. Le directeur est lui aussi mobilisé, trouvant

³⁰ A. Boroneanț, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 230 ; C.-G. Alexandrescu, « Bilder einer Ausstellung. Dokumente über das erste Museum der Stadt Hârșova », *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 46, 2008, en particulier p. 306–309.

³¹ V. Pârvan, *Raport 1915...*, p. 7.

³² C. Kirișescu, *Istoria războiului...*, 1, p. 198–204 ; G.E. Torrey, *România în Primul Război Mondial*, Bucarest, 2014, p. 19–28.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 94 (p. 81–90 pour les opérations militaires à Turtucaia).

³⁴ Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier 1916 – MNA, copie n° 178/29 août 1916, f. 381 (le gardien du MNA, I. Mihai, reçoit l'ordre de se déplacer à Histria afin d'assurer la protection du site et des objets archéologiques se trouvant sur place, pendant toute la durée de la mobilisation ; un document plus tardif, classé dans un dossier de 1919 (Liste B) décrit brièvement les mesures prises à Caranasuf lors de l'entrée de la Roumanie en guerre, voir Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier I – 1919, f. 43 verso : « De la cité Histria : A. Objets enfouis par nous dans la terre à l'occasion de l'évacuation, déclarés aux ennemis par les Bulgares de Caranasuf »).

³⁵ À *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa/Devegikioi*, la veille de son départ vers la capitale, l'assistant G. G. Mateescu allait confier le matériel roulant loué par l'entrepreneur L. Sinigallia de Bucarest au MNA (notamment quatre wagonnettes Decauville, 225 m railles et un aiguille bifurqué) au maire de la commune de Hardali et au chef du poste des gendarmes locaux, en base d'un procès-verbal, pour qu'il soit protégé durant les opérations militaires (cf. Copie n° 15/13 août 1916, procès-verbal, Archive IAVP, tome D22/1916, Dossier Acțiunea întentată de Luigi Sinigallia MNA-ului. 1916–1927, f. 37). Peu après ce moment, à la fin du mois d'août 1916, les environs du village d'Aptaat (*Abrit*) se trouvent au cœur des combats entre les troupes bulgares et roumaines, voir N.S. Șucu, *Viața și aventurile unui cioban român în Bulgaria în vremuri de război (1908–1918)*, éd. D. Cain, Bucarest, 2017, p. 146, n. 1.

³⁶ Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier Muzeul Național. 1906–1919 (extrase din statele de plată)/[français : Dossier Musée national. 1906–1919 (extraits de relevés de paiement)], f. 29, 31, 33, 35, 40, 41 : en mars 1917 seul le gardien Vasile Popescu affecté à Adamclissi se trouvait encore en poste, où il restera du moins jusqu'au mois de mai 1917, ses collègues à Histria, Ulmetum ou Callatis ayant disparus de l'évidence du service comptable du musée ; le gardien V. Popescu réintègre sa fonction au musée d'Adamclissi en janvier 1919, tandis qu'un autre gardien (D. Avram) est affecté à Histria.

refuge en Moldavie après le 13 novembre 1916³⁷. La direction du musée est assurée à titre provisoire par le professeur I. Bogdan³⁸, considéré, tout comme le titulaire de son poste au MNA, un personnage d'orientation germanophile.

LA PRÉSENCE MILITAIRE BULGARO-ALLEMANDE ET LE PATRIMOINE HISTORIQUE EN DOBROUDJA

Durant la période septembre-décembre 1916 les troupes des Puissances centrales prennent pleinement le contrôle de la Dobroudja, avancent vers la capitale qui sera occupée le 6 décembre³⁹. À partir de 24 octobre 1916 Dobroudja est placée sous l'autorité effective de l'Administration allemande d'étape (avec à sa tête le général-lieutenant Kurt von Unger)⁴⁰. La Roumanie garde le contrôle du Delta du Danube, tandis que les armées bulgaro-allemandes occupent de manière partagée la plupart du territoire de la province⁴¹: les troupes allemandes maintiennent le département de Constanța et le sud extrême du département de Tulcea. La III^e Armée bulgare prend le contrôle de la zone septentrionale, jusqu'aux rives du Danube.

La population civile est gravement touchée par les opérations militaires⁴², confrontée avec des destructions importantes des biens, des pillages, des viols ou vols, la mobilisation forcée, les réquisitions et même le refuge. Les sites archéologiques de Dobroudja ne semblent pas avoir été épargnés, les fonds documentaires conservés au MNA indiquent bien souvent que des troupes bulgares⁴³

³⁷ Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier Muzeul Național. 1906–1919 (extrase din statele de plată)/[français : Dossier Musée national. 1906–1919 (extraits de relevés de paiement)], f. 28 (verso), 29, 33 ; A. Zub, *Vasile Pârvan ...*, p. LVIII. Le savant passe la période du refuge d'abord à Iași, ensuite à Dobrovăț (de nos jours le dép. de Iași, à l'époque une localité dans le dép. de Vaslui, appartenant au domaine de la Couronne) et puis à Odessa (en Russie) ; il sera de retour en Moldavie en mai 1918, voir V. Pârvan, *Corespondență...*, n^{os} 227–236, p. 202–209 et Addenda n^{os} 48–50, p. 403–404.

³⁸ L. Boia, „*Germanofili*”..., p. 184–188; R. Tudorancea, « Intelectualii români în vreme de război: cazul celor rămași în teritoriul ocupat, în timpul primei conflagrații », *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană* s.n. 18, 2019, en particulier p. 35.

³⁹ R. Tudorancea, « Ocupația germană în Primul Război Mondial: mecanisme de control, vectori de imagine », *Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană* s.n. 12, 2013, p. 107–129 ; G.E. Torrey, *România...*, p. 167–170.

⁴⁰ V. Ciorbea, « Situația Dobrogei între anii 1916–1918 în izvoarele istorice germane de epocă », *Annals of the Academy of Romanian Scientists. Series on History and Archaeology Sciences* 9/2, 2017, p. 55.

⁴¹ R. Born, « Von Besatzern zu Besetzten. Kunstschutz und Archäologie in Rumänien », dans R. Born et B. Störkuhl (Hrsg.), *Apologeten der Vernichtung oder »Kunstschützer«? Kunsthistoriker der Mittelmächte im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Cologne – Weimar – Vienne, 2017, p. 232, n. 94.

⁴² Voir à ce titre le témoignage de N.S. Șucu, *Viața și aventurile unui cioban...*, p. 147–151, 153 ; le sujet est discuté aussi par D. Cain, « În căutarea unui fiu rățâcit. Studiu introductiv », dans N. S. Șucu, *Viața și aventurile unui cioban...*, p. 30, 44–47. Sur le traitement appliqué par les troupes de la coalition bulgaro-allemande à la population du département de Tulcea pendant la guerre, voir V. Coman (coord.), *Dobrogea în arhivele românești (1597–1989). Profesorului Stoica Lasca la 60 de ani*, Bucarest, 2013, n^o 113, p. 311–315 (Rapport n^o 1203, 10 février 1919, de la préfecture de Tulcea au ministre de l'Intérieur).

⁴³ Sur l'image de l'occupant bulgare au cours des années de guerre, voir D. Cîțirigă, « Dușmanul complet: imaginea bulgarului în memorialistica și propaganda românească din timpul Primului Război

étaient à l'origine des actions ayant provoqué des dommages au patrimoine historique (mobile et immobile) au cours de la guerre.

Les nouvelles autorités manifestent pourtant un intérêt particulier pour les ressources de Dobroudja⁴⁴, l'important potentiel archéologique de la région offrant donc un vaste champ d'investigation. En vue de la gestion complète de ce territoire, mais aussi probablement au regard de l'impact des opérations militaires sur le patrimoine archéologique⁴⁵, la coalition bulgare-allemande juge nécessaire d'entreprendre des actions concrètes pour étudier et préserver ce dernier, des actions que l'on peut restituer en partie grâce au fonds d'archive du Musée central de Bucarest.

D'abord, en mars 1917 est créé à Bucarest le Département d'art et de protection des monuments coordonné par le capitaine Dr. Ludwig Volkmann⁴⁶, assisté par l'historien d'art Heinz Braune⁴⁷, depuis 1912 directeur de la Nouvelle Pinacothèque de Munich, comme référent. Au nom de l'administration allemande, H. Braune compte effectuer à l'été 1917 une inspection en Dobroudja, exigeant de la part de la direction du MNA un tableau exact de son patrimoine antique en territoire occupé, désormais inaccessible à la partie roumaine. La réponse détaillée d'Ioan Bogdan, fournie via le ministre de ressort, est cruciale pour l'évaluation ultérieure des dégâts⁴⁸.

Les sections locales du MNA de Constanța, Mangalia, Ulmetum, Histria, Adamclissi, Hârșova ont été atteintes par des destructions importantes, qui touchent

Mondial », dans B. Popa et R. Tudorancea (coord.), *Războiul de ficcare zi. Viața cotidiană în tranșee și în spatele frontului în Primul Război Mondial (1914–1919)*, Târgoviște, 2018, p. 354–371.

⁴⁴ V. Ciorbea, « Situația Dobrogei... », p. 60–67, 70–72.

⁴⁵ Au sujet de l'organisation du territoire roumain occupé par les forces des Puissances centrales et de la gestion du patrimoine historique et des biens culturels par la coalition allemande-bulgare, voir R. Born, « Zwischen Kulturschutz und Kulturgutraub Deutsche Archäologie in Rumänien vor und während der Besatzungszeit (1916–1918) », dans P. Lohmann (Hg.), *Archäologie und Politik. Die zwei Geschichten des Tropaeum Traiani zwischen Heidelberg und Adamklissi. Begleitband zur Pop-up-Ausstellung (Propylaeum)*, Heidelberg, 2021, p. 84–104, en particulier 90–96. En même temps, au nord de la Grèce les vestiges archéologiques se trouvent au centre de l'attention des troupes françaises et britanniques de l'Armée d'Orient pendant la Grande Guerre (1915–1919), ce patrimoine étant géré par un service archéologique qui s'implique activement dans la recherche de terrain surtout en Macédoine, voir S. Descamps-Lequime, « The excavations conducted by the Service Archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient in northern Greece: new information from the archives kept in France », dans A. Shapland et E. Stefani (eds.), *Archaeology Behind the Battle Lines. The Macedonian Campaign (1915–19) and its Legacy*, Londres et New York, 2017, p. 69–84 ; Th. Krempp, « Le service archéologique de l'Armée d'Orient, une archéologie en guerre », *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 46/2, 2017, p. 77–90.

⁴⁶ R. Born, « Von Besatzern zu Besetzten... », p. 228–229, n. 76.

⁴⁷ Sur l'activité de H. Braune au sein de cet organisme géré par l'Administration militaire allemande en Roumanie, voir I. Opreș, « Comisiunea Monumentelor Istorice la sfârșitul primului război mondial », *Argessis. Studii și comunicări. Seria Istorie* 8, 1999, en particulier p. 450–451, 453, 455–456 ; R. Born, « Von Besatzern zu Besetzten... », p. 237–243 ; A.-S. Ionescu, « Viața culturală în capitala ocupată, 1917–1918 », dans B. Popa et R. Tudorancea (coord.), *Războiul de ficcare zi. Viața cotidiană în tranșee și în spatele frontului în Primul Război Mondial (1914–1919)*, Târgoviște, 2018, p. 41–44.

⁴⁸ A. Boroneaș, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 244–246 (Anexa 1/1)/[français : L'annexe 1/1].

les bâtiments eux-mêmes, leur mobilier et les outils servant aux fouilles⁴⁹. Une liste détaillée rédigée par Pârvan et envoyée aux autorités roumaines le 1^{er} janvier 1919⁵⁰ fournit le montant exact de ces pertes matérielles : 60.238,50 lei en 1916 soit 397.850,50 lei, somme actualisée à la valeur de 1918.

En même temps, les collections d'antiquités abritées par les musées locaux de Dobroudja sont réquisitionnées par les troupes allemandes et bulgares, des lots entiers d'objets étant de manière systématique transportés au-delà des frontières roumaines, pour la plupart en Bulgarie (il s'agit d'inscriptions, pièces de sculpture architecturale, monuments funéraires, sarcophages, tous types de vases, monnaies)⁵¹. Une seule déposition, celle du maire d'Adamclissi⁵², indique, en janvier 1918, que les troupes allemandes seraient responsables pour avoir saisi les pièces archéologiques du musée de Tropaeum (Adamclissi)⁵³. Dans une contribution parue en 1940, l'archéologue I. Nestor⁵⁴ note l'existence, dans les collections du Prähistorisches Staats-Museum de Berlin, des lots céramiques préhistoriques provenant des fouilles allemandes entreprises pendant la guerre par C. Schuchhardt à Cernavodă,

⁴⁹ Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Enveloppe 1917–1918–1919, copie n° 103, 1/14 novembre 1918, f. 24–25 (rapport de Pârvan au ministre de l'Instruction).

⁵⁰ Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 20 et Liste B (en roumain), f. 17–19, en particulier f. 16, Liste A (en français), f. 29–31, en particulier f. 31.

⁵¹ Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 20 et Liste B (en roumain), f. 17–19 ; voir aussi A. Boroneanț, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 231–232.

⁵² Adresse de la mairie d'Adamclissi (n° 65) au directeur du MNA, 30 janvier 1918, voir Archive IAVP, tome D24/1918, f. 30.

⁵³ L'intérêt du milieu académique allemand pour les ruines romaines de Tropaeum, surtout pour le monument triomphal de l'empereur Trajan, est bien antérieur à la Première Guerre mondiale, mais il le restera entier durant l'état de belligérance, des scientifiques allemands étant impliqués dans l'étude et la réalisation des moulages positifs en plâtre selon les métopes du monument, voir R. Netzhammer, *Archiepiscop...*, p. 261–262 (le 28 mai 1918) ; R. Born, « Von Besatzern zu Besetzten... », p. 231–232, n. 87–93 ; I. Opreș, « Patrimoniul... », p. 441, n. 19 ; R. Born, « Zwischen Kulturschutz und Kulturgutraub... », p. 88–90, 99–102. Par le biais du hasard, en 2019, à l'occasion des travaux de restauration, dans le grenier de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Heidelberg furent réidentifiés 51 moulages et matrices en plâtre réalisés d'après différentes parties du monument de Tropaeum Traiani. Ces moulages et matrices ont été réalisés en avril-mai 1918 à Bucarest par Harald Hofmann, avec le soutien de son ancien professeur, F. von Duhn, l'un des créateurs de la Collection d'antiquités de l'Université de Heidelberg, avec l'appui financier du Ministère de la culture de Baden. À l'origine de cette découverte se trouve P. Lohmann, nouvelle curatrice de la collection d'antiquités à Heidelberg, qui aura par la suite l'idée d'une restitution historique de cette entreprise ayant commencé au printemps de 1918, pendant la Grande guerre – voir notamment la contribution P. Lohmann, « Eine ganz eigene Geschichte. Die Abgüsse des Tropaeum Traiani in der Heidelberger Antikensammlung », dans P. Lohmann (Hg.), *Archäologie und Politik. Die zwei Geschichten des Tropaeum Traiani zwischen Heidelberg und Adamklissi. Begleitband zur Pop-up-Ausstellung (Propylaeum)*, Heidelberg, 2021, p. 107–131, ainsi que le volume dont elle en est l'éditrice et l'exposition pop-up dédiés à ces reproductions. Dans ses démarches de restitution du parcours sinueux des plâtres réalisés par le capitaine H. Hofmann, P. Lohmann s'est également appuyé sur la correspondance officielle conservée dans les réserves de Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (référence 235 n° 3764 Adamklissi 1918–1929).

⁵⁴ « Antichități dela noi în colecții și muzee străine. La Muzeul de preistorie din Berlin », *Revista de preistorie și antichități naționale* 2–4, 1940, p. 107–110.

par H. Schmidt à Sărata Monteoru (départ. de Buzău) et par L. Frobenius à Crângu et Cunești (dans les environs de Călărași). Au musée central de Bucarest, outre les sept manuscrits slavons saisis par des officiers bulgares, une pièce de mobilier et une statuette antique de Histria saisies par des officiers allemands, aucun dommage important ne fut enregistré, ses collections et le siège étant intacts⁵⁵.

Les armées ennemies⁵⁶ ont réalisé des fouilles non autorisées dans l'Ancien Royaume (les départements de Buzău, Dolj et Ialomița), mais aussi en Dobroudja, à Histria, *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa* et Slava Rusă. Un document sans date et sans signature⁵⁷, rédigé peut-être par Pârvan selon le style et l'écriture, note le fait que les fouilles à Slava Rusă et *Abrit(t)us-Zaldapa/Devegikioi* sont imputables aux armées bulgares, tandis que celles de Histria aux forces allemandes⁵⁸.

De l'intérieur du camp de l'occupant, l'archevêque catholique de Bucarest, Raymond Netzhammer, offre dans les pages de son journal, un témoignage précieux sur l'activité archéologique allemande en Dobroudja. Ainsi, le 19 mai 1917 et le 13 avril 1918, le prélat parle des fouilles déroulées à Histria et à Mangalia suivant l'ordre de l'administration militaire. Il note la présence sur place de l'architecte Johannes Jacobs de Munich, chargé des relevés des vestiges dégagés. Jacobs est d'ailleurs celui qui lui fournit le premier plan de la basilique extra-muros⁵⁹, découverte par Pârvan en 1914 et encore inédite. Un certain major Scheunemann⁶⁰ est mentionné pour avoir rendu à l'archevêque un rapport sur l'avancement de recherches allemandes à Histria, le 19 mai 1917. À Mangalia, J. Jacobs poursuit ses travaux archéologiques depuis le printemps au début du mois d'octobre 1918⁶¹.

L'archevêque de Bucarest, passionné par les antiquités chrétiennes de Dobroudja mène une activité soutenue de promotion de ces vestiges. En avril 1918

⁵⁵ Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier I – 1919, copie n° 68/8 mars 1919, f. 83 (note d'information remise à la III^e Commission d'enquête des abus et des illégalités de l'ennemi dans le territoire occupé/La Cour des Jurés à Bucarest). Un document antérieur, signé par G.G. Mateescu, précise que les sept manuscrits slavons ont été restitués par les officiers allemands une semaine après leur confiscation par les deux officiers bulgares étant, par la suite, envoyés à l'Académie, voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Enveloppe 1917–1918–1919, n° 6/21 mars 1917, f. 5 (recto/verso).

⁵⁶ Au sujet des fouilles allemandes en Roumanie pendant la guerre, voir R. Born, « Von Besatzern zu Besetzten... », p. 243–250 ; idem, « Zwischen Kulturschutz und Kulturgutraub... », p. 96–99.

⁵⁷ Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Enveloppe 1917–1918–1919, copie sans date et numéro, f. 4–5.

⁵⁸ L'article intitulé *Ausgrabung der Stadt Istros bei Karanasuf in der Dobrudscha* (auteur : R. Bernhard), paru dans le journal allemand *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 93, 1917, p. 557–560 (édition du 17 novembre), en informe le public sur ces excavations dans le périmètre de la cité antique près de Caranasuf – voir Angelescu 2019, en particulier p. 189–196.

⁵⁹ R. Netzhammer, *Antichitățile...*, p. 143–145, n. 177, fig. 58–59. Sur les relations établies entre les deux figures de la recherche dans le domaine de l'histoire antique de Roumanie, voir C.-G. Alexandrescu, « Arhiepiscopul Raymund Netzhammer... », p. 219–221, n. 45.

⁶⁰ R. Netzhammer, *Arhiepiscop...*, p. 206 ; idem, *Episcop în România...*, 1, p. 723.

⁶¹ R. Netzhammer, *Arhiepiscop...*, p. 275 ; idem, *Antichitățile...*, p. 151–155, n. 186, fig. 62 ; idem, *Episcop în România...*, 1, p. 809–810.

Raymond Netzhammer donne une conférence à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Bucarest⁶², devant un public nombreux et différents savants allemands, parmi lesquels il cite Adolph von Harnack, Conrad Cichorius ou Albrecht Penck (géologue et géographe, recteur de l'Université impériale de Berlin).

L'armée allemande d'occupation est même à l'origine de la publication d'un journal intitulé *Dobrudscha Bote*⁶³, paru à Constanța en novembre 1916 (édition allemande), avec, à partir de 1917, des éditions en bulgare et en turc ottoman. Dans les pages de ce courrier on retrouve plusieurs fois, en 1917 et 1918, de titres concernant les antiquités de Dobroudja, parfois sous la signature d'un certain Franz Scott⁶⁴. Les articles portent sur les tombes antiques à Constanța, sur le monument d'Adamclissi ou bien sur les fouilles de Jacobs à Histria⁶⁵ (éditions bulgare et allemande du mois de mars 1918, bien postérieures à la fouille). Toujours en 1918 est publié, par les soins de l'Administration allemande d'étape, un volume collectif⁶⁶ qui réunit huit contributions sur la géologie, la géographie, la faune, l'économie et les recherches d'histoire ancienne de la province. Il s'agit donc d'une réalisation scientifique due à différents spécialistes allemands (militaires et civils), qui traduit l'effort d'évaluer, cataloguer et mettre en valeur les ressources de la Dobroudja, une démarche qui sert, en même temps, de justification à la propagande de guerre.

VASILE PÂRVAN ET L'EFFORT DE RÉCUPÉRATION DES BIENS ARCHÉOLOGIQUES SAISIS PENDANT LA GUERRE (1918–1924)

À partir du 1^{er} septembre 1918 V. Pârvan réintègre son poste de directeur au MNA⁶⁷, mettant fin à la délégation de Ioan Bogdan. Le savant commence presque immédiatement les démarches officielles pour la récupération des objets archéologiques transportés en Bulgarie, un premier document dans ce sens est daté du 1^{er} novembre 1918⁶⁸. Des listes détaillées des objets concernés sont préparées par le directeur du Musée jusqu'au 1^{er} janvier 1919 pour être envoyées au Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction (les listes sont rédigées en roumain et en français). Il s'appuie dans cette entreprise sur les adresses envoyées depuis le début de 1918 par différents responsables locaux⁶⁹, sur l'état désastreux des musées, des monuments et des sites archéologiques de Constanța, Adamclissi et Histria.

⁶² Idem, *Arhiepiscop...*, p. 248 ; idem, *Episcop în România...*, 1, p. 771–772.

⁶³ V. Ciorbea, « Situația Dobrogei... », p. 59–60, n. 43–44.

⁶⁴ B.A. Müller, « Der Dobrudscha-Bote », dans *Orientalia Hamburgensia. Festgabe den Teilnehmern am 4. Deutschen Orientalistentag, in Hamburg 28. Sept. Bis 2. Okt. 1926, überreicht von der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*, Hamburg, 1926, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁶⁶ L'ouvrage est intitulé *Bilder aus der Dobrudscha* (Constanza).

⁶⁷ Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier Muzeul Național. 1906–1919 (extrase din statele de plată) [français : Dossier Musée national. 1906–1919 (extraits de relevés de paiement)], f. 37.

⁶⁸ A. Boroneanț, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 230–231, 247–248, n. 9–11 (Anexa 1/6) [français : L'annexe 1/6].

⁶⁹ Eadem, p. 230, 246–247, n. 6–8 (Anexa 1/2, 4–5) [français : L'annexe 1/2, 4–5].

Le 31 décembre 1918, Pârvan reçoit la visite, étrange à ses yeux, de l'archéologue Karel Škorpil⁷⁰ de Varna, figure proéminente de milieu savant bulgare, au sujet des requêtes roumaines de rapatriement des antiquités saisies entre 1916 et 1918. L'accueil de Pârvan est froid. Il ne fait aucun effort de cacher le dégoût provoqué par la présence à Bucarest de son confrère de Varna, pour lui étonnante et sans explication plausible, en ces temps de guerre. Par ailleurs, selon l'aveu du directeur du MNA, l'attitude de Škorpil est plutôt assertive et ouverte, le représentant de la Bulgarie s'exprime en vue d'entamer les négociations avec la partie roumaine. Škorpil affirme devant Pârvan que presque tous les objets antiques disparus des musées archéologiques de Dobroudja pendant la guerre⁷¹ se trouvaient dans le jardin du musée de Varna et que la partie bulgare souhaite leur restitution. Méfiant, dans son document remis au ministre de ressort, Pârvan demande à ce dignitaire d'intervenir auprès du Commandement des troupes alliées afin d'identifier à Varna et dans d'autres musées de Bulgarie et par la suite rapatrier les monuments appartenant à la Roumanie. Or, la signature du Traité de paix de Neuilly est ultérieure à ce moment, on doit attendre la fin de l'année 1919 pour enfin avoir un cadre officiel des négociations de restitution. Ce cadre est fixé le 27 novembre 1919⁷², à travers les articles 125 et 126 du traité avec la Bulgarie, confié à une Commission interalliée sise à Sofia, placée sous l'autorité de la Commission de réparations créée lors du Traité général avec l'Allemagne.

Entre janvier 1919 et octobre 1921, les efforts de Pârvan en vue de la récupération des biens enlevés par les troupes bulgares sont fébriles⁷³. Au printemps 1919 le savant attire l'attention du ministre de ressort que toute opération de récupération des objets pose également le problème de leur conservation temporaire et protection à Constanța, exprimant son désir que le transfert soit fait en présence des troupes alliées⁷⁴. Afin de résoudre la « question Varna », Pârvan entretient une correspondance assidue avec le Ministère des Cultes et de l'Instruction, son principal correspondant, le Commissariat général de la Commission pour la mise

⁷⁰ Rapport (n° 2) du directeur du MNA au ministre de l'Instruction publique, 1^{er} janvier 1919 – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 9–10 (original et copie).

⁷¹ Les pillages des sites et des musées archéologiques en Dobroudja par des troupes bulgares est d'ailleurs une situation admise par le feld-maréchal A. von Mackensen lors d'un entretien avec l'archevêque R. Netzhammer, le 4 mars 1918 à Bucarest, voir R. Netzhammer, *Arhiepiscop...*, p. 241–242.

⁷² *Application des traités de paix. Traité de Neuilly (27 novembre 1919) : archives de la Commission interalliée de Bulgarie (1921–1931) Répertoire numérique détaillé (AJ/7/1–AJ/7/40)*, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, 2018, en particulier p. 3–10 ; sur le contenu des articles 125 et 126 du traité, voir A. Boroneanț, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 234, n. 35 et p. 253 (Anexa1/22)/[français : L'annexe 1/22].

⁷³ Voir à ce titre les transcriptions des documents d'archive réunis par A. Boroneanț, « Patrimoniul arheologic dobrogean... », p. 247–263 (Anexa 1/6–45)/[français : L'annexe 1/6–45] ; I. Opreș, « Patrimoniul... », p. 441–443.

⁷⁴ Rapport (n° 43) du directeur du MNA au ministre de l'Instruction publique, 12 février 1919 – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene) / [français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 15–16 (original et copie).

en application des traités de paix, la III^e Commission d'enquête des abus et des illégalités de l'ennemi dans le territoire occupé/ La Cour des Jurés à Bucarest, le Grand Quartier Général, le Commissariat général du Gouvernement roumain auprès du Commandement des armées alliées, la Direction générale de Voies ferrées, le Ministère des Arts, le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, la Commission des Monuments Historiques, le conseiller (A. Lapedatu) auprès de la délégation roumaine à la Conférence de paix de Paris.

Après une longue suite de tergiversations de la partie bulgare, un nombre de 60 monuments conservés à Varna sont récupérés par la partie roumaine le 19 septembre 1921⁷⁵, en présence d'un seul délégué de la partie roumaine, H. Metaxa, à la place de quatre proposés par V. Pârvan au fil du temps. N'ayant pas à sa disposition un fond pour le dépôt des antiquités à Constanța, presque deux semaines après leur arrivée en Roumanie, Pârvan décide de transporter les objets à Histria⁷⁶, prenant probablement lui-même en charge les dépenses. Au plus grand désarroi de Pârvan, les objets récupérés à la gare d'Oborishte ne représentent qu'une partie de ce qui a été réellement transporté des musées de Dobroudja pendant la guerre. Du lot d'objets rapatriés manquent en intégralité les collections d'objets mineurs et les céramiques, sans compter le fait que l'infrastructure de chantier est irrémédiablement égarée. La collection du Musée de Mangalia est disparue, une seule inscription est restituée. Même observation pour le musée d'Adamclissi, l'important lot des sculptures et inscriptions publié par G. Murnu en 1913⁷⁷ est perdu, les anciens alliés de la coalition bulgare-allemande s'accusant de manière réciproque de la disparition de cette collection. En 1922, grâce à la médiation du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, une autre inscription provenant de Roumanie est rapatriée, sans autres précisions⁷⁸. Quelques mois auparavant, en septembre 1921, Pârvan informe le ministre des Arts, O. Goga, sur le fait que la récupération des biens archéologiques appartenant à la Roumanie était partielle et exige l'initiation des démarches auprès de la Commission des réparations en Allemagne pour solutionner le problème⁷⁹.

Après 1921 les actions entreprises par Pârvan pour la récupération des objets archéologiques sont sporadiques et elles cessent définitivement en 1924. Deux adresses envoyées par le délégué roumain auprès de la Commission des restitutions en Bulgarie au sujet des objets non restitués en 1921 par la Bulgarie restent sans

⁷⁵ Procès-verbal de réception des pièces archéologiques de Dobroudja se trouvant à Varna, en présence de K. Škorpil, à la gare d'Oborishte, le 19 septembre 1921 – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 47–48.

⁷⁶ Adresse d'expédition des deux voitures arrivées de Bulgarie à la gare de Cogeașlac, copie au dossier de la cité d'Histria n° 44/27 septembre 1921, Constanța – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 57.

⁷⁷ G. Murnu, « Monumente de piatră din colecția de antichități a muzeului dela Adamclisi », *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 6/23, iulie–septembrie 1913, p. 97–122.

⁷⁸ Adresse n° 36 du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères pour le directeur du MNA, 13 mars 1922 – Archive IAVP, tome D26/1922, f. 53.

⁷⁹ Télégramme n° 41/25 septembre 1921 – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 33.

suite de la part de Pârvan⁸⁰. La position du savant est du moins inexplicable après tant d'efforts et de dépenses personnelles en direction d'une restitution *in integrum* du patrimoine archéologique roumain ayant subi les rigueurs de la première grande conflagration mondiale. Déjà depuis 1919 le professeur s'investit dans la reconstruction du musée à Ulmetum et ensuite à la construction d'un nouveau musée de site à Histria, selon les plans de l'architecte Gh. Simotta⁸¹. C'est un effort qu'il va porter à terme avec l'appui de la Commission des Monuments Historiques, dont il est membre⁸². Le « calvaire » des monuments antiques de Dobroudja est un fait accompli, mais Pârvan va transformer cette expérience dans une incitation à continuer la reconstruction de ce qui a été affecté au cours de la guerre et au renouveau de l'archéologie roumaine sur d'autres bases. Par sa contribution à la création des premières réservations archéologiques⁸³ (dans le contexte de la réforme agraire), par la publication de la première revue archéologique de Roumanie, *Dacia*⁸⁴, par la création de l'École roumaine de Rome⁸⁵, par l'implication dans la réalisation de la carte archéologique de Roumanie et par le vaste programme de recherches archéologiques confié à ses élèves, auxquels il n'hésite pas de montrer son affection, Vasile Pârvan donne la mesure entière de l'envergure de sa pensée historique et signe l'un des chapitres les plus brillants de l'archéologie roumaine.

⁸⁰ Adresse MNA n° 111/2 décembre 1924 – voir Archive IAVP, tome 14 (Antichitățile dobrogene)/[français : Les antiquités de Dobroudja], Dossier 1921–1924, f. 38.

⁸¹ I. Achim, « Vechi muzee arheologice de sit. Studiu de caz (I): Histria », *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 61/1–2, 2010, p. 117–132.

⁸² Nommé par le décret royal du 21 décembre 1913, paru dans le Monitorul oficial n° 236 du 22 janvier/5février 1914, voir « Schimbări și numiri noi la Comisiune », *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 6/24, octomvrie-decemvrie 1913, p. 196–197. Sur le rôle de la commission dans la recherche archéologique en Roumanie à la période considérée, voir C. Borș, *Protejarea patrimoniului arheologic...*, p. 56–57.

⁸³ Rapport de V. Pârvan au ministre de ressort (?), copie n° 3/3 janvier 1919, voir Archive IAVP, tome D24/1919, Dossier I–1919, f. 1–7.

⁸⁴ La future publication est dénommée *Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie*, voir R. Vulpe, « Activitatea arheologică... », p. 141–142 ; A. Zub, *Efigia* ..., p. 277, note 801. La parution du premier numéro de ce périodique fut prévue pour l'année 1925, comme indiqué par une lettre rédigée à Rome le 17 janvier 1925, adressée par V. Pârvan à Martha Bibescu, voir V. Pârvan, *Correspondență...*, n° 298, p. 263–265. Pourtant, ce numéro de la publication est paru au titre de l'année 1924. Par ailleurs, un projet antérieur de publication de la revue intitulée « Bulletin Daco-Romain », qui remonte à 1919, est malheureusement demeuré à ce stade d'intention, voir Archive IAVP, tome 16 (Expoziția omagială Vasile Pârvan, organizată cu prilejul împlinirii a 100 de ani de la nașterea sa, 1882–1982)/[français : L'exposition hommage à Vasile Pârvan, organisée à l'occasion du centenaire de sa naissance, 1882–1982], Dossier I, Enveloppe 1/11, f. 46 (recto-verso).

⁸⁵ Sur la prodigieuse activité de V. Pârvan en vue de la création et de la promotion de cet établissement académique roumain en Italie, voir A. Zub, *Efigia* ..., p. 282–316 ; A. Zub, *Pe urmele* ..., p. 203–215 ; L. Nastasă, « *Suveranii* » universităților românești. *Mecanisme de selecție și promovare a elitei intelectuale. I. Profesorii Facultăților de Filosofie și Litere (1864–1948)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 228.

CITOYENNETÉ, ETHNICITÉ ET DROITS POLITIQUES DANS LA GRANDE ROUMANIE : LE CAS DE DOBROUDJA (1919)¹

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The territorial changes that occurred at the end of 1918 called for a change in the restrictive legislation concerning the granting of Romanian citizenship. It was a binding condition for the Paris Peace Conference to recognize the new borders of Romania. Practically, the right to vote was also granted to those Romanians who did not legally benefit from Romanian citizenship. These measures were accompanied by the extension of the right to vote by renouncing census suffrage. The Bucharest authorities' mission was not easy at all: they had to instill the desire to live together in the citizens of Greater Romania. The 1919 parliamentary elections represented first test. They were held in a period when the new borders of the Romanian state were still subject to negotiations in Paris. Updating the electoral lists and implementing the new election system takes time. Postponed several times, the elections were finally held in early November both in the Old Romanian Kingdom and in the provinces that were de facto under Romanian administration. It is for the first time that Romanians voted according to the norms of universal suffrage. Dobruja is a good example of this democratic practice in a society traumatized by war. The inhabitants of Northern Dobruja were granted the right to vote at the 1912 elections, after more than three decades they had been under Romanian administration (a period when they were deprived of the right to elect their representatives in the Bucharest parliament). Had the Great War not broken out, the inhabitants of Southern Dobrouja would have had the same fate. In the autumn of 1919, the Romanian authorities decided, at least in theory, to ignore the ethnic composition of this territory (obtained in 1913) and to trust all its inhabitants.

Keywords: Dobruja, citizenship, elections, WWI, Romania, Bulgaria.

Jassy, le 24 octobre/le 6 novembre 1918², à 11h. Le chef du gouvernement roumain, Alexandru Marghiloman, est convoqué en audience par le roi Ferdinand. Cet appel surprend le président du Conseil des Ministres, car il avait vu le roi à peine quelques heures avant. Lors de cette entrevue, le roi Ferdinand informe Marghiloman que son gouvernement n'a plus la confiance des ministres plénipotentiaires de l'Entente³. Huit mois auparavant, le président du Parti Conservatoire avait été nommé à la tête du

¹ Cet article s'appuie sur les idées et les informations de l'article *Caliacra*, dans Bogdan Murgescu, Andrei Florin Sora (coordinateurs), *România Mare votează. Alegerile parlamentare din 1919 „la firul ierbii”*, Iași, 2019, p. 236–245.

² La Roumanie a adopté le calendrier grégorien le premier avril 1919.

³ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice. 1897–1924*, vol. IV (1918–1919), Bucarest, 1927, p. 117–122.

gouvernement roumain, avec la mission de finaliser les négociations de paix avec les Puissances centrales. Après la défection de l'allié russe, la paix avec les opposants était la seule solution pour garantir l'intégrité de l'État roumain. Selon les libéraux, qui avaient été au pouvoir entre janvier 1914 et janvier 1918, la mission du cabinet Marghiloman était « d'assurer, jusqu'à la paix générale, un *modus vivendi* acceptable avec les Puissances Centrales »⁴. Au prix de quelques territoires et de ressources naturelles, Marghiloman réussira à sauver la Dynastie et l'armée, et à obtenir la Bessarabie. À travers le Traité de paix de Bucarest (le 24 avril/ le 7 mai 1918), « la Roumanie rétrocède à la Bulgarie le territoire bulgare qu'elle a reçu par le traité de Bucarest de 1913 » (ce qu'on appelle le Quadrilatère), « avec une rectification des frontières en faveur de la Bulgarie », qui allait jusqu'à la ligne Cernavodă-Constanța. Le reste de la Dobroudja passe sous le contrôle des Puissances Centrales, en régime de condominium⁵. Pour que cette paix soit ratifiée, il fallait convoquer un nouveau Parlement. Les élections parlementaires sont organisées dans le Vieux Royaume (sauf en Dobroudja) trois semaines après la conclusion du traité de paix de Bucarest. Comme une grande partie du territoire est sous l'occupation des Puissances centrales, les anciens gouvernants décident de boycotter les élections. La tradition parlementaire du Vieux Royaume est respectée encore une fois : le gouvernement en charge de l'organisation des élections obtient sans difficulté la majorité nécessaire. On vote sur les listes d'électeurs de 1916, « donc avec de nombreux morts et disparus, alors que beaucoup de nouveaux électeurs n'ont pu faire valoir leurs droits »⁶. Dès son installation, ce Parlement sera accusé de « manquer d'autorité morale »⁷. Ses priorités législatives ont visé les obligations assumées à travers le Traité de paix de Bucarest, tout comme la résolution de certains points urgents. L'activité principale de ce parlement qui eut une existence brève a été la chasse aux gouvernants ayant décidé l'entrée en guerre du pays.

Le sort du gouvernement Marghiloman est scellé à la fin du mois de septembre, au moment où la Bulgarie est obligée de signer une convention d'armistice avec les Puissances alliées. Cette nouvelle crée des remous dans les cercles politiques roumains : « Dans cet état de tension fébrile, la Roumanie, qui a connu les souffrances de la participation à la guerre et qui soigne maintenant ses blessures, attend avec confiance la suite des événements. Elle nourrit l'espoir que son bon droit lui donne. Elle est trop petite est trop faible pour donner une quelconque impulsion à la marche des événements mondiaux, cependant elle ne peut pas abandonner son aspiration séculaire et légitime de jouer un rôle central et

⁴ I.G. Duca, *Amintiri politice*, vol. III, München, 1982, p. 77.

⁵ *Actele tratatului de pace de la București, Marți, 24 aprilie/7 mai 1918, Textul românesc*, fără loc, fără dată [*Les actes du traité de paix de Bucarest. Mardi, le 24 avril/le 7 mai 1918, Le texte roumain*, sans lieu, sans date], p. 5-6.

⁶ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice. 1897-1924*, vol. III (1917-1918), Bucarest, 1927, p. 535.

⁷ *Desbaterile Senatului, Sesiunea extraordinară* [*Les Débats du Sénat, Session extraordinaire*] 1918, Nr. 8/5 juillet 1918, Séance du 15 juin 1918, p. 64.

civilisateur dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe »⁸. Le point d'inquiétude, c'est le sort de la Dobroudja. Au grand étonnement des autorités de Jassy, l'armistice de Salonique permet de garder deux divisions bulgares pour défendre « la frontière Est de la Bulgarie et la Dobroudja »⁹. La presse roumaine décrit l'effet de cette nouvelle dans les cercles qui soutiennent l'Entente. On suggérait que l'Entente était en train de récompenser la Bulgarie aux dépens de la Roumanie, pour sa décision de quitter le camp des Puissances centrales¹⁰. Dans le contexte de la défection bulgare, les Empires Centraux essaient de maintenir la neutralité de la Roumanie. Des pressions sont faites pour ratifier en urgence le Traité de paix de Bucarest (même si le Parlement avait voté « pour », le traité n'a pas pu entrer en vigueur, à défaut de la signature du souverain roumain). Pendant les derniers jours du gouvernement Marghiloman des négociations diplomatiques sont menées, afin de revoir certains articles du Traité de paix de Bucarest. Le gouvernement roumain avait essayé d'obtenir le plus de concessions possible de la part des Puissances centrales. On évoque le statut de la Dobroudja : « Les derniers événements qui se sont déroulés dans les Balkans ont imposé au Gouvernement Royal le devoir d'examiner avec une attention scrupuleuse la position qui vient d'être créée à la Roumanie à la suite des changements que ces faits ont apportés dans la situation tant intérieure qu'internationale du Royaume de Bulgarie. Il est en effet évident que les événements en question sont de nature à modifier complètement le régime sous lequel le traité de Bucarest avait placé la Dobroudja. La cession de la Dobroudja à un condominium dont la Bulgarie faisait partie, doit à notre avis cesser de produire des effets en tant que le Condominium ne devait que préparer l'union de la Dobroudja à la Bulgarie ainsi qu'il en a été maintes fois fait mention au cours des négociations du traité de Bucarest. Les événements qui se sont produits en Bulgarie rendent cette union à tout jamais impossible. La Dobroudja n'avait été arrachée à la Roumanie qu'à fin de récompenser la fidélité de la Bulgarie à l'égard des Puissances centrales et on sait aujourd'hui ce qu'a pu valoir cette fidélité. Il est évident que les Gouvernements Impérial et Royal ne peuvent songer à garder la Dobroudja pour eux et qu'il en est de même du Gouvernement Impérial de Turquie. La Dobroudja ne saurait être que roumaine ou bulgare, aussi la Roumanie s'adressant aux sentiments d'équité et de raison dont elle sait que les trois Gouvernements du Condominium s'inspirent, espère-t-elle qu'il sera fait justice à sa demande et que son droit sur la Dobroudja, telle qu'elle l'a possédée avant la déclaration de guerre lui sera reconnu. Une mise en possession effective et exclusive de la Roumanie serait à souhaiter dans le plus bref délai, car il y a lieu d'envisager dès à présent le sort qui serait réservé à la population roumaine de cette

⁸ « Steagul », année IV, n°. 156, le vendredi 11 octobre 1918, p. 1.

⁹ Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Guerre européenne. Documents 1918. Convention d'armistice passée avec la Turquie, la Bulgarie, l'Autriche-Hongrie et l'Allemagne par les Puissances alliées et associées*, Paris, 1919, p. 13.

¹⁰ « Steagul », année IV, n°. 158, le dimanche 13 octobre 1918, p. 1.

province. À la suite d'une propagande qui pendant deux ans n'a reculé devant aucun moyen ni épargné aucun effort pour transformer cette province roumaine en une terre de langue et de population bulgare, il est malheureusement à craindre que la Dobroudja ne devienne, après le retrait des troupes alliées, le théâtre de troubles graves et d'excès dont aurait à pâtir en tout premier lieu la population roumaine de cette province. Aussi le Gouvernement Royal, préoccupé à juste titre de l'avenir, estime-t-il qu'il a l'impérieux devoir de faire tout ce qui est humainement possible pour garantir et pour sauvegarder la vie, l'honneur et l'avoir de populations qui, sans distinction de religion et de race, habitent la Dobroudja et qui depuis 1879 et jusqu'en ces derniers temps y ont vécu et prospéré sous l'égide de la Roumanie. L'état de profonde misère qui règne dans la Dobroudja a déjà fait l'objet d'un échange de vue entre le Commandement militaire suprême et le Gouvernement roumain, inspire à juste titre une légitime inquiétude. Grand nombre de ses habitants ont fui devant la terreur répandue par la propagande bulgare et on peut dire que la famine même menace tous les habitants de cette malheureuse province, dont nous nous ferions un devoir de soulager la misère. »¹¹.

Pendant que l'Armée du Danube, récemment formée et destinée à opérer en Roumanie sous les ordres du général français Henri Berthelot, traverse la Bulgarie en direction du Danube, le roi Ferdinand de Roumanie est conseillé de dissoudre le gouvernement et d'ordonner la mobilisation immédiate¹². Dans ce contexte, des représentants de Paris voyagent incognito entre Salonique et Jassy, à l'insu du cabinet Marghiloman. Avant son déplacement à Jassy, l'ancien ministre plénipotentiaire à Paris, Victor Antonescu, a une entrevue avec le général Franchet d'Esperey, commandant en chef des armées alliées d'Orient à Salonique. À la question « ne vaudrait-il pas mieux d'être dans de bons termes avec les Bulgares ? », Antonescu suggère au général français qu'il « pourrait laisser entendre que la Roumanie, en recevant d'autres compensations, pourrait, à condition d'avoir désormais le soutien des Bulgares, leur rendre le Quadrilatère pris en 1913, mais aucun territoire de la Vielle Dobroudja »¹³. L'avis d'Antonescu n'est pas partagé par le colonel Radu Rosetti (beau-frère du premier-ministre libéral Ion I. C. Brătianu). Celui-ci, en tant qu'officier français attaché auprès du général Berthelot¹⁴, fera usage de toute son

¹¹ Note adressée par le ministre roumain des Affaires Étrangères, C.C. Arion, au comte August Demblin, Plénipotentiaire impérial et royal d'Autriche-Hongrie à Bucarest, du 15 octobre 1918 ; Arhiva diplomatică a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe [L'Archive diplomatique du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères] (ci-après AMAE), Problème 71/1914, EII, partie II, dossier 55, p. 258–259.

¹² General Radu R. Rosetti, *Mărturisiri (1914–1919)*, édition Maria Georgescu, Bucarest, 1997, p. 278.

¹³ Biblioteca Națională a României (ci-après BNR), Colecții speciale, Arhiva istorică, fonds St. Georges, dossier C/4, f. 44–45.

¹⁴ Après la signature du traité de paix de Bucarest, le colonel Radu Rosetti s'est rendu à l'Ouest pour une mission non officielle sur les ordres de Ion I.C. Brătianu, pour présenter la situation de la Roumanie aux Alliés. En septembre 1918, il démissionne de l'armée roumaine et est reçu dans l'armée française avec le grade de colonel. Au début de 1919, il est réintégré dans les rangs actifs de l'armée roumaine. Pour plus de détails, voir Maria Georgescu, *În vâltoarea războiului. Radu R. Rosetti*, Bucarest, 2019.

autorité pour soutenir l'intangibilité des frontières bulgares auprès du général Paul Chrétien (commandant de l'ensemble des forces d'occupation alliées en Bulgarie)¹⁵. Dans les semaines suivantes, les rapports de pouvoir entre les généraux Chrétien et Berthelot joueront un rôle central dans la dispute bulgaro-roumaine autour du sort de la Dobroudja. C'est le général Berthelot, chef de la mission militaire française en Roumanie entre 1916 et 1918 et le plus influent de ces acteurs, qui aura le dernier mot¹⁶.

À l'instar de la Bulgarie, la Turquie et l'Autriche-Hongrie signent des conventions d'armistice avec les Puissances alliées. C'est dans ce contexte que le premier-ministre, Alexandru Marghiloman, démissionne. Le 24 octobre/le 6 novembre 1918, dans l'après-midi, le parlement roumain est dissolu par décret royal et un nouveau gouvernement est investi. Dans son message au peuple, le Roi Ferdinand explique le changement du gouvernement : « Les circonstances nous redonnent le pouvoir d'accomplir ce que Nous vous avons promis et ce que Je n'ai pas cessé de nourrir dans Mon âme ». Il s'agit des « réformes constitutionnelles qui garantissent à tous les citoyens le droit de vote et aux paysans la propriété de 2 millions d'hectares », autant de réformes que « Mon gouvernement mettra en œuvre »¹⁷.

Les événements se déroulent avec rapidité. Le 24 octobre/le 10 novembre, la Roumanie rentre en guerre. C'est un geste symbolique puisque le lendemain l'Allemagne signe l'armistice de Compiègne. L'article XV de cette convention d'armistice stipule la renonciation au Traité de paix de Bucarest¹⁸. Quelques jours plus tard, à travers un nouveau décret royal, l'activité du parlement Marghiloman est déclarée nulle et « dépourvue de tout pouvoir légal ». C'est la première fois que cela arrive dans la vie parlementaire roumaine. Cette décision est justifiée par le fait que les élections parlementaires déroulées durant l'été précédent n'avaient pas respecté la Constitution du pays. Plus précisément, parce qu'elles ont été organisées sur un territoire dont deux tiers étaient occupés par les Puissances centrales, ce qui avait empêché nombre d'électeurs d'aller voter. Deuxièmement, « une partie considérable » du Royaume roumain – la Dobroudja¹⁹ n'était pas représentée par ce parlement. Ces arguments juridiques étaient évoqués afin de justifier une décision essentiellement politique. Marghiloman a joué un rôle ingrat, mais somme toute indispensable. Les autorités roumaines ont fait tout le possible pour réaffirmer leur attachement à leurs alliés et se démarquer de ceux qui ont dû signer un traité de paix séparé avec les Puissances centrales. Quelques jours plus tard, les membres du gouvernement démissionné et l'ancien président de la Chambre des Députés rédigent un mémoire adressé au roi Ferdinand, où ils attirent respectueusement son

¹⁵ Général Radu R. Rosetti, *Mărturisiri*, p. 273–275.

¹⁶ Никола Мушанов, *Спомени. Дневник*, София, 1992 г., с. 20–21.

¹⁷ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 173 bis, le 26 octobre/le 6 novembre 1918, p. 3030.

¹⁸ Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Guerre européenne. Documents 1918. Convention d'armistice passée avec la Turquie, la Bulgarie, l'Autriche-Hongrie et l'Allemagne par les Puissances alliées et associées*, Paris, 1919, p. 30.

¹⁹ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 183, le 6/le 19 novembre 1918, p. 3201–3202.

attention sur « les graves altérations » que les deux décrets apportent « aux relations du Pays avec la Couronne » : « Par un simple Décret du Pouvoir Exécutif, on déclare nuls et non avenue tous les travaux accomplis par les Corps Législatifs pendant 5 mois. Mais, Sire, des Corps Législatifs ont été convoqués par Votre Majesté dans la plénitude de Sa Souveraineté, et sans que sa volonté soit influencée par un contact venant du dehors. Ils ont été ouverts en personne par Votre Majesté, qui a déclaré : ‘Son très vif contentement de Se trouver au milieu des Représentants de la Nation’ ; Votre Majesté a envoyé, sous Sa Royale signature, à ces Corps Législatifs, de nombreux projets de Loi, lesquels avaient été discutés par Votre Majesté avec les Ministres respectifs. Votre Majesté a promulgué les Lois votées ; de même Votre Majesté a demandé et obtenu du Gouvernement qu’on ne donne pas cours aux projets d’initiative parlementaire qui n’entraient pas dans les vues de Votre Majesté. Ainsi, il est rarement arrivé que soient accomplies plus parfaitement, dans leur lettre et dans leur esprit, les prescriptions de l’article 32 de la Constitution, lequel proclame que ‘la puissance législative s’exerce *collectivement* par le roi et la représentation nationale’. Enfin, Votre Majesté a donné l’investiture solennelle aux deux Evêques élus par les deux Corps Législatifs. Tous ces travaux ‘collectifs’ Votre Majesté les efface par un seul trait de plume ; Sire, cet acte est sans précédent dans la vie d’État de n’importe quel pays de l’Europe. Mais, il y a au point de vue monarchique, un côté qui nous inquiète : quand la Roumanie s’est donné une monarchie héréditaire, elle a entendu par cela prendre une garantie de stabilité dans ses lois et institutions. Elle a ainsi constitué la Couronne comme gardienne de ses intérêts permanents au-dessus des partis. Mais si le Roi efface la signature mise sur les Lois et actes d’État ‘collectifs’ cette garantie de la stabilité disparaît »²⁰.

Par le même décret royal du 5/18 novembre 1918, les nouvelles élections parlementaires étaient convoquées pour le début du mois de janvier²¹. En évoquant la nécessité que le pays « ait sa propre représentation légale », Nicolae Iorga identifie les enjeux d’organiser rapidement des élections parlementaires. D’abord, le grand nombre de réfugiés qui ont fui la guerre : « Il faut des mois jusqu’à ce que chacun retrouve sa place, et jusqu’à ce que, revenu à son foyer, on puisse reprendre ses occupations et trouver le répit nécessaire pour faire du vote obligatoire non pas l’accomplissement forcé d’une forme, mais un aveu de conscience ». On évoque « les difficultés que suppose la représentation, désormais nécessaire, des provinces roumaines qui viennent à peine de s’unir à nous ». La campagne électorale allait se dérouler non seulement en plein hiver, mais aussi dans le contexte des instabilités provoquées par l’infrastructure abîmée par la guerre, et de la hausse du prix du papier²². C’est une réalité d’autant plus significative, que nous assistons à un autre événement exceptionnel : l’introduction du suffrage universel masculin et la

²⁰ Biblioteca Academiei Române [Bibliothèque de l’Académie Roumaine] (ci-après BAR), Manuscrits, Archive Radu Rosetti, XIV *varia* 51, non-paginé.

²¹ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 183, le 6/le 19 novembre 1918, p. 3201.

²² « Neamul Românesc », année XIII, n°. 323, le 22 novembre 1918, p. 1.

renonciation au suffrage censitaire. Ces élections parlementaires allaient être organisées dans le Vieux Royaume et en Bessarabie, y-compris en Dobroudja, province qui était à ce moment-là sous administration bulgare, conformément à l'armistice de Salonique. Pour l'organisation des élections, le gouvernement, installé toujours à Jassy, fait des démarches diplomatiques pour réinstaller immédiatement les autorités roumaines en Dobroudja²³. *Dobrogea Jună* (« La Jeune Dobroudja »), une publication qui paraissait à Bucarest avec le sous-titre « Organe de revendications nationales de habitants de la Dobroudja », réagit au décret royal et considère comme irréaliste le calendrier des élections parlementaires. On évoque la difficulté d'élaborer les listes électorales dans un délai si court, tout comme le fait qu'« une partie du territoire du pays, la Dobroudja, n'a pas et ne peut pas avoir une administration roumaine, autant que les Bulgares ne quitteront pas définitivement la province au-delà du Danube. Cette situation ne permet pas une consultation sincère du corps électoral et ceci pourrait engendrer des mécontentements et des désordres, qui éclateraient juste aux moments solennels de l'achèvement de l'unification du Pays et de la tenue du Congrès de paix »²⁴. Cet avis est partagé par le colonel Nicolae Mărășescu qui venait de rentrer de Bulgarie, où il avait été tenu prisonnier. Ses questions rhétoriques rendent compte des réalités dures de la Dobroudja : « Avec qui fera-t-on ces élections en Dobroudja ? On sait bien que durant les combats, les villages et les villes de Dobroudja ont été abandonnés, et que pendant l'occupation, les villages roumains ont été brûlés et rasés de la face la terre par les troupes et les habitants bulgares restés sur place. [...] À présent, même si les habitants roumains de Dobroudja veulent rentrer à leurs maisons, où logeront-ils en hiver ? Ils ne pourront donc y retourner qu'au printemps. Cette considération me fait dire que les élections au moins de janvier 1919 en Dobroudja ne peuvent pas avoir lieu, les électeurs roumains n'étant pas revenus à leurs foyers. Qu'ils y retournent quand même ou bien qu'ils soient forcés de le faire – en vertu du principe du vote obligatoire – seulement pour la période des élections, pour qu'après chacun retourne là où il a pris pied, je laisse à chacun de juger si c'est possible. [...] Pour qu'on puisse faire des élections en Dobroudja en l'état actuel, où les villages bulgares, allemands et tatares sont restés intacts, alors que tous les Roumains réfugiés ne sont pas revenus à leurs foyers en Dobroudja, il n'est pas juste à mon sens et ne peut pas servir au gouvernement. [...] Maintenant plus que jamais, le gouvernement doit réaffirmer le fait que les Roumains sont en majorité en Dobroudja, ce qui ne peut se faire autrement qu'en appelant et en réinstallant chez eux tous les Roumains réfugiés de Dobroudja »²⁵. Le 16/le 29 novembre les Roumains apprennent les modalités du vote, ainsi que le nombre de parlementaires qu'ils peuvent élire au nouveau

²³ Bernard Cook, Dumitru Preda, *United States of America and Romania. Diplomatic Relations. 1912–1919*, Bucharest, 2010, p. 195.

²⁴ « *Dobrogea Jună* », année XIII, n° 2, le 24 novembre 1918, p. 2.

²⁵ « *Steagul* », année IV, n° 203, le 14/le 27 novembre 1918, p. 1.

parlement. Les quatre départements de Dobroudja allaient envoyer 17 députés et 9 sénateurs au futur parlement (sur un total de 324 députés et 136 sénateurs)²⁶. La presse centrale ne va pas tarder à critiquer la nouvelle loi électorale et la manière de calculer le nombre de mandats au futur parlement²⁷. Ultérieurement, après la découverte de certaines « erreurs », le nombre de mandats des députés de Durostor et Caliacra est monté, pour les deux départements, de trois à cinq. Au total, la Dobroudja allait être représentée par 30 parlementaires²⁸.

Entre temps, le gouvernement bulgare avait été sommé « à donner les ordres nécessaires pour que les troupes royales évacuent sans retard la Dobroudja jusqu'aux frontières fixées en 1913 ». À cette demande, le premier-ministre bulgare, Alexander Malinov, répond par sa démission : il préfère quitter ses fonctions puisque « l'évacuation de la Dobroudja n'[est] pas dans les conditions prévues par la Convention d'armistice signée à Salonique ». La seule certitude du nouveau cabinet bulgare par rapport à la Dobroudja est la promesse du général Chrétien que « l'occupation actuelle ne préjuge en rien la décision qui sera prise sur cette question par la Congrès de Paix »²⁹. Dans une proclamation adressée à la population locale, le gouvernement de Sofia annonçait que l'administration roumaine allait remplacer l'administration civile bulgare sur tout le territoire de la Dobroudja, sous la protection et le contrôle des troupes de l'Entente³⁰. C'est une réaction à la proclamation que le général Berthelot adresse à la population de Dobroudja, pour l'informer du changement d'administration et l'avertir que « les troupes franco-anglaises ne vont tolérer aucune agitation, quelle que soit son origine, et qu'elles vont la réprimer avec la dernière énergie »³¹. Envoyé en Dobroudja pour calmer les esprits parmi la population bulgare, le ministre Nikola Mushanoff se souviendra, des années après, de ces jours tragiques : « Dans toute ma carrière de ministre je n'ai vécu des jours plus tristes que ceux que j'ai passés en Dobroudja, à la vue de la population effrayée par l'avancement des Roumains et l'impuissance du gouvernement bulgare de l'aider »³².

Au même moment, le colonel Radu Rosetti envoie au président du Conseil des Ministres roumain une synthèse de sa participation à la question de la Dobroudja : « Durant mon séjour de cet été en Angleterre et en France j'ai constaté que tout le monde était convaincu que la Dobroudja devait nous être rendue. Cependant, autant à Londres qu'à Paris, on m'a dit qu'il fallait rendre le Quadrilatère à la Bulgarie, en vertu du principe des nationalités, Monsieur

²⁶ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 191, le 16/le 29 novembre 1918, p. 3357–3366.

²⁷ « Neamul Românesc », année XIII, n°. 352, le 22 décembre 1918, p. 3.

²⁸ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 220, le 22 décembre 1918/le 4 janvier 1919, p. 4017.

²⁹ Жеко Попов, Косъо Пенчиков, Петър Тодоров (съст.), *Извори за историята на Добруджа. 1878–1919*, том 1, Sofia, 1992, p. 420–421.

³⁰ Петър Тодоров, Косъо Пенчиков, Петър Бойчев (съст.), *Документи за историята на Тутракан. 1878–1944 година*, Tutrakan, 2007, p. 305.

³¹ « Dobrogea Jună », année XIII, n°. 5, 16 décembre 1918, p. 2.

³² Никола Мушанов, *Спомени*, p. 21.

Gauvain³³ étant le seul à accepter que Silistra reste chez nous (décision de Pétersbourg du printemps 1913³⁴). Au moment de la signature de l'armistice avec la Bulgarie, j'ai attiré l'attention de M. et du Foreign Office de Londres sur l'erreur de ne rien prévoir sur l'évacuation de la Dobroudja ; on m'a répondu que l'on ne pouvait rien prévoir, la Roumanie n'étant pas belligérante. À mon arrivée à Salonique j'ai pu constater que les Bulgares n'avaient pas perdu l'espoir de garder la Dobroudja, et qu'on répandait à cette fin toutes sortes d'insinuations et d'intrigues contre nous. J'ai fait le même constat à Sofia. J'ai attiré l'attention à maintes reprises de ceux en droit sur ces questions et j'ai demandé l'évacuation immédiate de la Dobroudja par les Bulgares. On a pris des mesures-que j'ai rapportées – et des contre-mesures. Le général Berthelot a été le seul à nous soutenir en permanence, le général Franchet d'Esperey ne voyant que l'intérêt des opérations qui ne risquaient pas d'indisposer les Bulgares, et le général Chrétien étant complètement aveuglé par les louanges qu'on lui chantait à Sofia. (Dans cette matière, je répète ma demande de renvoyer à Sofia auprès du général Chrétien un officier supérieur connaissant les Bulgares et la Bulgarie – peut-être le lieutenant-colonel Țenescu³⁵ serait approprié). Aujourd'hui on a reçu un télégramme du général Franchet d'Esperey où il ordonne aux Bulgares l'évacuation de la Dobroudja sur la base d'un ordre de M. Clemenceau³⁶, dans les délais fixés par les généraux Berthelot et Chrétien »³⁷.

Le chef du Grand Quartier General de l'armée roumaine, le général Constantin Prezan, constate que les Bulgares ont exécuté cet ordre, sans y être contraints par d'autres moyens. « Après la retraite de Bulgares on va installer toutes les autorités roumaines, c'est pourquoi il est bon que le gouvernement étudie et prépare la question pour que tout l'appareil administratif puisse y être envoyé dès nécessaire »³⁸. Les autorités roumaines agissent avec diligence pour réinstaller leur propre administration. On nomme de nouveaux préfets dans les quatre départements et on envoie des fonctionnaires au-delà du Danube pour garantir le bon fonctionnement des bureaux de poste et de télégraphe³⁹. Ils seront accompagnés par des gendarmes, dont la présence irrite la population bulgare de Dobroudja⁴⁰. Si les autorités civiles

³³ August Gauvain, directeur de la politique étrangère au « Journal des Débats » ; il a travaillé auprès de la Commission Européenne du Danube, dont le siège était à Galați, entre 1892 et 1903.

³⁴ Les Ambassadeurs des Grandes Puissances ont signé le 26 avril/le 9 mai 1913 à Saint-Petersbourg, un protocole qui marquait une légère rectification des frontières en faveur de la Roumanie, la Bulgarie étant obligée de céder la ville de Silistra. L'éclatement de la deuxième guerre balkanique a annulé les engagements de cet accord.

³⁵ L'ancien attaché militaire roumain à Sofia, entre 1914 et 1916.

³⁶ Georges Clemenceau, président du Conseil des ministres (1917–1920).

³⁷ AMAE, Problème 71/1914, EII, dossier 177, p. 168.

³⁸ Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Arhive Naționale Istorice Centrale [Les Archives Nationales de la Roumanie, Service des Archives Nationales Historiques Centrales] (ci-après SANIC), Fond Consiliul de Miniștri [Fonds Conseil des Ministres], dossier 1/1912, f. 149–150.

³⁹ « Dobrogea Jună », année XIII, n° 3, le 30 novembre 1918, p. 1, 3.

⁴⁰ SANIC, Fonds Casa Regală, Oficiale [La Maison Royale, Documents officiels], dossier 144/1918, f. 1–4.

roumaines ont repris possession de la Dobroudja, les Alliés n'entendent pas autoriser l'armée roumaine à leur emboîter le pas dans l'immédiat⁴¹. En attendant une décision du Congrès de Paix, l'entrée en Dobroudja des troupes bulgares et roumaines était interdite. Dans le même temps, « toute la population de Dobroudja, sans exception » était invitée à « vivre en paix », les provocations et les manifestations hostiles contre « toute nationalité »⁴² n'étant pas tolérées. À la fin du mois de décembre l'ensemble de l'administration bulgare avait quitté la Dobroudja jusqu'aux frontières de 1913 ; des troupes françaises, anglaises et, plus tard, italiennes y sont disloquées. La mission déclarée est de faire tout le possible pour éviter les conflits⁴³.

Revenu au pouvoir en décembre 1918, le gouvernement libéral dirigé par Ion I.C. Brătianu diffère systématiquement la date des élections parlementaires. Cette incertitude revient dans plusieurs endroits des notes de l'homme politique Grigore Trancu-Iași en 1919 : « On ne sait rien sur les élections. Est-ce qu'elles seront reportées ? Ou organisées enfin ? Rien n'est sûr »⁴⁴. Les libéraux se rendent vite compte qu'il « était impossible » d'organiser ces élections « le plus tôt possible », dans le contexte de la présence des troupes alliées sur le territoire et des négociations qui se déroulaient à Paris, où les nouvelles frontières de la Roumanie allaient être reconnues⁴⁵. La confusion qui règne durant les premiers jours de l'année 1919 est illustrée par le message indigné rédigé par le colonel Radu Rosetti à la lecture d'un télégramme envoyé au mois de janvier par le général Chrétien (le commandant des forces d'occupation alliées en Bulgarie) au général Berthelot (le commandant de la Mission Militaire Française, et des Troupes Alliées en Roumanie et en Russie Méridionale) : « J'ai l'honneur de signaler l'erreur dans laquelle se trouve, je crois, M. le Général Chrétien, lorsqu'il adresse ses télégrammes au Général Commandant des Troupes d'occupation de la Roumanie (télégramme No. 1516). À mon su, la Roumanie n'est nullement occupée par les troupes Alliées. Je crois que beaucoup d'erreurs ont été commises du fait de l'assimilation de la situation de la Bulgarie, pays ennemi occupé par des troupes victorieuses, et celle de la Roumanie, pays allié, dans lequel cantonnent des troupes alliées et amies ».⁴⁶ Le colonel Rosetti est un homme bien informé, au courant de la propagande bulgare qui circulait à l'étranger, surtout aux États-Unis. Il avait averti Brătianu en octobre 1918 que « le facteur décisif dans l'établissement des conditions de paix sera[it] le président Wilson, et celui-ci ne connaît pas les questions qui nous concernent ». Quant à la Dobroudja, « il sera fortement influencé par le ministre bulgare à Washington, dont on dit qu'il est l'ami »⁴⁷. Stephan Panaretoff est extrêmement

⁴¹ Jean-Noël Grandhomme, *La général Berthelot et l'action de la France en Roumanie et en Russie méridionale (1916–1918)*, Château de Vincennes, 1999, p. 885.

⁴² « Dobrogea Jună », année XIII, n° 8, le 5 janvier 1919, p. 2.

⁴³ SANIC, Fonds Casa Regală, Oficiale [La Maison Royale, Documents officiels], dossier 144/1918, f. 1v.

⁴⁴ Grigore Trancu-Iași, *Țara mea. Memorii 1916–1920*, Bucarest, 1998, p. 123.

⁴⁵ I.G. Duca, *Amintiri politice*, p. 188.

⁴⁶ BAR, Archive Radu Rosetti, XV Varia 1, non-paginé, Bucarest, le 24 janvier 1919.

⁴⁷ BAR, Archive Radu Rosetti, XIV Varia 10, f. 11.

actif dans ses démarches auprès des autorités américaines. Le 23 décembre, le diplomate bulgare envoie une lettre personnelle à Robert Lansing, Secrétaire d'État aux Affaires Étrangères des États-Unis : « I have the honor to send you here enclosed two memorandums, one on the Near East Question, principally Macedonia, Thrace, Dobrudja and the Moravia Valley, the other on the part some representative Americans took forty years ago, in the political emancipation of Bulgaria. [...] In speaking of Dobrudja I purposely omitted to talk upon the subject of the territory seized by Romania from Bulgaria after the Balkan Wars in 1913. No sane man can approve of the seizure of a region inhabited by almost 300,000 Bulgarians and Turks, without even 10,000 Romanians in it. The manner in which Romania annexed the most fertile portion of North Bulgaria is so notorious that I need not dwell upon it. It only strengthens my plea that Romania should not be allowed to own any territory on the right bank of Danube, because it would tend to encourage her in her desire, which has been an open secret ever since 1878, to extend her possession further west so as to comprise all the territory with the Quadrilateral formed by the strategic strongholds of Silistra, Varna and Rustchuk »⁴⁸. Grâce à ce lobby, le sort des frontières de la Dobroudja suscite de nombreux débats à la Conférence de Paix de Paris. On discute, parmi d'autres, le scénario où la Roumanie céderait à la Bulgarie le territoire obtenu en 1913, intégralement ou partiellement⁴⁹.

Entre temps, dans les départements de Dobroudja « tout le monde attend à conclusion de la paix, d'une paix réparatrice, qui efface les souffrances du passé »⁵⁰. C'est une période intense, pleine de frustrations et d'incertitudes. L'ambiance dans les coulisses de la conférence de paix de Paris a des répercussions sur l'actualité en Dobroudja. Les troupes qui y sont disloquées ont une certaine idée de la complexité de l'affaire. Les Français et les Italiens, par exemple, ne partagent pas le même point de vue là-dessus⁵¹. On peut observer cette différence de perception au niveau de la relation avec les autorités locales. La cohabitation entre les troupes de l'Entente et l'administration roumaine s'avère très problématique pour les représentants du gouvernement de Bucarest. La présence des alliés est ambivalente : d'une part, elle facilite l'installation des autorités administratives roumaines ; d'autre part, elle limite l'exercice de ses attributions « d'ordre administratif, en conformité avec nos lois en vigueur »⁵². À l'été 1919, le préfet de Caliacra, Paul D. Goma, a un entretien plutôt tendu avec le commandant des troupes italiennes installées dans la région. C'est ainsi que l'officiel roumain apprend que, parmi d'autres, « nous n'avons pas les droits de [...] faire des tableaux de recensement, ni des listes

⁴⁸ Жеко Попов, Косьо Пенчиков, Петър Тодоров (съст.), *Извори за историята на Добруджа. 1878–1919*, p. 424.

⁴⁹ Антонина Кузманова, Петър Тодоров, Жеко Попов, Благовест Нягулов, Косьо Пенчиков, Володя Милачков (съст.), *История на Добруджа. Том 4. 1878–1944*, Veliko Tarnovo, 2007, p. 274–286; Victor Ciorbea, *Evoluția Dobrogei între anii 1918–1944*, deuxième édition, Constanța, 2008, p. 72–74.

⁵⁰ « Farul », année I, n° 11, le 12 mai 1919, p. 2.

⁵¹ Alberto Basciani, *Un conflitto balcanico. La contesa fra Bulgaria e Romania in Dobrogea del sud. 1918–1940*, Cosenza, 2001, p. 42–43.

⁵² SANIC, Fond Direcția Generală a Poliției [Fonds Direction Générale de Police], dossier 65/1919, f. 184–184v.

électorales »⁵³. La situation change lorsque les troupes italiennes sont remplacées par les troupes françaises. Avec leur accord, au début du mois de septembre les premières unités de gardes-frontières arrivent dans le Quadrilatère⁵⁴. Cela a lieu cinq mois après l'entrée en Dobroudja du Nord des premières unités roumaines, toujours avec la permission de troupes françaises⁵⁵.

La correspondance diplomatique de 1919 restitue l'image d'un territoire difficile à administrer : plaintes de la population locale, insécurité, attaques contre les autorités, vagues de réfugiés, contrebande. De surcroît, une infrastructure précaire : « Les moyens de communication entre les localités de Dobroudja doivent absolument faire l'objet d'une préoccupation réelle, à l'avenir, de la part de tous ceux qui seront voués à conduire les destinées des quatre départements composant cette province. [...] Avant d'aller à Tulcea, il vaut mieux faire son testament. Il est hors de question d'aller à Silistra ou à Bazargic »⁵⁶. C'est dans ce cadre que l'on soulève le problème de la représentation parlementaire en Dobroudja. On a le sentiment que cette province « a toujours été laissée de côté, ignorée et dans une certaine mesure, méprisée ». On évoque le régime exceptionnel de la Dobroudja pendant les premières trois décennies d'administration roumaine. « Maintenant nous avons des droits politiques, considérés pas plus loin qu'hier presque comme un danger national ; nous avons les mêmes droits également pour les deux départements intégrés en 1913 – Caliacra et Durostor. Cependant, en vertu d'une ancienne pratique, nous continuons à être mis de côté et traités d'une manière distincte, sur un plan d'infériorité, comme il ne convient pas que nous le soyons. [...] La Dobroudja a ses intérêts remarquables par sa situation géographique et par son passé historique. Elle est peuplée par un conglomérat ethnique d'origines et de croyances religieuses différentes, dont les tendances, les aspirations et les besoins doivent être connus et solutionnés. Néanmoins, nous voyons que les décisions concernant les habitants de la Dobroudja sont prises toujours *sans* les consulter, par des gens ignorant complètement ses conditions et ses besoins spéciaux. Les droits nationaux roumains en Dobroudja ont été défendus à Paris par des gens qui ne connaissent la Dobroudja qu'à travers une carte quelconque, ou la vitre d'un train, lors d'un voyage d'agrément. [...] Nous exigeons avec fermeté que les autres grands et importants départements de la Dobroudja aient leur représentant au gouvernement, pour qu'il rende tous les comptes nécessaires et pour qu'il défende les intérêts légitimes de cette province. Une telle demande n'a jamais été aussi justifiée que maintenant, quand il y a tant de besoins à satisfaire et tant d'intérêts à défendre en Dobroudja, quand la vie parlementaire a été suspendue pour des raisons en quelque sorte de force majeure et quand toutes les provinces roumaines, sauf la Dobroudja, ont leurs représentants au gouvernement »⁵⁷.

⁵³ SANIC, Fond Președinția Consiliului de Miniștri [Fonds Présidence du Conseil des Ministres], dossier 20/1920, f. 27.

⁵⁴ « Farul », année I, n° 126, le 6 septembre 1919, p. 2.

⁵⁵ « Farul », année I, n° 9, le 10 mai 1919, p. 2.

⁵⁶ « Farul », année I, n° 25, le 26 mai 1919, p. 2.

⁵⁷ « Farul », année I, n° 44, le 14 juin 1919, p. 1.

En effet, les résultats des élections parlementaires de 1919 dans les quatre départements de la Dobroudja seront conditionnés par les particularités du régime exceptionnel de cette région. La loi de l'organisation de la Dobroudja, du 9 mars 1880, prévoyait que ses habitants de cette région, annexée par la Roumanie suite au Traité de Berlin (1878), soient dépourvus de droits politiques. Ceux-ci allaient être réglementés par une loi spéciale, qui sera adoptée à peine trois décennies plus tard⁵⁸. Selon la Loi de 1909 octroyant des droits politiques aux habitants des départements de Constanța et de Tulcea, la Dobroudja allait être représentée au parlement de Bucarest par huit députés et dix sénateurs⁵⁹. C'est le moment de la constitution des premières organisations départementales de certains partis politiques. Après la création des listes électorales, les premières élections parlementaires auxquelles les habitants de la Dobroudja peuvent voter sont celles de novembre 1912. Le moment ne passe pas inaperçu : « C'est un vrai moment historique-il signifie pour nous la délivrance de la tutelle humiliante que nous avons subie, et pour le pays, le renforcement pour toujours des liens qui doivent l'unir à la Dobroudja »⁶⁰. Jusqu'à l'entrée du pays dans la Grande Guerre, les habitants de Constanța et de Tulcea auront deux autres occasions d'élire leurs représentants au parlement de Bucarest. Les deux départements les plus récents, Durostor et Caliacra, annexés à l'été 1913, devaient suivre la même trajectoire. Entrée en vigueur le 1^{er}/le 14 avril 1914, la Loi de l'organisation de la Nouvelle Dobroudja règlementait de façon ponctuelle l'activité politique sur le territoire du Quadrilatère. Plus précisément, elle introduisait le même régime exceptionnel qu'en 1880. Pour le premier-ministre, Ion I.C. Brătianu, il n'y avait qu'un seul modèle à suivre dans cette situation, à savoir le modèle suivi par son père au moment de l'annexion de la Dobroudja. « Tout comme nous l'avons fait pour la Vieille Dobroudja, ainsi nous arriverons, pas à pas, dans la Dobroudja Nouvelle à l'assimilation complète et légale des nouvelles populations au peuple roumain »⁶¹. Pratiquement, la population locale était non seulement privée du droit de désigner ses représentants au parlement de Bucarest, mais aussi de la possibilité de mener toute forme d'activité politique. Pour les habitants de ce nouveau territoire roumain c'était un changement radical de régime constitutionnel. À peine trois ans auparavant ils avaient élu leurs derniers députés au parlement de Sofia. Les statistiques bulgares offrent une image beaucoup plus claire de la participation électorale de la population de cette région qui s'étend, à l'été 1913, jusqu'aux frontières du Royaume roumain. En septembre 1911, dans les collèges électoraux qui correspondent en grande partie aux futurs départements de Durostor et de Caliacra, il y avait 70.348 électeurs inscrits, dont 27.453 se sont présentés aux urnes pour désigner 15 députés (sur un total de 213 mandats au futur parlement de Sofia)⁶².

⁵⁸ Adrian Rădulescu, Ion Bitoleanu, *Istoria Dobrogei*, deuxième édition, Constanța, 1998, p. 353.

⁵⁹ C. Hamangiu, *Codul general al României*, deuxième édition, V, *Legi uzuale. 1908-1909, Supliment II 1909*, Bucarest, s.a., p. 392.

⁶⁰ « Conservatorul Constanței », année IV, n°. 30, le 28 octobre 1912, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Desbaterile Senatului*, Sesiunea ordinară 1914, nr. 29/du 13 avril 1914, séance du 30 mars, p. 368.

⁶² *Статистика на изборите за народни представители за XV-о Обикновено Народно Събрание*, Sofia, 1914, p. VIII, 37, 44.

Il est difficile d'estimer la durée de ce régime exceptionnel si la Grande Guerre n'avait pas éclaté. Sous la nouvelle administration, la participation à la vie politique est conditionnée, avant tout, par l'obtention de la citoyenneté roumaine. Selon la loi, la qualité de citoyen roumain dans le Quadrilatère allait être établie par une commission qui devait dresser les listes des nouveaux citoyens du Royaume de Roumanie⁶³. Les commissions de Durostor et de Caliacra avaient dressé les listes avec les noms des nouveaux citoyens roumains. Au total, plus de 72.000 hommes (dont 35.000 Bulgares, 34.000 Turcs et moins de 500 Roumains)⁶⁴. À l'été 1916, ces listes ont été rendues publiques et les diplômes de citoyenneté allaient être distribués. L'entrée en guerre de la Roumanie a arrêté ce processus. En outre, les archives de ces commissions, transportées à Constanța, ont été détruites au moment de l'évacuation des autorités roumaines de Dobroudja⁶⁵. Cette situation a affecté significativement le processus électoral de 1919, seuls pouvant voter ceux qui avaient la citoyenneté roumaine au moment de l'entrée du pays en guerre. Ce n'est pas le seul défi qui se pose aux organisateurs de la campagne électorale : les élections se déroulent dans des conditions particulières, l'état de siège et la censure venant d'être introduits. Toute forme de rassemblement politique sans autorisation de la part des autorités est interdite, les clubs politiques sont fermés et on ne peut pas imprimer du matériel électoral sans l'accord de la censure.⁶⁶

La loi prévoit que les listes électorales soient affichées « au plus tard 40 jours » avant la date des élections. Ceux qui n'y figurent pas ont le droit de s'adresser au tribunal local dans un délai de 10 jours depuis la publication des listes et demander leur actualisation⁶⁷. Au début du mois de juillet, le préfet de Caliacra reçoit des dispositions pour populariser les articles de la loi électorale, de sorte que « tous les citoyens qui remplissent les conditions d'être électeur puissent être inscrits et exercer leur droit de vote »⁶⁸. En l'absence d'une presse locale dans le département de Caliacra⁶⁹, les listes électorales sont affichées aux panneaux de la mairie⁷⁰. On procède de la même manière pour communiquer « les dates et les jours fixés pour le déroulement des élections pour la Chambre et le Sénat, tout comme les locaux où chaque commune va voter ». Là où le matériel imprimé est insuffisant, on complète par des écrits rédigés à la main. La loi prévoit leur affichage obligatoire « dans les locaux publics et les institutions 15 jours avant le premier

⁶³ C. Hamangiu, *Codul general al României*, deuxième édition, VIII, *Legi uzuale. 1913–1919*, Bucarest, s.a., p. 651–656.

⁶⁴ SANIC, Fond Ministerul de Justiție, Judiciare [Fonds Ministère de la Justice, Judiciaires], correspondance I, dossier 70/1914, f. 64, 83.

⁶⁵ SANIC, Fond Ministerul de Justiție, Judiciare [Fonds Ministère de la Justice, Judiciaires], correspondance II, dossier 4/1918, adresse nr. 24535/du 16 mars 1925, feuille non-numérotée.

⁶⁶ « Farul », année I, n° 3, le 3 mai 1919, p. 2.

⁶⁷ « Monitorul Oficial », Nr. 273, le 5/le 18 mars 1919, p. 6063.

⁶⁸ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală [Ministère de la Justice, Commission Électorale Centrale], dossier 114/1919, f. 19v.

⁶⁹ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală, dossier 32/1919, f. 5v.

⁷⁰ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală, dossier 25/1919, f.17.

jour des élections »⁷¹. Afin de venir à l'aide de ceux qui votent pour la première fois, la presse de Dobroudja publie des informations détaillées sur la procédure de vote⁷².

On discute beaucoup sur le caractère historique de ces élections et leur organisation. Le Parti Liberal est accusé d'utiliser tous les moyens de contrainte pour obtenir une majorité parlementaire « par désir de régner sur la Grande Roumanie, tout comme il l'a fait sur la Petite Roumanie ». « Mais faire usage du faux, du mensonge et de la violence électorale à l'égard du grand nombre de gens sans instruction du Vieux Royaume et de ceux qui ignorent leurs devoirs de citoyens, tout comme à l'égard des minorités étrangères des autres provinces, c'est accomplir un attentat national et ceci, pensons-nous, ne sera pas toléré. Le vote universel est un droit récemment acquis, pourtant chez nous le manque d'instruction et l'absence complète d'indépendance individuelle peut le transformer dans l'arme la plus odieuse de domination d'un parti. [...] Notre réputation européenne a beaucoup souffert pendant ces 5 dernières années, précisément à cause de nos démêlés internes, et malgré tous nos sacrifices dans la guerre on voit bien comment on nous a traités et on nous traite à la Conférence de paix. À l'antipathie provoquée par nos gouvernants, s'ajoute celle nous avons acquise en forçant les premières élections du peuple roumain uni, mais parsemé d'étrangers ; de ce fait nous ne méritons pas un meilleur sort. C'est pourquoi, de tous ces points de vue, il ne nous reste qu'à emprunter une voie honnête et loyale : des *élections libres* »⁷³.

Finalement, la tâche problématique d'organiser les premières élections parlementaires dans la Grande Roumanie reviendra à un gouvernement militaire, nommé suite à la crise politique générée par la décision du premier-ministre Brătianu de quitter la Conférence de paix de Paris. Mécontent par certaines des clauses du projet du traité de paix avec l'Autriche, le chef du gouvernement libéral a préféré démissionner. Mais pas avant de remettre une note à la Présidence de la Conférence de Paix, où il présentait en détail, par 32 points, les raisons de sa décision : « En effet la Roumanie se voit poser par le traité malgré ses protestations réitérées, l'obligation d'accepter d'avance les décisions que les Grandes Puissances croiront devoir prendre sur les points qui intéressent la vie intérieure du pays par rapport au traitement des minorités, au transit et au commerce avec les autres États »⁷⁴. Brătianu montre la même intransigeance dans la question de la Dobroudja et rejette la possibilité que la Roumanie cède à la Bulgarie une partie du Quadrilatère : « J'ai marqué mon indignation de voir qu'on finissait par nous contester notre propre territoire alors que nulle part aucun territoire d'un pays allié n'avait été soumis à un pareil traitement et qu'on avait refusé d'écouter toute doléance de ce genre »⁷⁵. L'opposition ne manquera pas l'occasion d'attaquer la politique externe du leader libéral : « Quelle différence entre la situation héritée en 1913, lorsque la Roumanie se hissait aux yeux

⁷¹ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală, dossier 27/1919, f. 4.

⁷² « Farul », année I, n°. 162, le 13 octobre 1919, p. 1.

⁷³ « Deșteptarea Ialomiței », année XIV, n°. 11, le 17 juillet 1919.

⁷⁴ AMAE, Problème 71/1914, EII, partie II, dossier 58, p. 119.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

du monde et celle d'aujourd'hui, lorsque l'amitié des alliés nous est tellement éloignée qu'elle avoisine la menace avec des représailles ! Le crédit illimité accordé au régime Brătianu, sans la volonté du pays, se paie aujourd'hui par de lourds sacrifices. Il reviendra au nouveau gouvernement la dure tâche de sauver l'honneur du pays »⁷⁶. Dans ce contexte, au début du mois de septembre on permet aux gardes-frontières roumains d'occuper l'ancienne frontière de 1913 : « Par leur entrée on consacre un fait reconnu depuis longtemps par les alliés, les droits imprescriptibles de la Roumanie sur ce territoire »⁷⁷.

La mission assumée par le nouveau cabinet dirigé par le général Arthur Văitoianu est d'organiser les élections parlementaires, programmées pour la période 2–4 novembre (pour la Chambre des Députés), respectivement 7–8 novembre (pour le Sénat). Dès le départ, le cabinet Văitoianu a été perçu comme « le gouvernement libéral, portant l'habit militaire »⁷⁸. On va jusqu'à évoquer son caractère non-constitutionnel : « La Constitution prévoit que le roi règne sans être responsable, et que les ministres gouvernent et sont responsables de tous les actes de gouvernement. À travers la mise en place du gouvernement de généraux, la constitution est piétinée, car les généraux, en tant que militaires actifs, dépendent directement du chef de l'armée, et n'ont pas de volonté propre, mais ils exécutent les ordres reçus, et par conséquent, n'en sont pas responsables »⁷⁹.

Le gouvernement Văitoianu se déclare animé par le souhait que « les partis politiques puissent manifester librement les programmes en vertu desquels ils sollicitent la confiance du Pays », c'est pourquoi il décide qu'il est nécessaire « d'accorder l'état de siège et les besoins de la propagande électorale ». Ainsi, par un décret royal, on relâche la censure de la presse. Pourtant, on interdit la publication de toute attaque « contre la Couronne, contre l'actuelle forme de gouvernement, contre l'armée, contre les Puissances alliées, tout comme l'incitation à la révolte ou contre l'ordre légal ». Également, on autorise les réunions, sous réserve de respecter l'ordre public⁸⁰. Le pouvoir et l'opposition ont des interprétations différentes des réglementations sur le fonctionnement de la censure et de l'état de siège durant la campagne électorale. Les critiques du gouvernement pouvaient être interprétées facilement comme des attaques des intérêts supérieurs de l'État. Une lecture et une mise en œuvre abusive de ces réglementations par les autorités locales (contrôlées par les libéraux) pouvaient obstruer la campagne électorale de l'opposition. Dans ces conditions, la transmission des messages électoraux, voire la rencontre directe entre les candidats et les électeurs s'avèrent souvent difficiles. Les abus les plus fréquents sont faits par les maires et les fonctionnaires qui refusent soit d'inscrire tous les citoyens sur les listes électorales, soit de distribuer les certificats d'électeur⁸¹. Les

⁷⁶ « Deșteptarea Ialomiței », année XIV, n°. 17, le 9 septembre 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁷ « Siliștra », année I, n°. 24, le 7 septembre 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁸ « Refacerea », année I, n°. 4, le 13 octobre 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁹ « Deșteptarea Ialomiței », année XIV, n°. 21, le 30 octobre 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁰ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 134, le 3 octobre 1919, p. 7693–7694.

⁸¹ Sorin Radu, « Între entuziasm și confuzie », dans Alexandru Radu, Camelia Runceanu (éd.), *1919. Primele alegeri parlamentare din România Mare*, Bucarest, 2019, p. 83–87.

départements de Dobroudja ne font pas exception à ces pratiques. Les principaux partis politiques d'opposition réagissent à cette situation et décident de ne pas présenter des listes de candidats, « puisqu'on ne peut pas garantir, avec les mesures et les rigueurs actuelles, le respect de la libre volonté des citoyens »⁸². En plus, ils incitent leurs électeurs à boycotter les élections, en leur expliquant comment faire pour annuler leur vote⁸³. Pour détendre cette ambiance, une lettre du roi Ferdinand adressée au premier-ministre Văitoianu est publiée dans le *Moniteur Officiel*, avec « la prière urgente que toute ingérence dans les élections libres soit prohibée par tous les moyens disponibles »⁸⁴.

La prévision générale est que les libéraux n'auront pas de grandes difficultés à gagner les élections. Pour Ion I.C. Brătianu, la victoire aux élections parlementaires devait valider sa politique externe. Les messages électoraux des libéraux ne vont pas ignorer cette réalité. Les citoyens sont exhortés à montrer au monde entier, par leur vote, « qu'ils sont pour la politique externe de M. Ion I.C. Brătianu, le chef du parti libéral, une politique de conserver notre liberté en tant que nation, tout comme notre indépendance économique, sans tolérer l'intrusion des étrangers dans les affaires intérieures de notre pays ». Quant aux partis de l'opposition, ils sont accusés qu'« au lieu de déposer des listes de candidats et lutter honnêtement, au grand jour, ils ourdissent dans l'ombre », en faisant circuler des accusations graves sur le gouvernement et les libéraux⁸⁵. À son tour, la presse de l'opposition va reprocher au Parti Liberal le fait de s'être arrogé tous les mérites et d'avoir calomnié ses adversaires. En outre, on accuse les libéraux d'avoir fait usage de « la terreur administrative, des abus, des pressions, de la corruption, de la fraude, des faux [...] et des votes des morts »⁸⁶. Malgré les craintes, les élections se déroulent sans incident, ainsi que l'ancien premier-ministre Alexandru Marghiloman le note : « Calme absolu, presque de l'indifférence. (Il y a des gens de la bourgeoisie, qui viennent au vote de peur de l'amende et qui ne savent même pas quelles listes de candidats sont en présence). Quant à la façon de voter, ignorance absolue »⁸⁷.

Les résultats de ces élections sont reçus avec stupeur par l'opinion publique. En dépit de l'appui offert par l'appareil administratif, les libéraux ne réussissent pas à obtenir une majorité confortable dans le Vieux Royaume. Ce fut même une grande défaite, qui contredit la pratique gouvernementale selon laquelle le parti qui contrôle le gouvernement gagne les élections. Une fois que les données de toutes les provinces de la Grande Roumanie sont centralisées, il est clair qu'aucun parti politique n'a obtenu la majorité au parlement. Pour qu'une telle majorité puisse être constituée, il faut une coalition formée de minimum trois partis, ce qui est une nouveauté dans l'histoire du Royaume roumain⁸⁸. « Ces dernières élections ont donné

⁸² « Refacerea », année I, n° 3, le 5 octobre 1919, p. 1.

⁸³ « Îndreptarea », année II, n° 282, les 3–5 novembre 1919, p. 2.

⁸⁴ « Monitorul Oficial », n° 156, le 30 octobre 1919, p. 8837.

⁸⁵ « Ialomița Nouă », année I, n° 17, le 30 octobre 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁶ « Refacerea », année I, n° 6, le 9 novembre 1919, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice. 1897–1924*, vol. III (1918–1919), Bucarest, 1927, p. 408.

⁸⁸ Bogdan Murgescu, Andrei Florin Sora (coordinateurs), *România Mare votează*, p. 371.

non seulement des résultats inattendus dans tout le pays, mais aussi une indication de la haine nourrie partout contre le parti libéral. [...] Le même phénomène a été enregistré en Dobroudja »⁸⁹. Si dans le département de Constanța les libéraux ont obtenu quatre mandats sur les sept mandats de députés, dans le département de Tulcea ils ont gagné un seul mandat, sur le total de six mandats. En ce qui concerne les mandats de sénateurs, les libéraux n'ont eu aucun des cinq mandats destinés aux deux départements.

Ce qui explique les résultats faibles des libéraux en Dobroudja est le fait que les départements de Constanța et de Tulcea étaient connectés, en 1912, à la vie politique roumaine. Or la situation était radicalement différente dans les départements de Durostor et de Caliacra. Ce n'est pas un hasard si le Parti libéral a obtenu la plus nette victoire de ces élections parlementaires (91,07% des voix dans le département de Durostor, contre 22,91% des voix dans le département de Tulcea)⁹⁰. Dans le Quadrilatère, les libéraux ont été favorisés par l'absence de structures politiques et l'appui de l'administration locale. La campagne électorale s'est déroulée dans la même période où les négociations pour un traité de paix entre la Roumanie et la Bulgarie battaient leur plein à Paris. Cela explique les efforts des autorités de Bucarest pour donner aux élections du Quadrilatère un caractère de plébiscite. Dans ce projet, elles comptent sur l'accord tacite du gouvernement français. Les troupes françaises du Quadrilatère reçoivent des dispositions de ne pas intervenir sur le processus électoral, car « la Dobroudja est déjà séparée du point de vue administratif de la Bulgarie ». Aussi ne voit-on aucun soldat français en proximité des bureaux de vote de Caliacra et de Durostor pendant les 5 jours d'élections⁹¹.

La campagne électorale s'est déroulée sans incidents, la présence des candidats parmi les électeurs étant plutôt symbolique. En Dobroudja du Sud il n'y avait ni publications, ni structures politiques, ce qui explique le nombre réduit de formations politiques ayant candidaté. La faible maîtrise de la langue roumaine par les habitants a obligé les autorités à imprimer des affiches électorales bilingues voire trilingues (en roumain, bulgare, turc ottoman). Les libéraux ne pouvaient pas ignorer la composition ethnique de la région. On a tenté d'inclure des Bulgares et des Turcs sur les listes de candidats, justement pour « souligner l'unité entre la population de Dobroudja et l'État roumain »⁹². Mais l'enjeu principal restait la présence de la population bulgare. Sa réaction dans les deux départements a été différente : en Caliacra, certains des dirigeants bulgares ont donné suite à la proposition des libéraux d'adhérer « à une politique de fraternisation et de conciliation ». En échange de leur soutien, les libéraux leur offrent deux places : l'une à l'Assemblée des Députés et l'autre au Sénat. Deux places sont aussi offertes aux Turcs. Cependant, d'autres Bulgares ont préféré candidater autant sur une liste

⁸⁹ « Dobrogea Jună », année XIII, n° 50, le 20 novembre 1919, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Marcel Ivan, *Evoluția partidelor noastre politice în cifre și grafice. 1919–1932*, Sibiu, 1933, table II.

⁹¹ SANIC, Microfilme Franța, Rouleau 306, c. 117, 125.

⁹² Петър Тодоров, Косъо Пенчиков, Петър Бойчев (съст.), *Документи за историята на Тутракан*, p. 312.

d'indépendants, que sur la liste du Parti Socialiste⁹³. En Durostor, ce partenariat entre le parti au gouvernement et la population locale a fonctionné partiellement. Seuls les Turcs ont été inclus sur les listes des candidats. Sur la liste des indépendants, non plus, il n'y avait aucun Bulgare⁹⁴. Cela nous fait conclure que la population bulgare de Durostor a boycotté, dans une certaine mesure, ces élections parlementaires.

Pour ce qui est du processus électoral, on a organisé des bureaux de vote seulement dans quelques localités qui fonctionnaient comme des centres pour les localités voisines. Un traducteur y était présent, pour offrir l'assistance nécessaire. Les électeurs n'avaient qu'à apposer le tampon au milieu de la liste des candidats qu'ils souhaitaient voter⁹⁵. Le système de vote par tampon a déconcerté les électeurs qui ne savaient pas lire, habitués sous l'administration bulgare à voter les listes des partis en fonction de la couleur des bulletins⁹⁶. La présence des traducteurs dans les bureaux de vote a été contestée par certains candidats qui ont dénoncé leurs pratiques en faveur des libéraux⁹⁷. Ultérieurement, quelques candidats (Bulgares en majorité) ont porté plainte contre 40 fonctionnaires roumains, dont le préfet de Caliacra, pour violation du processus électoral. Ils sont accusés d'avoir commis plusieurs abus afin d'assurer la victoire des libéraux. Quelles étaient les méthodes dénoncées ? D'abord, inscrire sur les listes seulement une partie des électeurs du département. Ensuite, empêcher, par tous les moyens, la présence des adversaires reconnus des libéraux⁹⁸. Le procès n'a plus eu lieu, car, conformément aux lois spéciales de la Dobroudja du Sud, un préfet ne pouvait être poursuivi en justice qu'avec l'autorisation du gouvernement⁹⁹. Or le gouvernement de Bucarest ne trouvait aucun intérêt à autoriser un tel procès.

Conformément aux données officielles, les libéraux ont été de loin les gagnants des élections parlementaires en Dobroudja du Sud. En fait, ils ont perdu un seul mandat, remporté par un candidat socialiste. Du point de vue ethnique, les intérêts des habitants de Durostor et de Caliacra étaient représentés au premier parlement de la Grande Roumanie par six Roumains, quatre Turcs et un Bulgare, alors que tous les 21 parlementaires des départements de Constanța et de Tulcea étaient des Roumains¹⁰⁰. Ces chiffres ne reflètent pas de manière fidèle la diversité ethnique et confessionnelle de la Dobroudja.

⁹³ Biblioteca Națională a României (ci-après BNR), Colecții Speciale [Collections spéciales], Fonds St. Georges, Archive Ermil Pangrati, dossier XLVIII/6, f. 21, 25, 29, 31.

⁹⁴ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 178, le 20 novembre 1919, p. 9779, 9810.

⁹⁵ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală, dossier 25/1919, f. 88.

⁹⁶ « Silistra », année I, n°. 31, le 16 novembre 1919, p. 1.

⁹⁷ SANIC, Ministerul Justiției, Comisia Electorală Centrală, dossier 32/1919, f. 15.

⁹⁸ BNR, Colecții Speciale [Collections spéciales], Fonds St. Georges, Archive Ermil Pangrati, dossier XLVIII/6, f. 117, 126–133.

⁹⁹ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 1bis, le 1^{er}/le 14 avril 1914, p. 52

¹⁰⁰ Alexandru Radu, Camelia Runceanu (éd.), 1919. *Primele alegeri parlamentare din România Mare [1919. Les premières élections parlementaires dans la Grande Roumanie]*, p. 167–168, 187–188, 217–220, 367–370.

Le 20 novembre 1919 le premier parlement de la Grande Roumanie se réunit¹⁰¹. Une semaine plus tard, le Traité de paix entre les Puissances alliées et associées et la Bulgarie, est signé à Neuilly-sur-Seine, où la frontière roumano-bulgare est reconnue telle qu'elle se présentait au 1^{er} août 1914 (article 27). Au début du mois de décembre, les troupes françaises quittent la Dobroudja et l'armée roumaine entre dans le Quadrilatère¹⁰². Le premier parlement de la Grande Roumanie aura une vie brève, de seulement quatre mois. Le 26 avril 1920 il est dissous et de nouvelles élections sont organisées à la fin du mois de mai¹⁰³. C'est le résultat prévisible de la fragmentation de la scène politique et du manque de cohérence administrative entre les provinces de la Grande Roumanie. Malgré leur échec au premier tour des élections organisées après la Grande Guerre, ce sont les libéraux qui vont poser les bases du modèle politique de la Roumanie dans l'entre-deux-guerres.


¹⁰¹ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 178, le 20 novembre 1919, p. 9765–9766.

¹⁰² « Farul », année I, n°. 207, le 4 décembre 1919, p. 1.

¹⁰³ « Monitorul Oficial », n°. 270, le 27 mars 1920, p. 13421.

ГЛАСУВАЊИТЕ ЛИСТАНА
شو لستاره رأی وریکتر :

VOTAȚI LISTELE :

<p>LA CAMERA:</p> <p>E. Pangrati Mustafa Riza Haji Mehmet Achile Pineta Andrei Mutzeff Kiurt Ali Mehmet</p> <p>LA SENAT:</p> <p>George Georgescu Vasile Haji Holevici</p>	 <p>ЗА КАМЕРА:</p> <p>Е. Панграти Мустафа Риза Хажи Мехметъ Ахиле Пинета Андрей Мудецфъ Киуртъ Али Мехметъ</p> <p>ЗА СЕНАТЪ</p> <p>Джеордже Джеорджеску Василе Хажи Холевичи</p>	<p>قابداريه :</p> <p>ٺه پانگراتي مصطفى رضا حاجي محمد آخيه پينتا آندرهى موتزف كورد على محمد سه نامه :</p> <p>ژورژ ژورژسكو واسيل حاجي هولويچ</p>
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CETATENI

Votați la senat semnul nostru
Votați pe candidatul partidului Conservator Progresist.
Votați pe avocați
GEORGESCU și DIMITRESCU
cari au intrat în luptă politică numai ca să vă facă dreptate.
Votați pe prietenii voștri cari vă doresc binele.
Votați interesele voastre.
Votul este secret un aveți nici o teamă de nimeni.

Nu vă uitați la amenințări, faceți-vă datoria cu curaj. Când intrați singuri în camera de vot sunteți stăpâni ca să puneți pecetia pe lista noastră. Nu vă uitați la amenințările de nici un fel a le funcționarilor toate sunt copilării. Sunteți cetățeni liberi nu sclavi.
La noi să veniți ca sa vă plângeți de ori ce nevoi a le voastre.
Noi cari suntem și rămânem în mijlocul vostru totdeauna vă vom ajuta.
Candidații partidului Conservator progresistii
Georgescu Emil AVOCAT
Dimitrescu Constantin Avocat
Tipogr. „Dobrogea” Bazargic.

Граждани,

Гласувайте за сенатори сь нашия знакъ

Гласувайте за кандидатитѣ на Консервативно Прогрессивната партия,
Гласувайте за Адвокатитѣ
ЖОРЖЕСКУ, и ДИМИТРЕСКУ
кото поематъ борба политическа за тържеството на правдата.
Гласувайте за вашитѣ приятели, които ви желаятъ доброто.
Гласувайте за вашитѣ интереси,
Гласуващите с тийчо нѣщо—ништо да (за не плати).

Не гадлайте на никакви заплашвания, излягане дългътъ си сь куражъ. Когато влезите сами въ стаята бждете господари на себе си, сложете печата върху нашата листа, небойтъ се отъ лични заплашвания, всички служещи сж халатни. Бждете свободни граждани,—не роби.
При васъ, елате и се оплачете, каквото и да бжде нашата нужда и неволя.
Ние които оставаме между васъ, ще помогнемъ на вашитѣ нужди.
Кандидати на Консервативно-Прогрессивната партия,
Жоржеску Емил адвокатъ
Димитреску Константинъ адвокатъ

وطني دار
عسکری ایجن شوپولاردکی بیهرز و طوپولاق ایست
فی انتخاب ایجنکتر. فوسروا اور پروگرسیست فرضتک نامزد
لری انتخاب ایجنکتر. سوزله پانگراتی دوشروانو پانی ایجنون
پولیتیکه آتیلان اودقات دیمترسکو و اودقات ژورژسکو
انتخابی انتخاب ایجنکتر. سوزله پانگراتی پانی ایست بن
دوشروانکتری انتخاب ایجنکتر. مختلفکتری انتخاب ایجنکتر.
دایمیکتر کولی اودیشن کیسهون خوبی ایجنکتر. نهدلره
اهیت و پروگرسیکتر، وطنه کوی حساره پانگتر. رأی وریکتر
ایجنون پانگتر سه انتخاب اولست کونکترده بره ایست بی مهر
لامکه سرستسکتر. مأمور لیک هم دولو نهدلریه اهیت
و پروگرسیکتر. همی جو و نهدلره. سوز اسیر ذک و سریت
وطنه دارسکتر. هر دولو شکایتل کتری بره بره پانگتر. بر
هم زمان سوز آره کزده قاجق و معاونتده پولوتیکیز.
فوسروا اور پروگرسیست فرقهسی نامزد لری و
ژورژسکو اول. اودقات دیمترسکو فوسرمانین. اودقات

Affiches de la campagne électorale du novembre 1919 dans la Dobroudja du Sud :
Bibliothèque nationale de Roumaine.

REMNANTS OF AN OLD ORDER? THE ROMANIAN MONARCHY BETWEEN NATIONALISATION AND TRANSNATIONALITY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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The radicalized war-time nationalisms of the First World War had put pressure on Europe's internationally connected ruling dynasties and led to a symbolic nationalisation of the Romanian monarchy. However, this article argues that the Romanian dynasty preserved much of its transnationality and the foreign origins of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie continued to play a significant role in domestic and foreign affairs after the end of war. To show this, the article analyses the development of royal family relations and self-conceptions after the armistice and examines how the transnational aspects of the monarchy influenced Romania's *sortie de guerre* period abroad and at home, contributing to a better understanding of monarchic transnationality after the First World War.

Keywords: Romania, Interwar Period, Monarchy, Transnationality, King Ferdinand of Romania, Queen Marie of Romania.

When King Ferdinand of Romania and his wife Queen Marie returned to Bucharest on 1 December 1918 after two years of exile in Iași, their triumphant parade was welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd. While the First World War had brought about the destruction of the long-reigning monarchies of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany and the Ottoman Empire, the Romanian king exited the war as the acclaimed leader of a victorious nation. As the Romanian Crown Prince Carol noted in his diary in late October: “On the one side they destroy their sovereigns, on the other they elevate them”¹. The victory of the Entente over the Central Powers had brought the dream of unifying all historic Romanian territories in one state within reach and gave rise to an enormous popularity of the monarchy in the country. However, for the longest period during the war, Romanian prospects had been all but promising. After the country had entered the conflict in August 1916, German and Austrian troops conquered Bucharest four months later and held vast parts of the country under occupation until the end of the war. On 7 May 1918, Romania had to acknowledge the defeat by accepting the peace treaty of Bucharest and only re-entered the war hours before the general armistice with Germany on

¹ Carol of Romania, *Între datorie și pasiune: însemnări zilnice*, vol. 1: 1904–1939, Bucharest, 1995, p. 89.

11 November 1918. The fighting continued for Romania in 1919, when the Romanian army invaded Hungary to secure control over the Transylvanian territories and contribute to the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime in Hungary under Béla Kun². Regardless of the crushing defeat as well as months of occupation and exploitation by the enemy, the Romanian monarchy overcame this severe crisis and held out to reap the benefits of the allied triumph.

An essential factor for the resilience of those European monarchies, which managed to survive the First World War, was the consistent nationalisation of their language of legitimacy – the legitimating narrative around the monarchy and its symbolic performance in public³. During the war, national categories had become more strictly defined and the loyalty of immigrants and so-called “enemy aliens” was questioned in all warring societies⁴. This development put particular pressure on Europe’s internationally connected ruling dynasties and forced them to re-define their transnational appearance along national frameworks in which they acted as moral and symbolic leaders of their countries’ war efforts. Correspondingly, the Romanian propaganda managed to create a convincing narrative around the nationalisation of the German-born King Ferdinand and the Hohenzollern dynasty, which reigned in the country since Ferdinand’s uncle, Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, had been elected Prince of Romania in 1866. However, as this article argues, the Romanian dynasty preserved much of its transnationality and the foreign origins of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie continued to play a significant role in domestic and foreign affairs after the end of the First World War. To show this, the article will analyse the development of royal family relations and self-conceptions after the armistice and examine how the transnational aspects of the monarchy influenced Romania’s *sortie de guerre* period abroad and at home.

FRAGILE NATIONALISATION

The outbreak of the First World War in the summer of 1914 and the following internal struggles about the choice of side had provided a vital test to the loyalty and legitimacy of the young Hohenzollern dynasty in Romania. Because of the long-lasting conflict with the Austrian-Hungarian government about the

² See for example: F. Țurcanu, “Roumanie, 1917–1920: Les ambiguïtés d’une sortie de guerre”, in S. Audoin-Rouzeau and C. Prochasson (eds), *Sortir de la Grande Guerre. Le monde et l’après-1918*, Paris, 2008, p. 237–256.

³ J. Leonhard, “Legacies of Violence: Eastern Europe’s First World War – A Commentary from a Comparative Perspective”, in J. Böhler, W. Borodziej and J. v. Puttkamer (eds), *Legacies of violence. Eastern Europe’s First World War*, Munich, 2014, p. 319–326, here p. 325.

⁴ J. Leonhard, *Die Büchse der Pandora: Geschichte des Ersten Weltkriegs*, Munich, 2014, p. 142; E. Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The campaign against enemy aliens during World War I*, Cambridge [Mass.], 2003; P. Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War*, London, 2014.

treatment of the ethnically Romanian population of Hungarian Transylvania, the Romanian public opinion had quickly come to sympathise with the Entente Powers. The hopes were high that a defeat of the Habsburg Empire would enable an annexation of these territories. On the other side, King Carol I and his successor King Ferdinand felt closely attached to Germany, their country of birth, which was allied with Austria-Hungary. When Ferdinand took over the throne, after his uncle's death in October 1914, he saw himself confronted with an aggressive campaign by pro-Entente interventionists, which accused the sovereign of blocking Romania's path to national unification because of his personal sympathies with the Central Powers⁵. When Ferdinand decided to yield to public pressure and joined the Entente against the Central Powers after almost two years of neutrality, he laid the foundation of the powerful narrative around the king's virtuous loyalty to Romanian national ideals and the thorough nationalisation of the foreign dynasty. "So far we knew a King of the Romanians; now we have a Romanian king", became a popular expression after Romania joined the war and illustrates the effect of the king's decision on the national standing of the dynasty⁶. In the general enthusiasm around the victorious conclusion of the war, the newspaper *Universul* even called Ferdinand "the greatest of all Romanians"⁷.

However, neither Ferdinand's decision for war against his country of birth, nor the outstanding role played by him and his consort Queen Marie in elevating the morals of the population during the war, were able to definitively end the discussions about the foreign origins of the sovereigns among the Romanian public. Although direct attacks on the royal house by the press had significantly decreased after 1916, in the post-war period, anti-monarchical groups still tried to utilise the monarchy's German background to mobilise supporters for republican ideas. In their brochures, newspapers and speeches the Romanian socialists and sympathisers of the Russian revolution made sure always to call the king "Ferdinand of Hohenzollern" to highlight the foreignness of the dynasty. When in December 1918 strikes and social riots spread in Romania because of food shortages and the influence of Bolshevik propaganda, the militant newspaper *Trăiască Socialismul*, therefore, drew a connection to the deposition of the Hohenzollerns in Germany: "The only Hohenzollern, the most incompetent, the most corrupt, still sprawls and sits on the throne and continues to rule the country with arrogance. But he will not escape"⁸. Notwithstanding the considerable unrest that socialist ideas caused after the end of the war, republican groups found little support in the Romanian society. Most politicians considered the monarchy a

⁵ See for example: N. Filipescu, *Însemnări, 1914–1916*, Bucharest, 2017, p. 250.

⁶ Report by Charles de Saint-Aulaire to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 2 September 1916, Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères Français, La Courneuve (AMAEF), Série Guerre, Roumanie, 342 (1916).

⁷ *Universul*, 2 December 1918.

⁸ F. Tănăsescu (ed), *Ideologie și structuri comuniste în România*, vol. II: 1918–1919, Bucharest, 1997, p. 151, 227, 284.

necessary and advantageous institution for their country⁹. Nevertheless, revolutionary groups considered the nationalisation of the dynasty a fragile accord and still viewed the German origins of the king as a promising angle to undermine the legitimacy of the monarchy.

On several occasions in the post-war period the national descent of the Romanian king re-surfaced as a topic in public discussion, which confirms the precarious character of the royal house's national appearance in the years after the war. On Christmas 1922, for example, King Ferdinand attended the mass in the Catholic cathedral of Bucharest. Because of a rotational system, archbishop Raymond Netzhammer preached on this day in the German language. This was disapprovingly observed by the Romanian press and the prominent historian and nationalist politician Nicolae Iorga even officially interpellated the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Constantin Banu, on the matter in the chamber of deputies. In consequence, the minister and also the Vatican asked Netzhammer for an explanation and demanded the archbishop to guarantee that all future services in presence of the Romanian king would be held in Romanian¹⁰. The question of which language the royal family should use, had much symbolic importance. In the Crown Council of 1914, where King Carol had failed to convince the Romanian political leaders to follow his will and join the Central Powers in war, the language of conversation had been French, because the king had not felt comfortable enough discussing this extremely important decision in Romanian. The liberal statesman Ion G. Duca later ironically described this in his memoirs as "the old Romania [...] in its whole splendour"¹¹. As this comment implied, this would not have been possible anymore in the new Romania after the First World War. Although, as King Carol before them, neither King Ferdinand nor Queen Marie were Romanian native speakers, it was very important for the legitimacy of the dynasty that they spoke Romanian in public. While both had mastered Romanian to a fluent level, the foreign language sometimes still confronted them with occasional problems. In this context, it is not surprising that the royal private library acquired a new German-Romanian dictionary in 1919¹². Another public outcry was caused by the Romanian census of 1927, when King Ferdinand stated in his form that his nationality was "German". The king's self-categorisation as German contradicted the nationalised language of legitimacy that had been built around him during the First World War and in the years after. As the king only died several days after the publication of his census form, the damage of this incautious statement was limited. But this episode and the events of Christmas 1922 show how carefully the Romanian royal house had to handle its transnational heritage after the nationalisation in the First World War and how a minor incident could threaten this new legitimacy of the Romanian monarchy.

⁹ I. Scurtu, *Regele Ferdinand: (1914–1927): activitatea politica*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 69.

¹⁰ R. Netzhammer, *Bischof in Rumänien: Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Staat und Vatikan*. vol. 2, Munich, 1996, p. 1208–1218.

¹¹ I.G. Duca, *Amintiri Politice*, vol. 1, Munich, 1981, p. 52–53.

¹² Ș. Ciubotaru, *Viața cotidiană la curtea regală a României: (1914–1947)*, Bucharest, 2011, p. 146.

In some cases, however, the German background of the dynasty could also be an advantage for the legitimacy of the monarchy in “Greater Romania”. With the peace treaties of Paris, which had sanctioned the annexation of Bessarabia, the Bukovina, Transylvania and parts of the Banat, the Romanian nation state not only doubled the size of its territory, but also acquired significant minority populations. The German populations of Transylvania and the Banat formed, after the Hungarians, the second largest minority of the kingdom. King Ferdinand showed a benevolent attitude towards the German minority. At an audience with a Saxon delegation in January 1919 King Ferdinand promised them free practice of their language and culture and he also readily talked in his mother tongue, when he visited German villages in the Western parts of the country. Ferdinand’s self-denomination as a German in the census of 1927 was commented on positively by the German minority newspapers of Romania and, in reaction to his death in July, the *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tagblatt* wrote: “We do not dread to confess that our devotion to the dynastic idea was significantly eased by the fact that the offspring of a German princely house wore the crown of Romania”¹³. In this context, Ferdinand’s transnational character promoted the cohesion of the ethnically diverse nation-state. As Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Christophe Prochasson already subsumed in their 2008 volume on the *sortie de guerre* in Europe, the monarchy gave an important sense of identity in a society struggling with considerable political, social and ethnic fragmentation as a result of the war¹⁴.

TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES: RECONCILIATION AND CONTINUITY

The transnationality of the Romanian monarchy was not only defined by the foreign origin of the dynasty, but also by the family network that connected the Romanian king and queen to many other royal and princely families all over the European continent. However, the personal ties of this “royal international” were severely damaged by the outbreak of the First World War¹⁵. While the war made it increasingly difficult to stay in contact with family members in neutral or allied

¹³ *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tagblatt*, 20 July 1927; M. Kroner, “Loyalitätsfaktor ‘deutsche Dynastie’?: Zur Akzeptanz des rumänischen Staates durch die deutsche Minderheit”, in E. Binder-Iijima, H.-D. Löwe and G. Volkmer (eds), *Die Hohenzollern in Rumänien 1866–1947. Eine monarchische Herrschaftsordnung im Europäischen Kontext*, Köln – Weimar – Vienna, 2010, p. 67–88, at 69–73; K.M. Reinerth, *Zur politischen Entwicklung der Deutschen in Rumänien, 1918–1928: Aus einer siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Sicht*, Thaur, 1993, p. 260.

¹⁴ S. Audoin-Rouzeau and C. Prochasson, “Sortir de la guerre ou sortir de l’occupation”, in S. Audoin-Rouzeau and C. Prochasson (eds), *Sortir de la Grande Guerre. Le monde et l’après-1918*, Paris, 2008, p. 209–212, at p. 211.

¹⁵ For the development of the ‘royal international’ in the nineteenth century see: J. Paulmann, “Searching for a ‘Royal International’: The Mechanics of Monarchical Relations in Nineteenth-Century Europe”, in M. H. Geyer and J. Paulmann (eds), *The mechanics of internationalism. Culture, society, and politics from the 1840s to the First World*, Oxford, 2008, p. 145–176.

states, because of blocked travel routes and interrupted mail services, many close relatives even found themselves on opposing sides. Therefore, the war often turned from a political conflict into a personal fight that drove a wedge between family members. King Ferdinand's decision to follow the will of his people and join the Entente Powers, had led to a painful falling-out with his family in Germany. His older brother Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, for example, had been very worried that his brother's "treason" would rub off on his house and had been eager to demonstrate the termination of all his ties with the Romanian royal family to the German public. For this reason, in late 1916, he had visited the German troops at the Romanian front and had proclaimed in a public speech that the German forces had righteously come to punish his brother for the treason against "his house, his family and his country"¹⁶. The combination of personal grievance and public pressure deeply alienated the brothers during the war and, even after the fighting had come to an end, the gulf between the two turned out to be hard to bridge. It was only the common loss of their youngest brother Prince Karl Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who unexpectedly died in February 1919, which at last motivated King Ferdinand and Duke Wilhelm to resume their correspondence¹⁷.

While the Romanian king honestly tried to reconnect with his older brother from his very first letter, the German aristocrat, at first, responded in a rather reserved tone. However, Duke Wilhelm was helped over his grudge against Ferdinand by financial matters which necessitated the intervention of his internationally respected brother. In 1919, the government of the newly founded Czechoslovak Republic started to pursue agrarian reforms, which included extensive expropriations of large estates owned by Austrian and German aristocrats¹⁸. This also threatened the family estates of the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in Bohemia. Because of the revolution in Germany, the powerful pre-war network of the German aristocracy had lost much of its political influence, while the Romanian king had even increased his international political standing during the war. The negotiations about the conclusion of a "little entente" between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania also increased the interest of the Czechoslovak Republic in staying on good terms with the Romanian royal house¹⁹. Therefore, Duke Wilhelm asked his brother to intervene with the Czechoslovak government on his behalf. Hence, the king mobilised the resources of the Romanian diplomatic service to save the Bohemian estates of the Hohenzollern family and personally discussed the matter with the

¹⁶ Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to Alexandru Beldiman, Sigmaringen, 28 December 1916, Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen (StAS), FAS HS 1–80 R 53 T 9 Nr. 256,21; Y. Blondel, *Journal de guerre, 1916–1917: Front sud de la Roumanie*, Paris, 2002, S. 248.

¹⁷ King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 6 March 1919, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 173 (1919).

¹⁸ L. Homolac and K. Tomsik, "Historical development of land ownership in the Czech Republic since the foundation of the Czechoslovakia until present", *Agric. Econ. – Czech* 62, 2016, p. 528–536, p. 529.

¹⁹ M. Ádám, *The Little Entente and Europe (1920 - 1929)*, Budapest, 1993, p. 47–110.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš, when the latter visited Romania in 1920. The negotiations dragged on for five more years until 1925, when Romanian and Czech representatives finally agreed on a compromise²⁰. In 1923, Duke Wilhelm again called on his brother to protect the properties of the princely house, after French troops had occupied the Rhineland and the bridgehead of Offenburg close to the Hohenzollern lands in Southern Germany in reaction to delays in reparation payments. In this context he wrote to King Ferdinand:

“As we are disarmed and defenceless, we can only offer passive resistance and I hope our firm and resisting attitude will over time earn us sympathies and credit abroad. However, the threat to my property and fortune also threatens your and your sons’ interests as the next agnates of my house. So, I would like to ask you for your protection from all dangers that may threaten us [...]. The French objectives are too obvious to fool us with lame excuses. Therefore, it is quite self-evident that you could use your rights as an agnate in some form – maybe by sending a gentleman from your embassy in Berlin here, in the case of a continued French advance, to assert the full and effective observation of your rights”²¹.

In his letter, the duke dealt with the French occupation on private but also on a general political level, trying to obtain the protection of his brother against possible French requisitions and also improve the international standing of post-war Germany by depicting France’s ruthless course of action to the Romanian king. Duke Wilhelm had recognised his loss of national and international influence under the new German republic and, therefore, realised that his brother’s influence was a valuable resource which he could not afford to give up. These pragmatic interests further eased the way to a rapprochement.

However, even under these circumstances, there were limits to the reconciliation and the experiences of the war remained a factor in the relationship. The question of whether King Ferdinand’s decision to declare war against the Central Powers had been the dutiful choice of a constitutional king or a treacherous plot of a weak character was never settled and omitted as well as possible. A similar strategy can be observed in the correspondence of Queen Marie with her mother, the Duchess dowager Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Duchess Maria, who was a daughter of the Russian Emperor Alexander II, had spent the war in Germany and Switzerland. After Romania joined the war in 1916, she attacked her daughter for her country’s decision in a private letter, which ended with the words:

²⁰ King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Sinaia, 17 November 1920, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 184 (1920); King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 8 December 1925, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 238 (1925).

²¹ Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to King Ferdinand of Romania, Sigmaringen, 9 February 1923, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 244 (31 Dec. 1921–17 Jul. 1923).

“Woe betide you who turn against your fatherland!”²² While Queen Marie always identified herself as an English princess, her father, Prince Alfred, had ascended to the throne of the German dukedom of Coburg in 1893. The queen’s mother fully embraced her new position as a German duchess and decidedly supported the German war efforts. This explains the alienation from her daughter, whom German war propaganda depicted as the main culprit for the Romanian alliance with the Entente. According to the narrative promoted in the German press, the English-born queen had persuaded her weak husband to betray his country of birth and turn against the Central Powers in 1916²³. Nevertheless, throughout the war, Queen Marie continued writing to her mother, even though her mother only replied once – in reaction to the death of Marie’s youngest son Prince Mircea. When the relationship was revived by both sides in 1919, the war was a painful topic that both women did not feel comfortable talking about. As Queen Marie explained to her mother there was “so much [...] left unsaid that ought still to have been said and that I longed to say, but could not for fear of upsetting you and myself also, more than we could stand it either of us”²⁴. Notwithstanding the unexpressed disagreements, the Romanian queen was able to reconstruct parts of her German family network, which had been destroyed by the war. However, not all German relatives were willing to forgive Queen Marie for the role which the German press accused her of playing in turning King Ferdinand against the Central Powers. Princess Louise of Thurn and Taxis, an aunt of King Ferdinand, who had been an intimate of the Romanian royal couple before the war, for example, specifically wrote to the queen in 1920 to make clear that she still blamed her for the role she had played in the war and had no interest in reinstating contact²⁵. As we have seen, the reconstruction of transnational family relations proved to be a delicate matter, which needed much endurance and tact and was not always bound to succeed.

In addition to the personal obstacles which had to be overcome, personal meetings between the German and Romanian relatives were also hard to realise. Following the hostilities between Romania and Germany during the war, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie could not simply visit German territory and also hesitated to invite German relatives to Romania. In 1921, King Ferdinand planned to travel to a spa resort in Kreuznach, but was forced to acknowledge that this was not possible, because of the “not yet bridged gulf that was the natural consequence

²² Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to Queen Marie of Romania, 4 November 1916, in: Marie of Romania, *Queen Marie of Romania: Letters to Her Mother*, vol. II 1907–1920, Bucharest, 2016, p. 305; King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 15 September 1919, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr.173 (1919).

²³ See for example: F.W. Frerk, *Der Siegeszug durch Rumänien*, Siegen – Leipzig, 1917, p. 14.

²⁴ Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Venice, 15 November 1919, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to Her Mother*, p. 333.

²⁵ King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Sinaia, 17 November 1920, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 184 (1920).

of the events of the last years”²⁶. The Romanian king feared that a journey to Germany would leave a negative impression on the Romanian public and possibly undermine the nationalisation and legitimacy of his dynasty. In addition to this, he also worried about the effects of a royal journey to Germany on international affairs, regarding the symbolic importance of being the first visit of a head of state to a losing party of the war²⁷. Furthermore, the reactions of the German public to a visit of a First-World-War enemy were expected to be rather hostile. The negative emotions in inter-war Germany against the Romanian king were exemplarily illustrated by the scandal around the publication of an intercepted private letter by Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to his brother in Bucharest in June 1923. The communist newspaper *Die Rote Fahne* attacked the German aristocrat, on the one hand, for the anti-democratic tone of the letter and, on the other hand, accused him of high-treason for being in contact with a wartime enemy²⁸. The concerns about a public outburst against a royal visitor were even bigger regarding a possible stay of Queen Marie in Germany. When the queen’s mother died in Zurich in October 1920, the Romanian queen travelled to Switzerland and planned to accompany her sisters to Coburg for her mother’s funeral. However, the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs did not approve her entry into German territory on time. The Queen missed the burial and returned to Romania. A year later, she again approached the German ambassador to Romania, Hans Freytag, with plans to join her sisters in Coburg for the anniversary of her mother’s death. Freytag’s reaction was rather reluctant. In his report to Berlin he explained:

“As far as I can grasp the situation in Germany, especially considering that this would be the first visit of a sovereign of a formerly hostile country, the Queen’s reputation as a warmonger and the current mood in Bavaria, the journey appears not unproblematic to me and I would suggest to advise a postponement or at least communicate our concerns regarding the negative effects that an unforeseen incident or attacks by the press could have on our mutual relations”²⁹.

Acting on Freytag’s suggestions, the German government promised to establish strict security measures but warned the Romanian authorities that they could not guarantee for a stay without unpleasant incidences or reactions by the press. Because of these obstacles, Queen Marie again had to cancel her visit to Germany. While the queen finally got to Coburg more than ten years later for the funeral of her sister, the

²⁶ King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 1 June 1921, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R53 Nr. 197 (1921).

²⁷ F.U. Mäuer, *Zu Gast in Deutschland. Staatsbesuche in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg, 2016, p. 11.

²⁸ *Die Rote Fahne*, 29 June and 30 June 1923.

²⁹ Hans Freytag to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 14 October 1921, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin (PAAA), R 73661.

Russian Grand Duchess Victoria, King Ferdinand never returned to his country of birth, yielding to the pressure of national and diplomatic ideas, which would have projected an undesired symbolic importance to such a visit³⁰.

For these reasons, personal meetings between the Romanian royal family and their German relatives could only take place in neutral Switzerland. Before her mother died in 1920, Queen Marie had managed to briefly meet her in Zurich in fall 1919. King Ferdinand agreed with his brother, Duke Wilhelm, to get together on the Weinburg, a small family property close to St. Gallen. The two brothers met there for the first time in summer 1921 and, in the following years, organised annual family reunions on the small castle. As Ferdinand wrote to Wilhelm, the personal meetings proved to him “that the events of the last years could not change the heartiness and intimacy of [their] personal relationship”³¹. The remoteness of the property and the neutral status of Switzerland, which also harboured numerous exiled monarchs in the inter-war period, allowed the Romanian royal family to avoid major attention for their family reunions and cleared these reconciling private meetings of the symbolic message that would have been attributed to them anywhere else. This shows the importance of personal meetings for rebuilding trust in damaged family networks, but also illustrates the delicacy of these transnational reconciliations for a nationalised monarchy.

Family relationships with relatives in states that had been neutral or allied to Romania during the First World War were not charged with the same political or symbolic importance and not strained by similar frictions. Nevertheless, the experiences and results of the war also had their influence on the ties between the British and the Romanian royal family. The Romanian royal couple’s visit to Great Britain in 1924 and their meeting with King George V and his wife Queen Mary was internationally welcomed as a reunion of close relatives and allies³². While before the war the correspondence between Queen Marie of Romania and her cousin, King George, had been dominated by personal matters, the war politicised the relationship between the two. After Romania had joined the Entente powers, Queen Marie regularly wrote to the British king to demand more support for Romanian war efforts from their allies. When the country dropped out of the war in May 1918 and thereby violated the agreements with the Entente, Queen Marie tried to use her connections to the British monarch to ensure the allied powers’ adherence to Romanian territorial claims. The question if the promises made to Romania by the Entente Powers were still valid, although the country had concluded a separate peace with Germany, also became an important issue at the Paris Peace Conference. In this difficult diplomatic situation, the Romanian leadership had high

³⁰ Hans Freytag to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 20 October 1921 and 23 October 1921, *ibid.*; H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania*, London, 1985, p. 405–406.

³¹ King Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 1 June 1921 and Weinburg, 15 September 1921, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R53 Nr. 197 (1921).

³² *The London Times*, 13 May 1924.

hopes that Queen Marie could influence King George to support the Romanian case and pushed her to send several letters to London. Although the British king was very sympathetic regarding the circumstances in Romania and the interests of his cousin, his responses were mainly written by the British Foreign Office, which determined the lines in which the constitutional monarch could answer to the Romanian queen in political matters³³. Marie's transnational network certainly helped in her efforts to put Romania back on the map of international diplomacy and to get Romania's arguments heard in London, however, the direct influence of her cousin was very limited and subordinated to the views of the British government.

Besides the question of Romania's territorial claims, Queen Marie also called on King George in the matter of the treatment of the Romanov family. As already mentioned, Marie's sister Victoria was married to the Russian Grand Duke Kirill and the Russian Tsar Nicholas II was her first cousin. Therefore, the queen had very close ties to the Russian imperial house and was very concerned about the security and standing of the Romanovs after the Russian Revolution in 1917. However, in London her pleadings for the Russian relatives met with a reluctant attitude by King George. The British king, who had already refused to support any British plans to offer asylum to the deposed tsar and his family, was constitutionally restricted in his actions but also feared the public reaction to a Romanov exile in Britain. The message about the murder of the tsar and his family by revolutionary troops in July 1918 hit both of them very hard, but did not change King George's reserved attitude towards the rest of the Romanovs. Queen Marie, in contrast, initiated a trip of a Romanian ship to the Crimea in November 1918 to evacuate members of the imperial dynasty, who had been trapped there by the revolution. In addition to this, she invited her cousin, the Russian Grand Duchess Maria to stay with the Romanian royal family in the Palace of Cotroceni and helped her evacuating her parents-in-law and her son from revolutionary Russia³⁴.

As we have seen, even after the end of the First World War, transnational family relationships remained very important for the Romanian royal couple, regardless of the nationalisation process during the war. In spite of the disagreements and alienations, which the war had caused between close relatives on the opposing sides, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie were keen to reconcile with their family in Germany. The loss of political influence and common financial interests in a republicanising world stimulated the rapprochement. The relationships with relatives in allied countries had been politicised by the war, but monarchical solidarity and the support of family members in the difficult political situation of a post-revolutionary Europe also strongly influenced the attitude of the Romanian royal house.

³³ Queen Marie of Romania to King George of Great Britain and Ireland, Bucharest, 11 January 1919, The National Archives, Kew (TNA), FO 371/3568/392 (1919); H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic*, p. 127.

³⁴ Marie of Romania, *Jurnal de Război: 1918*, Bucharest, 2016, p. 231, 405; K. Rose, *King George V*, London, 1984, p. 215; H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic*, p. 281; M. Pavlovna, *A Princess in Exile*, New York, 1932.

TRANSNATIONAL SELF-CONCEPTIONS: DYNASTY AND CULTURE

A monarchic sense of solidarity and dynastic thinking were important factors for the self-conception of the Romanian monarchs. In fact, the Russians were not the only exiled relatives Queen Marie tried to support in the immediate post-war period. Another of the queen's sisters, Princess Beatrice, who had married the Spanish Infante Alfonso in 1909, was unofficially banished from Spain by King Alfonso XIII after internal quarrels at the Spanish court. With no solution to the conflict in sight, Queen Marie tried to convince her sister to settle down in Romania with her husband. In her sister and the Spanish prince, the Romanian queen saw two valuable assets, who could support the Romanian royal family in their duties. In a letter to her mother, she wrote about the two: "There is a mighty lot to work here and both are young and capable, I would love to have them here, they would become a great help to me"³⁵. While royal dynasties in the older European monarchies, such as Great Britain, had over generations produced a broad personnel of family members besides the royal couple, this had not yet been the case for Romania. Given that, King Carol I died without surviving children and King Ferdinand's brothers had remained in Germany, the Romanian dynasty only consisted of the king, the queen and their children. During the First World War, the Romanian royal family had recognised the importance of royal accessibility for the legitimacy of the monarchy, but also discovered their personal limitations as representative duties and requests for audiences continued to increase in times of peace. Queen Marie considered the mass of royal duties an increasing liability, which explains her excitement at the thought of her sister moving to Romania³⁶. In addition to a distribution of representative actions, in the modern era, second-rank family members could also contribute to the stability of a monarchy. While in pre-modern monarchies, with unclear rules of succession, a surplus of royals could lead to bloody struggles for power, the consolidation and constitutionalisation of monarchic succession and power structures pacified most of these internal rivalries in modern monarchies. Therefore, spare royal family members often acted as trusted advisors and important supporters to the rulers. Because of their standing, they could also fill important military positions, ran their own social foundations or were involved in the leading circles of society, where they represented the interests of the dynasty and strengthened the links between the monarchy and the national elites. The Romanian dynasty lacked these secondary entanglements in the Romanian society and also was constitutionally prohibited to intermarry with the Romanian aristocracy to achieve this³⁷. Therefore, the import of royal relatives

³⁵ Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 22 June 1919, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to her mother*, p. 328–330.

³⁶ Marie of Romania, *Jurnal*, p. 409.

³⁷ J. Duindam, *Dynasties. A Global History of Power, 1300–1800*, Cambridge 2016, p. 150–155; C. R. Zach, "Rumänische Monarchie und politische Elite: Anpassungs- und Kooperationsstrategien der Dynastie in Krisenzeiten", in E. Binder-Iijima, H.-D. Löwe and G. Volkmer (eds), *Die Hohenzollern in Rumänien 1866–1947. Eine monarchische Herrschaftsordnung im Europäischen Kontext*, 2010, Köln – Weimar – Vienna, p. 41–54.

from abroad seemed very appealing to the Romanian queen. Even though these plans failed and Princess Beatrice settled in London until she was finally allowed to return to Spain, Marie's proposal illustrates the still strong dynastic thinking of the Romanian queen.

The sense of belonging to a transnational dynasty and a sort of "royal international" was taught to European princes and princesses from a very young age on and was, therefore, deeply rooted in their self-understanding³⁸. This explains, why the post-war reconciliations and the support of relatives abroad was so important to the Romanian royal couple. As Queen Marie expressed it in 1920, the Romanian royalty belonged to a "cast that seems to be dying out" and which had to stick together to prevail in a changing world.³⁹ This class consciousness and dynastic identity, was more durable than the antagonism caused by the war. When she heard of the revolution in Germany and the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Queen Marie did not rejoice about the collapse of the enemy, and in her diary commented on the events rather sympathetically and worried about the political situation. She explained these thoughts with a sort of "class solidarity"⁴⁰. In his correspondence with his brother, Duke Wilhelm, King Ferdinand repeatedly asserted that he had always continued to understand himself as part of the dynasty of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen throughout the war. Accordingly, in the inter-war period, the king was very committed to holding up the dynastic consciousness and traditions of the house. When his son Crown Prince Carol renounced his rights to the Romanian throne in 1926, King Ferdinand immediately informed his brother as "head of our family" about the development, accepting the traditional hierarchy of the dynasty, notwithstanding his actual political superiority⁴¹. Moreover, the Romanian king tried to stimulate close relationships between his children and the children of his brothers by arranging regular meetings, to secure the dynastic cohesion in the following generation⁴².

The dynastic thinking of King Ferdinand was so pronounced, it limited the factual nationalisation of Romania's royal dynasty. When the country's constitution was reformed in 1923, the king's resistance prevented a reform of the rules of succession. Hence, article 78, which stated that in case of an extinction of the Romanian line of the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen a member of the German branch would succeed to the Romanian throne, remained unchanged. The exclusion of German family members who during the First World War had fought in the German army against Romania, as demanded by nationalists such as Nicolae Iorga,

³⁸ M. Wienfort, *Monarchie im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin – Bosten, 2019, p. 99–100.

³⁹ Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 25 January 1920, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to Her Mother*, p. 349.

⁴⁰ Marie of Romania, *Jurnal*, p. 384–385.

⁴¹ Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 4 January 1926, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 246 (1926).

⁴² Ferdinand of Romania to Duke Wilhelm of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Bucharest, 8 December 1925, StAS, FAS HS 1–80 T 9 R 53 Nr. 238 (1925).

was rejected by King Ferdinand⁴³. Through this, the Romanian monarchy maintained an important part of its transnational character after the end of the war, even though this article never had to be used. The clear definition of the line of succession was important for the stability of the monarchy in case of crisis and for the king matters of dynastic survival were more important than national sensibilities. As for the case of Princess Beatrice's proposed relocation to Romania, the royal relatives abroad were considered a resource for dynastic politics, even though their inclusion would have thwarted the strategical nationalisation of the monarchy.

This reliance on family members abroad is very symptomatic for the deep distrust of the royal family against the Romanian elites and politicians. In the post-war period King Ferdinand was heavily criticised for favouring the liberal politician Ion Brătianu, whom he repeatedly made prime minister against the protest of the opposition parties. However, Brătianu was one of the few Romanian politicians the king actually trusted⁴⁴. Besides the long-serving prime minister, most advisors of the royal couple were foreigners, often from Western Europe. During the First World War, for example, the leader of the French military mission, Henri Berthelot, became one of the most important consultants of the king. The Canadian officer Joseph Boyle was the most trusted confidant of Queen Marie and their relationship was that close it even caused speculations about a possible love affair. In October 1918, the queen described Colonel Boyle in her diary as a “*Übermensch*” and complained that the Romanians were incapable of understanding this, because their “soil” would not produce such beings⁴⁵. This statement clearly shows Queen Marie's affection to the Canadian officer, but also reveals her derogatory view on the Romanians, from whom she still felt herself distinguished by her descent. Therefore, it is little surprising that King Ferdinand and Queen Marie often turned to the foreign ambassadors in Bucharest for advice. When Barbu Știrbey, one of the few Romanian intimates of the royal couple, resigned as head of the royal household in 1919, Queen Marie told the British diplomat Frank Rattigan that

“the King and herself were in the position of having absolutely nobody to turn to for advice. The Court officials, though devoted to the royal interests, had no knowledge or understanding of public affairs. All the Roumanian politicians had an axe to grind, and were incapable of giving disinterested advice. [...] Her Majesty said [...] that she was an Englishwoman seeking for my help and advice as an Englishman”⁴⁶.

⁴³ N. Iorga, *O viață de om, așa cum a fost: orizonturile mele*, Bucharest, 1972, p. 613.

⁴⁴ K. Hitchins, *Rumania, 1866–1947*, Oxford, 1994, p. 388–405; also compare for example the king's view on Brătianu with the king's relationship to Alexandru Averescu: P. Otu, *Alexandru Averescu: Marschall, Politiker, Legende*, Hainburg, 2011, p. 250–255.

⁴⁵ Marie of Romania, *Jurnal*, p. 360–361; on Berthelot and the French military mission in Romania: J.-N. Grandhomme, *Le général Berthelot et l'action de la France en Roumanie et en Russie méridionale, 1916–1918. Genèse, aspects diplomatiques, militaires et culturels avec leurs incidences, prolongements et perspectives*, Vincennes, 1999.

⁴⁶ Frank Rattigan to George Curzon, Bucharest, 15 August 1919, TNA, FO 371/3569/392 (1919).

Although, during the First World War, the Romanian monarchy had nationalised its language of legitimacy, the Romanian king and queen strongly relied on foreign advice and did not identify as “Romanian” in the sense of sharing many characteristics with their subjects – especially not with the Romanian elites of which they had a rather negative view.

As the preference for Western European advisors indicates, the German-born king and the English-born queen saw themselves as part of European culture which they considered superior to the Romanian one which is evident by their perception of the political and moral shortcomings of the Romanian elite. The importance of Western European culture for the self-conception of the Romanian royal house is exemplarily illustrated by the education of the royal children. The children spent the time of their early education in Romania under the tutelage of foreign governesses and tutors. Additionally, Romanian instructors were hired to teach Romanian language and history and Orthodox religion. In January 1914, Crown Prince Carol was sent to Potsdam to join the German military academy and serve in the Prussian First Guard Regiment. However, only a few months later, his military training in Germany was aborted because of the outbreak of the First World War⁴⁷. After the end of the war, Prince Carol's younger siblings were sent to finish their education in Great Britain. Prince Nicholas went to the British elite school Eton and later joined the British naval academy. The two youngest princesses, Marie and Ileana attended the prestigious Heathfield girls' school in Ascot. King Ferdinand and Queen Marie considered Romanian schools not sufficient for their children and also thought that an education in Western Europe would provide an ethical orientation, which they regarded impossible to obtain in Romania. As Queen Marie explained to her mother in December 1919: “Life in Romania from an ordered ‘moral’ point of view is very difficult for children at a certain age. Conversation is too lax, all things are disorderly, there are no traditions”⁴⁸. Although having lived in the country for decades, the queen still associated the Romanian society with the stereotypes of immorality and lechery, which had been very common for the nineteenth-century Western European view on the Balkans⁴⁹. Instead of exposing their children to these alleged influences, the Romanian royal couple wanted them to learn the strict code of conduct of the British nobility and pursue the virtues of a distinct, non-Eastern European culture of which they considered themselves a part.

In addition to this, the Romanian royal family maintained an extremely transnational cultural orientation, as can be shown at their consumption patterns. When Queen Marie travelled to Italy, France and Great Britain in the inter-war period, consumption was an important part of these journeys. The women of the royal house had popularised Romanian national costumes among the Romanian

⁴⁷ P.D. Quinlan, *The playboy king: Carol II of Romania*, Westport, 1995, p. 16–25.

⁴⁸ Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 24 December 1919, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to Her Mother*, p. 344.

⁴⁹ See for example: E. Michail, *British and the Balkans: Forming images of foreign lands, 1900–1945*, London, 2011; M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York, 1997.

upper classes by wearing them at official events. Queen Marie's daughters, for example, all married in traditional Romanian dress. Nonetheless, the Romanian queen still found it important to keep her wardrobe up to date with the Western European couture and enjoyed the opportunities to buy dresses, perfumes and jewellery in the capital cities of contemporary fashion⁵⁰. In addition to this, the cultural consumption of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie was dominated by Western European products. While the royal couple also occasionally read Romanian authors, they imported great numbers of Western European books and newspapers for their private library. Furthermore, Queen Marie, who had attracted some international attention by writing several novels and newspaper articles herself, published primarily in English and with Western European publishing houses. Out of admiration for her support of the Romanian war efforts, the French *Académie des Beaux-Arts* had even named Queen Marie a free member of the academy and the queen participated in some meetings when she stayed in Paris⁵¹. This affinity for Western culture was per se nothing extraordinary, as it was shared by the contemporary Romanian elites, who often had studied in France or Germany and maintained a close connection to the respective cultures. However, the preference of Western European goods and art by the Romanian monarchy also extended to items of political symbolism. In 1922, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie were crowned monarchs of Greater Romania in the Transylvanian town of Alba Iulia, the historic capital of Michael the Brave, the first ruler to unite all Romanian principalities. For the historically charged ceremony Queen Marie commissioned a new crown that was supposed to symbolise the national unity of all Romanians and create a connection to the glory of the historic predecessors of the Romanian kings. However, instead of entrusting a Romanian goldsmith to design a crown featuring authentic Romanian stylistic elements, the royal house commissioned the well-known Parisian jeweller Lucien Falize, who crafted a pompous crown in neo-byzantine style. Hence, the crown symbolising the birth of Greater Romania and a peak of Romanian political power was "made in France"⁵². This was not a singular case: the medal commemorating the Romanian victory in the First World War and the return of the king to Bucharest was designed by the French engraver André-Henri Lavrillier, who also devised the motives for the new, post-war coins of the Romanian Leu – a similarly important object of national symbolism⁵³.

Although the Romanian monarchy nationalised its language of legitimacy in reaction to the First World War, foreign artists were the main producers of items and images which symbolised this narrative of nationalisation. This was a continuation of the pre-war practices of the Romanian royal court, which from the very beginning had heavily enlisted foreign artists and experts to import Middle

⁵⁰ *Le Temps*, 30 April 1919; H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic*, p. 275.

⁵¹ *Le Journal*, 14 January 1918; *L'Homme libre*, 13 April 1924; Ș. Ciubotaru, *Viața cotidiană la curtea regală*, p. 146.

⁵² *Excelsior*, 13 December 1922

⁵³ Marie of Romania, *Jurnal*, p. 402.

and Western European culture and technology to Romania and develop the country into a modern state⁵⁴. Even after the First World War, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie still considered themselves agents of a transnational European culture on a civilizing mission to Romania, for which they relied on their dynastic network, foreign advisors and Western European artists.

TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS: DIPLOMACY AND TRAVELLING

Although the Romanian king and queen had played active roles in leading Romania through the First World War, the active political influence of the royal couple gradually decreased in times of peace. While acting as important symbolic figures of national unity, they were less involved in the politics of the day. Nevertheless, the Romanian monarch and his consort were very popular at home and also had gained considerable international prestige, because their actions during the war had been closely covered by many international newspapers. Therefore, King Ferdinand and Queen Marie began to act more transnationally and went on several journeys, on which they visited wartime allies and tried to support Romanian interests abroad by means of public diplomacy. When the Romanian position seemed to lose ground at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the government asked Queen Marie to travel to Paris and support the Romanian case. The queen willingly made the journey to the French capital, where she attracted much public attention and personally met with the leaders of the Entente powers. Although the Romanian queen left a good impression on the statesmen she met in Paris – with the exception of the American President Woodrow Wilson – from a political point of view her mission was only a partial success. While she was able to counterbalance the bad mood Prime Minister Brătianu had caused among the other members of the conference by his clumsy attempts to push through the Romanian maximum demands, she could not prevent the division of the contested Banat region between Romania and Yugoslavia⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the international appearances of the royal couple had a positive but more indirect effect on Romania's international standing by keeping the country on the mental maps of European politics and raising the international public interest in Romania. The public responses to Queen Marie's visit in London – an excursion of few days during her trip to the peace conference – and to the joint visits of King Ferdinand and his consort to Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Switzerland, Belgium and Great Britain were widely positive. With the exception of communist and some socialist

⁵⁴ As a nineteenth-century example see Gustav Klimt's engagement as painter in Peleş Castle: L. Curta, "Painter and King: Gustav Klimt's Early Decorative Work at Peles Castle, Romania, 1883–1884", *Studies in Decorative Arts* 12, 2004–2005, p. 98–129.

⁵⁵ K. Hitchins, *Ionel Brătianu: Romania*, London, 2011, p. 107–132; S. D. Spector, *Romania at the Paris Peace Conference: A study of the diplomacy of Ioan I.C. Brătianu*, Iași, 1995, p. 136–138; M. MacMillan, *Die Friedensmacher: Wie der Versailler Vertrag die Welt veränderte*, Bonn, 2015, p. 180–192.

newspapers, the international press mostly commented favourably on the presence of the Romanian sovereigns in their respective countries. King Ferdinand's decision for war against Germany out of a sense of monarchic duty and the nationalisation of the Romanian dynasty during the war were recurring elements in most articles, reporting on the reception of the royal couple⁵⁶.

However, on their journeys abroad, the monarchs were not purely seen as King and Queen of Romania. The foreign origins of Ferdinand and Marie continued to play an important role in the press coverage, but also influenced the attitude of international politicians towards them. On some occasions, this was intentionally provoked by the royal couple through a specific choice of words or location. Shortly before her peace conference stopover in London in 1919, Queen Marie, for example, granted the *London Times* an interview in which she stated:

“You English – I can say so, though I, too, am English in a sense – have a way of regarding distant Continental peoples with a sort of superior aloofness. You must really take a serious interest in European affairs, and must see how much your own interests are bound up with intelligent appreciation of the position of other peoples, who you can help to develop, and who are eager for your assistance”⁵⁷.

By appealing directly to the British people as an “Englishwoman” herself, the queen tried to stimulate a stronger public interest in Romanian affairs and, thereby, achieve a more active support of the British government for Romania. However, Frank Rattigan warned the Foreign Office not to overestimate the political influence of the English princess on Romanian politics because of her boastful personality and her presence in international media: “I feel [I] ought to give a word of warning as to the position of the Queen, as there appears to be a tendency outside this country to overestimate considerably the importance of any expression of opinion by Her Majesty. The fact is that, politically, she has practically no weight in the country”⁵⁸. Queen Marie's numerous journeys abroad as part of an active royal diplomacy and her successful international self-marketing, threatened to overshadow the real political decision-making structures in Romania, especially in Britain, where the queen had a particularly good public standing because of her English origins. King Ferdinand's German descent stood in the centre of public attention, when the monarch visited France in 1924. The Romanian king entered French territory from Switzerland and made his first stops in the Alsace, the contested region France had just retrieved from Germany in the war. The official visit of a Hohenzollern in the French Alsace was commented by some French newspapers as a symbolic recognition of the French claims on the region and, thereby, of high importance⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ See for example: *Excelsior*, 10 April 1924 or *The London Times*, 12 May 1924.

⁵⁷ *The London Times*, 10 March 1919.

⁵⁸ Frank Rattigan to Ronald Graham, Bucharest, 30 April 1919, TNA, FO 371/3597/71998.

⁵⁹ M. Oproiu, “Vizita oficială în Franța a cuplului regal, Ferdinand și Maria, reflectată în presa franceză (9–13 aprilie 1924)”, in L. Brătescu, Ș. Ciubotaru and A.-S. Ionescu (eds), *Monarhia în România – o evaluare. Politică, memorie și patrimoniu*, Iași, 2012, p. 32–52.

On other occasions, the German origins of the royal family had a negative influence on the international perception of the Romanian monarchs. After a meeting with President Wilson and his wife, the American First Lady described the Queen's daughters, who also attended the dinner, as "very shy, uninteresting, and German in type"⁶⁰. Considering the international hostility against everything German in the *sortie de guerre*, the hint at the German heritage of the dynasty was a clearly negative association. Although King Ferdinand was praised all over Europe for his actions and his nationalisation in the war, his German descent continued to play a role in European politics and the treatment of the Romanian royal family. When Ferdinand's son Prince Nicholas graduated from Eton, the Romanian royal prince applied for admission at the French military academy Saint-Cyr in the region of Brittany. However, the leadership of the academy showed little enthusiasm at the thought of having a Hohenzollern prince among their students. Following an intervention by the French Ministry of War, the academy's commander finally agreed that an admission would be possible under the "necessary discretion"⁶¹. Antagonised by the French antipathy against the Hohenzollern name, Prince Nicholas finally ended up attending an academy of the British navy. The episode illustrates the difficulties of the French leadership in dealing with the Hohenzollern heritage of their wartime ally. However, a close relationship to Romania, the new regional power in Balkans, was essential to secure the French foreign political influence in the region. Therefore, the French government was prepared to make concessions to the king out of consideration for the origins of his dynasty. In 1924, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs deleted a paragraph from the French draft for a Franco-Romanian treaty, which excluded the restoration of the Hohenzollern dynasty to the German throne, to simplify the signing for King Ferdinand⁶². The Franco-Romanian treaty, which was ratified in 1926, was the final part in a system of alliances that tied France close to the states of the "Little Entente" – Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia – which had signed collective defence agreements to secure the territories they had won in the First World War⁶³. Although a remaining monarchy in a world that was increasingly dominated by republics, Romania was on good terms with old and new republican states, such as France or Czechoslovakia.

The Kings origins had little influence on the Romanian diplomatic relationships with the new German Republic. The Weimar Republic had moved away from relying on the transnational family networks of the German aristocracy, on the one hand, because the new democratic state tried to minimise the influence of the imperial elites, on the other hand, also because these ties had proven to be unreliable in the First World War. Nonetheless, the German diplomats appreciated the friendly attitude of the Romanian monarch towards them, while they were often confronted with open

⁶⁰ H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic*, p. 285.

⁶¹ Émile Daeschner to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 28.5.1921, AMAEF, Série Z Europe, Roumanie, 4 (1918–1923).

⁶² Note of the French Ministry for Foreign Affaires for Raymond Poincaré, 26 March 1924, Archives du AMAEF, Série Z Europe, Roumanie, 64 (1924–1926).

⁶³ M. Ádám, *The Little Entente and Europe*.

hostility in other Entente countries⁶⁴. The affair around the king's statement of nationality in the Romanian census of 1927 was also registered in Germany and complaisantly acknowledged as a sign of national sympathies towards Germany, even though no direct political effects had been attached to this⁶⁵.

Despite the close political relations and the obvious distance from Germany, in France Romanian attempts of transnational royal diplomacy or dynastic policy were observed with suspicion. The republican state feared the power and intrigues of dynastic networks, on which French politics could naturally not depend. Since 1919 rumours about a personal union between Romania and Hungary had circulated in the diplomatic circles of Europe. Hungarian monarchists had proposed this solution to find a new ruler for their country, after the fall of the Habsburg dynasty and the short-termed Communist regime, and at the same time hoped to ease the loss of the Transylvanian territories, which had been accredited to Romania at the Paris Peace Conference. The Romanian royal house truly considered the proposal and even contacted the former Austrian-Hungarian Emperor Charles to ask him to renounce his rights to the Hungarian throne. However, the resistance of the Romanian government soon ended the project. For the Romanian political elites, a union with the former enemy was inconceivable, as was the thought of reversing the recent nationalisation of the Romanian dynasty by allowing the king to rule over two equal nations⁶⁶. Parts of the French press also very sceptically commented on the Romanian dynastic policy in South-Eastern Europe. Three royal weddings in 1921 and 1922 established close ties between the Romanian monarchy and the royal houses of Yugoslavia and Greece. Considering this, *Le Radical* wrote in October 1922:

“If these cousinships have consequences for the private interests and the family affaires of these august personalities, they also have consequences for the peoples. [...] We are a race of gentlemen, who do not doubt their friends. Given this, however, we should have the wisdom to be wary a bit of these cousins and in-laws”⁶⁷.

The French mistrust of the Romanian royal house's new family network in the Balkans was mainly caused by the marriages between the Romanian Crown Prince Carol and the Greek Princess Helen as well as the connection between Greek Crown Prince George and the Romanian Princess Elisabeth. The Greek prince and princess were children of King Constantin and Queen Sophie, who had been expelled from Greece in 1917 with the help of the Entente powers, because of

⁶⁴ Hans Freytag to the German Foreign Office, Bucharest, 28 February 1921, PAAA, R 73661.

⁶⁵ Gerhard von Mutius to the German Foreign Office, Bucharest, 2 June 1927, PAAA, R 73662.

⁶⁶ Georges Clinchant to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Berne, 14 October 1919; R.R. Rosetti, *Mărturisiri (1914–1919)*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 364; M. Ádám, “The Legitimists and Central Europe: The Habsburg Restoration Attempts and the Successor States of Austria-Hungary”, in M. Ádám (ed), *The Versailles System and Central Europe*, Aldershot – Burlington, 2004, p. 129–192, here p. 132–134; L. Leuştean, *România și Ungaria în cadrul „Noii Europe”: 1920–1923*, Iași, 2003, p. 68–85.

⁶⁷ *Le Radical*, 12 October 1922.

their alleged pro-German sentiments. Queen Sophie, as a sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II, had been one of the main villains in the French wartime propaganda, which is why the French foreign politicians feared a negative effect of these marriages on the French relations with Romania⁶⁸.

While according to the pre-war standards the Greek-Romanian marriages would have been a very good fit regarding the equal status and the common religious confession of the couples, the international antagonization of the Greek royal family and their expulsion from their kingdom during the First World War made these matches politically problematic. Although, in 1920, King Constantine returned to the Greek throne and thus cleared financial objections against these alliances, the connections were rather unpopular in the Romanian society. To contain the damage of the negative image of King Constantin and Queen Sophie, the Greek queen was practically hidden in the royal palace, when she visited Bucharest in 1921 for her son's wedding⁶⁹. Nevertheless, the Romanian royal couple strongly supported the marriage projects, acknowledging that after the revolutions in context of the First World War the supply of possible royal spouses of Orthodox confession was very limited. Furthermore, the scandal around Crown Prince Carol's short unconstitutional marriage had alarmed the Romanian monarch and his consort. At the end of the war, Prince Carol had defected his post in a Romanian regiment and secretly married and impregnated Zizi Lambrino, the daughter of a Romanian general. However, the morganatic marriage was strongly opposed by the royal family, but also by most Romanian politicians, who feared that an intermixture of the royal dynasty with local nobility would undermine the legitimacy of the monarchy⁷⁰. Although the Crown Prince could be temporarily convinced to annul the marriage, return to his duties and marry a Greek princess, Queen Marie saw a morganatic connection as a real threat that "would have been a fearful weakening of the principle we represent"⁷¹. Therefore, she was eager to find partners of equal birth for her children. Commenting on possible matches for her daughter Elisabeth, the queen wrote to her mother in December 1919: "I shall stand by her whatever comes, unless she wants to run away with someone not of our class!"⁷² However, in the view of Queen Marie, there also existed hierarchies in this transnational royal class, as her reaction to the marriage of her daughter Maria with the Yugoslavian King Alexander I illustrates. The dynastic alliance with

⁶⁸ Victor Pétin to the French Ministry of War, Bucharest, 4 March 1921 and Émile Daeschner to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 12 September 1921, AMAEF, Série Z Europe, Roumanie, 4 (1918–1923).

⁶⁹ R. Netzhammer, *Bischof in Rumänien*, p. 1077; Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 4 December 1919 and 13 December 1919, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to Her Mother*, p. 338–339.

⁷⁰ P.D. Quinlan, *The playboy king*, p. 39–71.

⁷¹ Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 6 February 1920, in: Marie of Romania, *Letters to her mother*, p. 352.

⁷² Queen Marie of Romania to Duchess Maria of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Cotroceni, 13 December 1919, in: *ibid.*, p. 339.

Yugoslavia was politically extremely valuable for Romania and the public reactions to the news were mainly positive. The connection between the two royal families helped to overcome the territorial dispute about the Banat and laid the groundworks for a close political collaboration⁷³. Nevertheless, Queen Marie saw in the prince from the Serbian house of Karađorđević, which had so far not intermarried with European royal houses, “an outsider of unsure race”⁷⁴. The dedicated search for foreign spouses and the adherence to the prohibition of intermarrying with Romanian noble families, illustrates how important belonging to a transnational royal class was for the self-conception and legitimation of the Romanian monarchy in the inter-war period, regardless of the nationalisation in the First World War. Furthermore, Queen Marie’s scepticism of a dynastic connection with the Yugoslavian royal house illustrates the exclusive understanding of this royal class, which was fundamentally Western European and included a racial distinction from the people of the Balkans and their native rulers.

CONCLUSION

The nationalisation of the Romanian dynasty’s language of legitimacy during the First World War was essential for the survival and stability of the monarchy in the *sortie de guerre* and inter-war period. However, as has been shown in this article, the nationalisation of the foreign-born king and queen was very fragile and the Romanian sovereigns had to deal very carefully with their English and German heritage. Nevertheless, the sense of belonging to an international royal class, transnational dynasties and a Western European culture area was essential for the self-conception of the Romanian royal family. These social affiliations led to a self-distinction from the Romanian people and was often accompanied by a derogatory view on the Romanian society, particularly the local elites. Therefore, transnational family networks remained very important for King Ferdinand and Queen Marie and both of them went to great lengths to reconcile with family members, who had been on the other side in the war. In addition to this, the Romanian royal couple showed a high esteem for monarchic solidarity and saw the revolutions in Europe during the *sortie de guerre* as a general threat to the monarchic idea on the continent, even if these revolutions were directed against their wartime enemies. Also, in the international perception of the Romanian monarch and his consort, their foreign origins continued to play a significant role. King Ferdinand and Queen Marie were always considered not only Romanian but also German or British. Furthermore, their international royal network caused

⁷³ E. Boia, *Romania’s diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia in the interwar period: 1919–1941*, New York, 1993, p. 88–107; *Universul*, 11 January 1922.

⁷⁴ Quoted after: H. Pakula, *The Last Romantic*, p. 315.

anxiety among some European powers, as it was contradicting the attempts to establish a new democratic practice of international affairs in Europe.

In summary, the Romanian example in the *sortie de guerre* shows that the First World War was in deed a period of nationalisation for European monarchies. However, this nationalisation of legitimating strategies and royal appearances did not necessarily end the transnational self-conceptions and networks of European monarchs, which continued to exert a political influence in the inter-war period. Therefore, more research on the transnationality of European monarchies in the era of radical nationalisation between the two World Wars seems promising, as it furthers a better understanding of monarchies in the twentieth century and European politics in the build-up to the Second World War.

UN PEINTRE À LA GUERRE : PAOLO RODOCANACHI ENTRE 1916 ET 1923

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The painter Paolo Rodocanachi, a descendant of a wealthy Greek merchant family from Chios, was born and died in the Genoa region of Italy, but enlisted twice in the Greek Army. In 1916 he was in eastern Greek Macedonia, who was at the time engaged in a conflict with Bulgaria, in the context of a political crisis that led to the National Schism, the final break between the supporters of King Constantine I and those of Prime Minister Venizelos. Rodocanachi got enlisted in the IV Army Corps, which got involved in a political and military imbroglio that ended in a paradox: the “deportation” of some 7,000 men to Germany, in a camp sheltered by the small town of Görlitz. There, the Town Hall building hosted the painter’s first solo exhibition in 1918. When this unprecedented captivity ended in 1919, Paolo Rodocanachi returned to Italy, but in 1922 he was mobilised again for a mission as a painter of the Greek Army, this time in Asia Minor. His drawings were lost in the “Great Disaster” that followed. After these two unheroic but highly exceptional adventures, Rodocanachi retired to Italy for the rest of his life, devoting himself essentially to landscape painting, with a naturalist and lyrical attitude thus turning his back on the modernist avant-garde. By tracing the exceptional destiny of this original character, we aim to consider his aesthetic in the light of his patriotic commitments and the political and ideological issues of his time.

Keywords: painting, Greek diaspora, Greek national schism, Görlitz, Asia Minor Campaign.

Présence souriante :
transféré sur la toile, le sourire qui l’a accompagné tout au long de sa vie.
C’était un sourire fait d’intelligence, de compréhension, d’optimisme désenchanté
et qui paraissait parfois lui venir d’une jeunesse du cœur si authentique;
mais cela en réalité est né de l’harmonie qui était en lui,
de ce sens inné de la mesure proprement grecque qui témoigne de son origine.
Pour refléter une vision aussi sereine du monde, la figure humaine se prête rarement :
d’où la fidélité de Paolo Rodocanachi au paysage, aux aspects de la nature
qu’il a traduits pour sa joie (et pour la nôtre) dans une musique de couleurs.

[extrait de la nécrologie de Paolo Rodocanachi par Camillo Sbarbaro¹]

¹ « Sorridente presenza: trasferito sulla tela, il sorriso che lo accompagnò tutta la vita. Era un sorriso fatto di intelligenza, di comprensione, di disincantato ottimismo, e che pareva a volte venirgli da una fanciullezza del cuore tanto era genuino; ma che in realtà nasceva dall’armonia ch’era in lui, da quell’innato senso della misura propriamente greco che testimoniava la sua origine. A rispecchiare una così serena visione del mondo, la figura umana di rado si presta: di qui, la fedeltà di Paolo Rodocanachi al paesaggio, agli aspetti della natura ch’egli traduceva per la sua gioia (e la nostra) in musica di colori ». Reproduit dans C. Sbarbaro, *Messenger che porta olivo*, avec des gravures de P.S. Rodocanachi, Pisa, 1976.

Les Rodocanachi sont une grande famille byzantine de l'île de Chio, qui excelle dans le commerce international depuis le XVIII^e s. Ses membres sont installés dans différentes villes européennes ; à l'époque qui nous préoccupe, plusieurs sont connus pour leur cachet intellectuel, comme l'historien français Emmanuel Rodocanachi, l'écrivain grec Platon Rodocanachi et un autre Paolo Rodocanachi, architecte et artiste, qui fréquente Henri Matisse à Paris.

Le peintre Paolo Rodocanachi est le dernier des sept enfants de Stamati Rodocanachi et d'Hélène Deroussy², qui se marient à Bucarest le 12 octobre 1873, puis s'installent définitivement à Gênes, où Stamati est le consul de la Grèce. C'est là que Paolo voit le jour le 29 Mai 1891 et qu'il laisse son dernier souffle en 1958. Paolo épouse Lucia Mospurgo (1901–1978) le 12 février 1930 et ils s'installent à Arenzano dans une maison spacieuse, avec un jardin plein d'arbres : « Je vis au milieu des choux et des artichauts dans une solitude parfaite et non par élection », écrit Lucia Rodocanachi à Angelo Barile le 30 novembre 1931. La fameuse « casa rosa » devient bientôt un vrai salon littéraire, fréquenté par une pléiade d'intellectuels italiens, dont Carlo Emilio Gadda, Camillo Sbarbaro et Eugenio Montale. Lucia met à leur disposition ses talents de traductrice et de philologue, qui sont très appréciés, comme l'est aussi le havre de paix autour de ce couple très soudé, sans enfants³. « Nous étions un groupe d'amis, au-dessus de l'activité de chacun », affirme la « gentile signora », comme l'appelle Gadda ; autour de la table qu'elle prépare, ou bien sous l'ombre des plantes du jardin, on discute littérature en la bienveillante présence de son mari, pour lequel on utilise un tas de tendres diminutifs : « Rod », « Rodo », « Cian », « Falstaff » ou bien « Sua Altezza »⁴.

Cette partie de la vie de Paolo est pleine de contemplation paisible du paysage ligurien, qu'il aime à représenter encore et encore dans des tableaux de petites dimensions, sur toile, bois ou carton. S'il a choisi d'ailleurs Arenzano, c'est « pour pouvoir peindre à l'extérieur, à la Cézanne »⁵, laissant définitivement derrière lui les aventures qui furent les siennes entre 1916 et 1923.

Il est difficile de se faire un aperçu complet de l'œuvre de Paolo Rodocanachi, tant elle est dispersée. Deux tableaux se trouvent à la Pinacothèque

² Hélène Deroussy, fille de Constantin Deroussy et de Catherine Manzourani, est née le 22 août 1858 à Bucarest et morte le 18 Janvier 1927 à Gênes.

³ G. Marcenaro, *Una amica di Montale : Vita di Lucia Rodocanachi*, Milan 1991 ; F. Contorbia (éd.), *Lucia Rodocanachi : le carte, la vita*, Florence 2006. Les documents relatifs à la vie intellectuelle du couple (2780 lettres, datant de 1929 à 1967) sont consultables dans le *Fondo Rodocanachi della Bibliotheca Universitaria di Genova* (http://www.bibliotecauniversitaria.ge.it/it/cataloghi/f_a_s/rodo.htm).

⁴ Cf. ce fragment de la lettre que Sbarbaro adresse à Montale immédiatement après la publication de « Ossi di seppia », le 1er juillet 1925 : « J'ai lu et relu tes poèmes prenant à chaque fois encore plus de plaisir. Si la vie dure qui me traîne m'avait permis d'entrer à l'atelier de Rod aux heures où tu peux être là-bas, j'aurais été en état de te dire mes choses préférées ». La lettre est écrite avant l'installation des Rodocanachi à Arenzano, quand Paolo tenait son atelier à la via Montaldo, à Gênes, mais elle illustre bien son intimité avec les poètes. Voir G. Marcenaro, « Rodocanachi e la cultura del suo tempo », dans *Paolo S. Rodocanachi*, Accademia ligustica di belle arti, Gênes 1977, p. 11–12. Cf. aussi C. Peragallo, *Catalogo delle lettere di Camillo Sbarbaro a Lucia e Paolo S. Rodocanachi : 1929–1967*, Gênes 2006.

⁵ C'est la phrase de J. Dunnett, « Translation and concealment: the lost voice of Lucia Rodocanachi », *Journal of Romance Studies* 4, 2, 2004, p. 39.

Nationale grecque⁶, tandis que plusieurs sont recensés en Italie, dans la Galleria d'Arte Moderna di Genova Nervi⁷, la collection municipale génoise, la Galleria d'Arte Moderna di Roma et ailleurs. Le plus grand nombre de tableaux appartient toutefois à des collections privées⁸. Nous avons pu consulter le catalogue d'une exposition posthume organisée par l'Accademia Ligustica di Belle Arti di Genova, en 1977 : les planches (la plupart en noir et blanc) y dépassent les 180. C'est dans ce catalogue que nous puisons l'essentiel des informations sur la vie et l'œuvre de l'artiste, y compris un rare portrait photographique, sa palette à la main⁹.

A ses débuts, l'art de Paolo Rodocanachi affiche des principes symbolistes : un esprit mystique, la mélancolie qui émane de sujets poétiques et de formes épurées...¹⁰ Mais l'essentiel de son œuvre se consacre à la peinture de paysages, dont la figure humaine est absente. Ces paysages sont la vision sereine d'une nature, qui s'offre aux yeux comme un champ prêtant à des exercices spéculatifs. Rien ne laisse deviner que l'homme qui peint ainsi a passé sa jeunesse dans une ambiance militaire, voire même au front de la guerre. Aucune trace ne subsiste dans son œuvre pour rappeler, ne serait-ce que de façon allégorique ou cryptique, les expériences extrêmes qu'il a goûtées en s'engageant à l'armée grecque. Et d'ailleurs, on se demande : pourquoi s'y engager, quand on vit à Gênes dans un milieu aisé, avec des aspirations artistiques ?¹¹ On ne sait rien de ses motifs, mais l'éveil d'un sentiment patriotique evers le pays de ses ancêtres semble probable chez le jeune homme, d'autant plus que la Grèce était pour lui lointaine, et donc certainement idéalisée.

Le fait est que Paolo Rodocanachi se trouve en 1916 en Macédoine grecque comme membre du 4^e Corps de l'Armée, et participe à un épisode jamais vu dans

⁶ Il s'agit de « Harmonie » de 1918–19 et « Forêt en Italie » de 1913. Dans le catalogue *Ομάδα Τέχνης, 100 χρόνια* (voir infra, note 18), on publie une autre œuvre de 1918–19, « Le chant de l'eau », qui provient d'une collection privée.

⁷ Notons « Campo arato », exposé en 1932 à la III Mostra d'Arte del Sindacato Regionale Fascista di Belle Arti della Liguria di Genova, « Tellaro », avec lequel il participe en 1934 à la V Mostra d'Arte del Sindacato Interprovinciale Fascista di Belle Arti di Genova, « Paese », exposé à Rome en 1943 dans le cadre de la Mostra Sindacale degli Artisti Genovesi.

⁸ Le site <http://www.galleriirecta.it/autore/rodocanachi-paolo/> donne une liste de titres de paysages de Paolo Rodocanachi appartenant à des collections privées, par exemple : « A Monbaldone » (coll. Medina, Gênes), « Il giardino d'inverno » (coll. Armando Paggio, Gênes), « Meriggio » (coll. Soc C.I.E.L.L.), « Ulivi in Liguria » (coll. Confederazione Industriali, Gênes), « Villaggio Ligure » (coll. Ammon, Bolzano), « Paese » et « Mare Egeo » (coll. F. Schiaffino), « Albisola » (coll. Melloni, Milan), « Il convento delle torri » (coll. Tarello, Gênes), « Foresta bianca » (coll. Campora, Gênes).

⁹ Pour l'édition en question, voir supra, note 4. Nous n'avons pas pu consulter le catalogue de l'exposition commémorative tenue au Circolo della Stampa à Gênes du 16 au 31 mai 1959, qui est préfacé par Camillo Sbarbaro.

¹⁰ Cf. P.-H. Frangne, *La négation à l'œuvre. La philosophie symboliste de l'art (1860–1905)*, Rennes, 2005.

¹¹ La biographie succincte qui est comprise dans les pages du catalogue Paolo S. Rodocanachi: Accademia ligustica di belle arti, Banco di Chiavari e della riviera ligure, Sagep, Gênes 1977, relate qu'en 1914 le peintre « a été appelé aux armes »; et plus loin : « entre 1940 et 1945, comme il était de nationalité grecque, il a été assigné à résidence ». Quand même il avait la nationalité grecque, il est difficile d'imaginer qu'il ne pouvait pas décliner ses obligations militaires, étant donné qu'il vivait à l'étranger.

les chroniques : la fameuse affaire de Görlitz. La Grèce est alors scindée en deux, entre les forces pro-royalistes et les supporters de Elefthérios Venizélos. Pris au piège entre les Allemands, les Bulgares et l'Entente, et par fidélité au Roi, le 4^e Corps, c'est à dire quelque 7000 hommes, parmi lesquels on ne recense pas moins que le tiers des hauts dignitaires de l'Armée grecque, choisit de se rendre aux Allemands et de se laisser transférer par train jusqu'à la petite ville de Görlitz¹². Ils y sont bien accueillis et installés dans un campement qui leur laisse plusieurs libertés, de sorte que vite les « captifs » se mélangent avec la vie de la ville. Pendant la longue durée de leur extravagant exil, leur communauté sert de terrain à la recherche d'ethnologues et linguistes allemands¹³.

La famille Rodocanachi s'alerte de la captivité de Paolo et use de tous les moyens pour le libérer, provoquant même l'intervention du Vatican. Mais il n'en est rien, et leur fils sera contraint de passer au moins deux ans à Görlitz. On sait que le lot n'y est pas le même, selon qu'on soit royaliste ou adepte de Venizélos. Quel est le parti pris de Paolo ? On ne le sait pas. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il n'est pas militant, comme l'autre intellectuel illustre du camp, l'écrivain Vassilis Rotas, dont l'activisme lui vaut d'être déplacé avec d'autres Grecs au camp de Werl (Westfalie). Au contraire, Rodocanachi profite de certains privilèges : en juillet 1918 on lui donne l'occasion d'exposer au prestigieux Glaspalast de Munich. Le jeune peintre n'avait exposé jusqu'alors qu'une fois, à la Promotrice di Genova, où il participa avec une œuvre intitulée « Chevaux au repos ». Quelques mois après sa prestation munichoise, il aura à Görlitz sa première exposition personnelle, qui se tient à la mairie (Stadthalle).

Ces expériences ont sans doute un certain impact sur le jeune homme, dont la formation est très « italienne » : à Gênes, près de Giuseppe Pennasilico, puis à la Scuola Superiore delle Arti Decorative di Roma, près de Giulio Bargellini. Durant sa jeunesse, il semble qu'il s'abstient de rejoindre les divers groupes de peintres qui foisonnent en Ligurie¹⁴. De son rapprochement de la culture allemande, il gardera la marque durant toute sa vie : on sait par exemple qu'il s'intéresse vivement à la participation allemande à la Biennale des arts décoratifs de Monza¹⁵ et qu'il est abonné au journal allemand *Moderne Bauformen*¹⁶, un des plus influents de l'époque. *Moderne Bauformen*, avec *Die Form* et *Bauwelt*, sont des imprimés qui se spécialisent à l'architecture et la décoration, contribuant à la diffusion internationale des idées du Bauhaus, en Europe comme de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique. Rodocanachi suit donc les vecteurs du modernisme, avec un penchant pour leur versant

¹² La présence des militaires grecs à Görlitz est bien documentée, mais encore mal connue ; deux publications ont vu le jour en grec : G. Alexatos, S. Dordanas, M. Kondylakis, « *Εν Γκαίρλιτς 31/12/1917...* ». *Ημερολόγιο αιχμαλωσίας του βενιζελικού αξιωματικού Στυλιανού Κανδύλακη στη Γερμανία του Κόζερ*, Thessalonique, 2014 et G. Alexatos, *Οι Έλληνες του Γκαίρλιτς 1916–1919*, Thessalonique, 2015.

¹³ Ces archives sont restées longtemps inabordables ; elles se trouvent aujourd'hui à l'Université Humboldt de Berlin, et viennent récemment de prendre le chemin de la publication.

¹⁴ Liste répertoriée sur <http://www.pittoriliguri.info>.

¹⁵ G. Marcenaro, « Rodocanachi e la cultura del suo tempo »..., p. 13.

¹⁶ Il s'agit d'une revue éditée entre 1902 et 1944 par la maison Julius Hoffmann, à Stuttgart et dirigée par Herbert Hoffmann.

allemand, qui rivalise en quelque sorte avec le versant français. Est-ce un indice de convictions plus profondes ? En tout cas, *Moderne Bauformen* s'engage sur un chemin assez conservateur, et bien au-delà : en 1936 on y tient des propos carrément pro-hitlériens¹⁷.

On ne sait pas exactement quand et comment Paolo Rodocanachi quitte Görlitz et s'il retourne à Gênes. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il se trouve très vite à Athènes, où il rejoint les artistes qui font front au conservatisme académique, en fondant le groupe « Tekhni »¹⁸. Paolo Rodocanachi ne participe pas à leur légendaire exposition de 1917, qui défraye la chronique, mais il est invité quand le groupe s'exporte à Paris, à la galerie Boétie. Cet événement prend l'allure d'un manifeste moderniste officiel, sous l'égide de l'état grec¹⁹. Vénizélos lui-même se déplace pour inaugurer l'exposition, dans le cadre de la promotion de ses convictions politiques de renouveau de la société grecque²⁰.

Quels sont les sentiments de Paolo Rodocanachi envers Venizélos ? L'image que nous avons à partir de Görlitz n'est pas très parlante. Par contre, l'adhésion sans réserve au groupe Tekhni en dit beaucoup. Mais il y a plus : Le 15 septembre 1921, dans l'hôtel particulier de Sir Arthur et de Lady Crosfield à Highgate de Londres, Vénizélos, qui a alors 57 ans, épouse Héléne Skilitzi, riche héritière d'une grande famille de commerçants grecs installée à Londres... et cousine de Paolo Rodocanachi²¹. Nous n'avons pas d'informations sur leurs relations privés – s'il y en a eu... On sait que les sentiments d'Héléne pour Venizélos commencent en 1910, avec la lecture d'un de ses discours, qui la fascine au point de s'engager politiquement et personnellement pour le soutenir. Elle est à ses côtés pendant le « Schisme national », elle finance ses campagnes, elle recevra même à son corps

¹⁷ D. Bolz, *Arènes totalitaires : Hitler, Mussolini et les jeux du stade*, Paris, 2008, p. 208.

¹⁸ Sur le groupe Tekhni est son milieu historique et artistique une recherche approfondie a été menée par K. Perpinioti-Agazir dans le cadre de sa thèse, soutenue à Paris I – Sorbonne en 2002. A Athènes, en 2017, pour le centenaire de la création du groupe, la Pinacothèque Nationale a organisé une grande exposition, dont l'important catalogue : *Ομάδα Τέχνη, 100 χρόνια*, offre un pactole de ressources en la matière. Malheureusement, la documentation sur Paolo Rodocanachi y est très limitée.

¹⁹ Pour l'usage diplomatique de l'art en tant qu'image d'une Grèce modernisée, mais toujours « authentique », durant la première moitié du XXe siècle, cf. les articles de P. Kosmadaki, « Η συμμετοχή της Ελλάδας στην έκθεση διακοσμητικών τεχνών στο Παρίσι το 1925: Μια απόπειρα πολιτιστικής διπλωματίας », dans *Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και πολιτιστική πολιτική, Actes du congrès tenu à Athènes le 21–22 novembre 2008*, Athènes, 2012, p. 148–164, et « The Greek Pavilion in the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne. New Perspectives for National Art in the Context of Regionalism », *RIHA Journal* 140, 2016.

²⁰ P. Kitromilides, « Venizelos' intellectual projects and cultural interests », dans P. Kitromilides (éd.), *Eleftherios Venizelos. The trials of statesmanship*, Edinburg, 2006, p. 383. Cf aussi J. Koliopoulos, Th. Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel: From 1821 to the Present*, Londres, 2002, p. 269–271, et M. Mazower, « The Messiah and the Bourgeoisie: Venizelos and Politics in Greece, 1909–1912 », *The Historical Journal* 35, 4, 1992, p. 885–904. Notons toutefois que l'impact de l'exposition n'a pas été bien grand et que les critiques se sont montrés plutôt sévères envers la recrue grecque : A. Kouria, « Η έκθεση της γκαλερί La Boétie στον καθρέφτη της γαλλικής τεχνοκритικής », dans *Ομάδα Τέχνη, 100 χρόνια...*, p. 42–47.

²¹ La grand-mère maternelle d'Héléne Venizélos est la sœur de la grand-mère paternelle de Paolo Rodocanachi. Il s'agit respectivement de Hypatia et Philomèle, filles de Théodore Skilitzi. En 1955, Héléne publie en français ses mémoires, sous le titre « À l'ombre de Venizelos ».

les balles qui étaient destinées à son assassinat en 1933. Est-ce qu'elle influence aussi son cousin ?

Le fait est qu'après Görlitz Paolo Rodocanachi prend la décision de s'installer à Athènes, où il tient une exposition personnelle en 1919. On apprend qu'il occupe même un atelier dans le quartier de Plaka jusqu'en 1923. La personne de Vénizélos est maintenant rentrée dans sa vie, et cela joue sans doute un rôle dans sa décision de s'engager dans sa seconde aventure militaire : En 1921, il rejoint la campagne de l'Asie Mineure en tant que « peintre de guerre », avec Spyros Papaloukas et Périklis Vyzantios, deux jeunes modernistes grecs, eux-mêmes associés au groupe Tekhni²². La petite compagnie des peintres y goûtera l'amertume de la déception et du désastre, dans lequel périclète toute leur production, qui comptait plus que 100 pièces.

Paolo Rodocanachi quitte alors la Grèce définitivement. Il n'y fera qu'un bref retour en 1939-40, pour reproduire encore et toujours ses thèmes favoris et pour représenter le pays à la Biennale de Venise de 1940. C'est une période très fertile pour le peintre, qui s'engage désormais définitivement et exclusivement à la représentation de sereins paysages méditerranéens.

Comment comprendre ce parcours atypique d'un artiste de qualité, qui reste aussi discret malgré sa forte implication dans l'histoire de son temps ?

Essayons de prendre le fil en amont. Pendant la première moitié du XX^e siècle, en Italie, les relations des artistes avec la culture officielle ne peuvent qu'être exposées à la propagande. Est-ce que cela les rend « complices » de l'idéologie fasciste, comme certains l'ont soutenu, provoquant même une vague de *damnatio memoriae* ? D'un autre côté, il y a eu aussi une tendance de « défascisation » de la production artistique de ces années, en mettant les attitudes sur le compte d'oppositions purement stylistiques. Comme les questions qui surgissent ne sont pas simples, il paraît nécessaire de recadrer le tableau, en prenant comme point de départ les artistes, sans négliger leur relation avec l'enveloppe institutionnelle et leur place dans la formation des courants. Car il faut tenir compte du fait que les revendications d'un « art d'état » dans ces circonstances historiques relèvent de mouvements souvent opposés : le futurisme, le réalisme, le rationalisme, les abstractionnistes...

Durant sa vie, Paolo Rodocanachi n'a pas boudé le cadre institutionnel, et participe régulièrement à d'importantes expositions : toutes les Sindacali, Interprovinciali et Nazionali de Gênes, les II et III Quadriennale Romana (1935 et 1939), les XIX, XX et XXII Biennali Veneziane. Pour la dernière, en 1940, comme on l'a noté déjà, il représente la Grèce. En même temps, du point de vue formel, il tourne le dos à l'esthétique du régime : il n'adhère pas aux *valori plastici*, ni à d'autres tendances d'engagement idéologique, comme la vogue qui tient à dépeindre les « martyrs de

²² Papaloukas rejoint le groupe seulement dans les années 30, Vyzantios dès la première exposition de 1917.

la Grande Guerre » en « martyrs du fascisme ». Son idéalisme est incontestable, mais il ne se fait point épique ; son langage pictural n'aime pas les grands schèmes rhétoriques, leur préférant une poésie plus introvertie, qui se fonde dans l'intimité. De plus, depuis son mariage avec Lucia Mospurgo, sa maison à Arenzano, on l'a vu, est un foyer pour les intellectuels italiens antifascistes.

Toujours est-il, toutefois, que son art ne laisse rien transparaître de ses convictions. Il y a chez lui une sorte d'antinomie assez troublante à ce propos : Paolo Rodocanachi, qui a passé sa jeunesse loin de son foyer natal, *engagé* à la guerre crue, une fois de retour à Gênes, une fois installé dans sa vie de peintre et d'intellectuel, confine ses œuvres toujours à la position de retrait et à l'activité seulement contemplative d'un sujet *non engagé*. A un moment et un lieu plus propice que jamais à l'engagement, Paolo Rodocanachi choisit son jardin pour unique horizon. Cet horizon devient en quelque sorte son canevas pour faire les comptes de sa multiple expérience de rupture :

- rupture d'identité, entre ses deux patries,
- rupture entre le privilège du confort de son milieu original et l'engagement physique à la guerre,
- rupture entre le nationalisme²³ qui pourrait motiver sa jeunesse et le nationalisme institutionnalisé,
- rupture artistique entre tradition et modernité, vraisemblance et abstraction.

Il semble que c'est là exactement, dans ces failles, que se place la peinture de Paolo Rodocanachi. Rupture n'est d'ailleurs pas le mot-clé de tous les modernismes – soulignons le pluriel – qu'a connu l'art européen du premier quart du XXe siècle ? Comme le peintre se voue de plus en plus à la transfiguration moderniste du paysage méditerranéen – par définition la terre gréco-latine de la Tradition²⁴ –, il nous semble qu'il dénoue ses antinomies en élisant une « patrie » intellectuelle dans le retrait que seule la poésie est capable de pourvoir²⁵.

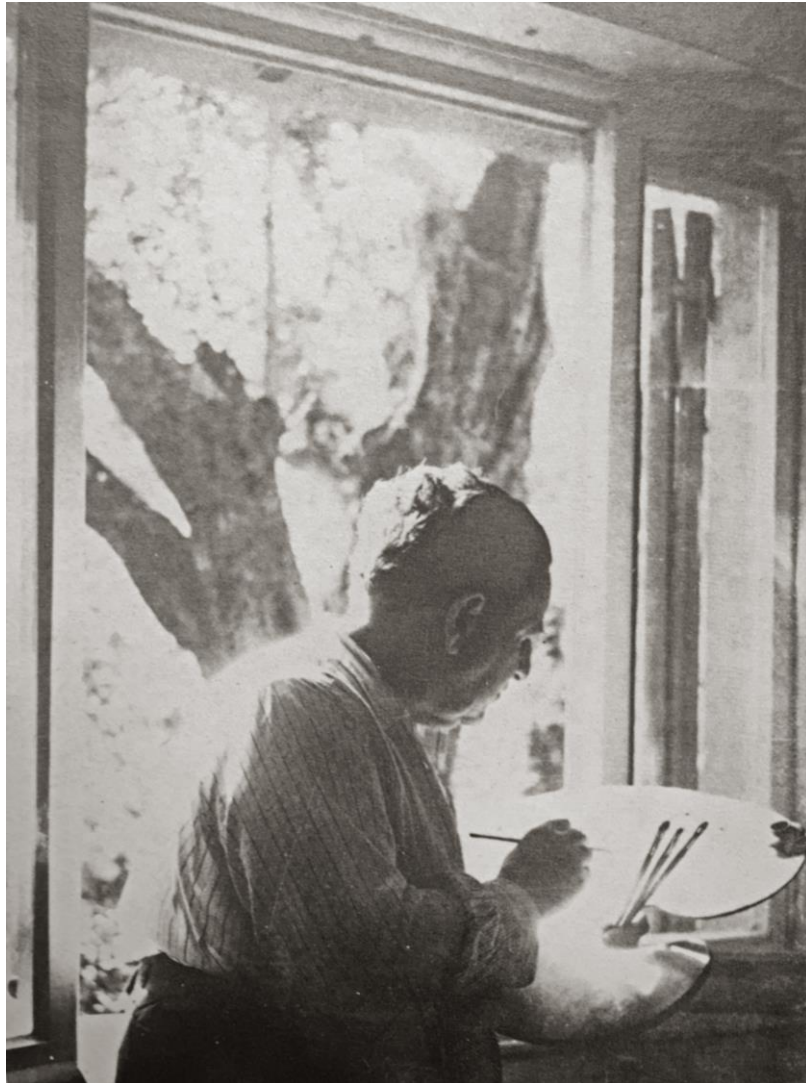
Le modernisme de Paolo Rodocanachi est sans doute assez conservateur. Mais sa peinture n'est pas sans poser des questions de fond, et d'une double nature, esthétique et éthique. Elle est associée à l'élimination du conflit et de la violence, à la conciliation de la liberté cosmopolite et de l'engagement patriotique, à la quête d'un immanentisme expressif. L'existence humaine, promise à la temporalité et à la mortalité, contraste avec le caractère non précaire d'une nature « éternelle », qui est sollicitée pour dispenser l'art de sa qualité de ressource et de remède. L'œuvre de Paolo Rodocanachi cherche à fuir la fugitivité et la caducité de l'expérience pragmatique, mais elle en retient la fragilité et la fragmentation, rendant compte de

²³ Ce néologisme de D. Tziouvas (The nationalism of the demoticists and its impact on their literary theory [1888-1930] : An analysis based on their literary criticism and essays, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 77-85) permet de faire la différence avec le caractère agressif du terme « nationalisme ».

²⁴ F. Hofmann, M. Messling, « Centre vide. La Méditerranée et la modernité littéraire », *Babel* 32, 2015, p. 281-312.

²⁵ L'entourage intellectuel du peintre y est sans doute pour beaucoup; cf. Gian-Paolo Biasin, *Montale, Debussy, and Modernism*, Princeton, 1990.

l'irrémissible blessure. C'est pourquoi son humeur est finalement mélancolique : Son paysage a beau être souverain, idéalisé et monumentalisé, il reste vulnérable. Frustré, Paolo Rodocanachi, il l'a sûrement été ; on se demande s'il partagerait la conviction de son ami Eugenio Montale que « l'art est la forme de vie de ceux qui ne vivent pas vraiment : une compensation ou un succédané »²⁶.



²⁶ « L'arte sia la forma di vita di chi veramente non vive: un compenso o un surrogato », phrase extraite de *l'Intervista immaginaria*, publiée dans la revue *La letteraria* No 1, janvier 1946 (reprise dans Eugenio Montale, *Sulla poesia*, Milan, 1976), où Montale parle de lui-même en répondant aux questions d'un interlocuteur imaginaire.

NICOLAS MAVROCORDATOS POÈTE LYRIQUE
À LA MÉMOIRE DE MAURICE LEBEL (1908–2006)
HELLÉNISTE ET PÉDAGOGUE

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Nicolas Mavrocordatos, during his imprisonment in Transylvania (1716–1718), wrote a poem in which he implores his father Alexander Exaporriton to intercede on his behalf with God Almighty, in his wish to be released from jail. The poem, which depicts Nicolas' deep depression, is composed after the manner of Pindar, adopting that poet's vocabulary, lyrical expression and sentence structure. Following Boileau's example, he sets his poem within the frame of the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. Nicolas' ode has remained unpublished for three centuries.

Keywords : Nicolas Mavrocordatos, Alexander Exaporriton, Pindaric Ode, Boileau, Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, Transylvania.

L'œuvre littéraire de Nicolas Mavrocordatos (1680–1730) a fait l'objet de nombreuses études depuis les articles révélateurs de Constantin Dimaras, parus dans le journal athénien *To Vima*, en 1964.¹ Nul doute qu'ensuite la publication des *Loisirs de Philothée* du prince phanariote, parue à Athènes et à Montréal, en 1989, à l'instigation de Dimaras, ait attiré l'attention de jeunes chercheurs sur un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire des mentalités et des idées : l'Aube des Lumières chez les Grecs et les Roumains.² Dès 1990, la Société pour l'étude de l'hellénisme moderne, fondée à l'Université de Montréal, a favorisé la publication de textes de Mavrocordatos avec leur traduction française dans le cadre des études supérieures.³

¹ C. Th. Dimaras, « Τα Φιλοθέου Πάρεργα », *To Bήμα*, 14, 21, 28 août et 4 septembre 1964. Voir : C. Th. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athènes, Ermis, ³1983, p. 263–282 et 474–476. Aussi : Alkis Anghelou, *Πλάτωνος Τύχαι (Η λόγια παράδοση στην Τουρκοκρατία)*, Athènes, 1963, *passim*.

² Nicolas Mavrocordatos, *Les Loisirs de Philothée*, Texte établi, traduit et commenté par Jacques Bouchard, Avant-propos de C. Th. Dimaras, Athènes – Montréal, Association pour l'étude des Lumières en Grèce – Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1989.

³ Mary Kiryakidis-Kalipolidis, *Le dialogue 'Sur la vie et la mort' de Nicolas Mavrocordatos*, édition critique, traduction et commentaires, M.A., Université de Montréal (UdeM), 1990, 118 p.; Monique Trudelle, *Discours contre le tabac de Nicolas Mavrocordatos*, édition critique, traduction et commentaires, M.A., UdeM, 1992, III + 80 p.; Lambros Kamperidis, *Le Traité des Devoirs de Nicolas Mavrocordatos*, édition critique, traduction et commentaires, Ph.D., UdeM, 2004, XIV + 428 p.; Nicolaos Papaioannou, *L'horizon culturel d'un intellectuel phanariote au XVII^e siècle*, M.A., UdeM, 2005, 285 p.; Mary Kyriakopoulos, *Les dialogues de Nicolas Mavrocordatos*, édition critique, traduction et commentaires, M.A., UdeM, 2009, 104 p.

Un jalon important pour l'étude des textes fut l'édition, avec traduction française, du *Traité des Devoirs*, par les soins de Lambros Kampéridis.⁴ Les textes de Nicolas Mavrocordatos ont été rédigés, pour la plupart, en *grec littéral*, une version élégante et dépouillée de la *koinè*, sans archaïsmes ni affectation : ainsi en est-il aussi du style des *Maximes* à la manière de La Rochefoucauld, publiées en grec par A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1909) et traduites en roumain par G. Murnu (1914).⁵

Le polygraphe et éditeur de revues savantes d'Amsterdam, Jean Le Clerc, souligne la pureté stylistique du grec littéral employé par Mavrocordatos dans son *Traité des Devoirs*.⁶ On constate la même parfaite connaissance du grec ancien dans les imitations que le prince Nicolas a faites des lettres fictives de Phalaris. Par contre, si cet exercice de style manifeste d'une part la dextérité de l'auteur à manier le grec ancien, il révèle d'autre part sa constante mise à jour concernant les préoccupations des savants de la République des Lettres, par exemple ici la dispute entre Richard Bentley et Willam Temple sur le sujet.⁷

Il est impérieux que la critique littéraire puisse disposer d'un corpus aussi complet que possible des textes laissés par cet auteur princier, de préférence avec leur traduction. Or, la bibliothèque du Musée Bénaki recèle nombre de manuscrits qui concernent la famille Mavrocordatos. La publication récente du catalogue des manuscrits par Venetia Hatzopoulou nous révèle l'existence d'un manuscrit de la collection Kyriazis qui contient un poème inédit de Nicolas Mavrocordatos : c'est un manuscrit du XVIII^e siècle, en papier, de 317×214 mm., qui s'intitule comme suit : Νικόλαος Μαυροκορδάτος, Ἐπιγράμματα (συνολικά 12) («Νικολάου βοεβόδα Μαυροκορδάτου, Εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα τὸν περιώνυμον Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτόν»)⁸ [Nicolas Mavrocordatos, Épigrammes (12 en tout) (Nicolas voïvode Mavrocordatos, dédiées à son père l'illustre Alexandre, et à lui-même)]. Je présente ici le texte grec accompagné de ma traduction et d'un commentaire. Je remercie vivement mon collègue et ami l'helléniste Vaios Liapis, professeur de théâtre antique et de sa réception à l'Open University of Cyprus, qui m'a proposé des corrections et une analyse métrique du poème.

⁴ Nicolas Mavrocordatos, *Traité des Devoirs*, Texte établi, traduit et commenté par Lambros Kampéridis, Avant-propos Jacques Bouchard, Athènes, Fondation culturelle de la Banque de Grèce, 2014.

⁵ Voir : *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XIII, Bucarest, 1909, p. 463–504 ; *Hurmuzaki*, vol. XIII², Bucarest, 1914, p. 417–457.

⁶ Jacques Bouchard, « Les relations épistolaires de Nicolas Mavrocordatos avec Jean Le Clerc et William Wake », *Ο Ερανιστής*, Athènes, 1974–1977, 12^e année, tome 11/1974, p. 62–92.

⁷ Jacques Bouchard, « Les lettres fictives de Nicolas Mavrocordatos à la manière de Phalaris : une apologie de l'absolutisme », *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* [RESEE], Bucarest, XIII, 2, 1975, p. 197–207.

⁸ Βενετία Χατζοπούλου, *Κατάλογος Ελληνικών Χειρογράφων του Μουσείου Μπενάκη (16^{ος} – 20^{ος} αιώνας)*, Athènes, Musée Bénaki, 2017, p. 143, ms. 153 (Κυριαζή 2), 2 (φ. 3^{rv}).

[recto]

1 Ὀλβία ψυχὰ πατρὸς μεῦ ἀγανοῦ,
ἅ γε καμάτων ἀπλέτων ἄποινα,
θεῖον ἀμυστὶ πιέουσα νέκταρ,
οὐρανὸν οἰκεῖς.

Âme heureuse de mon doux père,
en récompense de tes nombreux travaux,
t'abreuvant sans trêve de nectar divin
tu résides dans les cieux.

5 Γᾶς δ' ἔχεις λάθαν, τακεροῖς βλεφάροις,
ἄρα νῦν οὐ φίλτατον ἀθρέεις σὸν
παῖδα ; ὄν φῦντα ποτὶ φάος αὐτίκ' *
ὄμματα τρέψαις,

Oublieux de la terre, dans tes tendres yeux,
ne vois-tu pas en ce moment ton cher
fils ? Celui dont, au moment de sa naissance,*
tu tournas les yeux vers la lumière

Ἡέλιον λαμπρὸν ἰδόντ' ἀταρβῆ,
10 καθαροῦ δι' αἰθέρος εὐθὺ πτᾶσθαι
χρυσέας σεῖο πτέρυγας λαλάζαις
ἀγλαὸς ὄρνις

Pour qu'intrépide il voie tes ailes dorées voler
d'un trait par le pur éther vers le soleil éclatant ;
tu poussais des glatissements,
oiseau splendide

Ὡς Διός, δίδασκες ἀμὰ νεοσσόν,
ἴχνεα σεῖο χρυσέα φιλεῦντα
15 χεῖλεσιν ἀγνοῖς, ἰλαρῶς τ' ἔθαλπες,
πότνια ψυχά.

Comme celui de Zeus, tu apprenais à ton oisillon,
de tes lèvres pures, à chérir ta trace dorée
et tu le réchauffais allégrement,
âme souveraine.

Κεῖνος ἀτρύτω φρενὶ σὰς ἐφετμὰς
φρουρέων, ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἀρετᾶς, ὡς
βαθύδοξον γ' οὔσαν, ἔτεμνε κούφοις
20 πάντοτε γυίοις.

Lui, d'un esprit infatigable gardant
tes recommandations, il se frayait d'un pied
léger toujours le droit chemin de la vertu,
le croyant plein de gloire.

Νῦν γε μάν, ψυχρᾶ φλογί, δεινοὶ θῆρες
φεῦ ἐρεύγονται βέλεα, ἀπηνοῦς
ἐν μυχοῖς χαλκευόμενα κραδίας,
στέρνα πιέζοντ'

Mais voilà que, d'une froide ardeur, des bêtes féroces
crachent hélas des flèches forgées
au tréfonds d'un cœur cruel
oppessant la poitrine.

[verso]

25 Ὀλβος ὁ πρὶν οἴχεται, ἄχθει δέ
τείρεται ψυχά, ἐσορῶσα κρημονοῦς
ἔνθα, καὶ ἔνθα, περὶ φίλον οἶμον·
στήθος ἐὸν δέ

Le bonheur d'antan s'en est allé ; l'âme
est chargée de chagrin en considérant çà et
là des abîmes, le long de son chemin ;
or, sa poitrine

Νῦν doneῖται, πτοία τε νοῦν κλονεῦσα,
30 ὀτρύνει ὄμματα δάκρυσι τέγγειν·
σεῖο χατίζω παλάμαις, ἀγλαέ,
κλῦθι πάτερ μεῦ,

Est désormais agitée, et l'effroi troublant l'esprit
force les yeux à se mouiller de larmes ;
je tends les mains vers toi, mon père glorieux,
entends-moi,

Κλῦθι πάτερ, βασιλέως κυδίστου
ὅς γ' ὁμώνυμος, κλέος οὐκ ἔλαττον
35 κατέχεις, μὴ κάμνε Θεὸν κραταιὸν
λίσσόμενος σεῦ

Entends-moi, père, toi qui portes le même nom
qu'un roi illustre, tu possèdes une gloire
non moindre ; n'aie de cesse d'implorer
le Dieu tout-puissant

Ἦπερ υἱῆος. Λιγυρὰ δὲ φωνά,
 ὄτα βομβεῦσα, τοκέως, κελεύει
 καρτερίαν λιπαράν, ἄλγες ὄσσαν
 40 ἰατρὸν ἀσκεῖν.

En faveur de ton fils. Une voix mélodieuse,
 tintant aux oreilles, celle d'un père, exhorte
 à une vigoureuse constance, médecin idoine à
 guérir la douleur.

Ἀρετὰ χρῆμα μέγα, οὐχ ὑπορρέει
 φθινύθουσα, σύνες ὅ,τι λέγω, καὶ
 ἄχος ἀπὸ στήθεος ὦκα βάλλε,
 ἔλπεο κρείττω.

Grande chose que la vertu : elle ne se dissout pas
 en s'atténuant ; écoute mes paroles, et
 empresse-toi d'enlever le chagrin de ma poitrine,
 fais-moi espérer des jours meilleurs.

45 Ἔργα γὰρ λαμπρὰ Θεός, ὅς γε πάντα
 διέπει, θνατοῖς ἀνελίσσας ἐς φῶς
 προὔγαγε, στέψας ἀρετὰν ἀλαθῆ
 ἄνθεσι πυκνοῖς : ~

Car les œuvres splendides, c'est Dieu, l'ordonnateur
 de toutes choses, qui les déploie pour les mortels
 et les produit au jour, en couronnant la vraie vertu
 de massifs de fleurs.

En marge du 7^e vers se trouve, de la même main, le commentaire suivant :
 « * ὑπαινίττεται εἰς <αὐτὸ ajouté au-dessus de la ligne> τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ ἰδίου
 πατρὸς, ὃ φέροντα ἄκροις ὄνυξιν ἀετὸν ἔχει δεικνῶντα τε τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 νεοσσόν : ~ » [*il fait allusion à ce blason de son propre père, qui a une aigle
 portant au bout de ses serres et le montrant au Soleil son propre aiglon].

Le professeur Vaios Liapis a eu l'amabilité de me communiquer le schéma
 métrique des strophes, qui semble s'apparenter, d'après la prosodie, à la strophe
 sapphique, utilisée aussi par le poète latin Horace. Mavrocordatos suit le schéma de
 cette strophe, mais a commis quelques erreurs de scansion. La syllabe représentée
 par un x est *anceps*, indifféremment longue ou brève.

- u - x - u u - u - x
 - u - x - u u - u - x
 - u - x - u u - u - x
 - u u - x

La maîtrise des dialectes de la poésie antique est manifeste d'abord dans le
 vocabulaire de la lyrique employé par notre poète : les mots ψυχά (vers 1, 16, 26),
 μεῦ (v. 1, 32), γᾶς (v. 5), λάθαν (v. 5), ποτί (v. 7), φάος (v. 7), ἠέλιον (v. 9), σεῖο
 (v. 11, 14, 31), ἀρετᾶς (v. 18), βέλεα (v. 22), κραδίας (v. 23), ἐόν (v. 28), μεῦ
 (v. 32), σεῦ (v. 36), υἱῆος (v. 37), φωνά (v. 37), ἀρετά (v. 41), στήθεος (v. 43), ὦκα
 (v. 43), θνατοῖς (v. 46) appartiennent au dialecte éolo-dorien de la poésie lyrique.
 La principale caractéristique est d'ordre phonétique : le α remplace le η attique
 dans ψυχά, ἀρετά, φωνά, θνατοῖς. On constate de plus l'absence de contractions
 dans φάος, ἠέλιον, βέλεα, υἱῆος, στήθεος. Certaines formes verbales diffèrent de
 celles connues du dialecte attique : πιέουσα (v. 3), ἀθρέεις (v. 6), τρέψαις (v. 8),
 λαλάξαις (v. 11), φιλεῦντα (v. 14), κλονεῦσα (v. 29), βομβεῦσα (v. 38), ἔλπεο
 (v. 44). Les participes de la poésie lyrique en -εῦντα, -εῦσα sont l'équivalent des
 formes en -οῦντα, -οῦσα. Le participe aoriste masculin au nominatif singulier

τρέψαις correspond à l'attique τρέψας, alors que le participe λαλάξαις, du verbe λαλάζω, est un mot rare qui se trouve chez Anacréon et Hésychius. Dans l'ensemble, beaucoup de termes poétiques sont contenus dans la poésie lyrique, en particulier chez Pindare.⁹ De plus, l'absence presque totale d'articles dans l'ode de Nicolas est caractéristique du genre.¹⁰

Or, l'attention du lecteur est constamment sollicitée par les hyperbates, la disjonction des syntagmes, comme à la 6^e strophe, vers 24, πιέζοντ[α] qui s'accorde avec βέλεα du vers 22 ; les rejets parmi les vers et parmi les strophes illustrent bien ce que dit Boileau à propos de l'ode :

« Son style impétueux souvent marche au hasard
Chez elle un beau désordre est un effet de l'art. »¹¹

Deux allusions suggèrent une datation approximative de la rédaction du poème. D'abord la première strophe mentionne explicitement la mort d'Alexandre l'Exaporrite, survenue le 23 décembre 1709 : « οὐρανὸν οἰκεῖς » [tu résides dans les cieux]. La mention du « divin nectar » est une concession à la tradition classique d'avant le christianisme. On sait que Nicolas fut nommé voïvode de Moldavie le 6 novembre 1709. Il fut muté en Valachie le 25 décembre 1715 ; il arriva à Bucarest le 30 janvier 1716. Victime d'une fronde des boyards locaux, il fut enlevé par les Autrichiens le 14 novembre 1716 et emmené en captivité en Transylvanie. L'historien Vincent Mignot mentionne que Nicolas « fut fait prisonnier & traité avec beaucoup de rigueur par les Impériaux ». ¹² C'est pendant sa captivité en Transylvanie qu'il eut les loisirs nécessaires pour rédiger son fameux *Traité des Devoirs*, de même que son roman *Les Loisirs de Philothée*, où Nicolas fait allusion à la sévérité de ses geôliers autrichiens.¹³ Il recouvra la liberté par le traité de Passarowitz, le 10/21 juillet 1718.¹⁴

Le poème de 12 strophes se compose de trois parties : dans les cinq premières strophes Nicolas fait l'éloge de son père Alexandre, de l'affection de celui-ci pour son fils, de l'éducation qu'il a donnée à son fils pour lui montrer la voie de la vertu. La 6^e strophe marque une coupure : Nicolas appelle ses envahisseurs des « δεινὸ θῆρες » [des bêtes féroces], qui crachent des flèches forgées au tréfonds de leur

⁹ Voir : Æmilius Portus, *Pindaricum Lexicum*, Hanoviae, 1606. Cf. William J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969. Voir : Léon Leloir, *Poésies Lyriques Grecques*, Texte et traduction rythmée, Collections Lebègue & Nationale, Bruxelles, Office de publicité, S.A., 1960. Aussi : Pascale Hummel, *La Syntaxe de Pindare*, Louvain, Éditions Peeters, Paris, Société pour l'information grammaticale, 1993.

¹⁰ A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, Paris, Hachette, 1930, p. 190.

¹¹ Boileau, *Œuvres*, Texte de l'édition Gidel avec préface et notes par Georges Mongrédien, Paris, Garnier, 1961, p. 167, L'art poétique, chant II, vers 71–72.

¹² M. Mignot, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis son origine jusqu'à la paix de Belgrade en 1740*, tome IV, Paris, Le Clerc, 1771, p. 225.

¹³ Nicolas Mavrocordatos, *Les Loisirs*, éd. J. Bouchard, *op. cit.*, p. 192–195.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20–25.

cœur cruel, « ἐρεύγονται βέλεα ἀπηνούς / ἐν μύχοις χαλκεύόμενα κραδίας »; elles plongent le poète dans un grand désarroi. Le premier vers de la 7^e strophe conclut à un changement radical : « Le bonheur d’antan s’en est allé ». Le mot « ὄλβος » [bonheur] fait écho à « ὀλβία » [heureuse] du premier vers. Ce poème nous révèle la consternation de Nicolas, la situation déprimante qui l’abat pendant sa captivité. Les strophes 7 et 8 relatent l’état psychologique dans lequel a sombré le prince Nicolas enlevé et gardé par la milice autrichienne : l’âme est lourde de chagrin, la poitrine agitée, l’esprit frappé d’effroi, les yeux remplis de larmes. Les strophes 9, 10, 11 et 12 rappellent l’homme de qualité que fut Alexandre, dont le nom et la renommée renvoient à son homonyme Alexandre le Grand : il pourra intercéder pour son fils auprès du Dieu tout-puissant. Nicolas implore son père de l’écouter : il utilise les impératifs « κλῦθι » (v. 32, 33) et « σύνες » (v. 42). Alexandre, le *iatrophilosophes*, a jadis inculqué à son fils des principes de conduite et des valeurs humanistes ; une voix paternelle lui conseille alors la constance, la force d’âme, « καρτερία », qui permet de guérir en médecin la douleur.¹⁵

L’examen des occurrences quant à leur fréquence est aussi très instructif : puisque Nicolas s’adresse à son père (πάτερ au vocatif v. 1, 32, 33), et le supplie de l’écouter (κλῦθι v. 32, 33 ; σύνες v. 42), c’est le pronom-adjectif possessif de la 2^e personne du singulier qui revient le plus souvent sous diverses formes : six fois (v. 6, 11, 14, 17, 31, 36). Les mots, qui par leur triple fréquence, donnent tout leur sens au poème sont : âme (ψυχά v. 1, 16, 26), vertu (ἀρετά v. 18, 41, 47) et l’adverbe maintenant (νῦν v. 6, 21, 29). Ajoutons le formant phil-, aimer, qui se retrouve dans trois mots : φίλτατον (v. 6), φιλεῦντα (v. 14) et φίλον (v. 27). Les vocables de double occurrence contribuent à nuancer le poème ; ce sont : lumière (φῶς v. 7, 46), éclatant (λαμπρός v. 9, 45), doré (χρυσέας v. 11, 14), splendide (ἀγλαός v. 12, 31) et Dieu (Θεός v. 35, 45). Enfin, le corps est caractérisé par les yeux (ὄμματα v. 8, 30 ; βλεφάροις v. 5) et la poitrine (στήθος v. 28, 43 ; στέρνα v. 24). La relation père-fils est soulignée au moyen de la métaphore oiseau (ὄρνις v. 12) et oisillon (νεοσσόν v. 13). Le scribe du manuscrit rappelle que le blason d’Alexandre l’Exaporrite contient une aigle et que celui de Nicolas réunit les armoiries de la Valachie, le vultur ou acvila valahicã, et celles de la Moldavie, l’aurochs.

En guise de conclusion, il est loisible de se demander quelle occasion a bien pu inciter Nicolas Mavrocordatos à composer ce poème lyrique, voire élégiaque. D’une part, le prince est entraîné de force en captivité et implore son illustre père d’intercéder pour lui auprès du Père éternel, pour que soit allégée la douleur qui l’a terrassé. Mais alors pourquoi avoir choisi cette forme linguistique si abstruse, la langue des poètes lyriques de l’antiquité ? L’opportunité paraît évidente : ce poème s’insère dans la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes, tout comme les lettres à

¹⁵ Voir : les *Φροντίσματα τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου ἀοιδήμου Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου τοῦ Ἐξ Ἀπορρήτων*, Vienne, Georgios Vendotis, 1805. Aussi *Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου τοῦ Ἐξ Ἀπορρήτων Ἐπιστολαὶ P*, éd. Th. Livadas, Trieste, Loyd, 1879, p. 13–38.

l'imitation de Phalaris composées par le voïvode.¹⁶ Parfait latiniste, Nicolas connaissait sûrement le vers bien connu d'Horace « Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari... » : qui s'efforce d'imiter Pindare court à sa perte !¹⁷ Pourtant, une lettre d'Antoine Epis à Jean Le Clerc, datée du 10 février 1721, nous informe que le prince Nicolas avait rédigé un ouvrage intitulé *Apparatus sobriæ Imitationis*, où l'auteur avait réuni des « loci paralleli Prophetarum, Philosophorum, Poetarum. On y voit Homere, Pindare, Teocrite denouez des chaines de la Poesie parler comme parle le monde savant ». ¹⁸ Par ailleurs, une lettre du fils de Nicolas, Scarlatos (1701–1726), datée de 1720 environ, mentionne plusieurs noms d'auteurs qui se trouvaient dans la bibliothèque princière.¹⁹ Parmi ceux-ci on remarque les œuvres d'Horace, dans la traduction française d'André Dacier, mais surtout les œuvres de Boileau, transcrit Βοελαίος et Μποελός en grec. Or, c'est probablement une remarque de Boileau qui a incité Nicolas à tenter d'écrire un poème dans la tradition de Pindare, Horace et Boileau. Dans son « Discours sur l'Ode », publié en 1693, Boileau répond au *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* de Charles Perrault.²⁰ Il écrit que les dialogues de ce dernier affirment que « tous les plus grands écrivains de l'antiquité sont traités d'esprits médiocres [...] ; Pindare est des plus maltraités. » L'auteur de ces dialogues « a pris pour galimatias tout ce que la foiblesse de ses lumières ne lui permettoit pas de comprendre. »²¹ Et comme la plupart de ses contemporains ne connaissent pas suffisamment le grec pour apprécier la poésie de Pindare, Boileau d'ajouter : « j'ai cru que je ne pouvois mieux justifier ce grand poète qu'en tâchant de faire une ode en françois à sa manière. »²² Boileau publie donc en 1693 son *Ode sur la prise de Namur*. On sait que Nicolas possédait aussi les *Œuvres* de Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, imitateur connu d'Horace et de Pindare, moderne à l'instar de Houdar de La Motte.²³

¹⁶ Voir plus haut, note 7. Cf. Jacques Bouchard, *Nicolae Mavrocordat Domn și cărturar al Iluminismului timpuriu (1680–1730)*, Traducere din limbile franceză și neogreacă de Elena Lazăr, Bucarest, Editura Omonia, 2006, p. 38–54.

¹⁷ Horace, *Odes*, IV, 2.

¹⁸ Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, vol. IV, 1719–1732, a cura di Maria Grazia e Mario Sina, Florence, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1997, p. 70.

¹⁹ Voir Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, « Préoccupations livresques de Scarlat Mavrocordat dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine », RESEE, XXVIII (1990), 1–4, p. 29–37. Voir aussi : Nikolas Pissis, « La bibliothèque princière de Nicolas Mavrocordatos : pratiques de collection et de lecture », *Bibliothèques grecques dans l'Empire ottoman*, Bibliologia vol. 54, Turnhout, Brepols, 2020, p. 339–354.

²⁰ Paris, 4 vol., 1688–1692. « Dialogues ingénieux et superficiels, d'un tour léger et mondain et dans lesquels s'étaient à la fois beaucoup d'assurance et beaucoup d'ignorance. » Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, Hachette, 1906, p. 591.

²¹ Boileau, *Œuvres*, op. cit., p. 226.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

²³ Voir : Cornelia Papacostea-Danielopolu, « Préoccupations livresques de Scarlat Mavrocordat, op. cit., p. 34. Cf. *Œuvres diverses du Sieur R.*** [Rousseau], À Soleure, Chez Ursus Heuberger, MDCCXII, p. 166 : « Quand sur le ton de Pindare & d'Horace, / Vôte gosier lyriquement croasse ». J.-B. Rousseau publie ses propres odes, p. 49–102. Aussi : *Les Œuvres de M^r. Rousseau*,

Quel que fût le succès, ou l'insuccès des imitateurs, prévu par Horace, je crois que les tentatives des Boileau, Rousseau et Houdar de La Motte incitèrent Nicolas Mavrocordatos à relever le défi de composer une ode à la gloire pérenne de son père et de stigmatiser la précarité de sa situation, due à sa destitution et à son confinement.

Même dans l'adversité le prince-poète manifeste sa volonté de prouver, une fois de plus, sa profonde connaissance de la langue ancienne, passant du grec littéral au langage archaïque de la poésie lyrique. Trois siècles après sa rédaction, ce poème oublié de Nicolas Mavrocordatos nous fait revivre avec toute son acuité une période éprouvante de sa vie, sa déposition et son internement. Le voïvode phanariote, conscient de sa valeur insigne, réaffirme ainsi la place qu'il estime détenir dans la République des Lettres, depuis les principautés danubiennes d'où il participe, lui si moderne, mais archaïsant pourtant, au débat entre les admirateurs des Anciens et les partisans des Modernes.²⁴

édition de 1716, même citation, p. 215. Voir aussi : Antoine Houdar de La Motte, *Odes. Avec un discours sur la poesie en général, & sur l'ode en particulier*, A Paris, Chez Gregoire Dupuis, 1711, 3^e éd. (1707, 21709). Dans la réédition de 1713, p. 136 : « Des Pindares & des Horaces / Suivons plus dignement les traces... » Concernant l'ode et son histoire, voir l'excellente synthèse de Thalia Ieronymaki, *Η νεοελληνική ωδή έως το 1880. Ιστορική διαμόρφωση και θεωρία του είδους*, Athènes, Σμίλη, 2018.

²⁴ Jacques Bouchard, « Ο Νικόλαος Μαυροκορδάτος και η Διαμάχη των Αρχαίων και των Νεοτέρων » [Nicolas Mavrocordatos et la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes], *Ο Πρώμος Διαφωτισμός στην εποχή των πρώτων Μαυροκορδάτων, Αλέξανδρος ο εξ Απορρήτων και Νικόλαος*, Επιμέλεια Νίκος Μαυρέλος, Πολυξένη Συμωνίδου, Δημήτρης Τζελέπης, Μαρία Χουλιάρη, Athènes, Gutenberg, 2021, p. 68–83.

LE LYONNAIS SUR LE DANUBE : LIBERTÉ DE NAVIGATION ET OPPORTUNISME COMMERCIAL FRANÇAIS (1856–1858)

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The Crimean War was an opportunity for France to try to extend its allegedly insufficient economic exchanges with the Danubian principalities. The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimean War, was to open the Danube to public law and European trade. This paper examines the circumstances in which entrepreneurs from the Rhône shipping industry, threatened in France by the rise of railways, attempted to reuse their ships by establishing a river shipping company operating between Moldavia and Serbia. The story of this ephemeral attempt, initially favoured by a navigation concession, is part of the debates initiated around the opening of the Danube to the navigation of all flags.

Keywords: Crimean War, Danube, Danubian principalities, river navigation, freedom of navigation, French economic interests.

La liberté d'accès et de navigation dans le Danube figure parmi les causes de la guerre d'Orient de 1853–1856. Avant que le conflit ne se déplace en Crimée, l'Autriche, la France et la Grande-Bretagne l'inscrivent parmi les points de garantie exigés de la Russie. Le traité de Paris du 30 mars 1856 reprend cette disposition en l'inscrivant dans la continuité des principes définis dans l'acte du congrès de Vienne de 1815 pour les fleuves séparant ou traversant plusieurs États¹. La presse économique du Second Empire, retient la liberté nouvelle du Danube comme une disposition absolue et sait gré à un navigateur français d'avoir eu la préscience de cette ouverture du fleuve au commerce international, comme elle lui reconnaît l'habileté d'en avoir saisi l'opportunité : « La liberté du Danube était une des conditions essentielles de la paix. Elle fut le passeport dont se servit le capitaine Magnan pour pénétrer dans la mer Noire, explorer les bouches du Danube, puis pour entrer résolument dans ce grand fleuve où la navigation française n'avait jamais eu accès². »

Le voyage du *Lyonnais*, premier bateau français à vapeur dans le Danube s'inscrit à la fois dans l'histoire économique de l'Europe orientale et de l'Empire ottoman et dans un moment particulier des relations internationales, consécutif au

¹ Article 15 du traité de Paris.

² Charles Boersch, « Projet de navigation franco-roumaine de MM. Mathiss, Parrot et Magnan », *L'Industriel alsacien*, 23 juillet 1857.

traité de Paris. Malgré les doutes qu'il émet sur le sens réel à donner aux nouvelles dispositions que cet acte contient, le consul de France, au moment où le *Lyonnais* arrive à Galati, expose au ministre des Affaires étrangères Walewski qu'il « n'est pas douteux qu'il y aurait un grand intérêt pour le commerce et l'industrie de la France à participer soit directement soit indirectement, au débouché plus ou moins large que la réglementation de la navigation danubienne doit ouvrir dans un temps donné à l'intercourse européenne³».

Une volonté générale de développer les échanges économiques naît de la fin de la guerre de Crimée et des termes de l'accord international qui la conclut. Dans le cas de la France, le soutien apporté à l'unification des principautés moldo-valaques peut être vu comme la volonté de les intégrer dans un système de dépendance agraire que cet État aurait le désir de contrôler⁴, mais son positionnement commercial au sortir de la guerre est loin de lui permettre de satisfaire à cette ambition.

Depuis la fin des années 1830, les agents consulaires français de Galati et Iasi remplissent leur correspondance commerciale de recommandations pour l'établissement de relations plus suivies entre les maisons de commerce françaises et les échelles danubiennes. Ils se heurtent aux réticences exposées par la Chambre de commerce de Marseille qui met en avant le coût élevé des frets et l'insécurité de la navigation. En 1856, la situation nouvelle, instaurée par l'éloignement de la Russie, la reprise de la navigation des anciens belligérants, la position privilégiée des vainqueurs de l'alliance franco-britannique et de l'Autriche occupante, créent les conditions pour l'établissement d'une domination économique des nations occidentales dans le commerce danubien. Dans ce contexte, la France doit renforcer un positionnement considéré comme insuffisant dans les ports du bas Danube face à la Grande-Bretagne et à l'Autriche.

Dans les années 1830, le pouvoir de Vienne met en place une emprise économique sur sa périphérie que constituent les principautés danubiennes, important des céréales de Moldavie et de Valachie et exportant ses produits manufacturés. Le plus important vecteur de communication au sein de cette politique est la *Compagnie des navires à vapeur du Danube*, ou DDSG⁵ qui a ouvert en 1834 une ligne entre Vienne et Galati. Les Portes-de-Fer sont franchies pour la première fois à la descente⁶. Deux ans plus tard, la DDSG renforce son positionnement sur le fleuve par l'inauguration d'un service entre Galati et Constantinople. Le consul de France n'a pas de mots assez durs pour qualifier les inconvénients du monopole de la compagnie⁷. En 1845, une autre compagnie autrichienne, le *Lloyd Austriaco* reprend

³ Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes [désormais CADN], consulat de Galati, vol. 15, Alfred de Brossard à Walewski, 20 juin 1856.

⁴ Antoine Roger, *Les fondements du nationalisme roumain (1791–1921)*, lib. Droz, 2003, p. 97.

⁵ *Donau Dampfschiffahrts Gesellschaft*

⁶ Luminita Gatejel, « Overcoming the Iron Gates. Austrian Transport and River Regulation at the Lower Danube, 1830s–1840s », *Central European History*, n°49, 2016, p. 162–180.

⁷ CADN, consulat de Galati, vol. 4, Jean-Baptiste Viollier, vice-consul, au comte de Saint-Priest ambassadeur de France à Vienne, 23 mai 1839.

la ligne entre Trieste et Constantinople, puis la prolonge en 1849 entre la capitale ottomane et Galati. Ce port est ainsi retenu comme le point de correspondance entre les deux compagnies. Il n'est plus qu'à cent heures de Vienne depuis que la DDSG a inauguré une ligne rapide hebdomadaire en 1853⁸. Cette disposition reconnaît l'opportunité de son positionnement entre le bas Danube, en aval des Portes-de-Fer, et le Danube dit « maritime ».

Le cas de la principale compagnie autrichienne de navigation a été évoqué lors des négociations de Paris pour en critiquer le monopole sur une section du fleuve non bordée par le territoire autrichien. La situation est paradoxale pour Vienne. L'ouverture de la navigation à tous sur l'ensemble de la partie navigable du fleuve, évolution qu'elle ne souhaite pas, est pourtant la seule justification à la présence de ses bateaux dans le bas Danube. D'un autre côté, l'acceptation d'aligner le Danube sur les principes de libre navigation définis en 1815 menace directement le monopole de la DDSG en amont de Galati.

C'est dans le but d'écorner ce monopole que prennent place plusieurs projets qui ont en commun l'emploi sur le Danube de navires de rivières désormais inutilisés sur le Rhône et la Saône. Causée par la concurrence du chemin de fer dans la vallée du Rhône, la situation dramatique dans laquelle se débattent les compagnies de navigation les pousse à imaginer les moyens de se débarrasser d'une partie de leur matériel pour limiter les pertes financières d'une sous-exploitation. Le périple du navire *Le Lyonnais* dans le Danube est d'autant plus relayé par la presse européenne, que ses propriétaires obtiennent de la part des autorités moldaves un privilège de navigation sur deux importants affluents du fleuve. L'opposition autrichienne à cette concession conduit à son annulation par l'Empire ottoman suzerain des principautés danubiennes.

Les débats provoqués par cette question prennent place dans les discussions diplomatiques ouvertes par le traité de Paris autour de l'ouverture du fleuve à la liberté de navigation pour tous les États. Ils se focalisent au sein et à propos de deux commissions organisées par les articles 16 et 17 de cet accord : la Commission européenne du Danube (CED) constituée de délégués de tous les États signataires qui se réunit à Galati et la Commission réunissant les États riverains et les Principautés danubiennes, chargée de l'établissement d'un acte de navigation. Si la première est considérée par les puissances maritimes comme la garante d'un droit libéral européen, la seconde est réputée être sous la domination exclusive de l'Autriche. Les discussions s'achèvent provisoirement en 1858 par un constat de désaccord entre les États non riverains et cette puissance.

L'histoire de l'expédition du *Lyonnais* et du projet de compagnie franco-danubienne s'inscrit dans le processus historique qui accompagne ces débats. Pour la presse française, la proclamation de la liberté de navigation sur le Danube par l'article 15 du traité de Paris, sonne comme une invitation à investir le champ du

⁸ CADN, consulat de Galati, vol. 15, Jean-Baptiste Gardéra à Drouyn de Lhuys, 15 mai 1853.

commerce danubien dans la perspective de prendre place parmi les bénéficiaires économiques du conflit qui s'achève. Dans le contexte de la difficile mise en œuvre d'une liberté contestée aux États non riverains du fleuve et malgré le soutien de partenaires locaux, les buts avoués, les motivations apparentes et les moyens mis en œuvre par la Compagnie Franco-danubienne, répondent-ils au besoin de renforcement de la présence française dans les ports danubiens ? sont-ils même suffisants pour donner quelque chance à la batellerie du Rhône de prendre une place dans un trafic fluvial dominé par une entreprise qui personnifie l'emprise de l'Autriche sur une de ses périphéries ?

La première partie de cette étude établit le constat d'une double situation économique. En France, l'essor des chemins de fer menace directement l'existence des puissantes sociétés de navigation du Rhône. Dans les ports du bas Danube, la présence française est jugée insuffisante en raison de mouvements commerciaux, faisant presque exclusivement appel à la navigation de pavillons étrangers. Le voyage du *Lyonnais* dans le Danube qui est relaté dans la seconde partie, permet de cerner les ambitions d'une expédition motivée par les perspectives de liberté mais bridée par l'opposition de la DDSG. La troisième partie, centrée sur le privilège de navigation accordé par les autorités de Moldavie, examine l'impact de cette concession dans la problématique plus générale de la liberté de navigation. La quatrième partie expose les perspectives économiques dans lesquelles s'inscrit le projet de la Compagnie Franco-danubienne. La cinquième partie enfin, revient sur la question de la liberté de navigation sur le Danube et montre que l'expédition du *Lyonnais* qui apparaît dans les débats est au cœur de cette problématique.

SAUVER LA BATELLERIE DU RHONE ET OUVRIR LE DANUBE AU COMMERCE FRANÇAIS

Le milieu de la décennie 1850 voit l'apogée de la guerre d'Orient. Le déplacement du conflit vers la Crimée nécessite le transfert de troupes et de matériel sur du matériel dédié performant. Au début de l'année 1855, le ministre français de la Marine s'adresse aux administrateurs de la *Compagnie générale des bateaux du Rhône* qui possède ce matériel, pour leur demander leur aide dans la mise en œuvre et l'utilisation de machines à haute pression dont il se propose d'équiper des bâtiments de flottille destinés aux armements de guerre⁹. De cette collaboration, naît l'idée d'employer les navires performants du Rhône dont le service est menacé par le développement du chemin de fer.

⁹ Lettre de Théodore Ducos, ministre, secrétaire d'État de la Marine et des Colonies à MM. Les Administrateurs de la Compagnie générale des bateaux du Rhône, 28 janvier 1855 : Albert Breittmayer, *Archives de la navigation à vapeur du Rhône et de ses affluents*, Vol. 2, Paris lib. Guillaumin, 1883, p. 319.

VOIE FLUVIALE OU CHEMIN DE FER ?

En 1853, un accord est sur le point de survenir entre le groupe des financiers qui s'est vu adjuger le chemin de fer Lyon-Avignon, et plusieurs compagnies de navigation à vapeur du Rhône. L'idée est de proposer un compromis entre la voie ferroviaire nouvelle et la voie fluviale qui conserverait le monopole sur la Saône. L'arrangement est rejeté par le ministre des Travaux-publics qui ne voit pas d'un mauvais œil la concurrence entre les deux modes de transport¹⁰.

À la CGN, le capitaine Magnan propose un autre compromis favorisé par les circonstances de la guerre d'Orient¹¹.

L'idée de Magnan, telle qu'elle apparaît dans les archives de la CGN¹², est d'envoyer en Orient des bateaux plats capables de transporter 500 hommes ou 300 tonnes de matériel. Grâce à leur faible tirant d'eau « Ils pourraient franchir les barres du Danube et du Dniester [...] et remonter ces cours d'eau¹³ ». Pour réaliser un essai, il choisit le *Cygne*, un vapeur à aube muni d'une machine à haute pression. Le bateau quitte Marseille en direction de Constantinople où il accoste le 19 septembre 1855. L'intendant militaire affecte le *Cygne* à la liaison de l'Île des Princes où sont internés des prisonniers russes. Le 8 octobre, alors qu'il convoie des détenus, il est coulé par un paquebot du *Lloyd* en provenance de Trieste¹⁴. Un compte-rendu du voyage et du naufrage signé par l'avocat de la compagnie figure dans le journal *l'Illustration* agrémenté de gravures du *Cygne*¹⁵.

Il n'a pas échappé à ceux qui préconisent de substituer le Danube au Rhône dans ce projet, que le territoire du bassin oriental du plus grand fleuve d'Europe est dépourvu de lignes de chemin de fer. Il faut attendre le début des années 1870 pour qu'il relie Galati à Bucarest et Iasi¹⁶. Si l'on fait exception du premier tronçon construit en 1859, qui passe pour être en capacité de détourner une partie du trafic fluvial qui alimente le port moldave¹⁷, le chemin de fer est encore loin de concurrencer la voie fluviale et pour longtemps encore la navigation peut seule assurer les communications économiques en amont et en aval de Galati. Si la

¹⁰ Pour une synthèse sur cette question, voir : Félix Rivet, *La navigation à vapeur sur la Saône et le Rhône (1783–1863)*, Paris, PUF, 1962, 621 p.

¹¹ Félix Rivet, « Le dernier voyage du *Cygne*, l'odyssée d'un ancien bateau à vapeur de la Saône », *Bulletin de la Société des amis des arts et des sciences de Tournus*, t. LI, 1951, p. 32–39

¹² Albert Breittmayer, *Archives de la navigation à vapeur du Rhône et de ses affluents*, vol. 1, Marseille, 1880, Vol. 2, Paris lib. Guillaumin, 1883.

¹³ *Rapport sur l'utilité et les services que peuvent rendre les bateaux plats à vapeur du Rhône et de la Saône dans la guerre d'Orient*, 11 mars 1855, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 322–323.

¹⁴ *Rapport et déposition du capitaine Magnan*, 8 octobre 1855, *ibid.*, p. 346–348.

¹⁵ Martin-Rey, « Voyage du *Cygne*, de Lyon à Constantinople », *L'Illustration*, 22 décembre 1855.

¹⁶ Henry Jacolin, « L'établissement de la première voie ferrée entre l'Europe et la Turquie. Chemins de fer et diplomatie dans les Balkans », *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* n°35, 2006.

¹⁷ Constantin Ardeleanu, Efectele construirii căii ferate Cernavodă – Constanța asupra navigației dunărene (1859–1860), *Analele Universității Ovidius din Constanța – Seria Istorie*, 2006, n° 03, p. 41–54.

France veut espérer améliorer sa position dans ce port, elle doit absolument redresser la situation d'une flotte commerciale presque inexistante sur le Danube, ou continuer de se fier à des courtiers étrangers et à des pavillons tiers.

LE COMMERCE FRANÇAIS À GALATI AVANT LA GUERRE DE CRIMÉE

Avec son statut de port franc effectif au printemps 1837 Galati devient une place suffisamment importante pour que les autorités consulaires de France à Iasi décident de nommer un négociant français à la tête de cette agence au début de l'année suivante¹⁸. L'année 1838 est également marquée par une série d'accord commerciaux qui contribuent au décollage commercial des ports du bas Danube. Les traités de l'Angleterre et de la France avec l'Empire ottoman¹⁹ sont précédés du traité de Vienne entre l'Angleterre et l'Autriche, le 3 juillet. Cet accord étonne beaucoup l'agent consulaire français par la façon dont il semble considérer Galati comme un port autrichien²⁰. Primordial pour le commerce britannique, il entraîne le développement d'un trafic direct entre l'Angleterre et les ports du bas Danube. Concernant la France, la Chambre de commerce de Marseille, est peu motivée pour encourager le développement du commerce danubien. Aux perspectives encourageantes signalées par Jean-Baptiste Viollier²¹, l'institution répond par une longue litanie des obstacles qu'elle considère comme insurmontables : la mauvaise qualité des blés à leur arrivée à Marseille voisine avec l'insécurité de la navigation en mer Noire et des accès au fleuve. L'insécurité des traités et le manque de protection par les autorités moldo-valaques comme la trop faible consommation intérieure des Principautés expliquent aussi le désintérêt des commerçants français²².

La montée en puissance du trafic commercial de l'Angleterre et de la France porte ces deux États en tête des importations à Galati au début des années 1850 mais l'Angleterre distance largement sa concurrente avec ses machines, ses fers et ses laines²³. Les produits coloniaux, notamment le sucre et le café constituent plus

¹⁸ Les intérêts français sont représentés depuis la fin de l'année 1836 par le vice consul britannique Cunningham, mais il n'assume que les fonctions administratives en mettant sa chancellerie au service des sujets français.

¹⁹ Traité de Balta-Liman pour l'Angleterre le 16 août, traité de Constantinople pour la France le 25 novembre.

²⁰ CADN, consulat de Galati vol 4, Viollier à Huber consul de France à Iasi, 6 décembre 1838. Sur cette question d'un traité passé entre deux États concernant les ports d'un troisième, non partie prenante de l'accord, voir : Constantin Ardeleanu, *International Trade and Diplomacy at the Lower Danube: The Sulina Question and the Economic Premises of the Crimean War (1829–1853)*, Braïla, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brailei, 2008, 307 p., ici p. 172–180.

²¹ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol. 2, notice sur Galati et Ibraïla par Jean-Baptiste Viollier, annexée à la dépêche du consul Huber au comte Molé, 15 juin 1838 (minute).

²² *Ibid.*, lettre de la Chambre de commerce de Marseille au ministre du commerce, 31 août 1838, annexée à la dépêche de la Direction commerciale et du contentieux à Huber, 8 novembre 1838.

²³ Parts de l'importation respective en valeur de l'Angleterre et de la France, 1849 : 59.1 et 19 %, 1850 : 51.9 et 27.6%, 1851 : 54.8 et 17.8 %.

de 90% des importations françaises. En 1847, les 2/3 des importations de sucre à Galati venaient de France²⁴. Le mouvement des exportations est plus lent. En 1851, le blé envoyé vers la France ne représente que 3,5% des céréales exportées à partir de Galati.

La prise en compte par la France de l'importance commerciale du port de Galati coïncide avec l'élévation, en 1852, du poste diplomatique qu'elle y possède au rang de consulat. Un mémoire établi par le chancelier du poste a établi le potentiel du port moldave et souligné le retard pris par le commerce français par rapport à son homologue britannique. Les principales causes identifiées sont l'absence d'établissements commerciaux et de navires français dans le bas Danube. L'essentiel des opérations passe par les nombreuses maisons grecques d'armement et de commerce qui ont leurs établissements à Marseille: « C'est surtout le pavillon français qui est au-dessous du rôle qu'il devrait jouer dans la navigation du Danube. Depuis environ quinze ans que notre marine fréquente ce fleuve elle est encore à peu près au même point que dans les premières années²⁵. »

ÉTAT DES LIEUX DU COMMERCE DE GALATI EN 1856

En mars 1854, la navigation sur le Danube est interrompue par la guerre. Elle reprend au cours de l'année 1855, mais les cinq États belligérants en sont exclus. Malgré ce contexte, l'Angleterre et la France figurent toujours au premier rang en valeur des importations à Galati²⁶. Cet état du commerce danubien est dû à l'activité de la flotte grecque. À l'exportation, où elle est l'intermédiaire des alliés de l'Empire ottoman, elle est largement en tête devant celle de l'Autriche qui tire aussi avantage de l'état de guerre²⁷. Ce pays voit aussi la reprise de la navigation régulière.

La navigation régulière par vapeurs, qui concerne essentiellement l'Autriche, ne figure pas jusqu'en 1855 dans les statistiques consulaires françaises. La DDSG, le Lloyd et le gouvernement autrichien sont discrets sur les chiffres du trafic commercial entre Vienne et Constantinople. Les confidences du consul Chiari à son homologue français de Galati sur la reprise du service en 1855, font état de 22,5 millions de francs à l'importation et de 2 millions à l'exportation, des chiffres à pondérer par la part représentée par la valeur des marchandises simplement en transit vers la capitale ottomane. Dans les analyses du consul de France, la prise en compte du trafic des vapeurs autrichiens contribue à inverser les statistiques générales du port de Galati qui devient majoritairement importateur par le

²⁴ Constantin Bușe, *Comertul exterior prin Galati sub regimul de port franc (1837-1883)*, Bucarest, 1976, p. 70.

²⁵ CADN, consulat de Iasi vol 3, mémoire de Victor Castaing chancelier du vice-consulat de Galati, 20 mars 1852.

²⁶ Angleterre 6,33 millions de francs, France 3,81, Empire ottoman 3,55 : CADN, archives du consulat de Galati, vol. 15, 28 mars 1856.

²⁷ Grèce 16,72 millions de francs, Autriche 4,83 : *ibid.*

doublement du chiffre de la valeur des marchandises entrantes²⁸. Elle n'est cependant pas utilisée dans les comparaisons entre États car ces mouvements ne correspondent pas à la définition classique de l'intercourse maritime. Il n'est plus douteux au lendemain de la guerre d'Orient que le trafic des compagnies régulières autrichiennes représente pour l'Angleterre et la France, une concurrence non négligeable à l'importation vers Galati et la Moldavie.

L'avènement de la paix et le retour à des conditions normales de navigation créent les conditions pour une reprise des exportations depuis le Danube : « Vers la fin de la guerre d'Orient, et immédiatement après la conclusion du Traité de Paris, les bâtiments marchands affluèrent en grand nombre dans les ports du bas-Danube, où les attiraient des circonstances très favorables au commerce des céréales et le taux extraordinairement élevé des nolis²⁹. » Avec 6,15 millions de francs, la France retrouve le premier rang des États exportateurs et double ses résultats de 1853. L'Angleterre domine toujours les importations en doublant les chiffres des deux années précédentes³⁰. Pour les autorités consulaires françaises, ces chiffres ne doivent pas faire oublier le caractère anémique de la navigation nationale dans le Danube. Les voiliers français comptent pour 17% dans le mouvement général commercial entre la France et Galati, alors que le pavillon britannique participe déjà pour 42% dans ses propres échanges commerciaux en 1856³¹. Les essais de navigation régulière à vapeur des *Messageries Impériales*, qui représentent plus de 10% du total des exportations françaises la même année, apportent une première réponse pour remédier à cette situation.

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Après 1856, l'ambition des *Messageries Impériales* est de concurrencer la compagnie du *Lloyd* de Trieste afin de substituer le commerce méditerranéen de Marseille à celui des ports de l'Adriatique. Au lendemain du traité de Paris, une autre opportunité semble se dessiner pour s'opposer au monopole des compagnies autrichiennes sur le Danube en s'attaquant à celui de la plus puissante d'entre elles. Le déclin de la navigation fluviale en France causé par l'essor des lignes de chemin de fer apparaît comme l'occasion d'introduire à bon compte et avec profit un savoir-faire et du matériel sur un fleuve réputé propice à la navigation intérieure mais redouté pour son accès.

²⁸ La valeur des importations à Galati en 1855 passe de 15,62 millions de francs à 29,75 millions de francs en prenant en compte les importations des vapeurs autrichiens : CADN, archives du consulat de Galati, vol. 15, 29 mars 1856.

²⁹ CADN, Archives de la CED, série B, vol. 25, mémoire sur le régime administratif établi aux bouches du Danube par la Commission Européenne, mémoire rédigé par le Secrétaire général annexé au protocole 194, 26 avril 1867.

³⁰ CADN, consulat de Galati vol 15, correspondance commerciale, 17 février 1857.

³¹ 48 navires français sur un total de 280, 134 navires anglais sur un total de 317 : *Ibid.*, 30 mars 1857.

LE LYONNAIS SUR LE DANUBE

En février 1856, Magnan s'associe avec deux hommes d'affaire de Strasbourg. Leur société a pour but d'explorer le Danube et ses affluents, d'étudier les éléments commerciaux que peuvent offrir les provinces riveraines afin d'organiser entre les ports danubiens un service régulier de navigation fluviale³². Pour cela, ils achètent le *Lyonnais* qui assurait précédemment le service entre Arles et Marseille.

À GALATI

Une dépêche du 12 juin, du consul de France à Galati signale l'arrivée trois semaines plus tôt du *Lyonnais*, « premier steamer français qu'on ait vu jusqu'à présent dans le Danube³³ ». Dans la dépêche suivante, le vicomte de Brossard informe le ministre que Magnan et sa société ont obtenu « par acte princier du 29 mai dernier, le privilège pour 30 années de la navigation à vapeur sur le Sereth et le Pruth³⁴ ».

Le 20 juillet, Magnan sollicite l'autorisation de construire un débarcadère à Galati³⁵. Il a planté le pavillon français et fait construire un entrepôt à charbon sur un terrain qui lui est concédé auprès de celui du *Lloyd*. Le consul Brossard reçoit une communication de l'agent des *Messageries impériales* qui l'informe d'un arrangement entre sa compagnie et Magnan pour partager les installations de l'échelle de Galati. La compagnie marseillaise a projeté plusieurs voyages d'essai pour étudier la possibilité d'ouvrir une ligne régulière de navigation entre Constantinople et Galati³⁶.

LE VOYAGE SUR LE DANUBE

L'arrivée du paquebot des Messageries impériales à Galati coïncide avec le départ du *Lyonnais*. Le 22 juillet, Magnan quitte le port pour reconnaître le fleuve jusqu'à Belgrade. Le consul de France refuse de lui délivrer un document l'autorisant à remonter jusqu'à Pest. Le capitaine Magnan « semble croire que le

³² Charles Boersch, « Projet de navigation franco-roumaine de MM. Mathiss, Parrot et Magnan », *L'Industriel alsacien*, 23 juillet 1857.

³³ CADN, Consulat de Galati, vol. 15, Alfred de Brossard à Walewski, 12 juin 1856.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 juin 1856.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 191, lettre de Magnan au consul de France à Galati, 20 juillet 1856.

³⁶ Les paquebots des Messageries Impériales de Marseille, vapeurs armés pour affronter la Méditerranée et la mer Noire, ont mené des missions de transport de troupes et de matériel pour l'armée française durant la guerre de Crimée. L'achèvement de ce service, en juillet 1856 libérant des navires, la compagnie décide de réaliser des voyages d'essais entre Constantinople et Galati dans le but d'ouvrir une ligne régulière. Le premier voyage du *Péliclès* a lieu le 14 juillet 1856 au départ de la capitale ottomane.

traité de Paris ouvre le Danube à tous les pavillons, sans exception, dans toute l'étendue de son cours³⁷ », écrit-il, mais Brossard n'est pas décidé à « soulever prématurément [...] les questions que renferme l'application du grand principe posé dans l'article 15 du traité de Paris³⁸ ».

Après le voyage du *Cygne* et sa fin médiatisée, l'expédition du *Lyonnais* tient en haleine les lecteurs de la presse française. Le 18 août, *la Presse* signale le naufrage du bateau aux Portes-de-Fer³⁹. La nouvelle, rapportée par les journaux autrichiens, est fautive. « Nos journaux vous auront instruit des phases de la navigation du *Lyonnais* dans le Danube supérieur, bien des histoires ont été brodées là-dessus⁴⁰ » écrit l'un des voyageurs.

UNE PREMIÈRE ENTORSE AU MONOPOLE DE LA DDSG

De toutes les péripéties du voyage, relayées généreusement par les journaux, le lecteur retient surtout l'attitude déloyale de la compagnie de navigation danubienne envers son concurrent. La correspondance de *La Presse* cite une instruction de la DDSG à ses capitaines à propos de vapeurs turcs et français qui ont le dessein de franchir les Portes de fer. Si elle prévoit de porter assistance aux marins et passagers en cas de naufrage, elle précise que « Ce cas excepté, il ne devra être accordé à ces bateaux étrangers aucun appui, aucun secours ; [...] il ne peut leur être donné autorisation de se servir de nos débarcadères, ni de nos ports, ni de nos pilotes; et il ne doit leur être livré ni charbon ni autres matériaux⁴¹ ».

Le *Lyonnais* arrive à Belgrade le 7 août où il reçoit un accueil chaleureux⁴². Une « canonnade de mousquets et de canons et des foules de gens rassemblés sur la berge » saluent cette première entorse au monopole de la compagnie autrichienne et la perspective de l'instauration d'une libre navigation sur le Danube souhaitée par le gouvernement serbe. De Belgrade, Magnan, accompagné de Jovan Ristic, secrétaire du ministère des Affaires étrangères de Serbie, entreprend l'exploration de la Save⁴³.

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En septembre, après un périple jusqu'en Bosnie, le *Lyonnais* est de retour à Belgrade pour y passer l'hiver. Le capitaine, qui doit face à la contestation de son privilège de navigation sur le Séreth et le Pruth, partage son temps entre la capitale serbe et Galati.

³⁷ CADN, Consulat de Galati, vol 15, Alfred de Brossard à Walewski, 20 juin 1856.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 juillet 1856.

³⁹ *La Presse*, 18 août 1856.

⁴⁰ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol 55, lettre de F. Parrot au consul Victor Place, 17 septembre 1856.

⁴¹ *La Presse*, 5 octobre 1856.

⁴² Lettre de F. Parrot, de la Société Mathiss, Magnan et Parrot, 20 août 1856, *op. cit.*

⁴³ Gordana Karovic, « Establishing steam navigation in the principality of Serbia », in: Strdan Rudic & Selim Aslantasi (dir), *Belgrade 1521–1867*, Belgrade, Dragana Amedoski ed., 2018, p. 383–404.

LE PRIVILÈGE DE NAVIGATION SUR LE PRUTH ET LE SERETH

Né de l'hostilité moldave à l'occupation autrichienne, le privilège concédé à Magnan et ses amis permet d'amorcer le débat sur l'ouverture de la navigation pour tous sur le Danube et ses affluents. Dès lors que le traité de Paris du 30 mars 1856 déclare appliquer à ce fleuve les principes de liberté consacrés par l'acte de Vienne, aborder cette question devient inévitable à propos d'un texte promulgué deux mois plus tard. Les paradoxes qu'elle entraîne naissent de la nature d'un acte fondamentalement contraire à cette liberté.

L'ACTE DU 29 MAI 1856

Le texte de la chrysobulle de concession du 29 mai 1856 comporte 21 articles. Le traité concerne la navigation sur les deux affluents « s'ils sont ou deviennent navigables⁴⁴ » et sur les lacs du territoire moldave. Il comporte l'exemption de certains droits de douane. Les fonctionnaires moldaves paieront demi-tarif leur passage sur les navires de la future compagnie et les troupes et matériels de guerre bénéficieront de la gratuité en temps de paix. Il est prévu que les bateaux naviguent sous pavillon moldave, que l'uniforme du personnel soit réglementé par la Moldavie, qui entretiendra en outre des élèves navigants pour apprendre la navigation fluviale et les manœuvres des machines. Le remorquage de chalands est également prévu dans les charges de la compagnie.

LA CONTESTATION DU PRIVILÈGE

La presse française aborde tardivement la question du privilège. Le *Journal des débats* met en doute sa validité et critique les anciennes autorités moldaves : Une question assez grave se présente, c'est celle du privilège exclusif de navigation à vapeur du Pruth et du Sereth, accordé par l'ex-prince de Moldavie [...] On est en général d'opinion qu'un pareil privilège constitue une infraction aux traités, et l'on pense que le gouvernement français sera du même avis⁴⁵. La rapidité d'obtention du privilège de navigation étonne les observateurs. Arrivés à Galati en provenance de Constantinople aux environs du 22 mai 1856, les propriétaires du *Lyonnais* ont le document en leur possession une semaine plus tard. Les circonstances sont celles de la fin du mandat de Grigore Ghica. Magnan et ses associés accompagnés de l'avocat Martin-Rey, sont invités à Iasi où siège le grand conseil administratif de Moldavie⁴⁶. L'occasion est donnée par le refus d'une demande autrichienne en faveur de la DDSG, que relate un opposant à Ghica :

⁴⁴ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol. 55. Dossier Navigation à vapeur sur le Pruth et le Sereth, 1856–1858.

⁴⁵ *Le Journal des débats*, 21 août 1856.

⁴⁶ Baron d'Avril (sous le pseudonyme de Cyrille), *De Paris à l'île des Serpents, à travers la Roumanie, la Hongrie et les Bouches du Danube*, Paris, E Leroux, 1876, p. 44–46 ; Lettre de P. Martin-Rey, *Le Journal des débats*, 26 août 1856.

Les autrichiens viennent d'éprouver un second échec. Leur programme était d'arriver à l'incorporation de fait [de la Moldavie et de la Valachie] par l'appropriation des [...] établissements d'utilité publique dans les principautés. Notre programme à nous est de tout leur refuser. Ils ont demandé la banque : refusé. Maintenant ils ont demandé un privilège pour la navigation à vapeur du Pruth et du Sereth. Ils ont été de nouveau refusés. La concession a été accordée dans les 48 heures à une compagnie française, la compagnie de navigation du Rhône, représentée par le capitaine Magnan, le même dont le bateau à vapeur avait été coupé en deux dans la rade de Constantinople par un pyroscaphe autrichien⁴⁷.

Les protestations des autorités autrichiennes ne tardent pas. Une note du comte de Buol, Ministre des affaires étrangères, rappelle à son consul à Iasi que « la libre navigation tant sur mer que sur tous les fleuves de l'Empire ottoman, stipulée par les anciens traités entre l'Autriche et la Porte [...] a été de tout temps comprise et pratiquée dans un sens dégagé de toute condition restrictive⁴⁸. » Une démarche officielle est engagée le 20 juillet auprès de Fuad Pacha, ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Empire ottoman par l'internonce autrichien. Rappelant que les droits concédés par la Porte concernent toutes les autres Puissances, il proteste que le privilège concédé à Magnan contrevient « aux principes internationaux établis d'abord par le Congrès de Vienne et adoptés et sanctionnés en dernier lieu par les puissance signataires du traité du 30 mars, qui livre le Danube avec ses affluents qui traversent dans leur cours plusieurs États à la navigation de tous les pavillons sans aucune exception⁴⁹ ».

Le traité de commerce de Passarovitz passé en 1718 entre l'Autriche et La Porte, prévoit pour les marchands impériaux, la possibilité de conduire leurs marchandises sur le Danube⁵⁰. Le *Sénéed* ou « capitulations nouvelles » de février 1784 qui régit les relations commerciales entre les deux empires confirme le précédent traité⁵¹. Ghica et Martin-Rey contestent l'application de ces textes sur un territoire devenu « distinct de l'Empire ottoman⁵² ».

Quelques jours avant la fin du mandat de Ghica, Kogalniceanu craint le retrait de la concession : « Nous avons eu le courage de donner le privilège de la

⁴⁷ Lettre de Mihail Kogalniceanu à Constantin Alexandru Rosetti, 18/30 mai 1856 : Archives Dumitru Bratianu, vol. II publiés par Al. Cretzianu, établissement Culturel Ion C. Bratianu, 1934.

⁴⁸ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol 55, extrait d'une dépêche du comte de Buol, 30 juin 1856, annexée à la réponse de Jean Ghyka à Gödel Lannoy consul général d'Autriche à Iasi, 14 juillet 1856.

⁴⁹ Lettre de Anton Prokesch-Osten, Internonce et ministre plénipotentiaire d'Autriche à Constantinople à Fuad Pacha, ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Porte, 20 juillet 1856 : Osmanli Arsivi 157 41 2, Je remercie M. Süleyman Uygun de m'avoir signalé la présence de cette pièce dans les archives ottomanes.

⁵⁰ *Abrégé de l'histoire des traités de paix entre les puissances de l'Europe depuis la Paix de Westphalie*, par Mr Koch de l'Institut national de France, t. 4^e contenant les traités entre les puissances chrétiennes et les Turcs, Bâle, Paris, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Decker, 1797, p. 50-51.

⁵¹ *Recueil des traités de commerce et de navigation de la France avec les puissances étrangères, depuis la paix de Westphalie en 1648* par le comte d'Hauterive et le chevalier de Cussy, 2e partie, t. 1er, Paris Rey et Gravier, 1834, p. 129-133.

⁵² Lettre de P. Martin-Rey, *Le Journal des débats*, 26 août 1856.

navigation de nos rivières à une compagnie française. Ce privilège, la Turquie le brise aujourd'hui pour l'accorder à l'Autriche, et la France ne dit rien⁵³ ! » La réponse française prend la forme d'une note du 8 août 1856. Son auteur est Édouard Thouvenel, ambassadeur de France à Constantinople, elle est adressée au premier drogman de l'ambassade.

Plutôt que l'interprétation des traités anciens, la note utilise un article de celui de Paris : « En présence du texte si clair et si positif de l'article 23 du traité de Paris, la Porte s'est elle-même retiré le droit d'annuler par un firman ou par un ordre quelconque une mesure d'administration intérieure prise à Bucharest ou à Iasi, et je ne saurais croire qu'elle eût un moment la pensée de suivre la voie qu'on lui indique⁵⁴ ». Thouvenel demande l'intervention des puissances signataires du traité de Paris. L'illégalité de la concession de Magnan est officialisée par la réponse des autorités ottomanes. Le texte donne satisfaction aux demandes autrichiennes, tant au point de vue du respect des traités internationaux antérieurs que de celui du traité de Paris :

Le ci-devant Hospodar de Moldavie, Prince Ghyka, a cédé à Monsieur Magnan, sujet de l'honorable gouvernement français, le privilège spécial d'établir un service de bateaux à vapeur sur les fleuves du Pruth et du Sereth. Comme cette concession contrevient à la teneur des traités, l'internonce autrichien a donné à ce sujet une Note officielle [...] Quoique qu'en vertu des privilèges spéciaux dont jouissent les deux principautés, tous le cas relatifs à leur administration intérieure soient du ressort des hospodars, néanmoins chacune de ces deux principautés est soumise naturellement aux traités existant entre l'Empire ottoman et les honorables puissances étrangères. Or tout ce qui se trouve en contradiction avec les clauses de ces traités est illégal. Il est naturel que la navigation du Pruth et du Sereth soient soumises aux conventions existant entre la Turquie et l'honorable cour d'Autriche au sujet de la libre circulation des fleuves qui traversent les deux États⁵⁵.

Thouvenel ne peut que regretter qu'il n'ait pas été pris un temps de réflexion avant de répondre aux injonctions autrichiennes et remarque que le principe d'un tel rejet peut aussi être préjudiciable à l'Empire ottoman :

On aurait eu ainsi le loisir de voir si le sened invoqué par le cabinet de Vienne et consenti à une époque où les procédés de la navigation fluviale étaient encore dans l'enfance ne signifie pas simplement que les eaux intérieures de l'Empire ottoman ne seront jamais interdites au pavillon commercial de l'Autriche ou s'il a une étendue telle que la Porte ne puisse, dans aucun cas, ni

⁵³ Lettre de Mihail Kogalniceanu à Constantin Alexandru Rosetti, 13 juillet 1856, Archives Dumitru Bratianu *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ Lettre de Thouvenel au premier drogman de l'ambassade de France à Constantinople, 8 août 1856 : *La Presse*, 20 septembre 1856.

⁵⁵ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol. 55. Traduction de la *Lettre vizirienne à son excellence le Caïmacan* annexée à une communication du Secrétariat d'état de Moldavie, 21 août 1856. Cette lettre est publiée en France dans une traduction différente : *Le Journal des débats*, 16 septembre 1856.

dans aucune partie de la Turquie, opérer dans le lit des rivières des améliorations indispensables, en concédant aux particuliers et aux compagnies qui se chargeraient de les opérer, quelques avantages spéciaux et temporaires⁵⁶.

La consultation de la Commission européenne du Danube est avancée par l'ambassadeur parmi les solutions pour résoudre la question posée par l'interprétation des stipulations de l'acte de Vienne de 1815, réputé encadrer dorénavant les questions de droit inhérentes au Danube :

Rien enfin, ne semblait plus naturel, plus indiqué, dans une question se rapportant à l'application au bas Danube des principes proclamés par le congrès de Vienne, que de s'en remettre à la Commission européenne dont les fonctions vont commencer, du soin d'examiner si les affluents de ce fleuve, tant en Valachie qu'en Moldavie, et notamment le Sereth et le Pruth, se trouvaient ou non dans les cas prévus et définis par les trois premiers articles du règlement pour la libre navigation des rivières⁵⁷.

La lettre de protestation de Thouvenel du 8 août est publiée dans les journaux français le 20 septembre. Dans le but de ne pas laisser se développer un débat tirant parti des arguments de Thouvenel, et pour prendre acte de la position libérale concernant les affluents exprimée par l'Autriche et la Porte, la décision officielle d'accepter les termes de la lettre vizirienne est rapidement notifiée au consulat de Iasi :

Nos alliés et la Sublime Porte elle-même ayant cru devoir interpréter l'article 15 du traité de Paris dans ce sens que le principe de la liberté de la navigation serait applicable non seulement au Danube, mais à tous ses affluents, il ne pouvait pas entrer dans les intentions du gouvernement de l'empereur [...] de mettre obstacle à une interprétation aussi libérale des dispositions arrêtées au congrès de Paris dans le but en effet, de faciliter [...] à toutes les nations l'accès des provinces baignées par le Danube et par ses tributaires. Aussi, bien cette solution dût avoir nécessairement pour premier effet le retrait du privilège de navigation exclusive accordé à une compagnie française, ais-je invité notre ambassadeur en Turquie à prendre acte officiellement du principe de liberté consacré par la lettre vizirienne [...] pour lui enjoindre de considérer comme non avenue la concession consentie⁵⁸.

L'ultime injonction apparaît comme comminatoire envers Édouard Thouvenel. Elle est probablement due à la publication de la lettre du 8 août. Au-delà de l'acte d'autorité de Walewski, sa dépêche du 25 septembre prend acte d'une

⁵⁶ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol. 55. Dossier Navigation à vapeur sur le Pruth et le Sereth, 1856–1858, lettre de Thouvenel au premier drogman de l'ambassade de France à Constantinople, 12 septembre 1856.

⁵⁷ *Id.*, *Le règlement pour la libre navigation des rivières* cité dans la lettre est rédigé par une commission *ad hoc* et signé le 23 mars 1815, il constitue l'annexe 16 de l'Acte de Vienne.

⁵⁸ CADN, Consulat de Iasi, vol. 55, Walewski à Victor Place, 25 septembre 1856.

avancée sur le front de la liberté de navigation rendue possible par le sacrifice d'intérêts économiques français. La diplomatie occidentale se félicitera de l'abandon de la concession Magnan au cours des négociations de l'été 1858. Pour le capitaine Magnan, le privilège de navigation sur le Pruth et le Sereth est sacrifié à la diplomatie. Ses associés n'en restent pas là.

LA RÉPONSE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ MATHISS, MAGNAN, PARROT ET CIE AU RETRAIT DU PRIVILÈGE

Le lendemain de la publication du rescrit impérial le 16 septembre, l'un des associés, récemment rentré du périple du *Lyonnais*, écrit au consul de France à Iasi : « Par les journaux parisiens arrivés hier nous apprenons que le gouvernement turc a annulé la concession [...] Cela nous jette dans une grande perplexité, il paraît donc que les Autrichiens l'ont emporté dans leurs manœuvres contre nous !⁵⁹» Mathiss se rend au Quai d'Orsay le jour de la publication. Avec Martin-Rey, il rencontre le prince Ghica⁶⁰ qui leur conseille de préparer un mémoire en suggérant d'y faire figurer des textes de concessions plus anciennes n'ayant pas été contestées par l'Autriche⁶¹. Interrogé, le secrétariat d'État de Moldavie répond par l'envoi de la traduction d'une chrysobulle signée par Ghica en 1852⁶².

Ce document figure en bonne place parmi les arguments d'un mémoire adressé au gouvernement français et à la conférence des ambassadeurs qui prolonge à Paris le congrès de 1856. Deux jurisconsultes en sont les auteurs, l'avocat de la société, Pierre Martin-Rey et le titulaire de la chaire de droits des gens à la faculté de droit de Paris Paul Royer-Collard.

L'argumentaire des deux jurisconsultes vise à préciser trois points : les erreurs du rescrit viziriel, la véritable nature de la concession et la méconnaissance du pouvoir concédant. Le cœur du raisonnement tourne autour de la nature véritablement non navigable des deux affluents considérés. En s'appuyant sur les voyages du géographe Hommaire de Hell⁶³ les auteurs montrent le caractère impraticable de rivières à peine explorées et impropres à la navigation. Ils entreprennent ensuite d'aborder la question du droit des gens : « L'art 5 du traité de 1814⁶⁴ inaugura un système nouveau largement libéral et favorable au commerce du monde entier, [...] le droit nouveau n'est fait que pour les grandes rivières

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, lettre de Parrot à Victor Place, 17 septembre 1856.

⁶⁰ Grigore Ghica est mort près de Paris, le 24 août 1857.

⁶¹ CADN, Consulat de Iasi, vol. 55, lettres de Mathiss et de Martin-Rey à Victor Place, 22 septembre 1856.

⁶² *Ibid.*, chrysobulle du 19 juillet 1852, annexée à la lettre du secrétaire d'état A. Stroudza à Victor Place.

⁶³ Xavier Hommaire de Hell, *Les Steppes de la mer Caspienne, le Caucase, la Crimée et la Russie méridionale*, Paris, P. Bertrand, 3 vol., 1843–1845. Les archives du consulat de Iasi conservent les traces de son passage : CADN, Consulat de Iasi, vol. 2, Guizot à Huber puis à Duclos, 30 septembre 1842, 13 mai 1843.

⁶⁴ Le traité de Paix de 1814 est plus libéral sur cette question que l'Acte de Vienne qui lui succède.

navigables et pour leur cours navigable seulement⁶⁵. » Les auteurs voient deux alternatives dans l'aménagement des fleuves concernés :

Il faut que l'Europe prenne à sa charge la canalisation du Pruth et du Sereth, comme elle a fait pour les embouchures du Danube, où qu'elle restitue à la Moldavie le droit imprescriptible d'utiliser enfin les ressources que lui donnent des belles rivières. [...] Si la Commission européenne veut appliquer aux affluents du Danube notamment au Pruth et au Sereth, les dispositions de l'art. 16 du traité de Paris, le monde entier applaudira à sa résolution, et nous-mêmes nous nous abstiendrons de tout murmure⁶⁶.

La réponse du gouvernement est apportée sous la forme d'une lettre du ministre du commerce et des travaux publics, le 15 juillet 1857. Elle confirme le rejet définitif d'une concession « qui serait une infraction flagrante au système de droit commun consacré par le traité de Paris⁶⁷. »

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Dans le débat qui concerne la liberté de navigation sur le Danube, les gouvernements occidentaux ont le sentiment d'avancer dans la défense de cette liberté en prenant acte de l'adhésion de l'Autriche à ce principe et en reconnaissant que sa liberté est menacée par la concession. Par le manque de soutien de son ministre de tutelle, Édouard Thouvenel est contraint d'acter le rejet d'une concession qui lui apparaissait, dans la forme, comme un moyen de développement économique de toutes les entités politiques concernées. L'abandon du privilège impose à ses anciens bénéficiaires de préciser leur projet.

DE LA MOLDAVIE À LA SERBIE : LA COMPAGNIE FRANCO-DANUBIENNE (1857) OU LA NAISSANCE D'UN PROJET ÉCONOMIQUE

En novembre 1856, une partie de l'équipage du Lyonnais regagne Marseille. Le navire et son capitaine s'appêtent à passer l'hiver dans la Save, près de Belgrade. Magnan engage de nouveaux pilotes et commence à évoquer l'arrivée de nombreux navires au printemps suivant⁶⁸. Abandonnant aux hommes de loi la cause mal engagée du privilège, il intensifie ses contacts en Serbie dans le but

⁶⁵ Pierre Martin-Rey et Paul Royer-Collard, *De la Navigation du Pruth et du Sereth, mémoire pour MM. Mathiss, Magnan, Parrot et Cie*. Paris, Imp. De Lacour, 1857, 24 p.

⁶⁶ *Id.*

⁶⁷ Auguste Mathiss et Paul Royer-Collard, *Nouvelles observations pour la Société Mathiss, Magnan, Parrot et Cie, au sujet de la concession du privilège de navigation du Pruth et du Sereth*. Paris, Imp. Lacour, 1858, 10 p.

⁶⁸ *Le Journal des débats*, 21 novembre 1856.

d'organiser, une compagnie de navigation s'appuyant sur ceux-ci et les espoirs d'une cause pas encore perdue en Moldavie.

LE PROJET DE LIGNE BELGRADE-GALATI

Au début de l'année 1857, Magnan ne parle plus des deux affluents mais d'un service à organiser entre Belgrade et Galati. La presse autrichienne croit savoir que des contacts sont pris par Mathiss avec des négociants serbes⁶⁹. Des négociations avec les milieux économiques et politiques serbes permettent d'esquisser un programme de navigation reliant tous les ports de la principauté. Deux lignes sont projetées : l'une sur le Danube, l'autre sur la Save. « Le raccordement prévu des routes du Danube et de la Save avec la Méditerranée et la France devait permettre le développement rapide de l'économie serbe, mais aussi affaiblir l'influence politique de l'Autriche⁷⁰. » L'accord prévoit la formation de personnel serbe et l'établissement d'un atelier de construction et de réparation de bateaux à Belgrade. Il reçoit la caution du principal marchand de sel serbe, ce qui semble décider le gouvernement à donner son accord à la mi-janvier 1857. La pression du consul autrichien provoque l'abandon du projet. Celui d'une société nationale sans le concours des Français n'est pas non plus suivi d'effet en raison de la politique pro-autrichienne du prince Alexandre Karageorgévitch⁷¹. Le 9 avril 1857, le *Lyonnais* est de retour à Galati.

L'AVIS DE LA CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE DE PARIS

Parallèlement aux négociations menées à Belgrade et dans la perspective de fonder une compagnie de navigation franco-danubienne, les trois associés sollicitent l'aide du gouvernement français sous forme d'une subvention ou d'une garantie d'intérêts. Dans un rapport de mai 1857, adressé au ministre du Commerce et des Travaux publics, la Chambre de commerce de Paris répond à une demande d'avis des autorités sur l'utilité et les chances de succès de l'entreprise. Elle souligne d'abord l'indigence du commerce entre la France et la Moldo-Valachie. Un faible mouvement commercial qui se fait exclusivement à partir des foires de Leipzig, emprunte le chemin de fer et le Danube.

⁶⁹ *Le Constitutionnel*, 6 février 1857.

⁷⁰ « The planned connection of Danube and Sava routes with the Mediterranean and France was to provide for the speedy development of the Serbian economy, but was also to weaken Austria's political influence » : Gordana Karovic, « Establishing steam navigation in the principality of Serbia » *op. cit.*

⁷¹ Gordana Karovic, « Establishing steam navigation in the principality of Serbia », *op. cit.* : Ce n'est qu'à la fin de 1858, après l'abdication de Karageorgévitch et son remplacement par Milos Obrénovitch que des négociations peuvent reprendre entre la Serbie et une nouvelle société française dans laquelle figure toujours Magnan. Elles aboutissent à la concession du 5 septembre 1859 et la création de la Compagnie générale de navigation franco-serbe.

Les négociants parisiens posent les conditions de service qui paraissent indispensables pour établir de nouvelles relations commerciales. Des voyages à jours fixes, peuvent seuls alimenter en fret et en passagers. Si les produits à exporter de France ne manquent pas, la question du port d'origine est primordiale et l'idée que Marseille puisse se substituer à un port situé au fond de l'Adriatique séduit les rédacteurs du rapport. Magnan développe dans une brochure la question de la concurrence entre Marseille et Trieste⁷².

Trois conditions sont posées hors-desquelles le projet apparaît difficilement réalisable. La première touche au privilège de navigation sur le Pruth et le Sereth. Le refus du gouvernement de le soutenir intervient deux mois plus tard. La fusion avec une compagnie serbe, celle-là même dont la politique pro-autrichienne du prince provoque l'abandon, est la seconde condition. La troisième concerne la subvention ou garantie d'intérêts qui doit couvrir plusieurs années : « tout le monde sait que [...] les frais des premiers établissements à former sont énormes ; il faut du temps pour amener un courant d'affaires entre les deux pays, y créer des habitudes⁷³. »

Parler de soutien de la Chambre de commerce de Paris au projet comme le fait la presse est abusif. Son rapport a surtout le mérite d'identifier deux priorités pour ce type d'entreprise : le développement d'une régularité de trafic et la nécessité d'organiser un réseau commercial.

LA COMPAGNIE FRANCO-DANUBIENNE

À Paris, la presse annonce la création le 13 juin 1857, par la société Mathiss, Parrot et Magnan, de la *Compagnie Franco-danubienne*⁷⁴. La date de la création de la compagnie coïncide avec l'ouverture d'une ligne française dans le bas Danube. Le 1^{er} juillet 1857, les *Messageries Impériales* inaugurent leur service régulier entre Constantinople et Galati. Dans ce port, le commandant du *Lyonnais* renouvelle une demande de concession de 100 mètres de quai, contigu avec celui de la société marseillaise, « à cause de l'échange que nous ferons de nos passagers et des marchandises⁷⁵ ».

La presse économique et financière développe les enjeux posés par la Chambre de commerce. Les céréales et la viande sont au centre des exportations possibles depuis le Danube : « Les céréales et les bestiaux des contrées danubiennes seraient, dans les années de cherté [...] que la France a à subir, d'un puissant secours pour l'alimentation publique⁷⁶. » Le syndicat de la boucherie de

⁷² Capitaine Magnan, *Trieste et Marseille, question du transit commercial de l'Orient*, lib. Dentu, 1859, 16 p.

⁷³ CADN, Consulat de Iasi, vol. 55, *Rapport de la Chambre de commerce de Paris sur la compagnie franco-danubienne*, 27 mai 1857.

⁷⁴ Assemblée générale constitutive du 13 juin 1857, *Le Messager de la Bourse*, 17 juin 1857.

⁷⁵ CADN, Consulat de Galati, vol. 191, Lettre de Belenfant, capitaine commandant le *Lyonnais* au consul de France à Galati, 4 juin 1857.

⁷⁶ Charles Boersch, « Projet de navigation franco-roumaine de MM. Mathiss, Parrot et Magnan », *op. cité*.

Paris s'intéresse à la question. Du côté des importations, l'idée est de se substituer à l'Autriche pour la fourniture d'articles manufacturés et de produits coloniaux⁷⁷.

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Parti de Paris mi-août, Magnan consacre la fin de l'année 1857 à une grande tournée dans les régions danubiennes sans doute consacrée à la promotion de la nouvelle compagnie. Le passeport du capitaine témoigne de son passage à Galati, Bucarest, Iasi et Odessa⁷⁸. Sa présence dans les capitales des Principautés n'est pas non plus étrangère aux ultimes négociations en cours à Vienne, au sein de la commission des États riverains pour l'établissement de l'Acte de navigation du Danube.

LA LIBERTÉ DE NAVIGATION

Dans ses échanges avec le consul de France à Galati, Magnan défend l'idée que le Danube est désormais ouvert à tous. Le vicomte de Brossard, à l'inverse, cite l'article 17 du traité de Paris qui, par la constitution d'une commission constituée des seuls riverains du fleuve « paraît contredire cette hypothèse⁷⁹. » Les négociations en cours à Vienne au sein de cette commission se focalisent sur l'ouverture du fleuve aux navires des États non riverains. Cette question conditionne l'existence de compagnies étrangères comme la Compagnie Franco-Danubienne pour entamer le monopole autrichien, le sujet s'invite à la fin des négociations.

LA NAVIGATION DES NON-RIVERAINS

Le retour du *Lyonnais* à Galati en avril 1857 est l'occasion pour le délégué français à la CED qui siège dans cette ville, de rédiger une longue étude sur le droit pour les non-riverains d'exercer le cabotage sur les fleuves internationaux. Le contexte est celui de la réunion de la commission des États riverains à Vienne. Elle ne communique pas avec la CED, mais Engelhardt sait qu'elle se propose, dans le futur acte de navigation du Danube, de réserver la navigation intérieure aux riverains. Le délégué français montre comment le congrès de Vienne a interprété la question de la « navigation intermédiaire » dans un sens défavorable aux non-riverains. Il cherche à montrer que le traité de Paris renverse cette logique tout en s'appuyant sur le fait que la liberté de navigation existe, « *ab antiquo* » sur le bas Danube.

⁷⁷ J. Privet, « Compagnie franco-danubienne », *Messenger de la Bourse*, 20 juin 1857, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ CADN, consulat de Iasi, vol. 55. Passeport d'André Magnan, délivré à Paris le 14 août 1857.

⁷⁹ CADN, Consulat de Galati, vol 15, Alfred de Brossard à Walewski, 20 juin 1856.

Comme son compatriote consul, le commissaire de France auprès de la CED observe depuis Galati les faits et gestes du capitaine Magnan. Le capitaine du *Lyonnais* qui s'est engouffré dans l'appel à la liberté fluviale relayé par la presse parisienne après le congrès du printemps 1856, fascine par son approche aventurière mais crée les conditions pour le renforcement de fait du monopole autrichien : « Les explorations du capitaine Magnan, entreprises avec plus d'ardeur et de fracas que de prudence, n'ont peut-être pas été étrangères [...] à ce dernier résultat, en éveillant les alarmes et les susceptibilités de la Compagnie danubienne⁸⁰. »

L'ACTE DE NAVIGATION DU DANUBE

L'Acte de navigation du Danube dont est chargé la commission des États riverains siégeant à Vienne est sur le point d'être signé le 7 novembre 1857. L'article 8 dit que « l'exercice de la navigation fluviale proprement dite, entre les ports du Danube, sans entrer en pleine mer, est réservé aux bâtiments des pays riverains de ce fleuve. » En l'état, ce texte annihile les velléités de la *Compagnie franco-danubienne* de se consacrer à une navigation exclusivement fluviale et d'arborer sur ses bateaux le pavillon français. À Vienne, les ultimes négociations portent la trace des démarches menées par Magnan dans les capitales des principautés.

À Vienne, le délégué autrichien Blumfeld préside les séance de la commission des riverains. La Bavière, l'Empire ottoman et le Wurtemberg y sont représentés comme États riverains du Danube navigable. Les trois principautés danubiennes, Moldavie, Serbie et Valachie participent aux discussions sous l'égide de leur suzerain ottoman. Un supplément au protocole de la séance de signature de l'acte définitif, le 7 novembre 1857, rédigé par le délégué autrichien, en précise les circonstances. Il s'agit pour chaque commissaire de parapher chacun des quatre « instruments » de cet acte, un pour chacun des États riverains. La non égalité de traitement entre ceux-ci et les Principautés pose d'emblée un incident puisque Nicolae Rosetti, le représentant de la Valachie déclare que son gouvernement ne l'autorise à signer l'acte présenté « qu'en sept instruments ». Le délégué serbe Hristic ne peut le faire qu'à la condition que des ajouts soient apportés à trois articles. Parmi ces compléments, le plus important concerne l'article 8 et en change le sens :

Si un des gouvernements des pays riverains accordait à un entrepreneur ou compagnie, sujets d'un pays non riverain, l'autorisation d'exercer la navigation fluviale intérieure, cette autorisation n'aurait d'effet que sur les rives du pays concédant, sans conférer au dit entrepreneur ou compagnie, aucun droit de navigation sur les rives des autres pays riverains⁸¹.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Alfred de Brossard à Walewski, 26 septembre 1856.

⁸¹ CADN, Consulat de Iasi, vol. 55, Blumfeld, délégué autrichien, président de la Commission riveraine du Danube, *Supplément au protocole 31*, 22 novembre 1857.

Les quatre délégués de riverains refusent d'entrer en discussion sur des modifications du texte de l'acte. Au-delà de la question de l'accroc à la règle de l'interdiction de la navigation intérieure aux non-riverains que représente la rédaction volontairement ambiguë proposée, le complément demandé par la Serbie pose la question de la souveraineté réelle des Principautés sur les rives des cours d'eau compris dans leurs territoires. Le commissaire de la Moldavie s'abstient de signer sans instruction prenant en compte l'attitude de ses deux collègues.

Le compte-rendu du commissaire moldave à son gouvernement apporte des éclaircissements sur les circonstances du refus de signature, plus particulièrement de la part de la Serbie :

Il paraît que depuis plusieurs mois déjà le commissaire de Serbie avait reçu l'ordre de son gouvernement de faire adopter quelques propositions se rapportant aux articles 2, 8 et 31 de l'acte de navigation [...] la principale de ces propositions relative à l'article 8 tend à constater d'une manière détournée le droit des pays riverains d'admettre aussi des sujets d'États non riverains à l'exercice de la navigation intérieure du Danube, sans que ces dernières aient besoin, pour y participer, d'appartenir à une société établie dans le pays respectif et soumise à ses lois ainsi que le stipule l'acte. On disait ici que l'entreprise Magnan se cachait derrière la demande de la Serbie⁸².

Le commissaire de Moldavie précise que l'ordre de ne pas signer est arrivé de Belgrade le 6 novembre et qu'à Vienne, « on ne s'y attendait pas du tout. » Devant les refus de signer de ses deux collègues et bien qu'ayant lui-même l'ordre de le faire, Ludovic Steege décide de ne pas signer : « l'isolement de ma signature de celle de mes collègues pouvait ne pas être indifférent à la Moldavie ». Il est conforté dans son attitude en trouvant à son retour de séance, l'instruction de s'abstenir. Entre les délégués des États souverains et ceux de Principautés, particulièrement ceux de la Serbie et de la Valachie, les discussions sont après : « On leur avait dit qu'on saurait bien se passer de leurs signatures toutes secondaires et cependant si difficiles à obtenir [...] que la signature de la puissance souveraine suffirait » les riverains répliquant « que si de pareilles paroles avaient été dites, elles auraient été provoqué par une exclamation du commissaire serbe défiant les États riverains de faire exécuter l'acte en Serbie sans l'adhésion de son gouvernement⁸³. »

À la fin de l'année 1857, la Serbie est la principauté qui apparaît la plus en pointe dans la défense de la cause de la libre circulation sur le Danube et ses affluents. Le projet négocié avec Magnan garde ses partisans et le capitaine ne

⁸² *Ibid.*, Steege, délégué de Moldavie à la commission riveraine, sd., *Rapport au secrétariat de Moldavie*.

⁸³ *Id.* Sur la négociation de l'Acte de navigation au sein de la commission riveraine voir aussi : Constantin Ardeleanu, *The European Commission of the Danube, 1856–1948, An Experiment in International Administration*, Balkan Studies Library, Volume: 27, 2020, p. 65–68.

ménage pas sa peine comme le montre ses fréquents déplacements entre Bucarest et Iasi.

Le 18 mai 1858, alors que va s'ouvrir à Paris la conférence diplomatique qui doit examiner l'acte du 7 novembre précédent, Auguste Mathiss, directeur de la Compagnie franco-danubienne écrit au délégué français à la CED résidant à Galati pour proposer l'achat du *Lyonnais* par la commission. Dans sa réponse, Engelhardt, argue de l'impossibilité pour la CED de procéder à un tel achat même s'il proteste « que ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que je m'occupe du *Lyonnais* et de l'entreprise intéressante qu'il avait tout d'abord si bien représentée⁸⁴. » Le *Lyonnais* est vendu à la Compagnie russe de commerce et de navigation⁸⁵. La Compagnie Franco-Danubienne « est dissoute sans avoir pu mettre ses projets à exécution »⁸⁶.

LA CONFÉRENCE DE PARIS (MAI-AOÛT 1858)

La reprise des discussions à Paris concernant les Principautés danubiennes en mai 1858, fait l'objet de notes préparatoires en partie rédigées par Hippolyte Desprez. Pour le futur directeur politique du ministère, les Puissances européennes jouissent toutes, en Turquie, au terme des conventions concédées, « du traitement de la nation la plus favorisée [...] ces puissances sont donc en mesure de revendiquer pour leurs pavillons respectifs le droit de naviguer en toute liberté sur les rives turques dans le Danube⁸⁷. »

Les idées de Desprez se retrouvent exposées dans un mémoire anonyme rédigé à Paris quelques jours avant l'ouverture de la conférence qui présente cette question comme l'une de celles « qui ont tenu le plus de place depuis trois ans dans les préoccupations de la diplomatie⁸⁸. » La question du monopole de la société autrichienne y est abordée : « un monopole qu'elle est parfaitement sûre de conserver de fait, si la navigation de port en port est réservée aux riverains, si aucune compagnie internationale ne peut se former à l'avenir⁸⁹. »

L'acte du 7 novembre est présenté à la conférence de Paris par l'Autriche et la Turquie. Il est lourdement critiqué par le plénipotentiaire britannique. Les critiques se concentrent sur l'article 8 qui réserve le cabotage aux riverains. « Le négociateur anglais déclare que cette disposition n'est pas d'accord avec les préliminaires de paix [...] du Congrès de Paris, qui porte que la liberté du Danube

⁸⁴ CADN, Archives de la CED, série B, vol. 15, Engelgardt à Auguste Mathiss, 18 juin 1858, (minute).

⁸⁵ P. Cadiou, « Les Principautés roumaines et le commerce du bas Danube », *Revue maritime et coloniale*, t. 11, 1864, p. 66–82 et 234–269, ici p. 260.

⁸⁶ *De la navigation à vapeur sur le Danube et sur ses affluents*, op. cité.

⁸⁷ AMAE – La Courneuve, papiers Hyppolite Desprez, vol. 18, dossier *Liberté des fleuves*, mémoire : *Examen de l'acte de navigation du Danube*, février 1858, fol. 207–223, ici fol. 215.

⁸⁸ *Mémoire sur la liberté du Danube et sur l'acte de navigation du 7 novembre* (1857), Paris, Office du Nord, 1858, 105 p.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40–41.

et de ses embouchures sera efficacement assurée par des institutions européennes, dans lesquelles les Puissances contractantes seront également représentées. » La France, adhère aux observations anglaises et demande d'intégrer tous les affluents du Danube dans l'espace de libre navigation. Elle s'appuie pour cela, sur son renoncement au privilège Magnan. La Prusse, la Russie et la Sardaigne soutiennent les mêmes positions. Les réponses du plénipotentiaire autrichien, qui diffèrent notablement de celles apportées à l'occasion de la contestation du privilège de Magnan, sont approuvées par son collègue ottoman. Elles se basent sur l'opinion que « ce n'est que pour les bouches du Danube que le traité du 30 mars a créé un état de choses nouveau⁹⁰. »

Une profonde divergence existe sur ce sujet entre la majorité des puissances européennes et l'Autriche faiblement soutenue par la Sublime Porte. Comme dans le cas du privilège du Pruth et du Sereth, l'opinion de Constantinople bute sur la question du respect des anciens traités. Tant que le conflit n'est pas réglé, la position ottomane est au maintien de la situation juridique née des capitulations, sur le cours du Danube qui dépend de sa juridiction : « On voit que le gouvernement ottoman a tenté d'assurer le maintien de l'ancien statut en profitant de ce désaccord entre les États riverains ou non du Danube⁹¹. »

L'Empire ottoman diffère l'application de l'acte du 7 novembre 1857 mais pas l'Autriche pour qui le texte régit la navigation danubienne en bordure de son territoire. La conférence de Paris refuse de ratifier l'acte élaboré par la commission des riverains et prolonge la durée de vie de la CED. Le Danube s'achemine vers deux régimes de navigation.

Le rejet de l'Acte de navigation du 7 novembre 1857 ne reste pas sans réponse de la part de la Commission des riverains qui tire un ultime baroud d'honneur avant son ajournement. En l'absence de représentants des Principautés danubiennes, Les quatre puissances territoriales signent entre elles le 1^{er} mars 1859 à Vienne une série d'articles additionnels à l'acte du 7 novembre.

Le 1^{er} article vise à admettre la liberté de navigation intérieure lorsqu'elle est faite en continuité avec la navigation maritime. Pour des raisons pratiques et notamment l'utilisation de bateaux différents entre navigation maritime et fluviale illustrée ici par les ruptures de charges principalement effectuées à Galati, cette clause est inopérante. Le second article additionnel s'attache à atténuer les effets restrictifs pour les non riverains de l'article 8 de l'acte du 7 novembre : « Les gouvernements contractants sont d'accord que chacun des gouvernements riverains sera libre d'accorder à la navigation, sur la partie du fleuve appartenant à son

⁹⁰ Affaires étrangères : *Conférence de Paris 1858*, Paris, imp. Impériale, novembre 1858, protocole XVIII, 16 août 1858, p. 91–102.

⁹¹ « Osmanlı hükümetinin bu meselede, Tuna'ya sahildar olan ve olmayan devletlerarasındaki bu anlaşmazlıktan yararlanarak eski statünün devam ettirilmesini sağlamaya çalıştığı görülüyor. » : İlhan Ekinci, *Tuna Nehri'nde Diplomasi Oyunları, 1856–1883* [Jeux diplomatiques dans le Danube, 1856–1883], İstanbul, AltınPost Yayınevi, 2014, 304 p., ici p. 204.

territoire, des facilités ultérieures, qui ne sont pas en contradiction avec les stipulations dudit acte⁹². »

Malgré les ressemblances de cet article avec les ajouts demandés par la Serbie en novembre 1857, rien n'est réglé avec ce nouveau texte qui conditionne la liberté de navigation à sa compatibilité avec l'ensemble de l'acte. Seuls les quatre États riverains sont concernés par ces articles, la Porte se réservant de prévenir les gouvernements de la Serbie, de la Valachie et de la Moldavie de leur teneur « à l'effet de leur mise à exécution, lorsque les pouvoirs publics seront définitivement constitués dans ces trois Principautés⁹³. »

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Les puissances rejettent les articles additionnels comme elles ont rejeté l'Acte du 7 novembre 1857. L'ouverture du conflit italien conduit à l'épuisement du dialogue avec Vienne sur cette question. Le gouvernement moldave pro-autrichien qui a obtempéré à l'annulation du privilège Magnan suit un moment les Autrichiens dans l'application de l'Acte de navigation mais un nouveau cabinet met fin à cette situation en avril 1859⁹⁴.

CONCLUSION

L'expédition du *Lyonnais* illustre les évolutions permises par la guerre de Crimée. Le mouvement de la navigation vers l'Orient, l'essor du commerce maritime et fluvial rendu possible par de nouvelles règles et l'évolution des techniques, trouve cependant ses limites dans la résistance de l'Empire autrichien et de sa principale compagnie de navigation. La défense du monopole de navigation fluviale de la part de Vienne prend la forme d'un débat diplomatique provoqué par la poussée de l'Europe occidentale, notamment les puissances maritimes, en faveur de l'accès de toutes les nations aux fleuves internationaux.

Les velléités de la compagnie *Franco-danubienne* d'entamer le monopole de la principale compagnie naviguant sur le Danube répondent à une logique économique conforme à l'essor jugé nécessaire d'une navigation régulière à vapeur. Cette volonté est cependant basée sur la nécessité par défaut d'un réemploi de matériel devenu inutile en raison de la concurrence du chemin de fer. Contrairement aux essais de la compagnie des *Messageries Impériales* en vue d'organiser l'intercourse entre Marseille et les ports du bas Danube, les entreprises

⁹² Article 2 des articles additionnels à l'Acte de navigation pour le Danube du 7 novembre 1857, signés à Vienne le 1^{er} mars 1859 : *Recueil de documents relatifs à la liberté de navigation du Danube, publiés par D. Sturdza*, Berlin, Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1904, p. 78–79.

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ Constantin Ardeleanu, *The European Commission of the Danube...*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

de Magnan et ses amis ne sont pas aptes à compenser une présence insuffisante des navires français dans les ports danubiens. Limitées à la navigation interne, elles ne sont pas non plus susceptibles de s'insérer efficacement dans le mouvement des importations et des exportations, sinon par association avec d'autres.

Face à leur concurrente désignée, les tentatives de la compagnie française échouent plus sûrement par l'intrépidité provocatrice de Magnan que par l'opposition formelle de l'Autriche. Paradoxalement, les tentatives qui visent à la concurrencer agissent sur la DDSG comme un catalyseur pour accélérer et réorienter sa politique avec l'aide financière des autorités de Vienne :

Si elle avait vu son monopole aboli de droit, elle n'avait pas désespéré de le conserver de fait et en réalité son apparente déchéance, loin de lui être contraire, a singulièrement concouru à l'accomplissement de ses projets. D'une part le gouvernement a garanti à ses actionnaires jusqu'en 1880 un intérêt de 7,6% et d'un autre côté, la crainte d'une invasion étrangère, que des essais plus hardis que sérieux semblaient justifier, a été pour elle un aiguillon qui a stimulé d'une manière remarquable son activité⁹⁵.

Motivé par la situation nouvelle faite au Danube par le traité de Paris, le voyage du *Lyonnais* marque les esprits des populations et des autorités locales des Principautés danubiennes en s'inscrivant dans une tentative d'instauration d'une navigation fluviale tout aussi étrangère mais moins structurée que celle de la grande compagnie autrichienne. Les caractéristiques du matériel de la batellerie lyonnaise qu'il est prévu d'utiliser limitent les ambitions de la compagnie Franco-danubienne au trafic intérieur du fleuve pour lequel elle ne peut bénéficier que d'un soutien limité, et par ailleurs sceptique, de la part des nations maritimes.

Entreprises par défaut, les tentatives concrétisées par l'expédition du *Lyonnais* donnent l'impression de vouloir imposer les conséquences néfastes d'une politique occidentale à un territoire périphérique. Ce faisant, elles entrent plus sûrement en concurrence avec un monopole autrichien basé sur des logiques proches.

Pour longtemps encore, la liberté de navigation pour tous sur le Danube se limite à sa partie maritime jusqu'aux ports de décharge de Galati et Braila. De grandes compagnies françaises participent de cette liberté, mais en amont des confluences du Pruth et du Sereth règne la situation paradoxale d'une liberté qui profite à un État non riverain, un empire qui aime à se parer quelquefois du titre de « monarchie danubienne ».

⁹⁵ CADN, Archives de la CED, série B, vol. 10, *De la navigation à vapeur sur le Danube et ses affluents*, note Engelhardt à Drouyn de Lhuys, 30 août 1863.

**New Research Projects
in the Institute for South-East European Studies**

**RESEARCH PROJECT ORDER AND HIERARCHY IN LATE ANTIQUE
AND BYZANTINE THOUGHT**

The project is funded by UEFISCDI (code: PN-III-P4-PCE-2021-0417) and it is hosted by the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, starting with the 1st of June 2022. The research team joins the abilities of scholars specialized in late antique philosophy, byzantine studies and Christian theology: Dr. Marilena Vlad, project director (Institute for South-East European Studies), Dr. Bogdan Tătaru Cazaban (Institute for the History of Religions), Dr. Ovidiu Sferlea (University of Oradea), Dr. Mircea Duluş (Institute for South-East European Studies).

“Hierarchy” is a concept that determines almost all domains of human life: any human institution functions hierarchically, and each of us can think of a few hierarchical structures in which we are integrated, whether we accept or contest them. In its common use, we assume hierarchy to be a structure of superior and subordinate ranks. Yet, from a philosophical and theological point of view, this concept has a deeper significance, which we usually ignore. This project focuses on the philosophical problem of hierarchy, seen as a specific type of order.

Our aim is to analyse and explain the transition – occurring in the philosophical and theological thought of Late Neoplatonism and Byzantium – from a paradigm of order understood as *structure of reality*, to a new paradigm of order understood as *hierarchy* (or sacred order). Our research will first clarify the core of the problem of order understood as “structure of reality” in the works of Proclus and Damascius, then will explain the constitution of “hierarchy” as a radically different understanding of order in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and will finally explore the way in which this new concept of order as hierarchy disseminated in the Byzantine theological tradition, in authors like Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, Theodore the Studite, and Niketas Stethatos.

The project has three major objectives: (I.) to give a comprehensive interpretation of the Neoplatonic problem of order, and to show how the vocabulary of order determines the Neoplatonic view of reality; (II.) to discover how this conceptual vocabulary is imported and transformed in the Dionysian corpus and to explain how the problem of hierarchy is conceived on this basis; and (III.) to analyse the influence of the Dionysian concept of hierarchy on the Byzantine thought.

Marilena VLAD
Project Director

**RESEARCH PROJECT PRAYING IN LATE BYZANTIUM.
A THEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL EXPLORATION OF PHILOTHEOS
KOKKINOS'S (UNEDITED) *EUCHAI DIAPHOROI* (PRECES)**

The project PRECES, PN-III-P1-1.1-PD-2021-0220, contract number PD 105, is funded by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research through the Executive Unit for Financing Higher Education, Research, Development, and Innovation (UEFISCDI).

Host institution: Institute for South-East European Studies (ISSEE), Romanian Academy

Director: Dr. Mihail Mitrea, senior researcher (ISSEE)

Mentor: Prof. Andrei Timotin

Duration: 24 months: 01/04/2022 – 31/03/2024

Description: Prayers lay at the heart of religious practice and belief in Byzantium. Serving immediate (and/or intended) social, political, theological, and literary objectives, prayers are a valuable, though less explored, source of insight into the history of Byzantine spirituality, as well as the social and political history of Byzantium and the daily life of its citizens. In spite, and perhaps in response to, its socio-political and economic crisis, late Byzantium fostered a particularly notable proliferation of new prayers, composed especially by churchmen, such as Gregory Palamas and Philotheos Kokkinos. Such prayers represent a valuable, though largely unexplored, source of information on the religious thought-world of their authors and their contemporaries, as well as the daily life and the societal response to the social, political, economic, and religious problems prevalent in the twilight of Byzantium. PRECES contributes to the study of the late Byzantine practice, contexts, and significance of prayer by undertaking a census, historical contextualisation, and systematic analysis of Philotheos Kokkinos's corpus of (unedited) prayers composed for various occasions (*euchai diaphoroi*). Philotheos Kokkinos (ca. 1300–1378) was a prolific late Byzantine man of letters and theologian who played a prominent role on the political and ecclesiastical scene of fourteenth-century Byzantium, especially in orchestrating the societal breakthrough of hesychasm, and his oeuvre includes a rich and less explored corpus of petitionary and thanksgiving *kanones* and prayers to Christ, the Theotokos, and other saints, for various occasions (for times of drought, plague, famine, earthquake; against foreign enemies; for processions; etc). Bridging research in the fields of Greek manuscript studies, philology, textual criticism, and Byzantine history, literature, and theology, this project seeks to advance the knowledge on

late Byzantine daily lived reality and spirituality. Its research objectives are: (1) to produce a census of Kokkinos's *euchai diaphoroi*, presented in a database (PRECES) with detailed information on each prayer (e.g., incipit, content, manuscript tradition); (2) to prepare critical editions and English translations for these prayers; and (3) to offer an analysis of Kokkinos's corpus of occasional prayers, with a twofold focus on a) the reception and role of the Theotokos as intercessor, and b) the relationship between *basileia* and *ekklesia* in late Byzantium.

Mihail MITREA
Project Director

Comptes rendus

Dicționarul limbii române (DLR), tomul I, litera A, fascicula 1, *A-Abzițui*, Academia Română, Institutul de lingvistică « Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti », 2^e édition revue et augmentée, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2021, 251 p.

Après l'achèvement de l'élaboration et la publication intégrale en 2010 du Dictionnaire de la langue roumaine, les Instituts de linguistique de Bucarest, Iași et Cluj-Napoca de l'Académie roumaine reprennent l'élaboration du Dictionnaire trésor (en portant le même titre, *Dicționarul limbii române – DLR* et, sur la page de titre, la mention qu'il s'agit de la seconde édition, revue et augmentée). Le premier volume (*A – Abzițui*) est élaboré à Bucarest sous la coordination de Monica Busuioc et Cristian Moroianu.

L'histoire du dictionnaire académique de la langue roumaine est longue. La version de Laurian et Massim, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, n'a pas été acceptée à cause des excès latinistes. Le dictionnaire a été repris par B.P. Hasdeu, qui a écrit la lettre A et, de la lettre B, jusqu'au mot *bărbat*. Il a été suivi par Al. Philippide, qui a travaillé un grand nombre de fiches et a rédigé aussi une partie du travail, de A à la préposition *de*. Remplacé par l'équipe dirigée par S. Pușcariu, Philippide a peu à peu abandonné le dictionnaire et les centaines de milliers de fiches semblent s'être perdues, malheureusement, pendant la guerre. Repris en commençant de nouveau par la lettre A, le dictionnaire a été écrit, sous la direction de S. Pușcariu, par un groupe de linguistes de Cluj. Un travail bien remarquable, il a atteint la lettre L (il en manque moins de la moitié, ainsi que la plupart de la lettre D et la lettre E entièrement). Interrompu en 1948, le dictionnaire fut repris avec une autre conception à partir de la lettre M et a connu plusieurs coordinateurs : Al. Graur et Iorgu Iordan, Ion Coteanu, et puis M. Sala et Gh. Mihăilă (les renseignements très utiles sur les caractéristiques de toutes les étapes de la rédaction du dictionnaire se trouvent dans le livre de Mircea Seche, *Schiță de istorie a lexicografiei române*, II). Après 1990, les lacunes de la partie A–L ont été complétées.

Dans un très court *Avant-propos* du présent volume, Cristian Moroianu fait la précision que le dictionnaire qui commence maintenant vise à donner une forme unitaire aux deux parties qui ont été élaborées selon des conceptions différentes. La partie A–L ne retenait que les mots anciens, traditionnels ou les néologismes entrés depuis longtemps dans la langue, tandis que l'inventaire de la deuxième partie était plus ouvert et admettait plus de néologismes. La variante actuelle renonce à l'espace étendu accordé à l'étymologie telle qu'elle apparaît dans les lettres A–L écrites sous la coordination de Pușcariu, en poursuivant la solution adoptée pour les lettres M–Z, où l'étymon choisi est seulement enregistré, sans aucune explication sur la sémantique ou sur la forme. Ce choix peut également être justifié par le fait qu'on travaille en parallèle au Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue roumaine. Dans la variante actuelle de DLR, tout comme dans la partie M–Z, il manque la traduction en français que la partie A–L donnait à tous les sens de chaque mot. Le corpus du Dictionnaire comprendra cette fois-ci tous les mots attestés dans tous les styles de la langue littéraire, dans le discours populaire et dans les variantes régionales, dans les textes anciens. Les auteurs visent à disposer d'une version électronique qui permette l'amélioration continue du contenu en ajoutant de nouveaux exemples, des attestations plus anciennes, ou en précisant, dans le cas des néologismes, certaines significations qui ne sont pas encore complètement fixées, l'introduction de mots ou d'unités phraséologiques.

Ce premier volume contient la bibliographie du dictionnaire (p. XV–CCCVIII), qui est complétée par des annexes avec les listes des localités où les différents questionnaires ont été utilisés (il faudrait noter, pourtant, que ce n'est pas l'Annexe no. IV qui contient les localités du Questionnaire Hasdeu, comme spécifié dans la bibliographie, mais l'Annexe no. V).

Les exemples illustratifs sont insérés dans des paragraphes séparés, l'un en dessous de l'autre, et sont marqués, en début de ligne, par l'année où ils sont attestés. Ce procédé d'insister sur la

chronologie de l'usage des mots dans le cas de mots hérités ou d'emprunts anciens devient, peut-être, moins utile pour le XXe siècle. Une liste bibliographique qui se veut exhaustive est donnée à la fin de chaque article.

A ce nouveau départ on ne peut que souhaiter un rythme soutenu du travail.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

Nicolae SARAMANDU, *Limba română. Originile. La langue roumaine. Les origines*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2021, 216 p., 3 cartes.

La première partie du livre (p. 11–122), inédite, est un examen des principales questions de l'histoire du roumain, faisant suite à la matière des deux chapitres que Nicolae Saramandu a élaborés dans le premier volume de l'œuvre collective *Istoria limbii române*, paru en 2018 sous l'égide de l'Académie Roumaine. Les deux chapitres qui entrent dans la deuxième partie du traité académique, ayant comme objet le roumain commun, portent sur la romanité orientale dans la lumière des sources historiques des IV–XV siècles et sur le territoire et la période de formation du roumain. Dans le présent volume, les aspects envisagés sont la conquête romaine dans le Sud-est de l'Europe et la romanisation de la région ; la formation des dialectes du roumain ; le fonds lexical latin de la langue roumaine ; les emprunts vieux-slaves en roumain ; les emprunts latino-romans et roumains en bulgare (recherche basée sur les données de l'Atlas dialectal bulgare, dont les cartes utilisés sont reproduites dans le livre).

Le roumain continue le latin parlé au nord et au sud du Danube, résultat de la conquête romaine graduelle du Sud-est de l'Europe, en partant de la côte adriatique. On trouve une mention séparée de la romanisation en Macédoine, Épire, Thessalie et des traces de la présence romaine dans les régions au sud de la « ligne Jireček » (avec la correction due à H. Mihăescu; celles d'Al. Philippide et P. Skok y pourraient être ajoutées) (p. 14, 15). Il y a aujourd'hui au long de la *Via Egnatia* (en aroumain, *Calea Mare*) des localités aroumaines. Il est à retenir l'observation intéressante qu'en roumain on peut trouver des survivances du modèle latin de dénomination des localités : un exemple en est l'utilisation de la préposition *ad* (> roum. *a*) pour indiquer que la localité en question se trouve dans la proximité d'un repère connu (lat. *Ad Mediam* (probablement actuelle Mehadia) : ar. *Ameru* (= près de la pomme), localité en Pinde) (p. 12).

La langue roumaine continue le latin parlé sur un vaste territoire dans la région sud-est européenne, au nord et au sud du Danube, et la différenciation de ses dialectes (daco-roumain, aroumain, megleno-roumain, istroroumain) est due aux larges dimensions de cet espace et à la séparation ultérieure et à l'évolution des îles roumanophones après l'arrivée et l'établissement des allogènes. En suivant les concordances phonétiques entre les dialectes roumains et leurs parlers, il faut admettre, selon Saramandu, que les Aroumains de Pinde et de Gramoste sont autochtones dans l'extrémité méridionale du territoire romanisé.

Le chapitre consacré au fonds lexical latin du roumain (p. 27–47) se propose de compléter et parfois d'organiser d'une manière différente l'inventaire des mots latins qu'on trouve dans le premier volume du traité académique de l'histoire du roumain dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Une attention spéciale est accordée à la diffusion dialectale des mots, afin de mettre en évidence les concordances entre les dialectes. Il faut observer la richesse du matériel discuté.

Le chapitre sur les emprunts que le roumain a fait au vieux slave (p. 49–84) se propose d'établir un inventaire de mots en tenant compte de la situation en chacun des dialectes et tout en se rapportant aux listes qui se trouvent dans les travaux d'Ov. Densuşianu, Th. Capidan, Sextil Puşcariu, Al. Rosetti, G. Mihăilă, G. Ivănescu, Elena Scărlătoiu. L'histoire des recherches antérieures, avec les différences et les coïncidences mises en évidence, est d'une grande utilité. Dans sa propre liste, Saramandu utilise les données des travaux récents de géographie linguistique et explique les concordances dialectales dans la perspective spatiale. Les emprunts datent du roumain commun, entre

VI–VII et XII–XIII siècles, et ont été faits sur une zone vaste, au nord et au sud du Danube. Les derniers résultats de l'examen confirment la répartition des dialectes telle que les recherches antérieures ont fixé (dacoroumain et istroroumain d'une part, aroumain et meglenoroumain de l'autre) et relève la position intermédiaire du meglenoroumain par rapport au dacoroumain et à l'aroumain.

La deuxième partie du livre réunit douze études parues dans des revues et des volumes collectifs. Dans ces études, Nicolae Saramandu présente les rapports entre les quatre dialectes roumains et propose des étymologies d'une importante série de termes dialectaux.

La richesse du matériel que les travaux de géographie linguistique récemment publiés apportent des trois dialectes au sud du Danube est soumise aux observations et aux explications des plus intéressantes concernant les relations entre ces dialectes et les parlars daco-roumains. Le livre fait partie d'une longue et importante série d'ouvrages que Nicolae Saramandu a consacrés à la recherche inter-dialectale.

Cătălina Vătăşescu

Cătălina VATAŞESCU (ed.), *New Perspectives on Balkan Linguistics. Nouvelles perspectives sur la linguistique balkanique. Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, vol. 17, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2021, 218 p.

This volume is yet another part of the series of proceedings of the sessions held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, all of which have been published within the larger series of the “Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes”, which debuted in 2018 with the publication of an edition of the *Histoire des États balkaniques à l'époque moderne* written by the Institute's founder, Nicolae Iorga. The theme of this particular volume is – as made transparent by its title – Balkan linguistics, with particular attention being given to Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian and Greek. As noted by the editor, Cătălina Vătăşescu (senior researcher at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy) in the *Foreword*, the contributions that comprise this volume were divided into two parts – the first, dedicated to aspects of regional language contact from the perspective of comparative and historical grammar and of phonetics; the second, to the historical development of the lexicon.

The opening contribution of this book belongs to Victor A. Friedman (University of Chicago), the current president of the US Committee of the AIESEE, and Catherine Rudin (Wayne State College, Nebraska), who write on the matter of double determination in Balkan Slavic and Albanian, while also referring to Greek, Balkan Romance (i.e. Romanian and its dialects) and Romani. They establish a cline of double determination that starts with the situation in Greek, where double determination is obligatory and the demonstrative pronouns can be pre- or post-posed. Going through Balkan Romance, where it is only sometimes obligatory (but pre- and post-position are still options), this cline ends with Albanian and Balkan Slavic, where double determination is never obligatory, but the position of the demonstrative is increasingly more restricted. Thus, the authors conclude that “for Albanian and Balkan Slavic, as well as Romani and Megleno-Romanian, double determination is probably a Balkanism, i.e. its development was influenced by language contact in the Balkans”.

The following contribution, belonging to Petya Assenova (Faculty of Slavic Philology, Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”) and Christian Markou (Democritus University of Thrace), refers to the grammaticalization and modality of the Balkan future tense, namely in Bulgarian, Greek and Romanian. This analysis covers the common functions of the *futurum necessitatis* in these three Balkan languages and their status in their respective verbal systems. It is somewhat regrettable that the authors' conclusion concerning the possible transition from modality to temporality in the Romanian future forms (namely that due to the supposedly complete grammaticalization of the future

periphrases, it would be pointless to research said transition) might appear less well illustrated through examples than their conclusions concerning the other three languages. Nevertheless, one interesting point is that the *habeo-futurum necessitatis* saw an expansion outside of the strict boundaries of the Balkan peninsula into the southern Apennines, in a linguistic area that has other fundamental Balkanisms such as the predominance of the *passato remoto*, the *passato prossimo* and the substitution of the infinitive through the subjunctive. The authors argue that these developments are less likely to be independent typological similarities and would instead be the result of linguistic contacts that started as early as Greek Antiquity.

Ekaterina Tarpomanova (head of the Department of General, Indo-European and Balkan Linguistics at the Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”) and Bilyana Mihaylova (from the same University) tackle a similar theme in their contribution, namely the relationship between the future in the past and the conditional in Balkan languages – once again, in Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Romanian. Their thorough comparative analysis covers both the temporal and the modal functions of the two verbal forms, leading them to conclude, on the one hand, that in Bulgarian and Romanian, the conditional cannot have the functions of the future in the past, instead developing new meanings, and, on the other hand, that Greek and Albanian forms comprise both temporal and modal interpretations, neither of which should be excluded when defining their nature.

The following two articles are more focused on the Albanian language: the first of them, penned by Mihaela-Mariana Morcov (“Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy), discusses morpho-syntactic parallels between Albanian and Western Romance languages in contrast with Romanian. One example is the fact that, unlike in Romanian, which has a laxer *consecutio temporum*, certain adverbs and conjunctions in Albanian and some Western Romance languages require the selection of the subjunctive in the subordinate clause. Nevertheless, the author admits that it is still difficult to find the origin of all of the convergent elements highlighted in this study, even though the relatively late documentary attestations of certain phenomena sometimes confirm the hypothesis that these are parallel innovations. The second, written by Artur Karasiński (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń), while considerably more concise (namely just five pages), does nevertheless provide some reflections on the problem of word formation units in the Albanian word-formation system. The author also shares a table from a study he had published between the Congress and this volume, which contains the variants of Albanian prefixes and suffixes, which richly illustrates the great variety of suffixes.

Irena Sawicka (Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences) provides the first phonetic study of this volume, discussing the enrichment of a special type of consonantal clusters with the help of buffer consonants and, on the other hand, their functional and perceptual equivalence with the unchanged clusters in Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, and certain Romance dialects. Among the latter, the author cites a few examples from Spanish, such as *hembra* < *femina* and *tremblar* < *tremular*, although one might wonder why the author did not point out that the same transformation had taken place in French with the verb *trembler*, especially considering the fact that she translates the Spanish word with the English word “tremble”, itself originating from French. This analysis came to be following the author’s previous investigation of the Macedonian dialects, wherein she noticed this particular phenomenon which had resulted from the obvious multilingualism in the much-disputed Macedonian region (i.e. the current Republic of Northern Macedonia, the Aegean Macedonia in Greece, and the Pirin Macedonia in Bulgaria, Southern Bulgaria and Albania).

The first part of the volume is closed by the most voluminous contribution of Dana-Mihaela Zamfir (“Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy) and Oana Uță Bărbulescu (University of Oxford and the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy) on the historical and dialectal variations in the flexion and phonetics of the three Romanian words *grâu*, “grain”, *brâu*, “belt”, and *pârâu*, “brook” and their Albanian counterparts. Much praise should be given to the thoroughness of the analysis (which is illustrated with many documentary examples), which warrants its comparatively greater length within the confines of this volume. While the authors admit that they are far from clarifying *why* the etymological nasals disappeared in the *granum* series, they were nevertheless able to conclude that it happened very early in Daco-Romanian and Istro-Romanian, but after the separation of Common Romanian, and that later

attestations of the nasal consonant in the singular form were more likely a result of a *lapsus calami*. As for the word *brâu*, the authors point out that, unlike *grâu* and *frâu*, this term probably belongs to the substrate, but that the series of convergences between them in Romanian is of earlier date than the otherwise remarkable parallels in Albanian, which resulted from more recent phonetical and/or analogical phenomena. Finally, the word *pârâu*, which had been often associated with the above-mentioned words by virtue of their ending in the same vocalic group, has always had an entirely different evolution in Daco-Romanian and, as a result, had never had any nasals, unlike the other words and their Albanian counterparts. The article is also accompanied by a number of maps showing the spread of certain forms and variations in Romania and more particularly in the Crişana region.

The second part of the volume opens with Helmut Wilhelm Schaller's (the current president of the Commission for Balkan Linguistics of the International Committee of Slavists) contribution on the Turkish influence on the Bulgarian language as a case study in the more general matter of its influence in Balkan languages. The author, who has been studying Turkisms in Bulgarian for half a century, notes that this influence continued to take place even after 1989, leading to the appearance of new terms with Turkish suffixes (e.g. *випаджия*, "VIP", *компютерджия*, an ironic term for "computer user") or compositions containing the Turkish word *Pazar* (e.g. *агропазар*, *европазар*). The final paragraph provides some considerations on the amount of Turkisms in other Balkan languages, concluding that Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian have a rather great number of Turkisms, whereas in Romanian and Modern Greek their number has dwindled.

The following article, signed by Ion Giurgea, Cristian Moroianu and Monica Vasileanu (all three from the "Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy), is a presentation of the ongoing project of a new etymological dictionary of the Romanian language (the *DELR – Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române*). Its necessity is explained adequately, given the existence of the recently completed and quite comprehensive *Dictionary of the Romanian Language (DLR)*: indeed, this dictionary, while providing appropriate etymological discussions in the volumes published under the coordination of Sextil Puşcariu, later went on to have much more concise etymological sections, only mentioning the immediate etymon, without citing other solutions or providing arguments. This decision, which dates from the 1960s, was motivated by the idea that a separate etymological dictionary should be made, although eventually it was decided that this should be postponed until the completion of the *DLR*, which, as admitted by the authors themselves, took longer than expected. This article describes the structure of the dictionary and its lemmas, then focusing on specific problems encountered with regards to Balkan comparisons, be it due to unclear etymologies or to the fact that there are modern cultural terms that were borrowed via a Balkan intermediary (notably via Greek).

The penultimate contribution belongs to Mihaela Marin, from the same Institute, who discusses two Romanian terms with their Albanian counterparts. The first of them, *mal*, "riverbank", is presented being quite certainly a part of the Thracian-Dacian substrate, is attested in 16th- and 17th-century Romanian texts as also meaning "mountain, hill, elevated place", which converges with the meaning it still has in Albanian, wherein *mal* means "mountain". Nevertheless, the two terms have very different synonyms in the two contemporary languages, although they are equally popular in toponymy. The other term, *măgură*, "mountain" is probably autochthonous, as it is unlikely to be a loanword from a Slavic language or from the Albanian *magulë*.

The final text in this volume belongs to the editor herself, who chose to dedicate her text to one of the more important books in the development of the Balkan Sprachbund theory, namely Theodor Capidan's *Limbă şi cultură*, published in Bucharest, in 1943. Capidan, who belonged to a generation of Balkan academics that were formed in the Ottoman Empire, but also saw the formation – or the completion – of the national states in the Balkans, believed that the linguistic union in South-Eastern Europe owed much to the exchanges between the neighbouring idioms, which provide this linguistic region with a complex – albeit unitary – configuration.

Placing this text at the very end of this volume feels quite appropriate, given that it reminds its prospective readers of previous academic contributions that are still relevant to this day and, at the same time, it mirrors, *in nuce*, the contributions which compose the current volume, itself the result of

several successful sections in the Congress of 2019. This publication will doubtlessly be attractive to linguists interested in the Balkan languages, given the variety and quality of its constituents, which cover the main fields of modern linguistics, while also keeping maintaining its readers' awareness towards the works of linguists from previous generations.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Lora TASEVA, Roland MARTI (eds.), *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe. Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, vol. 14, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2020, 344 p.

This volume is another part of the series of proceedings of the sessions held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, all of which have been published within the larger series of the “Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes” (henceforth BIESEE). As pointed out by the editors in the *Foreword*, the present volume does not only include extended versions of the papers read at the congress, but also contributions by invited authors who could not be present at the scholarly meeting in 2019.

The opening article is penned by Aneta Dimitrova (“Saint Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia), who discusses the Old Church Slavonic translations of the *Homily on Repentance, Continence, and Virginity* and their Greek sources. This lengthy text, which was written in Greek around the year 500, is either anonymous or attributed to Saint John Chrysostom in manuscripts, while modern scholars have suggested that it may be attributed to John the Faster (although this theory has also been disputed). The *Homily* was nevertheless very popular, and it was translated into Old Church Slavonic during the reign of Tsar Symeon in the early 10th century as a part of the *Zlatostruy* collection, which included Chrysostomian and pseudo-Chrysostomian homilies. Its tradition in the Old Slavonic milieu poses difficulties to modern researchers, since a disarrangement of the final folios led to what the author calls a “false” ending, borrowed from another homily in this collection, and it was this feature that pervaded the entire subsequent manuscript tradition of the text. The initial translation was however better conserved in homiliaries, eventually making it back to a single *Zlatostruy* codex from the Hilandar monastery.

Alessandro Maria Bruni's (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) presentation of his critical edition of the Old Slavonic translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oration 44* is the only text in this volume that is written in Russian. The Slavonic text of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oration*s was conserved in two compilations, one containing thirteen orations, which was conserved in only one late 11th-century East Slavic manuscript, the other containing sixteen, which, by contrast, survived in 150 manuscripts (dated between the 14th and the 18th centuries), both East Slavic and South Slavic, and is known as “the liturgical collection of Gregory of Nazianzus”. His study is accompanied by the aforementioned critical edition of this Patristic text, which also features a critical apparatus, thus providing this volume with further value.

Thomas Daiber (University of Giessen) focuses on a passage of the *Vita Cyrilli* that had been previously considered corrupted or even untranslatable, namely the debate between Cyril and his Jewish interlocutors during the former's mission to the Khazars, which is the most extensively narrated episode in the *Vita Cyrilli*. The polemic that the author of this article discusses in more detail is concerned with whether it is the Jews or the Christians who are descendants of a blessed Biblical patriarch and may therefore be considered to be a part of a blessed people, which in turn ties – albeit topically – to the matter of circumcision. The author notes that the passage is difficult to understand not so much due to theological subtlety, but due to the precondition that the “Esau problem” (i.e. that Esau, the “morally depraved Christian patriarch”, could not be considered pleasant to God if he did not accept circumcision, even though it was the sole token for a believer at the time) has to be

inferred. Concerning the use of the word *притѣча*, the Slavonic equivalent of *παραβολή*, usually translated as “example”, to introduce the exchange of arguments between Cyril and the Jewish interlocutors in X: 75–81, the author suggests that it might be related to the *Septuaginta*, where *притѣча/παραβολή* is not so much connected with a textual narrative form (like a parabola) but is more concerned with sentential analogies. As a result, the Jewish interlocutors should be perceived as attempting to make a contrastive analogy between circumcised and uncircumcised Abrahamites, meaning that the arguments, although speculative, were fully comprehensible.

Lara Sels (Catholic University of Leuven) discusses the matter of editing the Pseudo-Athanasian *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, in which she approaches the complex Slavonic tradition bottom-up, starting with solid partial editions for those textual stages that can, indeed, be edited critically as a unified whole, taking into account the Greek text versions involved in their writing and rewriting. As a result, she provides a sample edition of the group II/a versions of questions 39–41 with their matching Greek versions. Per the author’s words, “this contribution is also a plea for separate and more in-depth editions of coherent parts within the *QAD* tradition”, in order “to do full justice to the multi-layered transmission history of the Slavonic *QAD*”.

One of the volume’s two editors, Lora Taseva (Institute for Balkan Studies & Center of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) provides a thorough analysis of the South Slavic tradition of Proclus of Constantinople’s homily *In transfigurationem Domini* during the Middle Ages. This text entered the Slavic literary milieu as early as the Old Bulgarian era, although the number of variants was the subject of debate between scholars, with Christian Hannick assuming there were four, while Klimentina Ivanova, who had worked on multiple sources, suggested that the fourth variant (present in two manuscripts) belonged to the second Old Bulgarian tradition, bringing the number down to three. The author of this article supports the latter solution and has provided textological arguments, albeit in another publication – as a result, she refers to the three sets of manuscripts as A, B, and C, which coincide with the Cyrillic “a”, “б”, and “в” of Klimentina Ivanova. The author’s comparative analysis focuses on the textual integrity, the grammatical differences, and the lexical differences between the three versions and thus provides further arguments for Klimentina Ivanova’s reasoning that the three Old Slavonic versions of the text were indeed independent translations. To this end, she cites the relative absence of common omissions and additions, the large number of individual lexical variants and, most notably, examples of paronyms and differing semantic interpretations which would have required the individual translators’ direct access to the Greek models. Their Greek models are close to each other in the Greek textual tradition, but they are still distinct from each other (which can, again, be inferred from the individual omissions and additions). On the translation principles and techniques of the three versions, the author argues that version B was more liberal in relation to its original, whereas A and C were more formally precise in their rendering of the Greek text: for instance, B relies more on contextual equivalents and synonyms, unlike A and C, which opt for more literal solutions. Concerning the dating, versions A and B were created in Eastern Bulgaria in the 9th–10th centuries, the former being closer to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, the latter to the Preslav tradition. As for version C, the author believes that it was created in Tărnovo, as it has the characteristics of 14th– century translations.

Ekaterina Dikova (from the same Institute) dedicates her article to the South Slavonic translations *Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ* ascribed to Saint Ephrem the Syrian and, more precisely, to the matter of how the rhetorical rhythm was rendered. The author concludes first and foremost that “rhythm in rhetorical works was not only translatable but translated”. Secondly, the two Bulgarian translations reveal that the scribes used both similar and different techniques to render rhetorical rhythm, which in turn means that they not only had rhythmic intuition, but also significant rhetorical preparation to render rhythm in their native language. The earlier translation strives for equal *cola* by means of techniques such as using an equal number of accents and syllables or by providing rhyme-like endings that are absent in the Greek original. The later translation is less strict, but instead respects the complicated symmetry and shows a better awareness of rhetorical figures and prescriptions, which may have been related to the requirements of its contemporaneous Byzantine rhetoric. The author notes in the final lines of her contribution that the possible inadequacy of

meaning between a target and a source text should not be instantly classified as a mistake but may indeed have been the result of a conscious choice on the part of the interpreter.

Petra Stankovska (Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana) writes on the Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries from the 13th–15th century, which contained the *Homilies* attributed to Origen and John Chrysostom in the Proper of Season. The author explores the likelihood of the existence of an Old Church Slavonic translation of those texts in the Christian East and examines the method of translating selected lexemes, syntactic constructions or parts of texts in the homilies in question. The following article, penned by Jürgen Fuchsbauer, refers to extracts of Greek theological literature contained in the Slavonic *Dioptra* (originally composed in 1095 by a Byzantine monk and translated into Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic around the middle of the 14th century), which acted as the wider Slavonic audience's introduction to the writings of many Church Fathers of Late Antiquity and of notable Byzantine writers like Nicetas Stethatus, whose complete oeuvres had not been translated into Slavonic during the Middle Ages. The author provides a very helpful overview of the authors and titles included in the Slavonic text, also pointing out whether there were other extant translations or whether their authorship was correctly attributed in the *Dioptra*.

Zamfira Mihail's (Institute for South-East European Studies, Romanian Academy) contribution is dedicated to Ephrem the Syrian's *Slovo 50*. As in the cases of other Slavic manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy, the manuscript catalogues often only provided hypotheses concerning their dating, based on the experience of the describers, and while they do mention the identified watermarks, only rarely do they refer to the watermark catalogues. On the other hand, previous attempts to analyse the watermarks in ms. 160 had not been very successful, which is likely why P.P. Panaitescu did not mention them in his description of the manuscript. In the case of ms. 315, where Ephrem's text (placed between f. 222r and 248v) lacked continuity after 229v, the author's comparison with ms. 160 allowed her to identify the missing folio, which had been placed on the current f. 243, most likely as a result of the accidental fall of this folio during the production of the manuscript. As a result of the comparative analysis, the author was able to conclude that the text of the *Slovo 50* in the two manuscripts is identical, but that they were copied independently from one another. Finally, she is able – following her identifying a number of watermarks for the first time – to confirm Ion Radu Mircea's dating of the two manuscripts as being from the 14th century. The study is accompanied by a series of tables containing lexical differences, word order changes, and grammatical changes, by an edition of the texts from the two manuscripts, by the watermarks from ms. 160, and, finally, by two coloured (and high-quality) facsimiles of one folio from each manuscript. These annexes, which span over fifty pages, will doubtlessly add to the value of this contribution in the eyes of its readership.

Małgorzata Skowronek's (Faculty of Philology, University of Lodz) article is dedicated to the Late Medieval Slavic manuscript tradition of the epistles of Church authorities in the anti-Latin polemics, focusing on the ms. sl. 330 from the Library of the Romanian Academy. This codex stems from the last decade of the 15th century and was written in the Serbian (Resavian) orthography in Wallachia, comprising dogmatic and ascetic writings – as was usual for monastic codices – among them being the correspondence between Michael Keroularios, patriarch Peter III of Antioch and Dominic, the bishop of Venice. These letters were, as noted by the author, the answer to the internal problems of the disintegrating Church in the 11th century and allowed for the recognition of the doctrinal and customary threats coming from the West four and five hundred years later, ultimately becoming a “weapon used in the whole Byzantine-Slavic commonwealth”. The appendix consists in an edition of the Slavonic texts of these three epistles on the basis of ms. sl. 330, complete with an *apparatus criticus* containing textual, syntactic and lexical differences, as well as differences in proper names.

Alexandru Mareş (“Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy) provides a survey of the first Romanian translations of patristic writings, divided in five sections. In the first, he refers to the works of Saint John Chrysostom, whose writings were partially translated as early as the 16th century. One interesting point is made about the *Missal*, printed by the deacon Coresi in Braşov in 1570, which contains *Saint John Chrysostom's Liturgy*: according to the author, although the contents of the book are purely Orthodox, the *translation* should be considered the

action of the Calvinist movement in Banat-Hunedoara, aiming to nationalise the religious cult in the Orthodox Church as a first step towards converting Romanians to the official religion of the Transylvanian Principality. The following section is dedicated to the ecclesiastical *Code of Laws* containing canons attributed to Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Nesteutes, which was printed between 1560 and 1562 by a master typographer who might have been someone other than the deacon Coresi. After that, the author refers to the translation of the *Athanasian Creed* which can be found in the *Psalter of Șchei* (1573–1578), whose use of the *filioque* would equally indicate that the translator was a Romanian priest that had converted to the Reformation. The penultimate section is dedicated to the 16th-century translations of two of Saint John Damascene's writings, namely the *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* and the *Octoechos*. The final patristic writer discussed in this article is Sophronius of Jerusalem, the attributed author of the *Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*. The author concludes that while the *Missal*, the *Octoechos* and the *Athanasian Creed* were translated under the impulse of the Reformation, the others were translated in an Orthodox environment.

The final contribution in this volume belongs to Danian Mutalâp (from the same Institute), who discusses the structure and composition of a proto-Philokalic Romanian manuscript from 1769, aiming to provide a thorough illustration of the content of the ms. rom. 2597 from the Romanian Academy Library in the larger context of the “pre-existing Philokalic tradition”. This study is, itself, placed in the context of the growing interest in these “proto-Philokalias” in the past few decades, which was a natural development of the focus on the study of the *Philokalia* itself in the 19th and the 20th centuries. This manuscript – the largest proto-Philokalic collection of its time – was copied by the prodigious scribe and Slavonic and Greek translator, Raphael of Hurezi monastery, most probably during his stay at Dragomirna monastery – as to its dating, it is provided in the colophon on fol. 305, which states it was finished on May 4, 1769. The author's description of the manuscript's contents and its comparison to the Greek *Philokalia* reveals that the Romanian manuscript follows a thematic principle, and not a chronological principle. Thus, it mirrors the preferences of the monastic Romanian compilers from the 18th century, as it is a “canon” which is partly indebted to the Slavonic tradition, but equally foreshadows the Greek *Philokalia*, bringing together acknowledged authorities and local contemporary hesychast.

The editors' observation that the twelve papers “present a mosaic of the many and variegated aspects of the influence of patristic literature on the literary development in this region of the Byzantine commonwealth” is beyond doubt a very apt description of its contents. Nonetheless, it is this diversity and the thoroughness of the individual contributions that gives this volume its value, as it will certainly continue to be of great use to current and future researchers.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Maria CIOATĂ, Anissava MILTENOVA, Emanuela TIMOTIN (eds.), *Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe and Related Areas. Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, vol. 16, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2021, 382 p.

This volume is a part of the series of proceedings of the sessions held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies, all of which have been published within the larger series of the “Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes”. As noted by the three editors in the *Introduction*, most of the chapters comprised in the present volume were first presented as papers at a panel entitled “Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe. Variation and Transmission from Antiquity to Modern Times” (convened by Anissava Miltenova and Emanuela Timotin). This panel – which was already remarkable by being the first of its kind at a congress of the International Association of South-East European Studies – and the informal discussions that followed it drew attention to many common themes and motifs which united the different papers.

The definition of “apocrypha” is somewhat wider than its more common understanding in Western biblical studies (which, per the editors’ admission, owe much to the Protestant perception of the Bible). Apocrypha are sometimes referred to as “para-biblical literature”, including categories often cited as “NT Apocrypha”, “OT Apocrypha”, and “OT Pseudepigrapha”, but, in this broader understanding, may also include works belonging to hagiography, liturgical and patristic literature, and folklore. Another important point is that these apocrypha are not necessarily defined in contrast with “canonical” works, nor are they exclusively ancient texts that were recently “discovered”, but they continued to be transmitted and formed living traditions, especially throughout South-East Europe and in the Eastern Orthodox world.

The first article, penned by Michael E. Stone (the founder of Association Internationale des Études Arméniennes and its president for 20 years), explores how Jewish apocalyptic works, concepts and literary forms were incorporated into Armenian culture. The two cultures were often compared, leading to some standard clichés which the author still sees fit to cite in the beginning of this article: both are ancient peoples that still use their age-old languages, both suffered exile and dispersion and genocide, both experienced a modern renewal and independence and are at still embroiled in long conflicts with their neighbors. In this context it would stand to reason that the Armenians would assimilate and deploy Jewish apocalyptic ideas to support their own national consciousness and to make sense of their own tribulations. The author presents lesser-known examples of Armenian medieval apocalyptic literature and draws attention to their cosmological and speculative dimensions. As noted by the author, the pattern of the older Jewish apocalypses and that of the later Armenian ones varies, due not to creedal differences, but to the difference of stress between the various works – thus, the older Jewish material can “make a foil against which the different emphases of the Armenian works can be highlighted”. The author highlights that the study of these texts, their roots, functions and transformations will lead its readers to a more profound understanding of the medieval Armenian world view and, ultimately, of the vicissitudes the two peoples underwent in the twentieth century.

The first of the editors to sign an article in this volume is Anissava Miltenova (Institute of Literature of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), who approaches the broader issue of the type-motif about the Holy Tree – which was used to connect the Old and New Testaments, and thus to make sense of the world, overcoming the limitations of human existence – in Slavic manuscripts. The author discusses three *Series of Stories about the Holy Tree*, attributed to Gregory the Theologian, Severian of Gabala, and the 10th-century Bulgarian writer Presbyter Jeremiah. These texts present mankind’s history from the creation to the crucifixion of Christ on a cross made from the wood of the Holy Tree that was in Paradise, followed by his resurrection, depicting Biblical characters such as Adam and Eve, Moses, Solomon, Abraham and the two robbers. In addition to this type of stories, it is noted that the motif of the Holy Tree is also developed in other genres such as parables and the so-called *erotapokriseis* (question-and-answer texts), which were also included in mixed content manuscripts. The author demonstrates that type-motifs (i.e. structures connecting different texts) were just as important as type-scenes (i.e. patterned stories and story models) in the creation of apocryphal literature. She also points out that such texts would have relied on mixed content manuscripts as the primary vehicle in their transmission.

The following article is similarly signed by one of the editors, Emanuela Timotin (Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy), who writes on a late 18th-century Romanian lament that had been neither published nor studied before this contribution. This text, *The Plaint of Eve, When She Was Going Out Through the Gates of Paradise*, survives in fols. 94v–96r of the miscellaneous manuscript 284 of the Romanian Academy Library, which also contains two fragmentary local chronicles, namely the anonymous *The Chronicle of the Cantacuzino Family* and Radu Greceanu’s *History of Constantin Brâncoveanu’s Reign*. These two chronicles are followed by a number of thematically unrelated texts (although, as noted by the author, the *Plaint of Eve* is immediately followed by the *Plaint of Adam*), which include subjects as diverse as a charm for the protection of the womb or *The History of Fruits and of All the Vegetables*. The *Plaint of Eve* and the *Plaint of Adam* mirror each other not only thematically, but also functionally, as they invite each soul to strive to attain the Garden of Eden. Whereas the *Plaint of Adam* incorporated new episodes, which led to its

use in more diverse situations and thereby bolstered its transmission, the *Plaint of Eve*'s conservation in a single manuscript would point to it not being fully accepted in the written tradition, which, per the author's analysis of its versified character, does not exclude its oral transmission. The appendix contains an edition of the Romanian text of the *Plaint*, followed by its English translation, which will doubtlessly provide prospective readers of this volume with material for future research, much aided by the author's own analysis of this text within the larger context of the transmission of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

Ljubica Jovanović (Vanderbilt University) discusses the image of Joseph in the *Homily about Fasting, and Joseph, and the Priest, and the Prophet David*, a text ascribed to Saint John Chrysostom, which became an integral part of sermons for Holy Monday in early liturgical texts in Slavonic. One of the key elements of this analysis lies in placing the text in its liturgical context, which allows to support the interpretation of Joseph's role as *Joseph the most beautiful* (Ївсифъ Прѣкрасни), named thus to refer to his illumination by the uncreated light of Jesus' transfiguration. This, in turn, connects his commemoration to the illuminated suffering Christ of the Bridegroom service from the first days of the Holy Week. The Church Fathers saw Joseph as a prefiguration of Christ and therefore connected almost every aspect of Joseph's life with that of Jesus. In this *Homily*, in particular, Joseph prefigures Christ as a redeemer, since he did not sin, but suffered because of the sins of others, for which he forgave them, later coming to rule in glory. The aforementioned title is not used *expressis verbis* in this *Homily*, but, per the author's demonstration, the use of this title in the *synaxarion* would not have been complete without the message of the *Homily*.

The following article, signed by Keiko Mitani (University of Tokyo), provides a detailed comparative linguistic analysis of five Serbian Church Slavonic manuscripts from dated between 1381 and the 17th century (although it should be noted that the latest of them, from the Serbian National Library in Belgrade, was lost and thereby conserved only thanks to the efforts of Stojan Novaković). These manuscripts all contain the Slavonic translation of the *Testament of Job*, which is otherwise known only in Coptic papyri fragments, four Greek manuscripts, and the Slavonic and Romanian translations, but not in its supposed Semitic original. The Serbian manuscripts still contain linguistic features that point to an earlier Bulgarian protograph (which may be earlier than the Middle Bulgarian recension, given, that the dual is still used). The manuscripts do, however, contain elements of vernacular Serbian (such as the use of the preposition *oy* instead of *въ*, as happens in modern Serbian). The author notes that the text's title in some of the manuscripts associates it with the date of May 6, which would suggest that the Slavs first used the *Testament of Job* as a hagiographical text allotted to that day in particular. Finally, the author concludes that the Slavonic *Book of Job* was translated earlier (i.e. in the 10th century) than the *Testament of Job* (between the late 10th and the early 12th century), whose narrative style, with dialogues and emotionally driven monologues, may explain the vernacular elements.

In his contribution, Ivan I. Iliev (Sofia University "Saint Kliment Ohridski") asks a question that was first answered by Ivan Evseev in 1905, namely how many translations of the *Book of Daniel* were made in Old Church Slavonic. Evseev's answer from his classic study on the subject was that there were three partial or full translations: "Cyril's translation", dated to the 9th century, the almost complete "Methodian translation" (also dated to the 9th century), and the "Symeonian translation", first copied from a Glagolitic prototype by the Novgorod monk Upir Lihij in 1047 (although its fullest preserved version is dated 1396). The author, however, provides a detailed comparative study in order to demonstrate that there were as many as *seven* different translations of the *Book of Daniel*. This text was extremely popular and was used in various contexts, which led to its inclusion in medieval books and compilations that fulfilled different functions, which, in turn, means that the translations were neither repetitions nor revisions, but were instead produced to fulfil said roles.

The article signed by Basil Lourié (a Leading Research Fellow of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk), which occupies nearly a quarter of the entire volume by itself, is dedicated to the New Testament apocryphal material within the *Narration Against the Romans*, a compilation which survives only in Slavonic, in three recensions. Despite its conservation only in translated form, it was nevertheless possible to ascertain

in all three recensions that the core was compiled by an anonymous Byzantine anti-Latin polemicist in the 11th century, who had used an earlier Greek monothelete florilegium with texts translated from Syriac. This text relied on quotations from pseudo-apostolic writings to demonstrate that the See of Rome was inferior to the Patriarchate of Antioch, being either directly subordinated to it or to another Eastern See. The author provides a detailed analysis of each of the works included in the florilegium, which are divided into three categories: texts related to the Twelve Apostles, texts attributed to Evodius (who was celebrated as Saint Peter's successor), and *The Acts of Peter in Rome* (which occupies the greatest part of the article). The authorship of the *Acts of Peter* will certainly attract some interest from prospective readers: the text was allegedly written by "Pope Clement", but the author of this article argues that it would be inaccurate to refer to him as "Pseudo-Clement" (at least according to the modern scholarly usage), since the Slavonic text in this manuscript does not belong to the vast corpus of Pseudo-Clementines, but was instead written by an author who impersonated the author already known as Pseudo-Clement, making him, in the scholar's own words, "Pseudo-Pseudo-Clement". The article is accompanied by a methodological post-scriptum on critical hagiography and Biblical criticism.

Cristina-Ioana Dima (University of Bucharest) analyses the Romanian tradition of the *Apocalypse of the Mother of God*, which was attested in 92 manuscripts from the 16th–19th centuries. The considerable differences between the texts have led to their categorisation in three redactions: A, the oldest (having been translated from Slavonic in the 16th century), depicts the Virgin Mary's journey to hell; B (translated from Greek), which survives in manuscripts from the 18th and the 19th centuries, extends the Virgin's journey to paradise; finally, C is constructed as a text-within-a-text, wherein the *Apocalypse* is depicted as a vision of Saint Seraphim. This third redaction survived in three manuscripts, but the origin of its translation has not yet been determined. The author provides a substantial appendix in the form of three tables containing the categories of sinners, sins and punishments depicted in the three redactions. Another means of comparison is given in the second appendix, which contains four coloured maps of Romania, one showing the dates and places of the A manuscripts, one for the B manuscripts, one of the C manuscripts, and one for all of them. While the maps are unavoidably too small to read, the quality of the images and the choice of colour will nevertheless give future readers a good understanding of the considerable spread of this text in the Romanian Lands.

Maria Stanciu Istrate (Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy), on the other hand, focuses on the earliest Romanian manuscript of the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger* (17th century). This 10th-century Greek work written by Gregory, one of Basil's disciples, was extremely popular in Romanian, as shown by its multiple translations from Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian, preserved in over 50 manuscripts. The narrative of this *Life*, which contains Saint Basil the Younger's biography, his miracles, and his death, also features two visions placed between the three aforementioned sections. The first vision describes the journey of the soul through toll houses towards the afterlife, a subject which that gained some traction in Romanian culture and was illustrated in visual arts and funeral customs. The aerial tolls would later find their way into 19th-century literature, as illustrated by the author, who quotes George Coșbuc's *Moartea lui Fulger* ("The Death of Fulger"), which shows how the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger* ignited Romanian imagination across the ages. This article is accompanied by a rather high-quality image of a detail from Sucevița Monastery, which depicts the Ladder of the Virtues.

The following article, signed by Matija Ogrin (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts), is dedicated to the Slovenian manuscript tradition of an early modern printed book written in German by the Capuchin friar Dionysius of Luxemburg. This book, entitled *Leben Antichristi. Oder Außführliche, gründliche und Historische Beschreibung Von den zukünftigen Dingen der Welt*, was published in 1682 and, despite its late date, it is nevertheless a direct thematic descendant of medieval apocalyptic writings and may even be considered a systematisation of earlier beliefs on the Antichrist. The author also points out that the manuscript tradition was not as homogenous as previously assumed, given that, aside from the more abbreviated first translation (which may be dated to around the year 1769) there was a second, more faithful translation from the 19th century. Another interesting aspect of its manuscript tradition lies in the fact that the German book was banned by the Austrian *Commissio aulica* as of the ninth edition of the index of prohibited

books, in 1774. This meant that the continued survival of the Slovenian translation in manuscript form can also be explained in terms of it being a form of resisting the Habsburg censorship.

The final article is signed by the third of the editors, Maria Cioată (an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Manchester), who explores Moses Gaster's collection of Romanian manuscripts, which are currently conserved in the Romanian Academy Library. The story of their acquisition by the Romanian Academy in 1936 is told based on archival sources, as the author of this article goes on to discuss their subsequent management. The author provides an extremely useful tool at the end of the article, namely a comparative table which helps convert Gaster's manuscript numbers to the current reference numbers: as a result, what he initially perceived as 201 Romanian manuscripts was eventually interpreted as 180 Romanian manuscripts (a number suggested first by Gabriel Ștrempel and then confirmed by the author following her more recent research), one Slavonic manuscript, two German manuscripts, 143 historical documents, six archive items, one rare book, and one regular printed book. The collection is naturally very diverse – aside from apocrypha and popular literature, it also includes modern literature (usually translated from French), historical works, ecclesiastical literature and quite a few musical manuscripts. The study's value lies in illustrating the importance of mixed content manuscripts in the transmission of apocrypha, but also in shedding light in Gaster's *modus operandi* as a collector.

This volume's prospective readers might notice that the articles contained within its pages are rather diverse in terms of their formatting and organization: some of them have subsections (some numbered, some unnumbered, some titled, some untitled), while other articles flow from one topic to the next without explicit markers. This was a conscious editorial option, allowing the individual authors to use the style they considered most fitting for their contributions. To this end, the editors underlined in the *Introduction* that this variety in form should not distract from the unity in content and, having gone through each of its chapters, the reader would indeed have no reason to doubt this statement. It also bears mentioning that this volume is accompanied by an index of Biblical sources and a thematic index, the latter of which includes both apocryphal titles and general motifs. These two additions, though they might appear unremarkable, emphasize the unity in content of the very rich material contained within the pages of this volume, which will hopefully be the first of many proceedings dedicated to apocrypha in future congresses.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Ivan BILIARSKY, *Defending the True Faith in the Twilight of the Empire. The Palaeologian Synodicon for the Sunday of Orthodoxy in Its Slavic Translation*, with an Annex by Antonio Rigo: The Tome of Condemnation of the Holy Mountain (Beginning of 1345), *Supplementa Études byzantines et post-byzantines*, vol. 2, Heidelberg, Herlo Verlag UG Heidelberg, 2021, 247 p.

This volume is the second publication in the “*Supplementa Études byzantines et post-byzantines*” series, published under the auspices of the Romanian Society for Byzantine Studies and under the general supervision of Andrei Timotin, which started in the same year with Petre Guran's *Rendre la couronne au Christ. Étude sur la fin de l'idée impériale à Byzance*. The author has worked in the Institute of Historical Studies of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences since 1986 and has been a professor there since 2011, in the section for Mediaeval History. He is also a member of the Romanian Society for Byzantine Studies. The present volume represents the fruits of his previous labour on the subject.

The *Synodicon for the Sunday of Orthodoxy* is a Byzantine text initially created in 843 in order to celebrate the triumph of Orthodoxy and the restoration of the veneration of images following the rejection of iconoclasm, marking, per Paul Lemerle's words, the beginning of “the *First Byzantine Humanism*”. The text itself, which aimed to anathemise heresies and heretics, on the one hand, and to glorify Orthodoxy, on the other hand, was most certainly a living text, as it received numerous

additions following various synods. This process continued up to the eve of the Ottoman conquest, which prompted Jean Gouillard to classify its periods and variants based on the ruling dynasties under which the various modifications were made: thus, there is a Macedonian version, a Comnenian version and a Palaeologian version.

The aim of this book is to examine and publish the text of two particular South Slavic manuscripts of the *Synodicon for the Sunday of Orthodoxy*: ms. sl. 307 from the Romanian Academy Library and a manuscript from the “Saints Cyril and Methodius” National Library in Sofia (NBKM 432), which was first brought to light by the Bulgarian historian and philologist Marin Drinov and was subsequently named after him. The research contained within the pages of this book is the continuation of the author’s previous research, published in Sofia, in 2013, in the volume *Палеологовият Синодик с славянски превод*, in which he published an almost unknown and never published manuscript from the Library of the Romanian Academy, namely the aforementioned ms. sl. 307, although the older book – unlike the present one – did not contain the text from these two manuscripts.

The central contribution of the author’s lengthy research is that it radically changed the previous scholarly consensus that all the witnesses to the South Slavic translation of the *Synodicon* were based on the Comnenian variant. The key argument was provided by the Bucharest manuscript, which contained references to the disputes about the Tabor Light and reflected the clash between Hesychasts/Palamites and their opponents – all of which pointed to its production in the 14th century, meaning that the translation was based on a Greek original belonging to the Palaeologian variant. These allusions and the great textual similarities with the Drinov manuscript led to the conclusion that the Drinov manuscript, too, was based on the Palaeologian variant, despite the fact that the folia containing specifically Palaeologian passages had been lost.

The second chapter discusses the manuscripts and the textual convoy of the *Synodicon*, describing the two aforementioned manuscripts and their more general contents, so as to give a better idea of the context in which the folia containing the *Synodicon* were included. The Bucharest manuscript, consisting of 124 folia, used to be in very bad condition and, despite its restoration, had been rendered almost illegible in many places. The author confirms A.I. Yatsimirsky’s and P.P. Panaitescu’s observations that the beginning, the end, and some sheets in the middle were missing. Concerning its dating, the watermark was identified as a variant of a hand with a five-leaf flower, which, according to Alexandru Mareş’s catalogue, is dated to the first half of the 16th century and was not recorded in the Romanian Principalities after the second half of the century. The author personally consulted Alexandru Mareş, who was able to confirm that the paper in this particular manuscript dates from the first half of the 16th century. Concerning its contents, it can be identified as a liturgical miscellany, whose main components are a Lenten *Triodion* (wherein one may find the *Synodicon*) and a *Pentecostarion*. As for the ethnicity of the copyist, the Resava orthography is not of much use, given that it was the most widespread Cyrillic orthography in the Balkans (with the exception of Moldavia) in the early Ottoman era, meaning that he could be a Serb, a Bulgarian, or someone from the Romanian Lands. The author nevertheless argues that the presence of the *Vita* of Saint Gregory the Decapolite at the end of this manuscript, in conjunction with the manuscript’s physical presence in Bucharest, might point to a strong connection with the Romanian Principalities, given this saint’s powerful cult in Wallachia.

The Drinov manuscript is similarly a 16th-century miscellany, whose watermarks, albeit difficult to find, were identified by B. Tsonev as being from the late 16th century, pointing to an entry in the Briquet catalogue which dates it from 1577. However, as noted by the author of the present volume, Tsonev did not indicate of the drawing in the catalogue and gave no further details about it. The copyist (whose name, “*gramatik Angelak*”, is provided in the colophon) similarly used the Serbian Resava norm, but M.G. Popruženko was able to conclude not only that the copyist transcribed from a Bulgarian original, but that he himself was certainly of Bulgarian origin. This miscellany’s convoy is unlike the Bulgarian Palauzov manuscript and the Bucharest manuscript in that it is a *damaskin*, which mainly included the Slavic translation of the sermons of Damascene Stoudite. The composition of the sermons included in this manuscript cannot convincingly prove Tsonev’s original dating, which leads the author to suggest that it is more likely for it to have been written between the very end of the 16th century and the year 1614 (the earliest annotation on the codex).

The following two chapters offer diplomatic editions of the text of the *Synodicon* in each of the two manuscripts, starting with the Bucharest manuscript (which, being a *Triodion*, places the *Synodicon* at the first Sunday of Lent – the Sunday of Orthodoxy). The author opts to present the text folio by folio as in the manuscript, attempting to indicate the number of missing sheets. Additionally – and very helpfully – before each page, he points out the corresponding places in the Greek original based on J. Gouillard's edition, in the Drinov manuscript, in M.G. Popruženko's edition of the Bulgarian *Synodicon*, and in the printed *Triodion* from 1664. Concerning the consistent damage in this manuscript, the author of this volume has endeavoured to restore the missing parts of the text (with the assistance of the Drinov manuscript), placing them in square brackets.

The edition of the Drinov manuscript (in chapter IV) is structured in a similar manner, with an English description of its contents, followed by a folio-by-folio rendering of the text, once again accompanied, in brackets, by the corresponding passages and folia from the Gouillard edition of the Greek text and the Bucharest manuscript, respectively. This consistent option to point out the equivalent parts in other versions will doubtlessly be of much help to future researchers who will attempt to continue this research.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to the commemorations of the upholders of Orthodoxy, a common feature of the *Synodicon*, in the two manuscripts. To this end, the author provides a comparative table for the list of Byzantine emperors containing the Greek version, the Drinov manuscript and the Bucharest manuscript. The list of Byzantine empresses is absent from the Bucharest manuscript, which instead contains the lists of Ecumenical patriarchs and of the patriarchs of Antioch (both absent from the Bulgarian manuscripts, but instead present in the Serbian *Synodicon*, which is reflective in the following comparative tables). Another list that is present in the Bucharest manuscript, but not in the Drinov manuscript, is that of various heroes of Orthodoxy who were metropolitans and other Church dignitaries, although the author draws attention to the fact that neither the Greek list, nor the Bucharest list makes it explicit which sees several of these metropolitans belonged to (as Gouillard put it, *sedes metropolitana ignota*) – nevertheless, this text is absent from the Serbian *Synodicon* as well, but even in the Greek tradition, it is limited to some of the manuscripts belonging to the Palaeologian variant. Finally, the author also discusses the commemorations of rulers, ecclesiastic dignitaries (namely the Seven Saints, i.e. Saints Cyril and Methodius and their disciples) and secular dignitaries (i.e. tsars' relatives and other high dignitaries) related to Bulgaria, which are obviously limited to the Bulgarian manuscripts.

The sixth chapter refers to the representations of heresies and heretics, which are intimately tied to the central purpose of the *Synodicon*, namely celebrating the triumph over Orthodoxy over iconoclasm and, as the text developed, over other heresies. Following the detailed discussion of the nine condemnations and anathemata borrowed from the Byzantine original, the author then discusses an event that is described in a mutually complementary manner in the two Bulgarian manuscripts of the work, namely the Council of Tărnovo of 11 February 1211. This Synod, convoked by Tsar Boril to condemn Bogomilism, was the subject of considerable debate in Bulgarian historiography, given that it occurred a few years after the death of Kaloyan. To wit, the Bulgarian historian Vassil Zlatarski depicted it in the context of a conflict between two parties in the Second Bulgarian Empire, namely the "Cuman" (anti-dynastic and anti-Assen, led by Tsar Boril) and the "Bulgarian" party (formed by the supporters and children of Tsar John I Assen). The author refers to and supports the refutations written by Ivan Dujčev, D. Angelov and, more recently, Ivan Božilov, who deny the existence of "Cuman" and "Bulgarian" parties, instead referring to the conflict with the Latins in Constantinople and the rapprochement with Theodore I Lascaris. Nevertheless, the author argues that this Council is best understood simply as an anti-heretical council intended to overcome an internal problem. The Bucharest *Synodicon* is of quite some interest, in the author's eyes, due to the information it provides on the General Assembly of Mount Athos (1345) and its conviction of the heretical group of Irene Porenè – a heresy that, while not necessarily unique, has had relatively few testimonies and adds "a drop of knowledge about the spiritual life in the Balkans on the eve of the Ottoman conquest".

This volume's appendix contains a brief article by Antonio Rigo on the tome of condemnation of the Holy Mountain from 1345, which includes an edition and the translation of the *Hagioreitikon gramma*, as conserved in the manuscript Vat. gr. 604. This text is, per the author's argumentation,

only a partial copy, as shown by the title, *From the document of the Holy Mountain*, by its *ex abrupto* incipit, the use of expressions such as “and a little later” and “they also add this”, and the absence of conclusions. Thus, it is argued that the excerpts would stem from the copy kept by the Synod of Constantinople, the original of which was not preserved in the archives of Mount Athos. The value of this text in the context of the present volume lies in the fact that its only textual counterpart is in the Bucharest manuscript of the *Synodicon*.

It may feel redundant to state the importance of this volume and of the author’s lengthy research on this subject, but it is no less true that this contribution provides access to two texts which, while not entirely unknown to Byzantinists, were not easily available, making this particular volume an extremely important instrument for future research on the subject of the South Slavic tradition of the *Synodicon*. The author’s analysis is an apt introduction to this complex matter and simultaneously builds upon previous research, meaning that one cannot recommend it enough to its potential readers and that, although only at its second publication, the “*Supplementa Études byzantines et post-byzantines*” series will go on to be perceived with the utmost trust by its readership.

Mihail-George Hâncu

Ivan BILIARSKY, Mihail MITREA and Andrei TIMOTIN (eds.), *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe*, Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019), Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2021 (BIESEE 15), 402 p., 2 figures.

Edited by Ivan Biliarsky, Mihail Mitrea and Andrei Timotin, *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe* is the excellent outcome of a session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019). Divided into three interdependent sections, Byzantine, Slavo-Byzantine and Romanian that *heuristically* reflect a geographic and chronological sequence, the volume encloses fourteen chapters on seminal aspects of religious rhetoric of power produced within the Byzantine thought-world. It opens with a brief introduction by the editors in which the approach and overview of the volume is presented. Through representative case studies that cover a wide range of sources – hagiography, historiography, apocalyptic literature, chancery documents, coronation *ordines* and visual/artistic representations, the volume brings a fresh perspective to a jam-packed field that invites continuous reflection. The following provides highlights from the fourteen rich and valuable essays.

The volume begins with a thought-provoking essay by Paul Magdalino entitled “The Religious Rhetoric of Political Prophecy” dedicated to shed light on the pervasive Byzantine typological thinking and its relation to political prophecy. According to Magdalino, religious rhetoric in Byzantium was foremost reflected in the construction of typology qualified as “the basis of Byzantine religious and political thought” (p. 12). Indeed, the technical term ‘typology’ designates a ubiquitous patristic interpretative practice that discerns patterns within and between distinct events depicted in Scripture. Embedded in the New Testament writings, the cornerstone of this exegetic strategy is the conviction that Jesus Christ is the fulfillment of the law and the prophets. This most defining feature of patristic and Byzantine exegesis equates the reading of Scripture with illuminating the identity of Jesus Christ. In Magdalino’s reading typology reflects “an elaborate form of rhetorical comparison, *synkrisis*, which used both Christian *typos* and classical *exemplum* as models for the construction of identities and profiles” (p. 12). Through this methodological point ubiquitous designations as *Nea Ierousalem*, *Nea Rome*, *Neos Konstantinos* or *Nea Ekklesia*, etc. are brilliantly unraveled. The essay applies the notion of “rhetoric as typology” for assessing the role of the prophet in Byzantine society. It shows that typological thinking is modulated and predetermined by narrative genre as it seems preeminently confined to the Byzantine apocalypses and hagiography. By turning to the anonymous *Life of Daniel the Stylite* (late 5th century) and Eustratios’ *Life of Patriarch Eutychios* (late 6th century), Magdalino

unpacks the structuring function of prophetic typology as meant to describe and prescribe “the ideal relationship between power and holiness, holiness that is systematically constructed in terms of Old Testament types” (p. 21).”

A consequential methodological insight informs the second essay by Andrei Timotin entitled “Religious Rhetoric of Power in the Middle-Byzantine Period. Some Reflections.” Timotin sensibly discerns “a religious rhetoric of local communities *against* imperial power and a religious rhetoric of imperial power [...]” (p. 28). This distinction is persuasively unearthed in the *Life of Saint Nikon “Metanoeite”* (middle of the 11th century) and the *Vision of Kosmas the Monk* (beginning of the 12th century). First, it points out that the hagiographer in writing the *Life of Saint Nikon* successfully arrays religious rhetoric – underpinned by the interplay between vision, icon and textual representation – for defending and legitimizing local power (as represented by John Malakenos, the spiritual son of Saint Nikon) *against* the emperor (p. 29–31). Second, it reveals that the *Vision of Kosmas* reflects imperial ideology in that it merges heavenly hierarchy with the secular hierarchy of the court.

Adrian Pirtea’s dense and learned essay “Manuscripts, Paratexts and the New Testament Canon: Arethas of Caesarea and the Reception of St John’s Apocalypse in Byzantium (ninth–eleventh centuries)” reassesses the importance of Arethas of Caesarea (ca. 860 – ca. 939) for the transmission of the *Apocalypse* and the establishment of its canonical status in the Byzantine and Eastern Christian world. In particular, it argues that Arethas’ cardinal contribution consisted in crafting a *paratextual apparatus* for the *Apocalypse* which substantially added to the integration of this book within the New Testament canon to the extent that it “even succeeded in effecting significant changes in the later production of Greek NT manuscripts” (p. 51).

Florin Filimon’s stimulating essay “Weaving Sainly Authority: *Synkrisis* and Typology in the Lives of Meletios” applies a narratological framework to the typological structures beneath Nicholas of Methone (ca. 1035 – ca. 1166) and Theodore Prodromos’ (ca. 1100 – ca. 1170) hagiographies of Meletios of Myoupolis. The essay brilliantly decoded the subversive and ‘double-tongued’ traits of Prodromos’ *Life* and further traced the latter’s acquaintance with Nicholas of Methone’s *Life*.

A well-argued contribution to this volume by Mihail Mitrea, “Spiritual and Imperial Authority in the Hagiographic Works of Philotheos Kokkinos” offers new insights into the configuration of church-state relations in late Byzantium. Mitrea discusses the literary representation of imperial figures in Kokkinos’ saints’ lives (ca. 1300–1378) with an emphasis on Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos’ (1347–1354) encounter with the renowned holy man Sabas the Younger. In addition, the essay signposts the relevance of Kokkinos’ unedited prayers for the emperors to the latter’s understanding of the relationship between *basileia* and *ekklēsia*. The chapter meticulously charts Kokkinos’ application of religious rhetoric in defense of imperial power. First, it convincingly argues that Kokkinos’ portrait of Kantakouzenos was meant to buttress his dynastic legitimacy. Second, it reveals that Kokkinos’ hagiographic endeavour reasserted the indissociable link between church and empire and endorsed the sacred character of the imperial office.

The section devoted to the Byzantino-Slavic world is inaugurated by Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić’s excellent contribution entitled “Le rituel liturgique et la rhétorique du pouvoir dans le royaume serbe du XIII^e siècle.” The essay examines the intricate cultural and political underpinnings of the coronation ritual performed at the monastery of Žiča in 1221 for the consecration of Stefan the First-Crowned. The section continues with Ivan Biliarsky’s fine essay “Imagines Virginis et la rhétorique du pouvoir dans l’œuvre littéraire du Patriarche Euthyme de Tarnovo et de son cercle” dedicated to the hagiographic production of Saint Euthymios of Tarnovo (ca. 1325 – ca. 1404). As Biliarsky argues, Saint Euthymios’ activity corresponds to a context marked by the intense sacralization of the Bulgarian state and its capital spearheaded by the consolidation of Orthodoxy and diffusion of hesychast doctrine. The essay convincingly unveils a hagiographic project devoted to array a host of saintly figures for the protection of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1396). In particular, it analyzes the veneration of female saints, Saint Theophano the Empress (865–893), Saint Petka-Paraskeva of Epibates (11th century) and Saint Philothea (13th century), whose relics were all transferred to Tarnovo. Inspired by the cult of the Theotokos as protectress of Constantinople, the cult of female saints framed the political ideology of the Second Bulgarian Empire and the identity of Tarnovo as a New Constantinople (p. 147).

The subsequent contribution by Tudor Teoteoi (“Qualités du souverain orthodoxe, vues à travers l’*Histoire* de Jean VI Cantacuzène et les Chroniques slavo-roumaines”) discusses the correspondences between John VI Kantakouzenos’ *Histories* and the Slavo-Romanian chronicles (i.e., *The Annals from Putna*, *The Anonymous Chronicle of Moldova*, *The Chronicles of Macarie*, *Eftimie and Azarie*). Among the carefully documented panoply of shared and inherited concepts we mention the association of medieval universalism with the idea of peace (*pax Dei*).

Andrei Prohin’s essay “The Sovereign’s Dream as Historical Parable in the Byzantine World Chronicles from the Romanian Principalities (16th–17th C.)” examines the significance of the prophetic dreams from the Byzantine world chronicles that circulated in Moldova and Wallachia through Slavonic translations. First, it offers a meticulous and useful overview of the Slavonic-Romanian manuscripts enclosing the *Chronographikon syntomon* of Patriarch Nikephoros, the *Chronicle* of George Hamartalos, the *Paralipomenon* of Zonaras, the *Chronicle* of Symeon Logothetes and the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses. Second, it peruses the accounts of prophetic dreams from Manasses’ *Chronicle* as rendered by the Romanian reception (with an emphasis on the World Chronicle of Mihail Moxa). Overall, Prohin’s contribution suggests that the sovereigns’ dreams from the Byzantine world chronicles bequeathed to the Romanian readers an influential tradition of spiritual reading of history.

The chapter “The Reign of a Defrocked Monk. A Late Fifteenth-Century Case Study in the Wallachian Political Language” by Marian Coman is one of the volume’s strongest. It traces the fascinating journey of a legitimizing strategy of a monk-turned-ruler, in the person of Pahomie/Vlad, the defrocked monk that ascended on the Wallachian throne in 1492. First, the essay highlights the innovative aspects of Vlad’s *arengae* alongside their theological/monastic underpinnings. It suggests that Vlad’s self-fashioned identity of a deeply devout ruler successfully engaged with the widespread eschatological expectations unleashed at the verge of the seventh millennium. This strategy enabled Vlad to consolidate his rule as he may have persuaded “his most powerful subjects that the world was to end in 7000” (p. 221). Second, the essay traces the diffusion of the Nemanijd-Brančović royal ideology in early 16th century Wallachia revealing that the Serbian model of the ruler-turned-monk emboldened and legitimized Vlad’s descendants to industriously embrace their forefather’s monastic past.

The next essay “War and Religious rhetoric in Wallachia during the ‘Long Turkish War’” by Ovidiu Cristea scrupulously investigates the political language of Wallachian princes in their strive for legitimacy. The analysis decodes “a change in perspective in relation with the princes’ attitude toward the legitimization of war” (p. 237) in the resurgence of religious topics (e.g., the notion of *antemurale christianitatis*, the sin of shedding Christian blood) at the end of 16th century. It shows that religious rhetoric remained an important tool in forging legitimacy. Moreover, its application resonated with the imperial and papal propaganda as it strived to array as many Christian rulers as possible against the Porte.

Lidia Cotovanu’s essay “Le *Κτητορικὸν Δίκαιον*, les patriarches grecs et les limites du pouvoir absolu des princes valaques. Autour de la prétendue réforme monastique de Matei Basarab (1632–1634)” offers a rich and discerning reassessment of the practice of dedicating monasteries to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Mount Athos or to holy places in the Near East and the way it affected the discourse of legitimacy of Wallachian rulers. Cotovanu eloquently shows that the authority of *κτητορικὸν δίκαιον* was neither disputed nor curtailed by Matei Basarab (1632–1654). Instead of denoting a monastic reform, Matei Basarab’s broadcasted prohibition of dedication of certain monasteries was in fact intended to frame his disputed political legitimacy. By claiming descent from the House of Basarab (*neamul băsarăbesc*), Matei aga de Brâncoveni affirmed the ‘autochthony’ of his own reign and the restoration of the country’s ancient customs. Through this strategy Matei emphatically crafted an anti-model of legitimacy represented by the ‘foreign princes and metropolitans’ (*domni și vlădici străini*) and their assigned proclivity of dedicating monasteries to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Radu Nedici’s essay “Wondrous Icons between Politics and Religion: Building Legitimacy among the Romanians in Transylvania in a Time of Internal Power Struggles and Confessional Dissent” revisits the captivating story of the weeping icon of the Mother of God occurred in the spring of 1764 in the town of Blaj (Transylvania). Nedici’s careful exposition discerns behind the miraculous event the failed canonization process of the Greek Catholic bishop, Petre Pavel Aron,

attempted by Athanasie Rednic. It shows that the credibility of the miracle was hampered by the latter's lack of following and inability to impose the miracle on the public agenda.

The volume concludes with Radu Păun's compelling contribution entitled "La mise en ritual du pouvoir. Une prière de couronnement copiée par Dionisie Eclesiarhul (1813)." The essay finely examines the coronation ritual transmitted by BAR. rom. 3567 (ff. 3^v–5^r), a text copied or perhaps authored by Dionisie Eclesiarhul (ca. 1759–1820) during the first month of Ioan Gheorghe Caragea's reign (1813). The refined textual analysis brings to the fore the intricate liturgical and theological strategies devised for softening the conflicting dimensions of princely power, namely its professed divine origin and simultaneous subordination to the Ottoman sultan and Russian tsar.

This properly edited volume is thematically and methodologically coherent and the chapters correlated by valuable cross-references. Foremost, it will interest researchers who seek highly technical and source-specific approaches to religious rhetoric. The editors furnished an extensive bibliography which gathers an array of scholarship on Byzantine and South-Eastern European topics that could be useful for the interested researcher to pursue additional study. It should be also mentioned that this hardcover edition offers a comfortable and easy handling and one could only hope that the publisher would consider to invest more resources to assure this volume of a wider visibility and dissemination. This reviewer noticed only a handful of minor errors that escaped the editors, mainly inconsistencies in supplying translations to texts and variegated transliteration options.¹

Mircea Duluș

Sandra ORIGONE, *Le signore del mare. Una storia del Mediterraneo medievale*, Milano, Ledizioni, 2020, 173 p.

Sandra Origone, docente ordinario presso l'Università di Genova, ha scelto di trattare un tema caro alla storiografia italiana, quella delle repubbliche marinare, inserendosi in una tradizione più anziana di due secoli. La manifestazione più usuale dell'affezione che gli italiani hanno per questo argomento è il „Palio delle antiche repubbliche marinare” che si svolge annualmente alternativamente ad Amalfi, Pisa, Genova e Venezia, i stemmi delle quali trovandosi anche nell'emblema araldico della Marina militare italiana.

Naturalmente il saggio comincia dalla definizione dei termini, già annunciando le intenzioni dell'autore per il percorso di tutto il libro, e dalla necessità di identificare quali sono queste principali repubbliche marittime. Quindi come si definisce una repubblica nel medioevo e perchè, in questo caso è associata all'attributo marinara? La spiegazione è più che equilibrata e pertinente, essendo orientata sulle realtà istituzionali. Se certo bisogna contestualizzare il concetto di repubblica nel medioevo, per non confonderlo con realtà moderne, democratiche, l'aggettivo marinara non deve ingannare, creando l'illusione che senza i rapporti marittimi non sarebbero arrivate alla stessa struttura interna, che tra l'altro esiste anche negli stati terrestri.

Per ciò che riguarda la scelta delle repubbliche trattate l'autore, pur ammettendo che essa rischia di essere obsoleta, si rifà sempre alla tradizione che prende in considerazione le città di Amalfi, Pisa, Genova e Venezia. Infatti certamente ce lo si può domandare perchè città come Ancona o Ragusa non sono mai prese in considerazione in questo tipo di sintesi.

Le due linee direttrici seguite per tutto il percorso del libro, già annunciate nell'introduzione, sono quelle dello sviluppo interno di ciascun stato in parte, e quello del confronto, tanto inteso come parallela fra di loro, ricordando per esempio il famoso articolo di Roberto S. Lopez che confrontando i percorsi di Genova e Venezia scriveva „Venise et Gênes, deux styles une réussite”, quanto quello del conflitto fra loro.

¹ Apart from two contributions, modern translations are generally supplied to the quoted sources; the transliteration of Greek and Cyrillic is generally avoided, though it features in three essays; a formatting error is noted p. 241; at p. 201 it is typed "Amlas" instead of "Amlaş"; at p. 279 "shin" instead of "chin."

Infatti, se la scelta del tema non è certo inedita, invece lo è la modalità in cui esso è trattato dall'autore, questa volta più concentrato sullo sviluppo interno ed istituzionale di ciascun comune in parte che sulla loro espansione estera, considerata come conseguenza di quest'ultimo. Questa innovazione può essere rilevata anche solo dall'ordine nel quale è narrata la storia delle quattro repubbliche marinare, questa volta non seguendo più una dialettica cronologica, ma scelto sulle basi del loro rapporto con l'impero bizantino, visto come svolta dominante per la formazione di esse. Infatti se Amalfi e Venezia hanno un rapporto più duraturo con Constantinopoli, che influenza i due comuni tanto istituzionalmente quanto economicamente, prolungando l'esistenza del legame fra la parte occidentale ed orientale del Mediterraneo, la stessa cosa non è valida per Pisa e Genova, che dopo un breve dominio bizantino sono conquistate prima dai longobardi, poi dai carolingi.

Se la narrativa, centrata sulle leggende locali e sulla struttura interna delle quattro repubbliche, si rivolge tanto ad un pubblico specializzato, quanto ad uno più largo, la seconda proposta innovativa è la scelta delle coppie di città, per l'autore, confrontabili, perlopiù istituzionalmente: Amalfi e Venezia, con legami più stretti con Bisanzio, Pisa e Genova, con un percorso perlopiù germanico ed infine Genova e Venezia, che rispetto alle altre due hanno potuto reggere per più tempo ai diversi ostacoli e alla competizione.

Molto interessante è la conclusione, che alla fine rileva l'ambivalenza tra sviluppo interno e quello estero: se inizialmente i quattro comuni, con tratti simili agli altri centri italiani, hanno potuto estendersi nel Mediterraneo forti della loro struttura interna, quelli che sono riusciti a sopravvivere più a lungo hanno potuto farlo grazie alla loro politica estera, grazie alla quale si sono riusciti ad imporsi tanto per mare, quanto per terra.

Il saggio di Sandra Origone, „Le signore del mare. Una storia del mediterraneo medievale”, pur non presentando informazioni inedite, rappresenta un'ottima sintesi sull'argomento, con punti di vista acuti e con un cambio di prospettiva, rivolta tanto agli specialisti quanto ad un pubblico più largo.

Alessandro Flavio Dumitrașcu

Niccolò FATTORI, *Migration and Community in the Early Modern Mediterranean. The Greeks of Ancona, 1510–1595*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, 163 p.

Il libro di Niccolò Fattori, ricercatore indipendente, ha alla base la sua tesi di dottorato, sostenuta presso la prestigiosa Royal Holloway dell'Università di Londra, sotto la guida dell'altrettanto famoso storico Jonathan Harris.

Come sottolinea anche l'autore stesso, se l'argomento della diaspora greca nella penisola italica dopo la caduta di Constantinopoli non è certo innovativo, invece lo è il punto di vista dal quale si propone la sua trattazione. Infatti fino ad oggi abbiamo appreso molto sugli immigranti greci stabiliti a Venezia, Roma e Napoli, ma quasi nulla su quelli che hanno soggiornato in altri centri italiani più piccoli, solitamente porti, come per esempio, in questo caso, Ancona, che tra l'altro, lo si sapeva da tempo, è sempre stato un'importante punto d'attracco per i bizantini. È lodevole il fatto che finalmente uno storico si sia preso la briga di frugare negli archivi notarili della città sul Mar Adriatico.

Come ogni classica opera storica, l'autore si propone prima di tutto, basandosi su una cronologia influenzata da quello che è riuscito a trovare nell'archivio, di fornire una contestualizzazione storica, partendo da quelle che sono le premesse della creazione della comunità dei greci ad Ancona, verso il 1510, vent'anni prima della fondazione della loro istituzione rappresentativa, la Confraternita di Sant'Anna, e finendo nel 1595, quando la Controriforma scoraggia la permanenza dei greci in una città che, dal 1532, era entrata nel possesso dello Stato Pontificio. Poi, in maniera inconsueta, l'autore sceglie di trattare prima delle relazioni sociali venute a crearsi all'interno della comunità, lasciando per ultime le realtà istituzionali. Un concetto affermato ripetutamente dall'autore è: „La comunità può esistere senza istituzioni, ma le istituzioni non possono esistere senza una comunità”.

Se la contestualizzazione storica è una pertinente, l'autore si affretta troppo nello sminuire la presenza greca, anche solo di passaggio, ad Ancona nel secolo precedente, della quale lo stesso

storico in alcuni frangenti ne ammette l'esistenza, pur confinandola a quello che lui denomina „l'immigrazione delle élite”. In modo certo, per uno storico medievale è molto attrattivo trovare informazioni sulle classi sociali meno abbienti, ma nel caso dei greci immigrati nella penisola italica, i più grandi contributi sul piano politico, economico e culturale sono venuti dalle classi più ricche formate da nobili, militari, commercianti e soprattutto da letterati.

La parte centrale, nella quale ha luogo l'analisi delle reti sociali venutesi a creare all'interno della comunità greca di Ancona è il punto forte dell'opera, qualsiasi storico che si occupa di realtà periferiche o di secoli precedenti potendo rimanere atterrito di fronte al livello di dettaglio che è riuscito dagli atti notarili. Qui ci si possono trovare la provenienza, l'occupazione, le relazioni sociali e le zone abitate dei nuovi abitanti.

Con l'ultimo punto focale dell'opera, che va a sottovalutare l'importanza dell'esistenza delle istituzioni, arrivando a negare l'esistenza di un corpo rappresentativo della comunità greca di fronte alle autorità locali ad Ancona, si può non essere d'accordo. In questo caso, l'autore fa sempre riferimento, come termine di confronto, alla comunità greca di Venezia che, come ammette anche lui, è molto difficile da prendere come esempio, poiché le cifre sono totalmente diverse. Rimanendo alle realtà periferiche, per esempio farei riferimento alla comunità greca di Genova dei secoli precedenti, che pur essendo molto meno numerosa, composta in grande parte da schiavi, e di cui sappiamo veramente pochissimo, tuttavia conosciamo l'esistenza di un console o di una loggia. Un'altra parallela che mi viene in mente è la situazione della rappresentanza della nazione dei genovesi a Moncastro: la presenza dei genovesi in questo centro urbano è attestata per almeno due secoli, tuttavia le fonti trovate fino ad ora non indicano l'esistenza di alcuna struttura rappresentativa; invece i veneziani che hanno frequentato questo porto per soli sei anni sono riusciti ad installare un console. In altre parole, penso che sia meglio non affrettarci nel negare solo sulla base che non è stato ancora trovato.

La conclusione stavolta vede il confronto legittimo tra come ha retto la comunità greca di Venezia, rispetto a quella di Ancona, l'urto della Controriforma. Qui è chiaro che lo stato veneziano è riuscito a filtrare una politica papale che ad Ancona, essendo sotto dominio diretto, ha praticamente distrutto la realtà qui trattata.

Il libro qui analizzato, con un punto di vista inedito sul problema tradizionale della diaspora greca nella penisola italica, ha molti punti condivisibili, altri meno.

Alessandro Flavio Dumitraşcu

Monseigneur Joseph NASRALLAH, Professeur Rachid HADDAD, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XIX^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, Vol. VI. *Index des manuscrits*, dressé par Ronney el Gemayel, s.j., Beyrouth, CEDRAC – CERPOC, 2021, 233 p.

Le sixième volume de l'*Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle (HMLÉM)* vient achever un travail de plusieurs décennies au service du vaste domaine de la littérature arabe chrétienne due aux auteurs chrétiens de rite byzantin des Églises grecque-orthodoxe et grecque-catholique melkite des pays de la Méditerranée orientale. Pour arriver à comprendre l'importance de ce volume il faut évoquer la série des sept tomes de l'*HMLÉM* de Mgr. Joseph Nasrallah, riche instrument de travail bien connu de tous les chercheurs – historiens, théologiens, philologues – qui étudient la littérature arabe chrétienne.

Joseph Nasrallah est né en 1911 à Nabek en Syrie et s'éteint à Damas en 1993. Sa formation théologique commence au Séminaire Saint-Anne de Jérusalem, chez les Pères Blancs. Ayant achevé ses études en 1934, il commence une longue carrière de chercheur et historien des Églises de rite byzantin, tout en remplissant plusieurs tâches ecclésiastiques, y compris celle de professeur au Collège patriarcal de Damas. En 1945 il s'établit au Liban, prenant résidence chez les Pères Paulistes de Harissa, comme professeur au séminaire. Les années vécues en Syrie et au Liban lui permettent

l'accès à d'innombrables bibliothèques, archives et collections monastiques et privées, qui constituent ensuite les sources de ses nombreux ouvrages concernant les auteurs arabes chrétiens. Vers 1940, l'Institut français de Damas le charge de cataloguer et décrire les manuscrits des bibliothèques au Liban, ce qui lui inspire l'idée de commencer un travail de documentation pour retracer la vie littéraire des melkites. En octobre 1950 il est nommé recteur, puis curé de la paroisse Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre à Paris. Il y reste jusqu'en octobre 1990, quand il revient à Damas pour y passer ses derniers jours. À part la série de l'*HMLÉM*, son *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban* (Beyrouth, 1959) reste l'un de ses livres employés le plus souvent par les chercheurs de l'histoire littéraire et ecclésiastique des pays du Levant.

Quoique le plan de l'énorme œuvre qui est l'*HMLÉM* suit la chronologie des auteurs inclus, les volumes n'ont pas été publiés dans l'ordre des périodes parcourues. La série fut divisée au début en quatre volumes, dont les volumes II, III et IV comprennent deux tomes. Il y a donc aujourd'hui, pour être plus précis :

Vol. I		Période byzantine, 451–634, 256 p., Damas – Beyrouth, CERPOC – IfPO – Éditions de l'USJ – FSR, 2016 (posthume).
Vol. II	t. 1	Période omeyyade, 634–750, XXXI + 200 p., Damas, IfPO, 1996.
	t. 2	Première période abbasside, 750–X ^e siècle, XXXI + 217 p., Louvain, Peeters, 1988.
Vol. III	t. 1	Reconquête byzantine, Croisades – Époques ayyoubide et fatimide, 969–1250, XXXI + 416 p., Louvain, Peeters, 1983.
	t. 2	Domination mamelouke, 1250–1516, 217 p., Louvain, Peeters, 1981.
Vol. IV	t. 1	Première période ottomane, 1516–1724, XXXI + 316 p., Louvain, Peeters, 1979.
	t. 2	Deuxième période ottomane, 1724–1800, XXXI + 407 p., Louvain, Peeters, 1989.
Vol. V		<i>Index général</i> , dressé par Rachid Haddad, Damas – Beyrouth, CERPOC – IfPO – Éditions de l'USJ – FSR, 2017.

La publication d'un tome 3 du volume IV, couvrant le XIX^e siècle, ayant été révoquée récemment, le projet fut déclaré clos.

Pour la préparation de tous les volumes de l'*HMLÉM*, Joseph Nasrallah a bénéficié de la collaboration du professeur Rachid Haddad. Né au Liban en 1929, Rachid Haddad obtint en 1975 son diplôme de Doctorat d'État de la Sorbonne pour une thèse publiée sous le titre *La Trinité Divine chez les théologiens arabes de 750 à 1050* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1985). Rachid Haddad prépara aussi le catalogue des manuscrits du couvent de Saint-Sauveur (Joun) et il coédita le catalogue des manuscrits du Monastère de Balamand. Il est l'auteur de plusieurs articles scientifiques sur des thèmes théologiques et de littérature arabe chrétienne. Résidant à Ankara depuis 1975, il a enseigné dans les Universités turques. Il contribua de nouveau, ces dernières années, au projet *HMLÉM* en préparant l'*Index général* des noms propres publié en 2017 (vol. V), un énorme travail dont les résultats apportent une aide substantielle à tous ceux qui, ayant employé l'*HMLÉM* auparavant, ont fait des efforts pour retrouver toutes les références aux auteurs qu'ils étudiaient, éparpillées dans l'un ou l'autre des volumes de la série.

Les melkites ont reçu cette appellation des monophysites jacobites et nestoriens, par dérision, comme les « gens de l'empereur », à cause de leur attachement aux actes du IV^e concile de Chalcédoine convoqué par le *basileus* (Aram. *malkā*/Ar. *malik*), l'empereur Marcien. Ils adoptèrent eux-mêmes par la suite cette appellation, qui fut la leur pendant des siècles, tout comme celle de « chalcédoniens ». Leur Église connut sa première période d'activité sous la domination byzantine, de 451 jusqu'à 634, jusqu'à la conquête arabe. En 1724, lorsque l'Église d'Antioche se divisa, une nouvelle Église melkite grecque-catholique prit ce nom en exclusivité. Depuis cette année, les melkites sont les chrétiens grecs-catholiques qui suivent le rite byzantin. Le choix de ne pas abandonner les rites orientaux et la langue arabe dans le culte les maintint même après 1724 dans des rapports étroits avec l'Église grecque-orthodoxe d'Antioche, leur permettant de sauvegarder leur patrimoine spirituel et intellectuel commun, d'une singulière richesse, comme la série des volumes de l'*HMLÉM* le démontre de façon incontestable.

Pour ce qui est de volumes récemment achevés grâce au dévouement des chercheurs du CERPOC – CEDRAC au projet de l'*HMLÉM*, il faut remarquer la publication comme Avant-propos du volume I, paru en 2016, du texte rédigé le 15 août 1975 par le Mgr. Joseph Nasrallah (publié en arabe dans « Al-Masarra », 52, 1976, p. 220–225, 319–332) et mis à jour par Rachid Haddad (p. 9–20). C'est là que l'auteur explique le plus clairement ses choix et les particularités de sa démarche historique et philologique. Il vise « à donner un tableau d'ensemble de la vie littéraire d'une communauté vivant en terre d'Islam », l'Église melchite, « héritière légitime des trois sièges apostoliques d'Alexandrie, d'Antioche et de Jérusalem », laquelle, « demeurée dans l'orthodoxie [...], hérite de tout le passé dogmatique, littéraire et artistique de l'Église établie. » Sans que ce but soit inclus parmi ceux imaginés par l'auteur au début de son travail de longue haleine, l'*HMLÉM* établit aussi la communion de pensée et de vie spirituelle entre les peuples de l'Orthodoxie, du Caire à Constantinople, de Damas à Jassy et Bucarest. Aussi, discuter des œuvres des auteurs chrétiens du Levant engage une discussion des *langues* que tous ces théologiens, membres du clergé et laïques ont employé dans leurs créations littéraires, ce que Nasrallah explique ici clairement : « L'Église melchite ne revêtant aucun caractère national, ses écrivains ont utilisé les langues en usage dans le pays où ils vivaient. Si le grec a été l'idiome le plus répandu dans le monde cultivé des rives de la Méditerranée, le copte, le syriaque, dans ses deux branches, occidentale et syro-palestinienne, à côté de l'arabe, ont servi de véhicule à une riche littérature orthodoxe et partant melchite » (p. 14).

L'*Index des manuscrits* cités dans les sept volumes de l'*HMLÉM* que Ronney el Gemayel a dressé est l'outil que la communauté des chercheurs de la chrétienté arabe attendait depuis longtemps. Né au Liban en 1971, diplômé de l'Université Libanaise, docteur en sciences religieuses de l'Institut oriental à Rome (2014), le père Ronney el Gemayel, S.J., dirige depuis 2014 le CEDRAC (Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes) à Beyrouth.

L'*Index des manuscrits* est précédé d'un index des bibliothèques, fonds et systèmes de cotation (p. 17–26) qui permet de retrouver une entrée dans le second *Index des manuscrits dressé par ville* (p. 27–232). Ronney el Gemayel a dépouillé les manuscrits commentés, décrits ou simplement mentionnés par Joseph Nasrallah et Rachid Haddad dans les centaines de pages de l'*HMLÉM*, après avoir établi une méthodologie qui lui permit de composer un index cohérent et rigoureux. Il inclut les manuscrits dont les auteurs ont mentionné au moins le lieu d'existence, le nom du fonds ou le numéro, ainsi que les pièces d'archives qui contiennent une œuvre proprement dite, portant un nom d'auteur et un titre. Comme la mention du fonds manque souvent, il a fallu retrouver cette information. Pendant toute « cette besogne », comme il définit son extraordinaire effort, l'auteur déclare avoir bénéficié de la contribution de Mona et Lena Dabaghy et de Stefano Di Sanpietro. L'on n'est pas surpris de voir mentionné aussi le nom du père Alexander Treiger (Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada), spécialiste connu des manuscrits arabes chrétiens, qui aida l'auteur à préciser des données concernant les fonds de Saint-Petersbourg. Décidemment, ce n'était pas un travail à faire en toute solitude.

Quels sont les bénéfices que les historiens des Églises orthodoxes et des relations entre les Patriarcats orientaux et ceux de l'Europe de l'Est peuvent tirer de cet ouvrage ? Pour apprécier l'importance de pouvoir identifier aisément les nombreuses sources manuscrites enregistrées ici il faut rappeler quelques-uns des thèmes discutés dans l'*HMLÉM*. Les tomes 1 et 2 du volume IV, surtout, contiennent de nombreuses pages qui ont rapport aux orthodoxes vivant au delà de l'emprise de l'Empire ottoman, mais qui avaient des relations constantes et des projets communs avec les chrétiens des provinces ottomanes de la Méditerranée orientale. Parmi les sections dédiées aux patriarches d'Antioche des XVI^e–XVII^e siècles, un long chapitre (IV/1, p. 87–127) traite de la vie et des œuvres de Macaire III ibn al-Za'im, qui a voyagé pendant plus de trois ans aux Pays Roumains (1653–1654, 1656–1658) et a traversé le Pays des Cosaques (l'Ukraine) pour gagner Moscou. Les manuscrits arabes de ses ouvrages inspirés ou écrits grâce à ses contacts avec des intellectuels qu'il rencontra en Valachie sont plus faciles à retrouver maintenant grâce à l'*Index* dressé par Ronney el Gemayel. Parmi ceux-ci il y a le *Livre de l'Abeille*, collection d'extraits d'un livre de Païsius Ligaridés, évêque de Gaza, et *Le Livre des Symboles*, traduction intégrale de ce même livre, avec des ajouts personnels issus de ses notes de voyage en Europe orientale, tout comme pour ses miscellanées *Majmū' laṭīf* (*Recueil délicat*) et *Al-Majmū' al-mubārak* (*Le Recueil béni*). Nombre d'autres textes composés par le

patriarche Macaire doivent leur création à son passage par ces contrées, où il trouva, entre autres, le livre de Dorothée de Monembasía compilé pour le voïvode de Moldavie Pierre le Boiteux, une histoire générale allant de la Création du monde à l'avènement de Mourad IV (1623–1639). La vie et les œuvres d'Athanase Dabbās, patriarche d'Antioche qui résida à la cour du prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, où il composa en grec pour son hôte une histoire de l'Église d'Antioche et traduisit du grec le *Divan* de Démètre Cantemir (imprimé à Jassy en 1698), sont présentées dans ce même volume aux p. 132–146. Le travail d'impression que Dabbās accomplit avec Anthime l'Ibère, moment décisif pour l'introduction de l'imprimerie au Proche-Orient (en 1706, à Alep, par ce même patriarche), est l'un des épisodes commentés ici par Nasrallah. Païsius Ligarides lui-même est présenté aux p. 161–163, avec des commentaires sur sa présence en Valachie et à Jassy en tant que professeur, « puis conseiller et confesseur du prince Basile [Lupu] ». De même, Metrophanes Critopoulos est inclus aux p. 173–174, avec, sans faute, la mention de son voyage en Valachie, où il mourut en 1639. Parmi les intellectuels syriens auxquels les auteurs dédient des chapitres dans le vol. IV, t. 2, il y a Elias Faḥr, collaborateur d'Athanase Dabbās, qui lui conféra la chirotonie diaconale, Yusuf Mark, disciple du patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche qui voyagea aux Pays Roumains en 1930–1947, en y imprimant des livres arabes, et Mas'ad Našū, qui traduisit du grec en 1740 l'un des livres imprimés à Jassy par Sylvestre, le *Syntagma kata azymon* d'Eustratios Argentis. Le chapitre sur Sylvestre d'Antioche occupe les p. 84–89 et comprend de riches informations à propos des projets du patriarche aux Pays Roumains. Grâce au volume VI de l'*HMLÉM*, tous les manuscrits des ouvrages mentionnés sont maintenant plus faciles à retrouver, avec les cotes et les références correctes et complètes, dans les collections monastiques et les grandes bibliothèques du Liban, de Syrie, Grèce et Grande-Bretagne, du Vatican etc.

Pour bien comprendre l'exactitude qui caractérise les notes accompagnant les entrées de l'*Index* quelques exemples s'imposent. Page 131, note 279 : « Nasrallah écrit 'or. chr.', mais il faut lire Ar. Chr. ». Pour le ms. n° 495 de la British Library à Londres, la note 281 nous informe : « Il s'agit sans doute d'une faute de frappe à lire 4951. » Pour retrouver les cotes justes des manuscrits arabe chrétiens conservés à la Bodleian Library à Oxford, Ronney el Gemayel a consulté les grands catalogues d'Edward B. Pusey, Joannes Uri et Robert Payne Smith. Pour établir la justesse des cotes des manuscrits de Saint-Pétersbourg, l'auteur a fait appel, entre autres, au catalogue de Bernhard Dorn et Reinhold Rost publié en 1852. Nonobstant la confusion créée par la fusion de la bibliothèque de l'Institut des langues orientales avec celle de l'ancien Musée Asiatique de Saint-Pétersbourg, précurseur de l'Institut des manuscrits orientaux où se trouve aujourd'hui l'importante collection de manuscrits arabes du patriarche d'Antioche Grégoire IV (1906–1928), l'auteur donne une image claire et précise des cotes des manuscrits analysés dans l'*HMLÉM*.

L'un des bénéfices supplémentaires que le volume VI offre au lecteur est qu'il présente des éléments d'histoire des collections enregistrées, surtout en ce qui concerne celles privées, dont l'importance est majeure pour les études arabes chrétiennes. Ainsi, l'on retrouve ici les manuscrits de 'Īsā I. al-Ma'lūf (p. 230–232), l'un des premiers intellectuels arabes qui se sont intéressés à l'imprimerie alépine d'Athanase Dabbās, fondée par la générosité du prince Brâncoveanu et d'Anthime l'Ibère, mais aussi des références aux collections privées, telles que celles d'Alep et Beyrouth (p. 38–39, 57–58). Pour les grandes bibliothèques occidentales, comme la Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana ou la Bibliothèque nationale de France, on ne retrouve pas seulement les manuscrits arabes commentés dans l'*HMLÉM*, mais aussi les grecs, coptes, syriaques, hébreux et arméniens.

Le volume VI de la série *HMLÉM* est un instrument à utiliser pour le but de la recherche concernant les auteurs chrétiens arabophones et les textes composés aux pays est-méditerranéens dans toutes les langues des communautés chrétiennes locales. Il est la clé qui ouvre un trésor de connaissances réunies dans un ouvrage sans pareil. Aussi, il encourage le retour aux sept volumes de l'*Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XIX^e siècle* avec plus de confiance, de la part des lecteurs, de retrouver les informations essentielles pour leurs recherches.

Ioana Feodorov

Constantin A. PANCHENKO, *Orthodoxy and Islam in the Middle East. The Seventh to the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Brittany Pheiffer Noble and Samuel Noble, Jordanville, New York, Holy Trinity Publications, Holy Trinity Seminary Press, Holy Trinity Monastery, 2021, X + 206 p.

Constantin A. Panchenko is an Associate Professor at the Department of Middle and Near East History of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Lomonosov State Institute in Moscow. His academic interest is the history of Arabic-speaking Christians, more precisely, the Greek Orthodox community of Greater Syria in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, and especially its connections with the Patriarchate of Moscow.

In chapter 1, “The Arab Conquest: Christians in the Caliphate” (p. 1–14), the author considers the events of the 7th century and the new system in which Christians were to live under the Arab Islamic rule. Thus, Christians and Jews were considered as *dhimmis* and all areas of life for the Christian societies in the East changed dramatically within this new system.

In chapter 2, “The Late Umayyads: Pressure Mounts” (p. 15–20), the author explains how, at the end of the 7th century – beginning of the 8th century, the Umayyads changed their attitude towards the Melkites and pressure mounted to convert non-Muslims to Islam.

Chapter 3, “The Culture of the Melkites” (p. 21–27), discusses the subject of the Orthodox Christians, who were known in the Islamic world as “Melkites”, whose culture was Byzantine, with the most prominent intellectuals among them being monks and bishops. Therefore, most of their literary works belonged to the field of theology, and some of the Melkites worked as writers and translators for the Umayyads.

Chapter 4, “The Abbasid Revolution” (p. 28–30), is a report on the troubles that occurred in the realm of the Umayyad Caliphate concerning the persecutions against the Christians. After the success of the Abbasid revolution, the administration moved from Damascus to Baghdad. Thus, the Melkites lost their privileged relationship with the caliphate and became closer to the Nestorians of Mesopotamia.

In chapters 5 and 6, “The First Crisis of the Christian East” (p. 31–37) and “The Dark Ages” (p. 38–50), the author surveys the Christians’ situation, which continued to fluctuate according to the mood of the caliph and the emirs of the region, even with the stability of the caliphate in the Abbasids’ hands. Christians abandoned their ruined homes and monasteries as the economic pressure was increasing. A new generation of Melkites appeared, a generation which had lost its connection with the Byzantine tradition and found itself belonging to the Arab world, where the Melkite community was influenced by its new surroundings. With this new generation, the Melkite clergy and monks were working to spread the Orthodox catechesis in Arabic.

Chapter 7, “The Byzantine Reconquista” (p. 51–53), discusses how, after the power of the Abbasid Caliphate weakened, the Byzantine Empire recovered for a brief period some areas of the Levant, Crete, Cyprus, Cilicia, and Upper Mesopotamia, but was not able to reconquer Jerusalem.

Chapter 8, “Christians and the Fatimids” (p. 54–61), focuses on the Fatimid rule, which employed the Jews and the Christians of Egypt in their administration. The caliphs treated well the *dhimmis*, to improve their relations with the kingdoms of the West. The exception came in the rule of Al-Hakim, who severely persecuted Christians.

Chapter 9, “Byzantine Antioch” (p. 62–73), reviews the story of Antioch: at the end of the 10th – beginning of the 11th century, Antioch and other regions were under Byzantine rule and the Christians of those areas returned to Byzantine social and political life. Once again, Antioch was separated from Byzantium, with the Turks controlling a section of Eastern Asia Minor.

Chapters 10 and 11, “The Banishment of the Patriarchs” (p. 74–79) and “The Kingdom of Jerusalem” (p. 79–83), describe how, under the rule of the Crusaders, the Orthodox faced new challenges. Most of the patriarchs and the Orthodox clergy were replaced by Latin Catholics, while other religious groups, including the non-Chalcedonians, were granted self-administration. Important Orthodox churches were converted to Catholicism, and the Orthodox faith was condemned as heretical in the East.

In Chapters 12 and 13, “The Principality of Antioch” (p. 84–86) and “Interregnum (1187–1250)” (p. 87–93), the reader learns how the Byzantines failed to recover Antioch from the Crusaders by negotiating. The Crusaders accepted that the Patriarch of Antioch would be an Orthodox, provided that he would accept the union with Rome later, as it had happened in the Kingdom of Armenia-Cilicia. While in Jerusalem the Orthodox recovered their churches after the expulsion of the Crusaders by the Ayyubids, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem did not.

In chapters 14, 15 and 16, “Mongols and Mamluks” (p. 94–100), “The Century of Persecution” (p. 101–111), and “The Second Crisis of the Christian East” (p. 112–117), the author discusses how Christians were divided in the Mongol-Mamluk war: the Melkites preferred the Mongols, to get rid of the Mamluks and the Crusaders in the East, while the Western Christians preferred the Mamluks, to maintain their trade with Egypt. At the end of this war, the Mamluks were victorious and they took revenge on the local population for their cooperation with the Mongols, and in particular on Christians, who were becoming a minority in their country.

Chapter 17, “Middle Eastern Monasticism of the Mamluk Period” (p. 118–123), describes the situation of the monasteries that withstood all the difficult circumstances, especially with the help of the special relations between the Georgian kings and the Mamluks.

In chapter 18, “The Melkites and Byzantium” (p. 124–137), Panchenko focuses on the Byzantine-rite Christians of the Middle East, the Melkites, who were not only Greeks, but also Greek-speaking Arabs, and were mediators in the relations between the Mamluks and the Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria.

In chapter 19, “The Shadow of the West” (p. 138–142), the author argues that, seeing an opportunity in the difficult circumstances experienced by the Eastern Christians, Western clerics and politicians offered them financial and political support, to attract them to a union with Rome. The choices made by various patriarchs, and their outcomes, are discussed here.

The “Epilogue” (p. 143–147) recalls some of the salient features of the period, while the closing “Timeline” helps the readers to encompass the chronology of the events considered in this book.

Constantin Panchenko has given an account of some of the contradictions and changes that occurred among the Orthodox of the Middle East over a period of nine centuries, 7th–15th, and highlighted the most important events that took place during that period and their impact on the Byzantine-rite Christians. The author reviewed a wealth of manuscripts and documents to explain the events in the life of the Middle-Eastern Orthodox communities during the Ottoman rule. The reader owes him a great debt for being thus allowed to know numerous Russian sources which become accessible to an English-speaking audience. The English translation achieved by Brittany Pfeiffer Noble and Samuel Noble is enjoyable and allows a wide Western audience to get acquainted with the major features of the Arab Christians’ life under Ottoman rule.

Nicholas Bishara

Felicia ROȘU (ed.), *Slavery in the Black Sea Region, c. 900-1900: Forms of Unfreedom at the Intersection of Christianity and Islam*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2022, 448 p. [Studies in Global Slavery vol. 11].

While the trans-Atlantic slave trade has been a hot topic for scholarly works for many decades, and, more recently, slaving in the Mediterranean has also risen as an important field, slavery in the Black Sea region has been largely ignored. Coming to fill this void is the present book, the result of an eponymous workshop held at Leiden University in May 2017.

The book opens with a methodological Preface in which Ehud R. Toledano tackles three frameworks concerning the historical interpretation of slavery, arguing for a global approach. The theoretical aspects of slavery and its appliance in the Black Sea region are further discussed by Felicia Roșu in the Introduction, gracefully combining them with an overview of the twelve chapters of this

book, which are grouped in five parts. The editor highlights the importance of this endeavour by arguing that, although recent years have witnessed a rise in the scholarly research over different forms of human bondage, the Black Sea has received little to no attention despite being “one of the main slaving hubs on the frontier between Europe and the rest of the world”.

The first part of the book, “The Italian Phase”, begins with Michel Balard’s study that gathers essential statistical information from Genoese notarial sources. The renowned author concludes that Caffa, not Tana, “remained at the heart of the [slave] trade in the Black Sea area” and therefore of Europe (and Egypt) during the two centuries before the conquest of Constantinople. Next, Sergei Karpov produced a similar study, relying this time on Venetian notarial documents for drawing statistics on enslaved people’s age, gender, and perceived ethnicity.

The second part, “Slavery and Christianity”, opens with a study of the legal and economic aspects of slavery in Constantinople (10th–11th centuries) by Daphne Penna. The author tactfully introduces readers to the legal intricacies that defined slavery in both Roman and Byzantine law before delving into analyses of different texts like *The Book of the Eparch*, from which she concludes that slaves played a significant role in the economy of the empire’s capital, not least because of a change in the slaves’ legal status during the reign of Leo VI. Next up, Sandra Origone’s chapter tackles the issue both from a theoretical point of view (slavery in Christian theology) and a practical one (Christians trading and owning enslaved Christians), in the 13th–15th centuries. Also drawing from Italian notarial sources, the author quickly notices that “generally, [Christian] people had no problem selling and buying Christian slaves”. Observing that “neither the Roman Catholic nor the Orthodox Churches forbade slavery”, Origone concludes that the later shift in attitude towards the abolition of slavery did not originate in the Church(es), but in the spread of humanism. Viorel Achim continues the topic, delivering an excellent chapter on the link between the Orthodox Church and the emancipation of enslaved Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia during the 19th century. Achim confirms that concrete abolitionist enterprises emerged only when Western-educated intellectuals introduced liberal ideas to the Principalities, although he concludes that clergymen did not generally reject abolitionism, even though monasteries were some of the largest slave-owners, and their very existence depended upon the unpaid labour of scores of Gypsy slaves.

Opening the third part of the book, “Raiders and Captives on the Northern Shore”, is Mikhail Kizilov’s article on Polish captives in the Crimea, from the Ottoman conquest of 1475 to the Russian acquisition after the treaty of Küçük-Kaynarca (1774). The author rightfully points out that the ethnic labels attributed by Muslim notaries were not always precise and should not correspond entirely to our current perceptions of ethnicity. Drawing conclusions, Kizilov observes that the status of Polish slaves did not differ from those of “other Christian slaves from European countries and Russia, suffered from the same limitations, and enjoyed the same tiny freedoms and privileges” (p. 173). Andrzej Gliwa’s contribution to this book offers an in-depth analysis of how exactly Tatars conducted their slaving raids (the so-called “Tatar Art of War”) into the territories of Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy and their extent in numbers, based on extensive use of archival material. The author considers that around 2 million people were captured by the Tatars during the 15th and 17th centuries, concluding that Christians living within reach of raiding expeditions experienced a constant threat of enslavement. The collaborative effort of Maryna Kravets and Victor Ostapchuk closes this part of the book with an extensive chapter, which compares the previously discussed northern slaving region with the one where cossacks operated on the southern reaches of the Black Sea. In short, slavers could become themselves enslaved. Drawing on both Muslim and Christian sources, their study begins with several clarifications regarding the origins of the cossacks (including an interesting argument for the spelling with a lower-case ‘c’), their ethnicity and the differences between the Zaporizhian and Don Hosts. Since similar clarifications regarding other actors involved in the Black Sea slaving enterprises are made, some readers may feel that such critical topics should have been presented earlier in the book. One of their most important conclusions is that up to the seventeenth century, “cossackdom was more a way of life on the frontier than a social, military, not to mention political, entity.” They also raise a question about the utility of the notion of slavery, arguing that “the varieties and nuances of unfreedom need to be presented and analysed with more complex models.”

In the fourth section of the book, “The Circassian Question”, Hannah Barker tries to answer why in the late 14th century, both European (i.e. Genoese) and Muslim (i.e. Mamluk) slavers experienced an apparent shift in slaving preferences, from Tatars or other Turkic populations to Circassians. Barker identifies several factors, such as the period of stability in the Golden Horde after the civil war and Genoa’s creation of the institution of the Saracen Heads of St. Anthony, arguing that it was a change both in supply and demand. Natalia Królikowska-Jedlińska’s chapter analyses how Crimean Tatars viewed Circassians in the early modern period, arguing that even though Circassian elites began converting to Islam already in the late sixteenth century, the Khans still perceived them as vassal unbelievers, demanding slaves as tribute and performing punitive raids when they disobeyed.

The fifth and last part of the book, “The Black Sea and Global Slavery”, neatly rounds up the volume with the contributions of Colin Heywood and Dariusz Kołodziejczyk. Heywood brings a shift in the discussion by focusing more on people taking in the Mediterranean, presenting the captivity experiences of Philip Gell, Anthony Roberts, and Henry Oswald, “textbook examples of white slavery in the Mediterranean”, and arguing that such situations could not have been possible in the Black Sea. Kołodziejczyk’s closing article compares slavery in the Black Sea with that of the Atlantic, highlighting that race is one of the key differences: “most slaves in the Ottoman Empire were white, like their owners”, meaning that their fates in the long run (after the eventual emancipation) are not so apparent to modern observers.

All in all, *Slavery in the Black Sea Region, c. 900–1900: Forms of Unfreedom at the Intersection of Christianity and Islam* groups together fascinating pieces of scholarly literature on a field that will hopefully develop further in the future. Readers will indeed spend exciting moments with this book.

Radu Dipratu

Thomas de WAAL, *The Caucasus. An Introduction*, second edition, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019, 259 p.

The Caucasus is a land of both myth and reality. One of the most famous legends of the Antiquity takes place in the Caucasus: the story of Jason and the Argonauts who searched for the Golden Fleece. The inhabitants of the Caucasus will always boast with their myths, the parts which they have played in the European or Asian history and, most of all, with the antiquity of their cultures. However, the beauty of this world, full of old and various traditions and cultures, was disturbed by the bloody conflicts and massacres of the 20th and 21st centuries. To write an introduction of the Caucasian history and culture and, moreover, to be able to navigate through such a complex world and to attempt to understand it, it is an ambitious project: there are 10 main nationalities in 3 states. One nationality can also be divided into more groups. Although Georgian is the primary language in Georgia, there are Georgians who speak other Kartvelian languages: Svan, Mingrelian and Laz. In the last decades, the Armenians have repeatedly emphasized how they form one people together with the inhabitants of the enclave of Nagorno-Karabagh. However, in Nagorno-Karabagh it is spoken a different dialect, which is hardly understood by the Armenians who live in the Republic of Armenia. The two parts of Georgia, Iberia and Lazica, have developed differently over the centuries and were brought together after the Russian occupation of the Caucasus, while the territories of Armenia have never been united up to the modern era. Although it is a difficult task to analyse the Caucasus and its peoples, Thomas de Waal has successfully managed to write a book which presents briefly the most important aspects of the history and culture of the Caucasian nations. Moreover, his analysis emphasizes that the South Caucasus it is not a constructed region, a memory of the Tsarist and Soviet rule in that province. Although the Georgian, Armenian, and Azeri authorities try to stress that their countries do not share a history and culture with their neighbours, in reality, the traces of a common past can be seen until today. It is not the first time when the author embarks on such a difficult task, as he had published two more books: *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and*

War (New York University Press, 2010), and *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2015). These works made him one of the best specialists in the history of the Caucasus.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The title might mislead the reader: the work it is not a history of the Caucasus which starts from prehistory and continues up to the present times. After a short introduction into the Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Thomas de Waal focuses on modern and contemporary history, as he argues convincingly that the roots of the contemporary conflicts can be traced back into the evolution of the Caucasian societies from the 19th–20th centuries. For centuries, the Caucasus was caught in between Europe and Asia, which led to a fundamental problem: is this a European or an Asian land? A dilemma that the Caucasian peoples still face today. As Thomas de Waal argues, only the inhabitants of these countries could decide whether they belong to Europa or Asia. The geography of the Caucasus led to a strong decentralization: although we speak today of „Georgia”, in reality for most of its history it was divided into two regions. The Russians brought them together and made sure that they would not break away when they constructed a railway line which linked Eastern Georgia to its Western parts. For centuries, the inhabitants of the Caucasus lived together in peace. It was the rise of nationalism which led to ethnic wars. South Caucasus was annexed by the Russians in the 18th–19th centuries. The Russian empire represented the main connection of the inhabitants of these lands to Europe. In order to prove that it was a real empire Russia wanted to civilize the Caucasian peoples: the Russian authorities populated the Armenian territories with Armenians (up to then, the Armenians represented only 1/5 of the total population); the Georgian nobles were integrated into the Russian nobility; the Russian authorities implemented a policy of urbanisation which Europeanized the Caucasian cities. Besides these cultural achievements, there is one more aspect of the Russian process of transforming the South Caucasus into a „civilized” land, which changed the course of history for the Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris: the rise of nationalism.

Towards the end of the 19th century the nationalist ideals passed from Russia into the Caucasus. Ilia Chavchavadze was the main leader of the nationalist movement in Georgia. He studied in Sankt-Petersburg, where he read about the European revolutions. He became an admirer of Giuseppe Garibaldi and advocated for resistance to the policy of Russification implemented by the Romanovs. The Armenians formed two national movements: Hunchak (The Bell) in Geneva; the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksutyun) in Tiflis (1890). Dashnaksutyun was a radical national movement. Initially, it enjoyed the support of the Russian authorities as it advocated for reforms in the Armenian-populated areas of the Ottoman Empire. However, in 1903 the Russian Duma passed a controversial law: the properties of the Armenian Church would pass to the Russian Church. Dashnaksutyun criticized the law and began to act against the Russian authorities and formed Armenian militias (*fedayis*) to protect the Armenians against the persecutions of the Ottoman authorities. The Azeris were the last to form a national movement, only at the beginning of the 20th century. The main leader was Ali bey Huseyn Huseynzade, who supported the Pan-Turkish movement. His motto was: „Turkify, Islamize, Modernize”. The Armenian and Azeri national movements collided, which led to a war in 1905–1907, known as the „Armenian-Tatar war”. It was the first conflict between Armenians and Azeris, one in a long series of wars and massacres. Thomas de Waal argues that it was the nationalist movements who disturbed the peace between the Caucasian peoples, and it is nationalism which continues to fuel these conflicts today. As the nationalist movements claimed national states, inevitably this led to chauvinism, which endangered the multitude of ethnic groups who lived in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

In the First World War only the Armenians were willing to fight against the Ottomans. Until then, the Armenians had been considered as loyal subjects of the sultans. However, the decline of the Ottoman state, combined with the Armenian nationalism and the promises which the Russians had made to the Armenians about supporting them against the Ottomans, determined the sultans and, later, the Young Turks, to consider the Armenians as a fifth column of the Ottoman Empire. This led to the Armenian Genocide in 1915, which left a deep wound for the Armenians, and it is considered the worst atrocity of the World War I. The Russian Revolution left the Caucasus exposed to the attacks of the Ottomans. Thus, on 22nd of April 1918 Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan created the

Transcaucasian Federation, an ephemeral federation which did not have any chance of survival. One month later Georgia declared independence and was followed by Armenia and Azerbaijan. The independent republics did not survive for long: in 1920–1921 the Bolsheviks conquered the Caucasus.

The independent republics had to deal with the problems of the minorities which lived inside their borders. Georgia annexed Abkhazia and south Ossetia and led a chauvinistic campaign against its minorities, while Armenia and Azerbaijan battled for the provinces of Nagorno-Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Zangezur. Again, Thomas de Waal emphasizes that all these conflicts were caused by nationalism. The annexation of the Caucasus by the Soviet Union did not end the conflicts, but only delayed them. The war between Armenia and Azerbaijan resumed in 1991, while Georgia fought against South Ossetia in 1991–1992, and Abkhazia in 1992–1993. These conflicts have not been solved until today and it seems that they will stay like this for a long time. Regarding the war for Nagorno-Karabagh, Thomas de Waal states that after the dissolution of USSR, this conflict was in the centre of the process of building the modern states and societies of Armenia and Azerbaijan. This war it is not just a fight over some territories: it is a war of survival, thus there is no room for compromise. This conflict was used by the Armenian and the Azerbaijani presidents as political instruments, which helped them to stay in power. This vicious circle is one of the main obstacles on the path to peace and it maintains a climate of war. Despite the horrendous massacres committed in all these wars, the young generations are raised with the idea that they must fight in order to protect the patrimony of their ancestors. Thus, peace seems to be unreachable at this moment.

Thomas de Waal's book has the merit of presenting the reader with an objective analysis of the complex relations between the Caucasian peoples in the 19th–21st centuries. Although the Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris blame one another, or the Russians, for the various conflicts from the Caucasus, in reality it was the rise of nationalism which led to ethnic wars. The author warns that the future does not look bright. Azerbaijan is a dictatorial country, which bases mostly of its revenues on the export of gas and oil. However, these resources are not infinite. Most of its pipelines pass next to the border with Armenia, thus as long as the war of Nagorno-Karabagh is not settled, the danger of destroying the oil infrastructure looms over the Azeri authorities. Armenia's Velvet Revolution brought hope to Armenians, as the new prime minister, Nikol Pashinyan, seemed to bring Armenia closer to Europe. However, Armenia's security is guaranteed by Russia. Thus, the Armenian politicians must play a delicate game so as not to lose the military support of Russia. In Georgia, Mikhail Saakashvili was considered the ideal politician. However, soon after his election as president, foreign analysts emphasized that he was not interested in consolidating the democracy in Georgia. Rather, he was interested in exerting a tight control over Georgian politics. Moreover, he was not realistic at all. Saakashvili ventured in a war for South-Ossetia believing that the Americans would fully support him, and he paid a heavy price for his faults. Nowadays, the Caucasus is still a hot spot, and it seems that neither of the three countries are willing to search for a peaceful solution to their conflicts.

David Neagu

Gabriel MARTINEZ-GROS, *De l'autre côté des croisades. L'Islam entre croisés et Mongols*, Paris, Passés Composés, 2021, 300 p. + maps.

Gabriel Martinez-Gros attempts to explain the decline and fall of the Islamic empires between the 11th–13th centuries, which culminated with the Mongol conquest of Bagdad in 1258. In his opinion the traditional theory, which considers the crusades and the Mongol invasions as the main factor in the fall of classical Islam, focuses only on external factors, ignoring internal matters of the caliphates. Gabriel Martinez-Gros argues that a better explanation is provided by Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), who searched for a structural cause of the decline of the Muslim states between the 11th–13th centuries. To check the validity of Ibn Khaldun's theory, Gabriel Martinez-Gros applies it to the history of the Muslim empires

(the Abbasid Caliphate, the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba, and the Fatimid Caliphate), emphasizing the cyclicity of history, represented by the rise and fall of empires.

Gabriel Martínez-Gros is a renowned specialist of Ibn Khaldun. The present work could be considered a sequel to the author's previous book, *L'empire islamique VII^e-XI^e siècle*, where he applied Ibn Khaldun's theory to the first centuries of Muslim history. The present book is divided into two parts. The first one is entitled *Ibn Khaldūn et les piliers de l'édifice* and it consists of 4 chapters. The first chapter presents Ibn Khaldun's sociological theory on the conflict between sedentary and nomadic societies, as it was exposed by the Muslim scholar in his book *Kitāb al-'Ibar*. The last three chapters present Ibn Khaldun's analysis of the rise and fall of the Muslim empires (i.e. caliphates) between the 7th-13th centuries. The second part is entitled *Ibn al-Athir et les arabesques de l'histoire*. It is divided into three chapters, consisting of a presentation of Ibn al-Athir's analysis of the evolution of the Muslim states and a comparison between the political theories of Ibn Khaldun, Ibn al-Athir, and Niccolò Machiavelli.

Ibn Khaldun considered that there was only one political reality, the empire, which represented the peak of the evolution from tribes to states. The empire was synonymous with the sedentary life, characterized by its interests in civil life and, especially, taxation. To the borders of the empire lived its main opponents, the tribes, whose members were bonded together by *asabiyyah*, a form of social solidarity which was specific to nomads. *Asabiyyah* represented the driving force of any war, thus naturally the nomads were warriors *par excellence*. The empire had to hire the tribes to protect its frontiers, a task which the nomads accepted gladly, as they were lured by the riches and the civilization of the sedentary society. Inevitably, the nomads became jealous as they wanted all the privileges of the empire for themselves. Thus, they seized the throne. However, the new dynasty became sedentary too and started to focus more on the civic matters, than the military ones, and in turn, attracted other nomads who were hired to fulfill the military necessities of the empire. They too would invade the empire and seize its throne. The life of any dynasty lasted for 120 years, after which it was replaced by another. This cyclicity is Ibn Khaldun's theory regarding the rise and fall of the caliphates.

Ibn Khaldun's theory can be validated by two examples: the Almohads and the Seljuk Turks. After the Almoravids conquered the *reinos de taifas* and imposed their authority over *al-Andalus*, they suffered a major setback when Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre conquered Zaragoza and even dared to attack Granada. The Muslims lost confidence in the Almoravids, and they were encouraged to defy the authorities by a preacher, Ibn Tumart. He was expelled from the Almoravid territories and took refuge in the Atlas Mountains. There he founded a sect, the Almohads, that overthrew the Almoravids. In the East, starting from the 10th century, the Seljuk Turks were used as mercenaries by various dynasties which ruled Central Asia. As their power grew, the Turks began to conquer the neighboring countries. In 1055 they were commissioned by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Qa'im to free Bagdad from the Buyids. When the Seljuks entered the capital of the caliphate, they established the sultanate. The caliph was reduced to an honorary position: the religious leader of Islam.

Ibn Khaldun considered the crusaders as mere *barbarians*, who, like the Seljuks, arrived in the East because the Byzantine emperor had summoned them to fight against the Muslims. However, they had another plan: apparently, they wanted to conquer Jerusalem, but in reality, their purpose was to control the Mediterranean Sea. The desire of the Latins to rule the Mediterranean Sea became clear towards the end of the 12th century when the crusades came under the control of the European monarchs, like Richard I and Ludovic IX, who considered Egypt a better target than the Holy Land, as it represented a base from which they would be able to control the sea. Gabriel Martínez-Gros's analysis fits well with Ibn Khaldun's theory but fails to understand the complexity of the crusades. Although the hypothesis which considers Alexios I's appeal for help as the main factor which led to the summoning of the First Crusade has been supported by some historians, it has been criticized by others as it does not consider the powerful place that Jerusalem occupied into the minds of the Europeans and their eagerness to leave their homes to fight their way to the Holy City. Also, the desire of the Latins to control the Mediterranean Sea seems to be the result of an *a posteriori* analysis, characterizing the whole crusading movement only by the results of the Fourth Crusade and the

Norman conquests. Undoubtedly, there were conflicts between the crusaders and Greeks since 1097. However, it is unlikely that as the Latin armies left Europe for the Holy Land, they were perceived as the first phase of a complex process to reinstate the control of the Latin Christians over the Mediterranean Sea.

The arrival of the Mongols ended the age of classical Islam. The destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 led to the shifting of the center of the Muslim world: Bagdad was replaced by Cairo. It represented the result of another process: the periphery continued to survive, whereas the center was destroyed. It had happened before in the case of the Seljuk Turks: the Great Seljuk Empire ended in 1194, while their „cousins” from Anatolia survived until 1308. Both the Seljuk Turks and the Mongols invaded the caliphate from its periphery, but still, there was a major difference: the Turks converted to Islam before entering the Abbasid provinces, while the Mongols did this only after they conquered Bagdad and began to rule over territories which were inhabited largely by Muslims.

Gabriel Martinez-Gros compares Ibn Khaldun with Ibn al-Athir, in order to present an opposite view regarding the evolution of the Muslim states. If for Ibn Khaldun the empires were doomed to rise and fall, Ibn al-Athir considered that individuals can change the course of history. Nur al-Din was more interested in Mosul than in Egypt, thus Saladin was able to rebel against his master and, after his death, he extended his authority over Syria. Saladin wanted to control Hamadan and Isfahan and did not fight against the crusaders until the end. Thus, the Franks managed to survive for another century. The Mamluks, on the other hand, focused entirely on the Latins and the Mongols and they managed to wipe out the Frankish settlements from Syria and repel the Mongol invasions. Gabriel Martinez-Gros compares Niccolò Machiavelli with Ibn Khaldun and Ibn al-Athir, in an attempt to present the similarities and differences between European and Muslim political thinking. While Ibn Khaldun considered the empire as the inevitable political reality, Machiavelli pleaded for a return to origins: the Republic was better than the empire. The emperors had to hire nomads as mercenaries, which Machiavelli considered to be a mistake: the state should have used popular armies, made up of soldiers who were willing to fight until the last man. However, there are similarities between Ibn al-Athir and Niccolò Machiavelli. Both of them considered that individuals could play an important part in historical events and that sometimes it was better to use a defensive, rather than an offensive strategy: Saladin decided to leave the Franks alive because they were too weak to represent a threat and he would risk losing too many troops by attempting to erase them, thus losing the *asabiyyah* of his army.

Gabriel Martinez-Gros's book has the merit of presenting a well-known subject through the eyes of the Muslim authors, in an attempt to search for structural faults of the caliphates which led to the inevitable fall of the classical Muslim civilization. The Crusades or the Mongol invasions are not excluded, but their role is downplayed, as they represent only a part of a long history of confrontations between the center of Islam and its peripheries. Undoubtedly, for Ibn Khaldun the crusaders were mere barbarians who invaded the caliphate, but whether his opinions are valid or not, is a matter of debate. Religion could be and was used as a political instrument by the Western powers, however, such an analysis may objectify too much the historical actors and their decisions. Gabriel Martinez-Gros's analysis of Ibn Khaldun's theory offers a new perspective on the whole history of the Muslim caliphates: the Arab tribes formed the first caliphate, thus establishing a sedentary civilization. However, from the beginning, the caliphate was doomed, as it had to rely on the tribes to defend its borders. Regarding the crusades, the author emphasized that the Latins differed from the Seljuk Turks as they could not be assimilated by the Muslim society. This led to a constant war not only in Syria but also in Northern Africa and Spain. The Mongols were exponents of the Chinese civilization. They resisted assimilation until they settled and founded states in the former territories of the Abbasid caliphate and on the northern shores of the Black Sea. However, their conversion to Islam meant a moral victory for the Muslim world.

David Neagu

Radu DIPRATU, *Regulating Non-Muslim Communities in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire. Catholics and Capitulations*, London and New York: Routledge, 2022, 217 p.

Radu Dipratu is a young historian at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. His main research topics are Ottoman diplomatics and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire in the early modern age, on which he has already published several articles.¹

In this volume, which originates in his PhD thesis defended at the University of Bucharest, Doctoral School of History, Radu Dipratu investigates how Ottoman *ahdnames* (capitulations) regulated Catholics in the Ottoman Empire.

It must be emphasized that Dipratu drew heavily on both original Ottoman texts and previously unpublished archival material, comparing his findings with those of other historians who usually quoted Western translations of capitulations (included in anthologies of peace treaties) in their argumentations.

The subject of the book is the analysis of the “religious regulations” in the Ottoman Empire, with a special focus on the status of Catholics, whether subjects or foreigners, in the seventeenth century. The author points out that in the Ottoman Empire Catholics enjoyed a “religious protectorate” on two complementary levels: the legal-religious protectorate specific to Islamic law, granted to foreigners (*müste'min*) and non-Muslim subjects (*zimmi*), and the diplomatic protectorate specific to capitulations (*ahdname*).

To this end, the author mainly approached the texts of a diplomatic nature, in particular the peace agreements (*ahdname*) granted to France, Venice and the Habsburg Empire. For a complete picture of the issues studied, the author felt the need to compare them with the provisions of the Polish-Lithuanian capitulations. At the same time, the case of Protestants from the Netherlands and that of Russian Orthodox are briefly presented for methodological reasons.

The volume is divided into two parts: “The evolution of religious issues in Ottoman capitulations” (25–138) and “Pilgrims, clerics, and churches in the Ottoman capitulations” (139–193). They are preceded by a substantial Introduction in which terms such as *frenk* and *taife* are presented, while the term *ahdname* (covenant-letter) is deeply analysed from different perspectives (1–25).

In the first chapter (27–67), which is the most comprehensive of the entire book, the diplomacy of the “religious protectorate” is systematically presented as it was regulated in the capitulations granted to France. For this, the evolution of the religious clauses in the *ahdnames* is marked, starting with the one from 1604, “the first such documents granted to any nation that incorporated a religious article” (p. 27) and ending with the one from 1740. A noteworthy contribution is the analysis of some diplomatic texts hitherto ignored by Ottomanists, respectively the *ahdnames* granted to France in 1618 and 1647, invoked as arguments for the existence of written stipulations – beyond customary practices, which worked anyway – regarding the religious protectorate between 1604–1673. Radu Dipratu does not remain at the level of a theoretical presentation of the issue of religious regulations, but also goes down to the level of practice, where he rightly observed the existence of the abuse of local authorities against Catholics.

The French capitulations were usually portrayed as the founding act of this supposed protectorate, “while similar privileges obtained by other European powers were either discredited or not mentioned at all, on the basis that Venice, Austria, or Poland-Lithuania were almost constantly at

¹ Radu Dipratu, “*I shall not take their churches and turn them into mosques*”: *The Legal status of Catholic Churches in Ottoman Galata as prescribed by the 'ahdnāmes*, in Vanessa R. de Obaldia, Claudio Monge (eds.), *Latin Catholicism in Ottoman Istanbul: Properties, People & Missions*, Istanbul, ISIS Press, 2022, p. 17–33; idem, *The Valona Affair (1638), its Ensuing Anti-Piracy nişan and the Development of Ottoman-Venetian Peace Agreements*, in I. Feodorov (ed.), *South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean: Proceedings of the Session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, Istros, Brăila, 2020, p. 157–187; idem, *The «Imperial Signs» (nişan-ı hümayun): Framing Muslim-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean*, “New Europe College Ștefan Odobleja Program 2018–2019 Yearbook”, Irina Vainovskiu-Mihai (ed.), 2020, p. 111–134; idem, *Visiting the Noble Jerusalem: Catholic Pilgrims in the Ottoman Capitulations of the Seventeenth Century*, “Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes”, LVI, 2018, p. 137–163.

war with the Porte” (p. 10). That is why separate chapters are devoted to the evolution of the Catholic protectorate in the Ottoman Empire as it appears in the privileges of the other two main actors, Venice and the Habsburg Empire.

Venice was the first European state to act as a protector of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire and continued to show long-term interest in Catholics in the Levant, often in competition with France. Here the author devotes distinct subchapters to the diplomatic documents of 1604 (*nişan-ı hümayun*), 1669 (the text of the armistice that preceded the *ahdname* of 1670) and 1700 (*ahdname* granted at the end of the Great Turkish War, in which Venice was part of the League Holy). The analysis of the clauses in the texts mentioned above reveals that the formal sources were represented by the French capitulations (for 1604), respectively the Austrian ones (for 1700). On the other hand, it should be noted that Venice remained an important player in the diplomacy of the religious protectorate until the early eighteenth century, despite direct conflicts with the Ottoman Empire and indirect conflicts with France (68–87).

The Habsburg Empire is the second term of comparison for the French religious protectorate, but the author insists on this case due to the fact that it was ignored in the literature. There are texts from the years 1615, 1617, 1618, 1642, 1649, 1665 and 1699 that have not been analysed so far from the perspective of the protection of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. Radu Dîpratu does it successfully, with the same meticulousness proven throughout the book (88–108).

In the following two chapters, the author introduces other actors of the diplomacy of the religious protectorate in the Levant: Poland in the second half of the seventeenth century (the *ahdnames* of 1672, 1678 and 1699 are analysed), the Netherlands (which represents the Protestant case, through the *ahdname* of 1612) and Russia (representing the Orthodox case, by analysing the *ahdnames* of 1682 and 1700, as well as later eighteenth-century peace agreements) (109–138).

It should be emphasized once again that in order to present the evolution of the religious regulations, the author has precisely deciphered all the clauses regarding the status of Catholics in the researched Ottoman texts, which is a remarkable effort.

Comparing all the above-mentioned diplomatic texts, Dîpratu realized and emphasized that from the Ottoman perspective, “it did not matter if the ones coming to Jerusalem were Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, or whatever other non-Muslim denomination... What ultimately mattered in the Porte’s attitude towards non-Muslims in its territories was their political affiliation, and this is just what 1604 religious privileges mentioned.” (196).

If in the first part of the volume the evolution of the religious regulations was analysed from a chronological perspective, in the second part the author set out to address issues related to Catholics in the Ottoman Empire, offering a synthetic perspective on the status of pilgrims, clerics and churches in seventeenth-century Ottoman capitulations. One can see that the second part of the book represents a third of the first part in terms of the number of pages (131–193), but – I immediately emphasize – the two parts of the book are equal in terms of the density of information and interpretations. It should be noted that in the three chapters that make up the second part, Dîpratu uses not only diplomatic texts but also complementary sources (such as travel relations and Ottoman law books).

First, throughout these pages, the author makes a valuable philological and historical presentation of the legal-religious terminology used in Ottoman documents to designate: “unbelievers” (*kefere*), “Catholic religion” (*papa dini*), “priests” (*papaz*), “monks” (*rahîb*), “bishops” (*pîshkop*), “Jesuits” (*yejuvit*), “churches” (*kilise*), “places of pilgrimage” (*ziyaretgah*). Comparing the information in diplomatic texts with those in travel relations, such as those left by Moryson, Lithgow, Sandys, Deshayes de Courmenin and others, leaves behind a much more complex picture and closer to the truth than the clauses included in the capitulations. And it is Radu Dîpratu’s merit that he manages to approach and interpret historical sources of different natures, thus balancing the historical analysis.

Notably, the last chapter highlights the status of Christian churches, as it was outlined in diplomatic texts. For example, the author points out that the capitulation texts included clauses that clearly stated only the granting of sultanate permission to repair churches and the prohibition of building new places of worship (181–194).

Analysing carefully the capitulations granted during the seventeenth century, Radu Dîpratu concluded that “there were essentially two types of religious regulations inserted in the Ottoman

capitulations granted to foreign heads of state. On the one hand, there were those pertaining strictly to Jerusalem, which guaranteed protection for *müste'min* pilgrims and monks at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (French *ahdname* of 1604, Venetian *nişan* of 1604, Dutch *ahdname* of 1612, Habsburg, *ahdname* of 1617) (p.194). Instead, in "the Habsburg *ahdnames* and treaties that emerged as supplements to the Peace of Zsitvatorok beginning with 1615... religious provisions... were addressed primarily to Catholic secular priests, monks, and Jesuit missionaries throughout the Well-Protected Domains" (194).

A well-structured bibliographic list of primary sources (unpublished and published ones) and secondary sources (including an extensive list of general and special works) concludes a brilliant research. It is important to emphasize that Radu Dipratu has precisely identified chancellery and narrative sources which were needed for this investigation, and managed to achieve a remarkable degree of originality in their interpretation. Based on appreciable documentation, this volume is an ideal resource for all scholars interested in the history of Catholicism in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire.

Viorel Panait

Orlin SABEV, *Waiting for Müteferrika. Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, Academic Studies Press (Ottoman and Turkish Studies), 2018, XXIII + 143 p.

Orlin Sabev has dedicated a good part of his research work to studying the life and printing activity of İbrahim Müteferrika, as the long list of his articles in the final *Bibliography* of this book, almost two pages long, published between 2003 and 2016, goes to prove. His interest is chiefly historical, but language, society, and book-making techniques all play a role in his careful analysis of the Turkish press initiator's extraordinary life-story. Considering the rarity of Müteferrika's press productions and their constant presence in the public eye (with complete works recently on sale by a great German antiquarian, including one of the five extant copies of the Black Sea naval chart), the subject of Orlin Sabev's book is far from being outdated.

The "Note on the Front Cover Image" (p. XVIII) sets the tone for the rest of the book: this is the earliest image of the Müteferrika press, published in 1735, while the Istanbul press was still active, in Andreas Lazarus von Imhof's book *Des Neu-eröffneten historischen Bilder-Saals*, Nürnberg, vol. 9, Part I, p. 835, and Yahya Erdem's claim that he had published in 2011 the first such engraving was wrong. In fact, he had found the same image "in a German book of the 1750s whose title he has not written down because of 'negligence' ('gaflet eseri', in the author's words)". Sabev kept hunting down erroneous information about the major event of printing in Istanbul for the first time in the Arabic alphabet, and corrected, in his works, a few other misconceptions about Müteferrika. The author's purposes are plainly expressed in the preliminary text, "Introduction: *In Search of Lost Time?*" (p. XI–XXIII): "My intention here is to review the existing answers to the old questions, as well as to raise new questions and suggest answers". The old questions are formulated and answered in the following pages. They include the reasons for the late introduction of Ottoman Turkish printing, the unfavorable historical circumstances for printing in Turkish in the Empire's capital, the modernization efforts during the Tulip Age, the personal contribution of İbrahim Müteferrika, his mysterious origins and particular qualities that helped him achieve an unexpected breakthrough in this direction. In doing so, Orlin Sabev surveys all the major contributions on the topic of İbrahim Müteferrika's printing works published by Gérald Duverdier, Vefa Erginbaş, Niyazi Berkes, Sinan Kunalalp, etc.

In Chapter 1, "*The Strange Arts: Printing and Other 'Oddities'*" (p. 1–15), Sabev starts from the definition of printing as a "strange" or "curious" (Ar. *ağ'ib*) enterprise in the local society and connects the interest for this technology with the Ottoman intellectuals' and diplomats' encounters with the West (Vienna, Poland, Berlin, Paris, Venice, etc.). Manuscript culture is also addressed here, as a conservative element that postponed the acquisition of the modern means for the distribution of knowledge.

Dedicated to Müteferrika's personal development, Chapter 2, "*Out of the Ordinary: İbrahim Müteferrika's Mind-set*" (p. 16–35), underscores his religious background and progress towards a

pragmatic attitude in regard with his creed. The discussion about Müteferrika's supposed Unitarian beliefs in his motherland Transylvania, much analyzed in the relevant sources but never acknowledged by himself, is revealing for the circumstances of the communities living between the persecutions of the Counter-Reformation and those of the Muslim invaders. Sabev also addresses the captivating topic of the claims that Müteferrika was one of the first Ottoman Freemasons. The chapter offers a *Portrait and Self-Portrait* of the Transylvanian-born printer, whose knowledge of book-making arts may have started as early as his acquaintance with the famous printer and punch-cutter Miklós Kiss (1650–1702), active in his hometown Cluj (Kolozsvár). Although being a *müteferrika* was his state function in Istanbul, at the end of the day, “printing was his main contribution to Ottoman culture”.

Chapter 3, “*Deus ex Machina: The Müteferrika Press*”, is divided between two philosophically formulated questions: *To Print or not to Print?* (p. 37–42), *What to Print or not to Print?* (p. 42–56). The conclusion of this chapter sums up Müteferrika's place in the history of the Ottoman progress towards modernity: “[...] Müteferrika's printing enterprise proved to have been an important part of the contested notion of ‘Islamic Enlightenment’ or ‘Ottoman Enlightenment,’ or what some scholars call ‘early Enlightenment in Istanbul’ during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III [...]”.

In Chapter 4, “*They Hadn't Read My Prints: Success or Failure?*” (p. 57–87), the author draws some conclusions on the production of the first Ottoman press, with comments on its contents, readership, and debatable success. The table-based survey of the 16 titles printed by Müteferrika between 1729 and 1742 helps the reader grasp the tastes of the Ottoman society of the time, the scholarly circles' needs, and the printer's vision of the utility of his endeavor for the local public. The conclusion and aftermath of the activity of the first Turkish press of Istanbul, detailed in Chapter 5, “*Virgin or Poison: The Making of the Ottoman Print Culture*”, round up the fateful tasks taken upon himself by one man with a far-reaching vision, as İbrahim Müteferrika can rightfully be portrayed.

In the final chapter, “*Conclusion: Waiting for Godot?*” (p. 109–114), Sabev returns to the disappointing economic results of Müteferrika's activities, profit-wise. His audience was not as large as he had expected and progress was slow to come, both in the mentalities and the knowledge-acquisition habits. It is somewhat surprising to only encounter in this final section, on p. 110, the mention of the equally famous press founded in 1627 by the patriarch Cyril Lukaris and Nikodimos Metaxas (whose name is absent from the *Index*), which seems to have had a significant effect on the court officials' general feeling towards an import of the printing technology, and substantially contributed to its postponement. A new topic is opened when the author evokes the opinion of Triandafilos Sklavenitis about the fact that “until well into the nineteenth century the Greek monasteries, schools, and other cultural institutions kept on copying theological books by hand since the locals considered the books, printed in Western Europe, to be corrupted with Catholic interpretations” (p. 110). Keeping in mind that many ‘theological books’ had long been printed in Greek in Orthodox countries, for the benefit of Orthodox audiences, it is likely that copying manuscripts in the 19th century had other reasons too, which are worth looking for.

Besides collecting and judiciously commenting the numerous sources on the Müteferrika press, listed in an impressive *Bibliography* (p. 115–136), this book addresses issues that were previously neglected. The number of copies printed is carefully surveyed, allowing a better understanding of the presumed expectations of the targeted public. On p. 106–107, in connection with printing in Arabic type, the author comments on “the great difficulties not found in printing the Latin, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, and Cyrillic alphabets, or even Chinese hieroglyphs,” remarking that “the previous scholarship paid less attention to that aspect of printing.” An explanation follows of the particularities of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish scripts based on the fundamental rules governed by the position of each letter in the word structure and the resulting multiplicity of the letter forms. Here, the “conflict” between calligraphy, as seen by the copyists of handwritten texts, and that of the “typesetting and lithographical printing technologies” comes into play, a conflict that was rescinded by the official adoption of the Turkish version of the Latin script in 1928.

A significant and entertainingly written contribution to the subject of the first Turkish press in the Ottoman realm, this book is a must-read for anyone interested in the progress of Middle Eastern cultures towards a Western-style modernity, with all its obstructions and long-debated benefits.

Ioana Feodorov

Vassili GRIGOROVITCH-BARSKI, *Pérégrinations (1723–1747)*, traduit du russe par Myriam Odaysky, Préface de Pierre Gonneau, Postface de Mikhaïl Iakouchev, Genève, Éditions des Syrtes, 2019, 553 p., avec 32 dessins et une carte.

La première traduction française du journal de voyage de Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski (1701–1747) est un événement remarquable. Pour les historiens qui ne connaissent pas les langues slaves, l'accès à la version originelle en slavon fut toujours un effort. Ceci est le voyage le plus long raconté dans un texte littéraire slave de l'époque, ainsi que la première autobiographie de la littérature slave orientale. De plus, ce journal a toutes les qualités pour devenir un best-seller apprécié par ceux qui aiment les notes de voyage, vu que la *Table des matières* propose les chapitres suivants : *De Kiev aux portes de l'Italie* (p. 17–43) ; *Italie, le grand tour* (p. 44–123) ; *Méditerranée : voyage vers le Mont-Athos* (p. 124–151) ; *Premier séjour au Mont-Athos* (p. 152–181) ; *Premier séjour en Terre sainte* (p. 182–267) ; *Chypre* (p. 268–271) ; *Égypte* (p. 278–318) ; *Liban* (p. 319–348) ; *Syrie* (p. 349–379) ; *Deuxième séjour en Terre sainte* (p. 380–391) ; *Deuxième séjour en Égypte* (p. 392–399) ; *Îles grecques* (p. 400–433) ; *Troisième séjour au Proche-Orient* (p. 434–449) ; *Troisième passage à Chypre* (p. 450–517) ; *Îles grecques et Constantinople* (p. 518–546).

Né à Kiev, où son éducation débuta par les cours de l'Académie Mohyla, Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski commença son long voyage à Lvov, où il cherchait à poursuivre sa formation chez les jésuites. Son errance de l'Ukraine en Italie et de la Grèce en Égypte, tout en passant par la Terre Sainte, lui permirent de devenir un érudit, d'apprendre plusieurs langues et d'avoir, lors de son retour à Kiev pour mourir entouré des siens, une image riche et diverse des rapports entre les Églises (orthodoxe, latine, gréco-catholique, maronite, melkite, copte), mais aussi des juifs et des musulmans. Il resta toute sa vie un orthodoxe dévot, quoiqu'il se trouvât maintes fois sur sa route en rapports étroits avec des catholiques et des uniates, il se déguisa en pèlerin romain et, une fois, il dut se confesser à un prêtre catholique, pour obtenir l'hospitalité. Comme il était un contemporain de Pierre le Grand, son journal est un témoin crédible de la force et de l'orgueil de l'Empire russe, mais aussi de la splendeur des cités de l'Europe occidentale, la puissance de l'Empire ottoman et la vie difficile des chrétiens d'Orient, après deux siècles de sujétion à l'administration musulmane.

Le récit de Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski est publié entre les pages 15 et 546. La traduction s'arrête en mai 1745, au moment où Barski partait de Constantinople au Mont-Athos. Sur la dernière page, Myriam Odaysky précise qu'au retour de la Sainte Montagne Barski s'arrêta à Bucarest et à Focșani, de l'automne 1746 au mois de juillet 1747,¹ et qu'ensuite, très malade, il partit pour Kiev, où il mourut le 7 octobre. La traductrice affirme qu'en raison de son volume, le journal de la deuxième visite au Mont-Athos, en 1745–1746, qui occupe à lui seul 405 pages, n'a pas été inclus dans ce volume. L'intérêt de cette section reste majeur, vu que le voyageur kiévien y donne la description complète des monastères de la Sainte Montagne, qui a été l'une des sources les plus importantes pour les historiens des 18^e–19^e siècles : c'est en puisant dans le journal de Barski que Hilandar reçut sa première monographie, composée par Kirill Mikhailovich en 1814.²

La traductrice affirme que le manuscrit du journal de Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski se trouve à l'Institut des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences d'Ukraine à Kiev. En fait, l'Institut des manuscrits fait partie de la Bibliothèque Nationale de l'Ukraine « V.I. Vernadsky ». Malheureusement, on ne trouve pas dans ce volume une description de ce manuscrit (ni même sa cote), seulement l'information que c'est un « volumineux cahier illustré de nombreux dessins à la

¹ Aucune traduction en roumain de cette partie du journal de Barski, ni d'une autre part, ne m'est connue. Je remercie Mihai Țipău d'avoir retrouvé la seule mention de ce texte dans l'historiographie roumaine, suggérée aussi par le professeur Andrei Pippidi : Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, Bucarest, 1947, p. 125, note 1.

² Kirill Mikhailovich, *Kratkoe opisanije svjatija i preslavnija Lavri carskija Hilandara*, Budim (Budapest), 1814. Voir les commentaires accessibles en ligne sur l'exemplaire conservé à la Hilandar Research Library, Ohio State University : <https://library.osu.edu/site/medieval-slavic>. Voir aussi Dimitrije Bogdanović, Vojislav J. Djurić et Dejan Medaković, *Chilandar*, 2^e éd., [Belgrade], Jugoslav Revija, [Monastère Sveta Gora de Chilandar], 1997.

plume » (p. 8). À la suite d'une première édition publiée en 1778 par A.P. Barsukov (573 p.),³ sur l'ordre du prince Potemkine, le texte du journal fut réédité cinq fois en quarante ans.

La traduction française du journal est accompagnée de trois courts textes. Myriam Odaysky présente en peu de pages la biographie de l'auteur, avec de brefs commentaires sur le contenu et la forme de son ouvrage (p. 7–10). Pierre Gonneau élargit dans sa Préface (*Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski ou la sainte errance*, p. 11–13) les orées du portrait de Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski, qui devient ainsi plus vivant : « Vassili est une personnalité extrêmement attachante, dans sa simplicité et ses contradictions », « Il pense rapporter des connaissances utiles au service de sa patrie, mais se soucie d'abord du profit spirituel. » Placé en Postface, le troisième texte (*Les pèlerins russes Vassili Barski et Kir Bronnikov sur le Mont-Athos*, p. 547–549) est un extrait d'un exposé de Mikhaïl Iakouchev⁴ où l'auteur discute en parallèle les journaux de voyage au Mont-Athos de ces deux pèlerins orthodoxes. Il atteste que Barski inspira beaucoup de pèlerins russes à partir vers l'Orient, y compris Kir Bronnikov, serf du comte Dmitri Cheremetiev sur sa propriété de la province de Nijni Novgorod, qui visita en 1820–1821 Odessa, Tsarigrad, Jaffa, Ramla, Jérusalem et le Mont-Athos. En 1824, trois ans après son retour, Kir Bronnikov publia à Moscou un livre qui comprend, entre autres, ses notes du voyage à la Sainte Montagne, où il visita à peu près tous les monastères, restant très impressionné surtout par Vatopedi. À part l'higoumène Daniïl de Tchernigov (vers 1104–1107), évoqué par Odaysky et Gonneau, la Postface mentionne quelques autres voyageurs célèbres de l'orthodoxie slave qui visitèrent le Mont-Athos et la Terre Sainte : Vassili le Visiteur (1466), Trifon Korobeinikov (1552, 1554), Vassili Pozdniakov, émissaire du tsar Ivan IV (1558), Arseni Soukhanov (1649–1653) et Porphyre Ouspenski (1845).

Barski a illustré son texte de 148 dessins, aujourd'hui éparpillés dans plusieurs collections, dont Myriam Odaysky a inclus ici 32 superbes images illustrant la plupart des contrées que l'auteur a traversées. Pierre Gonneau remarque que, après avoir visité l'Europe avec ses merveilles, « c'est seulement une fois en terre orthodoxe qu'il se décide à constituer un portefeuille d'illustrations destiné à accompagner ses descriptions verbales des lieux saints. » En effet, en quittant Constantinople en 1745 pour son deuxième pèlerinage au Mont-Athos, Barski déclare à propos de sa première visite en 1726 : « Je n'avais pas alors reçu l'illumination pour représenter les monastères – car j'ai commencé cette œuvre, grâce à une révélation divine, sans l'intermédiaire d'un artifice humain, dans la Ville sainte de Jérusalem – et je n'avais pas encore dessiné les monastères de la sainte Montagne » (p. 545). En 2009, un riche dossier a été publié par le Mount Athos Center de Thessaloniki comprenant la version grecque du récit des deux voyages de Grigorovitch-Barski au Mont-Athos, avec des photos des dessins originaux prises par Pavlos Mylonas sur le manuscrit de Kiev.⁵

Quittant Kiev le 20 juillet 1723, le jeune étudiant orthodoxe parcourut le long trajet, peu planifié au départ, comme un pèlerin suivant les pas du Christ et de ses saints, qui prie dans d'innombrables églises « avec foi et amour » (p. 246), en admirant toutefois les pays et les cités comme un voyageur avide de connaître les lieux et les hommes et de comprendre la vie des autres. Tout en restant attaché à l'orthodoxie et à sa terre natale, il admire les autres peuples : « Sache que les Romains sont des gens nobles. Ils sont respectés et honorés par les étrangers depuis les temps anciens et jusqu'à nos jours pour leur éloquence, leur sens politique, leur habileté dans maints domaines » (p. 102).

Au cours de ses voyages, Barski vécut beaucoup de moments mémorables. L'une de ses premières destinations en 1723 est la ville de Jovka (Żółkiew), où il va vénérer les reliques du saint martyr Jean le Nouveau de Suceava, présentes là-bas de 1686 à 1783⁶ (p. 22). Il se trouve à Rome lors

³ L'édition de Barsukov est disponible en facsimilé chez Book on Demand Ltd., par permission de l'Orthodox Palestinian Society, tandis que les quatre volumes de l'édition de 1885–1887 sont accessibles en ligne.

⁴ Conférence internationale monastique « L'Héritage patristique à la lumière des traditions athonites : la direction spirituelle », Ekaterinbourg, 27–29 mai 2016.

⁵ Vasily Grigorovich Barsky, *Travelling in Mount Athos, 1725–1726 / 1744–1745*, sous la direction de Pavlos Mylonas, Thessaloniki, 2009, 720 p.

⁶ En 1686, les reliques furent prises de la Cathédrale de Suceava lorsque le métropolite Dosoftei accompagna le roi de Pologne Jan Sobieski dans sa retraite de Moldavie. Elles revinrent dans la Cathédrale en 1783, s'y trouvant toujours. Barski connaissait sûrement le pouvoir miraculeux de ces reliques, rapportées, entre autres, par le métropolite de Kiev Pierre Movilă.

de la confirmation du Pape Benoît XIII, il visite les pyramides et les colonnes d'Alexandrie en Egypte, les ruines du temple d'Héra à Samos, les ruines de Baalbek au Liban (qu'il dessine avant Robert Wood). Il désobéit l'interdiction de visiter le Monastère de Saint-Catherine au Mont-Sinaï et campe sous ses murs jusqu'à ce qu'on lui ouvre, par peur des représailles des ottomans. Il traverse l'île de Chypre plusieurs fois, pour visiter tous les monastères dont il apprend l'existence, même ceux en ruine. A Chios, il est aidé par « Ioannes Mavrogordatos, fort jeune, mais vivant dans la crainte et l'amour de Dieu », ⁷ qui « ne se contenta pas de me donner quelque vêtement, mais bien davantage : en un mot, il me revêtit de neuf de la tête aux pieds, si bien que je n'avais plus rien d'ancien mis à part mes sandales. Aussi, je lui souhaite que Dieu le couvre du vêtement du salut et de tous bienfaits, qu'il le protège et lui donne une longue vie ; en effet, durant tout mon voyage, je n'ai rencontré d'homme plus miséricordieux » (p. 149). À Jérusalem, il assiste à l'apparition de la Sainte Flamme, « car les pèlerins, assurément, ne passent pas Pâques à Jérusalem pour une autre raison que celle de l'apparition de la flamme miraculeuse et lumineuse sur le marbre du tombeau » (p. 265). Il combat les « insensés » qui doutent de la véridicité de l'apparition du feu miraculeux par une longue suite d'arguments, dont celui-ci : « Et aux adversaires affirmant qu'il apparaissait par le passé mais qu'aujourd'hui, en raison des péchés des hommes, il a cessé de le faire, nous répondons ceci : bien que les péchés des hommes se soient multipliés, la grâce et la force divine présentes dans le tombeau du Christ n'ont pas diminué. Elles sont les mêmes, demeurant aujourd'hui et restant jusqu'à la fin des temps » (p. 263). Il remarque aussi l'égalité des croyants en face de l'évènement extraordinaire de l'apparition du feu sur le Saint Sépulcre : « Or, dans l'église de Jérusalem, on allume les cierges les uns des autres, les vertueux comme les pécheurs et les plus pécheurs encore y ont accès et tous participent à égalité. Non seulement les chrétiens orthodoxes mais les Arméniens, les Coptes, les Syriens le reçoivent de la même façon, et tous allument leurs cierges au même feu » (p. 264).

L'histoire des contrées où il arrive commence toujours par des références bibliques : en racontant son débarquement à Sidon, il rappelle la première mention de la ville dans les Évangiles : « Jésus arriva dans les environs de Tyr et Sidon » (Matthieu 15:21). Toujours au Liban, il visite le monastère gréco-catholique de Saint-Sauveur (Dayr al-Muħallis), Beyrouth et les monastères des alentours, le monastère Mar Moussa des maronites, la ville de Tripoli et le monastère de Saint-Jacques, Balamand, El-Natour et Kaftoun, pour monter ensuite au Mont Liban : « Le grand mont Liban, illustre et fameux, fait deux jours de large et deux jours de long et s'étend du nord au sud et s'élargit d'ouest en est, où il y a montagnes et collines. Il est parsemé de pierres de différentes couleurs : noires, blanches, rouges et jaunes, et d'une multitude d'arbres, de cours d'eaux merveilleux, de monastères chrétiens et de villages » (p. 342). Il ne manque pas de décrire sur des pages d'une extrême élégance, tout en reprenant les passages des Psaumes et du Cantique des Cantiques, la forêt de cèdres. Il est impressionné par la multitude des nations qui passèrent par ces parages : « Sur ces immenses cèdres, gravés dans l'écorce à l'aide d'outils, des noms de personnes sont inscrits en diverses langues : Juifs, Grecs, Romains, Italiens, Espagnols, Anglais, Arabistes » (id.). En décrivant les « pierres dures, gigantesques » de la forteresse de Baalbek, il s'exclame : « Ô Dieu tout-puissant, merveille que Ta création ! Quelle force a-t-il donc fallu pour soulever un aussi terrible poids ! Si encore ces pierres avaient été posées en bas, sur les fondations, elles susciteraient moins d'étonnement chez les hommes d'aujourd'hui, mais elles ont été posées haut, à mi-hauteur du mur, ce qui est étonnant, même très étonnant [...]. Grand est Dieu tout-puissant, qui donne à l'homme une telle force ! Tu es grand, Seigneur, et merveilleuses sont Tes œuvres ! » (p. 345). En Syrie, il s'émerveille sur « la ville de Damas ... illustre et glorifiée », sur le monastère de Saydnaya, « célèbre ... dans tout le patriarcat d'Antioche » (p. 356-362), sur Maaloula, Yabroud et plusieurs autres monastères anciens. À Antioche, heureux de parler le grec, il partage le repas et le campement « de marchands grecs venus de Philippopolis, en contrée bulgare. Je me réjouis grandement car je parlais leur langue, et aussi parce que leur peuple est naturellement hospitalier » (p. 372). Cependant, les lieux n'étaient pas hospitaliers pour les chrétiens : comme il ne trouva aucun édifice religieux pour y célébrer la fête de saint Michel Archange, il dut aller avec d'autres chrétiens dans la montagne, « dans

⁷ Membre de la famille Mavrocordatos de Chios dont sont issus plusieurs princes phanariotes qui régnèrent en Valachie et Moldavie.

une grotte où se trouvait jadis une église ». Il décrit la situation malheureuse des chrétiens du pays sans ménagements : « De nos jours elle est vide et délabrée, et les fidèles viennent les dimanches et les jours de fête y célébrer l'office divin. Ils ne peuvent faire autrement car, à Antioche, les mahométans, nombreux, sont si malfaisants – ce sont les plus mauvais de toutes les villes syriennes – et ils haïssent tant les chrétiens qu'ils ne leur permettent pas de construire une église malgré leurs supplications et leurs nombreux présents » (p. 372–373).

Le pèlerin kiévien note tout ce qui mérite, d'après lui, d'être retenu et transmis à ses concitoyens. Sa curiosité et sa constance en retenant les traits et détails des lieux, monuments, édifices religieux et paysages, dont il compose des tableaux riches et vivants, ressemble à celle d'un autre voyageur célèbre aux pays orthodoxes, l'archidiacre antiochien Paul d'Alep, qui parcourut en 1652–1659 une bonne partie du même trajet que Grigorovitch-Barski, en compagnie de son illustre père, le patriarche Macaire III d'Antioche.⁸ Révérence pour les rites des autres orthodoxes, curiosité de comprendre tout ce qui est nouveau et différent, admiration pour tout ce qui est beau et intéressant, digressions édifiantes et pensées tout personnelles, sacrifices faits en vue de poursuivre le chemin malgré les nombreux obstacles – batailles, brigands, ennuis de santé, manque de confort –, tout rapproche les deux voyageurs, issus de cultures orthodoxes bien éloignées.

L'un des personnages les plus intéressants auxquels Barski s'attacha pendant ses voyages fut le patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche (1724–1766), qui visita entre 1730–1747 les Pays Roumains et y imprima des livres arabes. Lors de son séjour à Damas en 1728, Barski n'a pas pu le rencontrer, car « À cette époque, le saint patriarche d'Antioche, Kir Silvestre, était parti à Tsarigrad à cause des troubles causés par les uniates. » En effet, après 1724, année de la séparation d'une Église grecque-catholique melkite du corps ancien de l'Église d'Antioche, le climat confessionnel de Syrie était assez tendu. Leur première rencontre eut lieu à Samos en 1732 : « L'ayant rejoint, je vis cet homme d'un âge et d'une sagesse respectables, vertueux, miséricordieux. Il me fit manger à sa table, me donna une aumône en argent ainsi que des vêtements, sa bénédiction et des laissez-passer » (p. 429). Le patriarche s'éprit de Barski, il le tonsura sous-diacre et moine à Damas en 1733 et prit soin de lui comme un père quand il tomba malade en 1734 (p. 447–448). Comme tous les deux voyageaient constamment, ils se sont retrouvés ailleurs en 1735 : « C'était le mois de novembre et par hasard, mon père et bienfaiteur arriva sur l'île de Chypre... » (p. 509). Malheureusement, leur correspondance des années 1744 et 1747 (en grec), publiée dans la 4^e partie du journal (éd. russe de Saint-Petersbourg, 1887, p. 56–61, 69–74), n'est pas comprise ici.

L'un des aspects les plus captivants de cet ouvrage est celui de la langue de rédaction. La traductrice note que l'auteur a employé le slavon, mais la langue de son journal est imprégnée de mots de la langue courante de la région de Kiev et riche en emprunts des langues des pays qu'il visita : italien, grec, arabe et turc. Toujours comme chez Paul d'Alep, les mots étrangers sont transcrits phonétiquement dans la langue de l'auteur – ici, en alphabet cyrillique. En voyageant à travers les pays de l'Orthodoxie, Vassili finit par maîtriser le grec, de façon à espérer pouvoir l'enseigner après son retour à Kiev. C'est dans cette langue qu'il eut de longues discussions avec son « père et bienfaiteur » le patriarche Sylvestre d'Antioche, qui était lui-même originaire de Chypre. Le grec s'avère encore être la *lingua franca* des orthodoxes, qui leur permet de communiquer sans interprète du Mont-Athos à Damas et de Constantinople à Jérusalem. Tout en louant les capacités de la traductrice d'avoir conservé « les nuances linguistiques du récit de Barski, sans pour autant rebuter le lecteur », Pierre Gonnet remarque « ce mélange des langues qui ressemble aux étals d'un marché coloré des bords de la Méditerranée » (p. 12).

On ne peut que regretter que la traduction ne soit pas accompagnée d'un *Index des noms et lieux*. Si, comme la carte de la page 6 le démontre, les lieux auraient pu paraître trop nombreux pour

⁸ Pour la traduction française et l'édition arabe du premier tiers du manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, voir Basile Radu, *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche, texte arabe et traduction française*, col. *Patrologia Orientalis*, éd. R. Graffin et F. Nau, Paris, XXII, fasc. 1/1930, XXIV, fasc. 4/ 1933, XXVI, fasc. 5/1949. La première traduction anglaise complète, accompagnée de l'édition arabe intégrale, est en cours de parution aux Éditions Brill (par Ioana Feodorov, avec Yulia Petrova et Mihai Țipău).

êtres inventoriés, les personnages que Barski a connus au long de sa route méritaient de pouvoir être retrouvés à travers les pages de son journal. Aussi, les années sont rarement indiquées et c'est tout un travail de suivre le parcours temporel de Barski depuis 1723 jusqu'à 1745. Les notes, bien éparpillées, n'aident pas trop ce lecteur : elles indiquent pour la plupart le texte biblique cité par Barski, des informations sur les saints évoqués et les données chronologiques des uns des personnages, avec de rares commentaires sur les événements, lieux ou objets mentionnés dans certains passages.

Le portrait de Vassili Grigorovitch-Barski dessiné par la traductrice surprend les facettes de sa personnalité : « Pèlerin curieux et pieux voyageur, éternel étudiant et moine érudit, vagabond prisé par les plus hauts personnages, Vassili Barski n'appartient à aucune catégorie, il est à l'image du monde slave de son temps, en pleine transition vers la modernité » (p. 9). Son journal reste jusqu'à ce jour une source exceptionnelle pour les historiens de l'Orthodoxie et de l'Empire ottoman au 18^e siècle,⁹ tout en gardant son attrait pour les passionnés des notes de voyage. Malgré sa résonance vétuste, l'évaluation du grand historien de l'Église russe A. P. Lebedev (1845–1908), citée par Mikhail Yakouchev (p. 548), reste valable : « C'est un monument qui n'a point d'égal ni chez les Grecs ni en Europe en ce qui concerne l'étude des aspects intérieurs de l'Église grecque du XVIII^e siècle. Nous ne pouvons définir son mérite que par l'expression, certes, incorrecte, mais la seule convenable dans ce cas : ce monument, il est énorme. »

Ioana Feodorov

Πασχάλης Μ. ΚΙΤΡΟΜΗΛΙΔΗΣ, *Θρησκεία και πολιτική στον Ορθόδοξο κόσμο. Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και οι προκλήσεις της νεωτερικότητας [Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World. The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Challenges of Modernity]*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Επίκεντρο, 2021, 252 p.

Professor Kitromilides' new book is the Greek version of a collection of studies, articles and conference papers previously published in English (Routledge, 2019) on a very actual and complex topic, the relations between state and politics in general and religion in the Orthodox world. The focus of the book is on the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The author needs no presentation. A member of the Academy of Athens (since 2020), Paschalis M. Kitromilides is a well-known historian of ideas, specialized in political thought of Early Modern, Modern and Contemporary South-Eastern Europe. His contributions in the study of the Modern Greek Enlightenment are fundamental and changed the overall understanding of this cultural phenomenon.

In his foreword of the book, the Metropolitan of Pergamos Ioannes (Zizioulas) gives a theological perspective of the challenges the Church in general and especially the Patriarchate of Constantinople faced in Modern times with respect to the political evolutions in South-Eastern Europe. During this period the ecumenical dimension of the Patriarchate faced the emerging ideas of nationalism.

In his foreword to the Greek edition the author stresses his main attempt in the collection of studies was to reject two baseless conceptions: the idea that the Orthodoxy is incompatible with the Enlightenment and that it has an innate connection with nationalism. Kitromilides argues that, on the contrary, Orthodoxy, expressing the authentic Christian teachings on the universal ideals of equality and justice, is more close to the Enlightenment than nationalism is. The author expresses the wish that the book will clarify for the Greek audience much predominant confusion on these topics. He stresses

⁹ Voir Constantin A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans: 1516-1831*, trad. Brittany Pfeiffer Noble et Samuel Noble, Jordanville, NY, Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2016 (d'après id., *Bližnevostočnoe pravoslavie pod osmanskim vladychestvom. Pervye tri stoletija. 1516–1831*, Moscou, «Indrik», 2012), dont le journal de Barski est l'une des sources principales, et aussi Elnur Ağayev, *The Mediterranean Visit and the Book of the Travels of the Russian Monk-Traveler Vasily Grigorovich-Barsky in the First Half of the 18th Century*, « Cedrus », VIII, 2020, p. 675–688.

also the actuality of the book, mentioning the recognition of the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine in 2018, following the recognition by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the ecclesiastical autonomy of Georgia, Estonia, and the revival of the Orthodox Church in Albania. The Greek edition contains a larger number of illustrations and an enriched bibliography.

The book contains seven studies, previously published in English between 2004 and 2014. An *Introduction*, a list of the Ecumenical Patriarchs from 1800 onwards, a substantial *Bibliography* and indices complete the critical apparatus.

In his *Introduction*, the author makes a theoretical approach of the topic of the complex relation of state, politics and religion in Western tradition and political thinking. The relation between Church and state proves to be also a complex one in contemporary politics (e.g. in United States of America or Russia). The question the author tries to solve is how Orthodoxy, can become a moral force in the society, by transmitting the universal values of Christianity. Professor Kitromilides focuses then on the historical development of the universal (i.e. ecumenical) role of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the Orthodox Church. In his view the Patriarchate assumed more intensely in recent times its ecumenical dimension, by distancing itself from nationalistic views and influences. A short historical approach of the ecumenical role of the Patriarchate in Byzantine points out some key sources for the ideology of state – Church relations, such as the councils of Patriarch Photios to Boris-Michael of Bulgaria or the letter of Patriarch Antonios IV to the great duke of Muscovy Basil I. From the Post-Byzantine times, during the “captivity” of the Great Church two episodes are considered illustrative: the elevation of the Russian Church to Patriarchate, in 1589, with the approval of Jeremy II, legitimizing the imperial ambitions of an emerging regional power, and the activity of Cyril I Loukaris and his relations with the Protestant powers. A short bibliographical incursion completes the Introduction, witnessing the interest in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from the 16th to the 20th century.

The first chapter (p. 47–67) analyzes the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Enlightenment using a previously neglected source: the correspondence between Ignatios, Metropolitan of Oungro-Wallachia and Giovan Pietro Vieusseux, preserved in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, Italy.

The Orthodox Church and the modern state formation in South-East Europe is the subject of the second study (p. 69–97), a historical analysis from the role of the Church in the Ottoman Balkans, in the liberation movements and in the new nation-states established in the region in the 19th century.

The topic of the third study (p. 99–128) is “The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the challenge of nationalism in 19th century. A period of ideological encounters”. The text deals with complex issue of the study of the first ideas of nationalism. For example, the archaizing and “purist” linguistic choices of the circles of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in late 18th century are not necessarily to be perceived (as in older historical writing) as signs of the emerging nationalism. The new geopolitical reality in the Balkans and the new autonomous and then independent nation states (Greece, Serbia, Romania and later Bulgaria) generated new challenges for the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In the cases of Greece and Romania the proclamation of autocephaly of the respective Orthodox Churches was sooner or later recognized by an official patriarchal *tomos* of the Patriarch and synod of Constantinople. In the case of Bulgaria, the schism wasn’t avoided. A synod of the Orthodox Churches in 1872 decided that in the Bulgarian case were followed nationalist criteria in establishing a Church, an ideology called *ἔθνοφυλετισμός*. The Bulgarian schism ended in 1945. In late 19th century if Patriarch Joachim III supported Pan-Orthodox ideas, younger Metropolitans such as Chrysostomos of Drama (and later of Smyrna) and Germanos of Kastoria (and later of Amaseia) adopted the nationalist ideas during their involvement in the Macedonian issue. Another interesting case studied is the Church of Cyprus. Another topic thoroughly discussed is that of the complex relations between the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman state.

In chronological order the next chapter (p. 129–148) follows the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the first quarter of the 20th century, marked by “the end of the empires and the Asia Minor Catastrophe”. In the beginning of the century the Church of Constantinople had in his canonical jurisdiction 84 Metropolitan Sees in Asia Minor and the Balkans. New eparchies were established in the following years, and there was a reestablishment of the monastic life in Asia Minor.

After a decade of wars, and the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” and the subsequent exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, the situation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was entirely different, with jurisdiction only over the Orthodox in the metropolitan area of Constantinople, Imbros and Tenedos. In the period after 1923 the Ecumenical Patriarchate followed a new spiritual path, renounced the nationalistic ideas and supported the establishment of new Orthodox Churches (in Finland, Chekoslovakia, Estonia, Letonia and Albania) and assumed the jurisdiction over the Churches in Western Europe, North and South America and Oceania.

The fifth study, “The Ecumenical Patriarchate during the Cold War (1946–1991)” (p. 149–182) presents the historical journey of the institution through a complex period, with new challenges. During this period the Patriarchate had to deal with some of the problems initiated in the inter-war times. Ideologically in the late 1920’s and 1930’s every trace of Greek nationalism was put aside. Later other challenges for the Patriarchate came from the legislation of the Turkish state and from other sources, such as the xenophobic riots and the general international environment of the Cold War. Very important from the point of view of external relations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the election to the patriarchal throne of the former metropolitan of America Athenagoras (1949). An initial period of support both from Greece and Turkey ended with the difficulties connected with the issue of Cyprus and with the anti-Greek riots in Constantinople in 1955. The result was that Istanbul’s Greek population decreased in numbers over the next decades. The re-opening of Patriarchate’s Theological School, closed by the Turkish authorities in 1971, remains an unsolved issue to this day.

During the second half of the 20th century, in the internal life of the Orthodox Church, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had a very active and fruitful activity. New cultural institutions, Church reunions, and pilgrimage visits were only some of the achievements of Patriarch Athenagoras I. Inter-Christian dialogue with different confessions had among other the result of the historical reconciliation between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches in 1964. The author offers as well a synthesis of the relations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Russian Church during the same period.

A sixth chapter is dedicated to the inter-Orthodox relations in Southeastern Europe (p. 183–206). The study is an occasion to make a historical presentation of the ideas of the inter-cultural relations in the Orthodox world during the pre-modern times, defined as an Orthodox “Commonwealth”. The historical presentation, after remembering the inter-cultural role of a place like Mount Athos in the Orthodox world, continues with the Cold War later period.

A last chapter (p. 207–214) presents the issue of “Nationalism, Orthodoxy and ethnic conflicts” insisting that it must be studied and understood from cultural-historical and historical point of view. The author formulates three basic ideas that he explains and develops: 1. Orthodoxy means universality, in the true spirit of Evangelic Christianity and Christian tradition; 2. Identifying Orthodoxy and nationalism is due to a misunderstanding and an anachronistic interpretation of the historical sources; 3. The local national Churches are not without responsibility for their involvement with the ideas of nationalism and ethnic conflicts. The author argues that a return to the primary and universal values of the Church such as modesty will have the result of avoiding mixing the faith with nationalist ideas.

Overall in his new book Professor Kitromilides provides a new approach from historian and political scientist’s perspective for a number of important topics related to the relations of religion and politics in the Orthodox world in modern times. From historical point of view the reader will also find in the book the main directions of the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from 19th century to present day. In this respect the author continues the work of the “great chartophylax” and historiographer of the Great Church, Manuel Gedeon, whose contributions are often referred to in the notes.

Mihai Țipău

Abrégé des principes de la grammaire française. Scurtare începăturilor grăitoarei franțozești. O piesă insolită la dosarul francofiliei și francofoniei românești. Introducere, studiu lingvistic, ediție, indice și concordanță de termeni gramaticali de Lia BRAD CHISACOF, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2020, 237 p.

Cette remarquable contribution à l'étude de la pénétration de la langue française dans l'espace culturel moldo-valaque vers la fin du long XVIII^e siècle nous certifie que, plus l'on se penche sur les archives de nos bibliothèques (voire même sur leurs catalogues), et plus les découvertes, grandes ou petites, mais en tout cas significatives, s'offrent au chercheur passionné. L'objet de cette étude est l'analyse, aussi complète qu'elle fut possible à son éditrice, d'une page vraiment importante de l'histoire de l'enseignement du français dans les Principauté Roumaines. Selon Lia Brad Chisacof, ce manuscrit (ms. rom. BAR n^o 1595, 80 ff.) semble avoir été le premier manuel (un abrégé de grammaire plutôt) de langue française. Cette opinion avait été également soutenue par Doina Cobeț, l'auteur du premier article dédié à l'analyse de ce manuscrit, publié en 1990 dans *Limba Română* et cité à maintes reprises par Lia Chisacof. Le texte est présenté dans le manuscrit sur deux colonnes, la version française étant constamment accompagnée par sa traduction en roumain. *L'Abrégé.../Scurtare...* aurait été réalisé d'après un ouvrage de Pierre Restaut, *Principes généraux et raisonnés de la grammaire françaises*, qui avait connu un énorme succès à son époque, à partir de 1730 et jusqu'aux premières décennies du siècle suivant. Il a également connu des versions abrégées, dès 1732. Il fut présent dans nos bibliothèques, et même en plusieurs éditions. Selon l'analyse des titres réalisée par l'éditrice, il semblerait que le modèle le plus proche serait une des versions abrégées du début du XIX^e siècle.

Les feuilles du manuscrit, *recto* et *verso*, sont donc divisées en deux colonnes (à l'exception des feuilles de titre, 1^r, 1^v et 2^r, et de la dernière, 80^v), à droit se trouvant la copie du texte français, à gauche – la traduction en roumain, écrite évidemment avec des caractères cyrilliques, comme il convient à un manuscrit roumain de cette période. Quelques inscriptions en grec nous montrent que les possesseurs du précieux manuscrit (ou peut-être bien les auteurs de la traduction, vu que Lia Brad Chisacof identifie sept écritures différentes dans le manuscrit) étaient des gens éduqués (mais pas forcément tous de grandes lumières, puisque certains d'entre eux traduisent en roumain même les exemples en français!), férus néanmoins en grec et vraisemblablement aussi en slavon, et qui presque certainement se trouvant dans l'entourage du haut clergé orthodoxe. Plusieurs raisons conduisent l'éditrice à intégrer ce manuscrit aux activités du cercle de Léon Gheuca, évêque de Roman et plus tard métropolitain de la Moldavie, d'où plusieurs traductions du français en roumain, parmi les premières chez nous, sont issues (Lia Brad Chisacof avance l'hypothèse que deux des copistes/traducteurs seraient Léon Gheuca lui-même et le moine Gherasim de Iassy). Mais ni l'analyse très attentive des écritures ou du filigrane du papier ne peuvent aider Lia Brad Chisacof à sortir de l'impossibilité de dépasser l'anonymat des auteurs du manuscrit ou bien de l'imprécision de la période de sa rédaction, qui reste hélas toujours « entre 1771 et 1807 ». (p. 26).

L'édition du texte est accompagnée par un appareil critique riche et professionnel: une introduction qui comprend une brève présentation du contexte culturel de l'époque (que l'on aurait préféré un peu plus complète, plus riche en exemples et peut-être mieux mise à jour), une excellente étude linguistique (l'éditrice remerciant dès le début au réputé linguiste Gheorghe Chivu pour ses observations, pertinentes sans doute, vue sa longue et riche carrière dans ce domaine), une succincte mais claire et utile note de l'éditeur et, après l'édition elle-même (une lecture savoureuse, il faut l'avouer!) et quelques reproductions tirées des feuilles du manuscrit (dont on aurait pu désirer une meilleure qualité typographique), une dernière contribution qui nous semble extrêmement intéressante. Elle a deux volets qui ouvrent la voie à des recherches linguistiques à venir, grâce aussi bien à l'index des mots roumains répertoriés dans le manuscrit (p. 207–226) qu'à l'excellent glossaire des termes grammaticaux (p. 227–234), qui marque aussi la place des exemples dans le texte. Enfin, l'ouvrage est clos par une brève bibliographie et un résumé en français, également utiles au lecteur. Les quelques coquilles ne diminuent pas la valeur scientifique de l'ouvrage.

Une étude de la constitution d'un vocabulaire spécialisé dans le domaine de la grammaire ne saurait dorénavant se priver de ce travail minutieux qui offre probablement dans plusieurs cas une première attestation de ces valeurs sémantiques.

Ileana Mihăilă

Ștefan PETRESCU, *Corespondenții români de presă și publicațiile emigrației balcanice (1877–1916)*, Academia Română + Institutul de Studii Sud+Est Europene, Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, 2021, 297 p.

La monographie *Corespondenții români de presă și publicațiile emigrației balcanice (1877–1916)* est l'enregistrement de personnages et surtout de témoignages sur place du demi-siècle d'histoire moderne de l'espace balkanique, période à la fin de laquelle les Balkans ont été surnommés *le baril de poudre de l'Europe*. Nous avons donc affaire au témoignage de la renaissance orageuse de ces nations. Cette recherche est même beaucoup plus riche – elle examine plusieurs dimensions de l'histoire politique souvent violente du sud-est européen du fin de XIX^e et le début du XX^e siècle. C'est une remise en cause des nouveaux commencements modernes de la vie politique et institutionnelle des peuples des Balkans.

Cette recherche de l'apparition dans les Balkans d'une catégorie intellectuelle-professionnelle avec une fonction politique sûre – les correspondants de presse (qui n'étaient que des simples journalistes, mais des personnalités politiques marquantes dans leurs sociétés) propose beaucoup plus ; c'est une synthèse de l'histoire politique et géopolitique des Balkans du dernier quart du XIX^e siècle et du premier quart du XX^e. C'est une période marquée par l'issue – après 500 ans – des peuples de la zone de la domination impériale ottomane, de l'état de vilayet et de sandjak auxquels les anciens empires bulgare, serbe, grec (byzantin) furent réduits, et l'installation des états-nation dans l'espace géopolitique de ces anciens empires. Cette histoire politique est investiguée à travers plusieurs dimensions de l'évolution de la zone, dimensions mises en évidence par ces correspondants de presse.

Il faut souligner qu'il s'agit de l'histoire politique de la libération du sud-est européen de l'emprise de l'Empire ottoman, commençant par la Guerre d'Indépendance (1877) et le Congrès de Berlin de 1878, lors de la reconstitution des États balkaniques, mais d'après la conception et la volonté des grands pouvoirs européens, conception qui ne correspondait pas toujours avec la volonté et la mémoire historique des peuples en cause.

La reconstitution du corps de correspondants de presse entre 1877 et la Première Guerre mondiale est en effet l'enregistrement de presque toutes les dimensions de l'évolution politique et géopolitique du monde balkanique après sa sortie de la domination ottomane. Il s'agit de toutes les actions, crises et conflits qui apparaissent dans l'espace balkanique lors de ces nouveaux débuts pour ces peuples et ethnies qui jusqu'à la veille n'existaient pas par leurs noms.

Cette reconstitution d'une catégorie professionnelle ouvre une série de problèmes et de domaines qui ont marqué le sud-est dans son extension dans son évolution du Moyen-Âge ottoman aux structures institutionnelles de type européen et donc de sa réintégration dans l'Europe. Elle nous offre une image ample de l'évolution et de l'intégration de ce monde.

De la série des domaines suggérés par cette recherche on peut rappeler les principaux relevés par les correspondants de presse qui ont suivi les actions des peuples d'ici ainsi que les décisions des grands pouvoirs européens :

- * on a une synthèse d'Histoire politique du sud-est européen : la modification du statut politique des territoires du sud-est européen de provinces impériales ottomanes en État avec un statut politique européen ;
- * ensuite, il y a l'histoire des nouvelles institutions politiques, administratives, juridiques, culturelles installées dans les Balkans après la libération, toutes de type européen: *État national, royaume, principauté, roi, prince, parlement, ministères, police, armée, partis politiques, universités, lycées* ; *l'Église orthodoxe* devient l'Église nationale officielle.
- * l'obligation d'avoir sur le trône nouvellement fondé un *prince étranger*. À l'époque, on disait que cela assurait une relation protectrice avec les familles royales européennes, mais il

y avait encore un fait important : dans les États balkaniques, les élites aristocratiques et les dynasties locales avaient disparu depuis 500 ans. Seulement la Serbie a choisi comme roi un fermier – la famille Obrenovich ;

- * l'enregistrement des *conflits géopolitiques* entre les nouveaux États des Balkans avec l'idée de récupération des territoires conformément à celle des anciens tsarats et empires jusqu'aux XIV–XV^{ème} siècles, quand ils sont tombés sous l'emprise de l'Empire ottoman – conflits entre les États d'ici et une partie des États européens, dont les guerres entre les nouveaux États jusqu'aux guerres balkaniques (1912–1913).
- * le procès d'établissement des *relations diplomatiques* entre les nouveaux États-nation, leurs pays voisins dans les Balkans et les États européens ; l'apparition d'agences diplomatiques et puis d'ambassades, qui signifiait la reconnaissance du statut politique européen de ces États¹ ;
- * l'histoire et la chronologie des *assassinats politiques* à la suite de la lutte pour le pouvoir des nouveaux élites politiques ; l'assassinat des premiers ministres, des leaders de parti, des rois et des princes héritiers, assassinats résultant des intérêts internes mais aussi sous l'influence de quelques pouvoirs étrangers qui voulaient avoir des États dans leur sphère d'influence ; outre que les rois et les leaders politiques, il y a aussi des victimes parmi les personnalités culturelles ; à la suite d'un tel assassinat (Sarajevo, 1914) a commencé la Première Guerre mondiale ;
- * la chronologie de l'apparition dans la vie politique, administrative, culturelle dans l'espace national de beaucoup de catégories professionnelles ou culturelles nouvelles de type européen : *ministres, juristes, financiers, fonctionnaires administratifs, police nationale, militaires de tout rang*, mais aussi les *journalistes* (qui jusque-là avaient agi dans l'émigration), *professeurs, médecins, étudiants* etc.
- * l'apparition des *sociétés et mouvements d'étudiants* dans tous les États balkaniques ;
- * et le registre de la catégorie principale à laquelle cette recherche est dédiée – les *correspondants de presse* balkaniques, européens en libre circulation dans tout l'espace balkanique et européen ; beaucoup d'entre eux peuvent être retrouvés dans la vie politique, administrative et diplomatique de l'État ; on trouve même des rues qui portent les noms de ces correspondants aujourd'hui ;
- * l'enregistrement de tous les journaux de la période 1877–1914, concernés avec la transcription de l'évolution des États balkaniques du vilayet à État national intégré à l'Europe ;
- * l'étude concerne les principaux thèmes des actions des correspondants de presse dans les Balkans mais aussi les thèmes de chaque État en particulier, générant l'image d'ensemble d'une des plus bouleversantes évolutions de l'histoire du sud-est européen.

La valeur de toutes ces informations-thèmes de recherche s'accroît avec l'énorme bibliographie à partir de laquelle elle s'est cristallisée ; de tous les journaux parus à l'époque, aux archives et études partielles parus dans chaque pays, liés aux thèmes étudiés.

Sous le regard suspicieux des trois Empires fixé sur cette région se passe la libération des peuples des Balkans mais aussi leur effort souvent violent de récupérations et réintégrations territoriales, de réintégration européenne, effort marqué par des révoltes, des guerres entre États, tout cela pour arriver au résultat tant attendu de la reconstruction des sociétés de type européen.

La reconstruction laborieuse et d'ampleur du monde balkanique dans les deux quarts de siècle à travers la voix des correspondants de presse nous offre des suggestions et des idées pour le renouvellement de la recherche objective, historique et politique de ce monde. Surtout ayant en vue que beaucoup de ces situations et mentalités se répètent aujourd'hui.

Elena Siupiur

¹ Cf. Daniel Cain, *Un trimis al Majestății Sale, Nicolae Mișu*, Bucarest, 2007; idem, *Diplomați și diplomație în Sud-Estul European. Relațiile româno-bulgare la 1900*, Bucharest, 2012; Silvana Rachieru, *Diplomați și supuși otomani în Vechiul Regat, Relații diplomatice între anii 1878–1908*, Iași, 2018.

Alberto BASCIANI e Egidio IVETIC, *Italia e Balcani. Storia di una prossimità*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 2021, 182 p.

Basciani and Ivetic's work follow beyond the complexity of historical data and a theoretical purpose, namely to conceptualize the idea of the great European regions from a new perspective. The term proximity in the title of the volume suggests from the very beginning the key of theoretical analysis of the volume. It is not by chance that the first three sections of the book, the introduction and the first two chapters, in which the various theoretical perspectives on the great European regions are discussed, occupy more than a third of the content of the volume.

Two observations must be made from the very beginning. First of all, in conceptualizing the ideas of large European regions, such as Western Europe, Central Europe, the Balkans, Southern Europe or the Mediterranean, the authors avoid an "Orientalist" perspective in which authors such as Edward W. Said or Larry Wolff are enrolled,¹ and which in the case of the Balkans inspired a prodigious literature based on the elaboration of a cultural identity in opposition to or at least in relation to the rest of Europe.² A second refers to the time interval covered in volume. Although the second chapter (p. 37–55), it sweeps over a long period of time, from the 8th century to the middle of the 19th century, the rest of the three chapters that follow, focuses on the modern and contemporary period.

In the first three sections of the volume, the introduction and the first two chapters, Ivetic, one of the two authors, focuses on two theoretical perspectives of conceptualization of the regions of Europe. The first focuses on the criterion of common historical evolution, of German extraction (*Kulturraum/cultural area*), while the other is closer to the actuality of European political relations after the fall of communist regimes and the enlargement of the European Union, a rather geographical criterion, says Ivetic. Seen from these perspectives Italy and the Balkans differ radically, the former representing a well-defined historical geographical and cultural unity, while the Balkans are rather an "umbrella" concept (p. 8, 10). Therefore, Ivetic is looking for alternative perspectives, one of the most promising being that from the volume edited by Diana Mishkova and Balazs Trencsényi, *European regions and boundaries: A conceptual history*.³ This perspective allows Ivetic to delineate the concept of a European region based on historical and geographical proximity (p. 15, 28, 159–160). Stated in the introduction these directions of analysis are developed by Ivetic in the first two chapters of the volume, *Regioni storiche d'Europa* (p. 17–36) and *Italia e Balcani: una prossimità storica* (p. 37–55).

The next three chapters of the volume whose author is Basciani focus, as I said, on the modern and contemporary period. The first of these, *Regno d'Italia e Balcani* (p. 57–88) opens with a provocative part, *Unità d'Italia e Sud-est d'Europa* (p. 57–62), in which Basciani highlights the joint evolution of Italy and the Balkan countries in the process of building a nation state by detaching historical provinces from the old political assemblies, mainly empires, and their unification. The founding of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 is at an important moment in the course of the several decades that from 1830 to the Peace Congress in Berlin (1878) led to the birth of independent nation states in the Balkans, such as Greece, Serbia and Romania. Moreover, until the Congress of Berlin, the Kingdom of Italy manages to gain a privileged position in the Balkans comparable to the influence of *les grandes puissances*, getting involved in vital matters such as that of the Danube. The proximity relationship with the Balkans thus extends from the area of the Adriatic Sea to the Danube and Balkan mountains to competition with the great power that was at that time Austria (p. 61). This position is consolidated until the wars of the early 20th century, the two Balkan wars and the First World War. Italy's foreign policy acts in all Balkan states favoring their construction according to the model of the political nation and social and economic modernization. On the one hand, this situation often puts Italy in the difficult position of navigating to the intersection of interests and agreements

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978); L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994.

² Diana Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism*, Routledge, London and New York, 2019.

³ New York-Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2017.

between the three great empires influential in the geopolitics of the Balkans, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Russia. The accession to the Triple Alliance, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, as well as the connection of Romania to it, even if the latter “ideal” (p. 74), nevertheless provided a framework for negotiating these interests. On the other hand, the emergence of territorial conflicts between the new nation states gives Italy the opportunity to mediate the achievement of peace as in the Serbo-Bulgarian conflict of 1885, as he intervenes in the same sense to maintain civil order in the situation of the Cretan crisis of 1897 (p. 70–78).

The last two chapters of the volume present the Italo-Balkan relations in the interwar period, *Da una guerra all'altra* (p. 89–124), respectively, the post-war period including the one after the fall of the iron curtain, *Repubblica italiana e Balcani* (p. 125–158). As in the previous chapter and in these Basciani aims to identify a predominant direction in the Italo-Balkan relations. For the interwar period, it mentions the decrease in the intensity of Italian foreign policy in the Balkans. Albania and the space of the two seas, the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, remain points of interest, however. One explanation is the new arrangement of international politics after the First World War, which in the Balkans separated the “winning”, anti-revisionist states from those in reflux (p. 98). Another is the coming to power of the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini, which dominates almost the entire interwar period in Italy (107ff). And after the Second World War, Italy’s foreign policy in the Balkans is influenced by the new balance in international relations. Although with the exception of Greece all the other Balkan countries enter the socialist camp, Italy maintains relations and encourages the connection with Western Europe for the socialist states that oppose, more or less, the domination of the USSR. It is noted first of all the rapprochement with the Titoist regime in Yugoslavia, this despite the adversity in the interwar period, the one in Romania of the first years of the Ceaușescu regime, and even Albania, Italy being the only Western state that maintained consistent diplomatic relations with the Stalinist regime of Enver Hodxa (p. 143).

The volume signed by Basciani and Ivetic is addressed primarily to historians specialized in South Eastern Europe. The sources used are not novel, the work being rather one of synthesis (at the end of the volume there is a consistent bibliography corresponding to each chapter). The idea of bringing the Balkan space into the Mediterranean geopolitical context is provocative and less addressed in the historical bibliography of South Eastern Europe. And the attempt to theorize the concept of a European region based on the idea of proximity is interesting, although the chapter in which Ivetic approaches this concept is based on the Micro-Region of the Adriatic Sea and not on the entire Balkan area.

Stelu Șerban

Annemarie SORESCU-MARINKOVIĆ, Mihai DRAGNEA, Thede KAHL, Blagovest NJAGULOV, Donald L. DYER, Angelo COSTANZO, *The Romance-Speaking Balkans. Language and the Politics of Identity*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2021, p. 274.

The volume *The Romance-Speaking Balkans* is the 29th in the Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture series. Although the Balkan Romance theme is recurrent in the interest of researchers and enjoys a rich bibliography, this volume represents a notable contribution through the socio-linguistic grid of the approach or with the words of the editors through the invitation to reflect on “the subtle play between ideology, language and politics” (p. 2). As regards the conceptual framework, it must be said that on the one hand, the volume does not have a unitary theoretical and methodological perspective, as the editors themselves point out: “The nine chapters of this book show variety in terms of scope, methodologies, theoretical frameworks, and philosophical underpinnings.” (p. 5). On the other hand, many of the chapters have elaborated theoretical parts inspired from the sociolinguistic perspective that try to explain the complex aspects of the Balkan Romance.

The nine chapters of the volume are not divided into separate sections. Most of them, namely three, refer to Aromanians and have as authors Cătălin Mamali (p. 38–76), Ewa Nowicka (p. 116–145) and

Daniela-Carmen Stoica (p. 146–170), two others approaching groups close to Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians, author Mircea Măran (p. 171–185), respectively Istro-Romanians, Zvezdana Vrzić (p. 186–206). Two other chapters have as their subject the Romanian language spoken by Bayash, a group assimilated to the Roma population, but which has the Romanian language as their mother tongue, author Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković (p. 207–232), respectively Vlachs/Vlasi/Wallachians, author Monica Huțanu (p. 233–256). Two other chapters deal with even more special topics. Michael Studemund-Halévy presents the Spanish spoken in the environment of the Sephardic Jews in Bulgaria (p. 12–38), while Anna-Christine Weirich approaches the Italian language spoken by migrants returned from work in the Republic of Moldova (p. 77–115).

The three chapters devoted to Aromanians differ in methodology and conceptual framework. Two of them, that of Cătălin Mamali and that of Ewa Nowicka, have a global approach. The first concerns Aromanians' contrary identity construction and acculturation processes in the Balkans with more detailed references to Aromanians from Greece and Romania. Unfortunately, more than half of the chapter is occupied by the analysis of these concepts based on different sociolinguistic theories the place and connection with the Aromanian population being mostly absent. The rest of the chapter addresses the role that the language spoken by Aromanians had in times of "political terror" (the author's terms) in the postwar years in Romania and Greece. The Ewa Nowicka chapter is based on the author's field research in three countries, Greece and Serbia, for which it refers to the Aromanians, and Croatia in the case of the Istro-Romanians. Without a conceptual framework, the comparison of the three cases follows the thread of the idea of recovering a "horizontal ethnicity" (p. 117) in basic social spheres such as family, locality, region. The third chapter dedicated to Aromanians, that of Daniela-Carmen Stoica, is much more elaborate based on long-term anthropological and ethnographic field research (2010–2015) in the Aromanian community of Korçë, southern Albania. In the chapter Stoica extracts from the field material oral history interviews and questionnaires whose texts analyzes over two dimensions, *indexicality*, respectively, *positioning and dialogism*. These two dimensions are specific to well-defined categories of gender and age, and contribute in a visible and decisive way to the development of the collective identity of the Aromanians from Korçë.

I was saying above two other chapters relate to populations historically and geographically related to the Aromanians. In one of them Mircea Măran presents the case of the Megleno-Romanians population of Gudurica, Serbian Banat, Vojvodina. Colonised after World War II by the Yugoslav authorities, this population is part of a larger wave that engulfed the 60,000 households in Vojvodina abandoned by the German population (p. 176). Coming from a mountainous area, southern Macedonia, Megleno-Romanians have adapted difficult to the plain relief of Banat, some of them returning to their native places. Thus, in the mid-1950s, under the name Macedonians, there were 299 families dispersed in seven villages, including Gudurica. Măran follows the fate of the latter Megleno-Romanians until today, when the original group has already been assimilated mainly through mixed marriages. There are mentioned interviews with the last Megleno-Romanians from Gudurica, the Djorševski family (2014). The Zvezdana Vrzić chapter also presents a withered community, the Istro-Romanians from Croatia. She herself with Istro-Romanians origins, Vrzić sheds light on the efforts of government authorities to preserve the language of this population. On the one hand, it presents the Istro-Romanian identity elements from which, at local, regional and national level, the policies of these authorities can be based. On the other hand, it analyses the efforts of the governments of Croatia and Romania to put these policies into practice on the basis of EU legislation.

Two other chapters refer to the Romanian-speaking population in the Balkan countries, except for Romania. The chapter signed by Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković addresses the Bayash population of the states of South Eastern Europe through the prism of the question: "What language do we speak?". The answer to this question provides the chances for developing a policy of school education of this population in the mother tongue. In fact, this is also the purpose of the chapter signed by Sorescu-Marinković. The starting point is, notes the author, that although speaking at the base a sum of speeches from the different parts of Romania from where they migrated to the rest of the Balkans, some of the Bayash are not even aware that this is their mother tongue. Moreover, these languages are not influenced by standard Romanian, but rather by the languages of the host states, their

formalization and unification being difficult to achieve. With more than twenty years of field experience among these populations Sorescu-Marinković realizes these obstacles (p. 210–211). An exit from this situation is represented by the concept of “ideological clarification” by which the actors who elaborate these educational policies try to eliminate the confusion of the Bayash population regarding their mother tongue (p. 227). Monica Huțanu also signs a chapter on Romanian speakers in the Balkans, referring to the Wallachians (Vlasi) community in eastern Serbia. The author collects the research data mainly from the online environment, respectively “Vlasi na kvadrat” Facebook page. A well-developed theoretical framework encompasses concepts such as *enregisterment*, *indexicality* and *stylization*. Through them, Huțanu analyzes the emergence of the collective identity of this population in the linguistic environment given by the use of old Romanian specific languages in the mentioned online milieu. Beyond the competition of different pro-Romanian, respectively, pro-Vlach associations, the author highlights the transformation of a “metapragmatic” linguistic sequence, *Vla*, through which the Romanian-speaking speakers were pejoratively identified, into a linguistic vehicle that is part of several current words on the *Vlasi na kvadrat* page, with a positive identity nuance. The analysis of the various recurring words on this extremely careful and nuanced page leads the author to the conclusion that: “Through metapragmatic practices (such as talking explicitly about forms and making the indexical link obvious or using stylized performances of features typifying the local variety), the administrator and the users construct and perform an identity that is at the same time local (Vlach), Serbian and *Gastarbaiter*” (p. 250).

Two chapters have topics that are less connected to the theme of the volume. Extremely interesting, however, is the chapter signed by Anna-Christine Weirich on the subject of the Italian language spoken by migrants returned from work in the Republic of Moldova. The chapter is based on an ethnographic field started in 2011 in Chișinău and continued intermittently completed with data from printed or on-line publications. A coherent theoretic framework highlights the communication spaces of actors who speak Italian in Moldova, or with a concept borrowed from the linguist, Thomas Krefeld, the *glossotopes* (p. 81–84). The author thus emphasizes that besides the more or less adequate Italian spoken in Moldova, it also plays a role of *lingua franca*, Italian words and expressions entering the everyday languages spoken in Moldova, Romanian and Russian. In the other chapter of this kind, which otherwise opens the volume, Michael Studemund-Halévy follows the different variants that *Judezmo*, the Hebrew traditionally spoken by Sephardic Jews in Bulgaria, takes from the end of the 19th century onwards, in the context of the beginning of Bulgaria’s modernization, but also under the impact of transnational and emancipation movements such as Zionism.

The volume *The Romance-Speaking Balkans* substantially refreshes the bibliography so far of the Balkan Romance theme. Although, there is no coherent theoretical perspective of the entire volume, the fact that most of the chapters have consistent socio-linguistic theoretical parts allows the extraction of future fertile conclusions and working hypotheses. Moreover, as some of the chapters based on anthropological and/or ethnographic field research bring to the fore the everyday discourse, the vivid speeches and dialects of Romance Balkan, the theoretical frameworks are unified under the umbrella of linguistic pragmatics, also a novelty in the bibliography of the theme.

Stelu Șerban

GRIGORE BRÂNCUȘ
(1929–2022)

Grigore Brâncuș est né à Peștișani, département de Gorj, près de Hobița, le village natal du sculpteur Constantin Brâncuși, de qui il était parent. Il fit ses études secondaires au lycée « Tudor Vladimirescu » de Târgu Jiu (1940–1948) et ses études universitaires à la Faculté de philologie de Bucarest (1948–1953), où obtint en 1968 un doctorat en philologie sous la direction d'Al. Rosetti. Il fit des stages de spécialisation en Albanie (1958–1959 et 1965). Jusqu'en 1999, il fut professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Bucarest et, depuis 1999, professeur émérite ; conduisit des doctorats et fut chef du Département de la langue roumaine à la Faculté des lettres. Il enseigna le roumain aux universités d'Amsterdam et de Groningue (Pays-Bas, 1968–1969). Il fut directeur honoraire de l'Institut de Linguistique «Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti» de l'Académie Roumaine, membre du Comité International de Thracologie, membre du Comité National de l'Association Internationale des Etudes de l'Europe du Sud-est, membre des comités de rédaction de la *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, *Limba română*, *Fonetică și dialectologie*, *Studii și cercetări de onomastică*, *Thraco-dacica*, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*.

Membre de l'Académie roumaine depuis 2011 (membre correspondant depuis 2006).

Dans ses travaux, Grigore Brâncuș examine le roumain sous tous les aspects. Lors d'une interview réalisée à l'Académie Roumaine à l'occasion de son 90^e anniversaire, transmise récemment à la télévision publique, Grigore Brâncuș précise que, à l'instar de son maître Al. Rosetti (disciple, à son tour, d'Ov. Densusianu et admirateur de l'œuvre de Hasdeu), toutes les branches de l'étude du roumain l'ont intéressé : histoire de la langue, dialectologie, langue littéraire, langue contemporaine, la comparaison avec les autres langues romanes, la comparaison avec les langues de l'union linguistique balkanique, le substrat. Il donna quelques décennies durant des cours optionnels de langue albanaise et de balkanologie à l'Université de Bucarest, et, d'ailleurs, à l'époque, fut le seul à le faire. Il traduisit de la littérature albanaise un volume de prose brève (Migjeni, *Fructul oprit*, 1967).

Il a eu comme professeurs, outre Al. Rosetti, Iorgu Iordan et Al. Graur. Al. Rosetti l'a remarqué même pendant ses années d'étude en lui confiant, depuis, la conduite de séminaires. Dans sa longue et fructueuse carrière de professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bucarest, Gr. Brâncuș a donné des cours et des séminaires d'histoire de la langue et de langue contemporaine (en concevant, aussi, et rédigeant en collaboration, un manuel accompli de roumain pour étrangers, publié depuis lors dans de nombreuses éditions).

Tout au long de sa carrière, il a collaboré à l'élaboration du dictionnaire trésor de la langue roumaine, achevé ces années, contribuant à la fois à la révision et à la partie étymologique.

Dans ses livres consacrés au rôle du substrat (*Vocabularul autohton al limbii române*, 1983, *Cercetări asupra fondului traco-dac al limbii române*, 1995 et *Concordanțe lingvistice româno-albaneze*, 1999), Brâncuș réalise la plus appropriée, détaillée et complète description des contacts entre la couche latine et le substrat indigène, dans le mélange primaire caractérisant la romanisation au nord et au sud du Danube, description qui permet d'expliquer d'une manière exhaustive la conservation des éléments autochtones et la spécificité du roumain parmi les langues romanes. Cette influence originaire diffère essentiellement de toute autre influence ultérieure que le roumain a subie. Il s'agit d'une composante principale de la langue roumaine, conséquence du bilinguisme de la population indigène antique en train de se romaniser. Les éléments locaux pré-romains, déduits généralement par comparaison avec l'albanais, sont reconstitués en roumain commun et rapportés aux formes reconstruites en albanais commun. La méthode de la reconstruction et ses résultats représentent une contribution essentielle à la connaissance du processus de la romanisation. Le livre *Introducere în istoria limbii române* (I, 2002) pose systématiquement en lumière tous les aspects du contact de la couche latine et du substrat et de l'assimilation des éléments du substrat dans la structure latine de la langue roumaine. Des traces du substrat se retrouvent dans tous les secteurs de la langue, non seulement dans le vocabulaire, mais aussi dans la phonétique, la grammaire, la formation des mots, la phraséologie, quelques fois renforçant des tendances existantes en latin. Le développement des éléments indigènes s'identifie à celui des éléments latins. Les mots de substrat connaissent la même évolution phonétique que ceux hérités du latin, ils proviennent donc de la même époque. La synonymie avec les mots latins montre leur spécialisation liée au domaine de l'élevage largement compris.

Les études comparatives de Gr. Brâncuș concernant aussi quelques faits importants de grammaire en roumain et albanais (*Despre valoarea aoristului în albaneză*, *Despre dativul locativ*, *Genul neutru în albaneză*, *Intercalarea pronumelui neaccentuat în formele de plural ale imperativului albanez*, *O concordanță gramaticală româno-albaneză: modul supin*, *Originea structurii numeralului românesc*, *Un procedeu de compunere comun românei și albanezei*, *Note în legătură cu postpunerea articolului definit*) gardent intacte toute leur importance.

Grigore Brâncuș nous laisse deux récentes synthèses sur le rôle du substrat thraco-dace : le chapitre *Substratul limbii române*, paru en 2018 dans le premier volume de l'œuvre collectif *Istoria limbii române*, élaboré sous l'égide de l'Académie Roumaine à l'Institut de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti » (livre dont il fut aussi l'un des superviseurs) et l'étude *Definiția substratului limbii române* (2021), dans laquelle il souligne l'importance de l'investigation des faits linguistiques en étroite liaison avec la culture populaire et traditionnelle. Des éléments de mythologie, d'ethnographie, etc. sont supposés comme ayant origine, plus ou

moins probable, dans le substrat. Il faut y ajouter l'intérêt pour la toponymie et pour le transfère en onomastique des termes hérités du substrat et du latin. Représentatifs pour cette direction de recherche sont *Istoria cuvintelor. Unitate de limbă și cultură* (1992, IIe édition augmentée, 2004) et *Expresie populară în ciclul « La liliaci » de Marin Sorescu* (2014). On peut leur ajouter le volume de mémoires, *Memorii* (2020), ayant comme objet la vie du village natal considérée dans une perspective historique et linguistique, afin de rendre au mieux l'image qu'il s'est fait lui-même des caractéristiques culturelles traditionnelles spécifiques.

Grigore Brâncuș examine constamment l'histoire des quatre dialectes roumains et l'unité du roumain. Les sections des trois volumes portant le titre *Studii de istorie a limbii române* (2007, 2008, 2013) rendent compte de ces préoccupations en suivant les questions de phonétique et de grammaire, du lexique, de la langue populaire, de la dialectologie, de la langue littéraire, du substrat du roumain, des rapports avec les langues balkaniques ; une section est intitulée albano-romanica.

Les éditions critiques des œuvres de Hasdeu (*Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* (1972–1976), *Istoria critică* (1984), *Studii de lingvistică și filologie*, I–II (1988), *Pierit-au dacii?*, *antologie de texte lingvistice din opera lui Hasdeu* (2009)), l'édition (en 2003, 2006) du dictionnaire d'Ov. Densusianu et I.-A. Candrea (*Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*), munies des amples études introductives et des notes explicatives très détaillées, sont exemplaires ; la consultation du dictionnaire trésor de Hasdeu est beaucoup facilitée d'un index essentiel des mots qui n'ont pas des entrées propres, mais sur lesquels on trouve des données importantes dans les articles que Hasdeu a achevés.

On doit à Grigore Brâncuș de nombreuses et instructives études sur les linguistes qui l'ont précédé. Nous sommes en face d'une véritable histoire sur la pensée linguistique roumaine : Dimitrie Cantemir, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Timotei Cipariu, Mihai Eminescu, Titu Maiorescu, Lazăr Șăineanu, Moses Gaster, Al. Philippide, Th. Capidan, Al. Rosetti, Al. Graur ; il faut leur ajouter le savant albanais Eqrem Çabej. Grigore Brâncuș a constamment montré un intérêt particulier pour l'œuvre de Hasdeu, en soulignant, dans une riche série de travaux, ses contributions exceptionnelles à l'étude de l'histoire du roumain dans le contexte balkanique.

Le style clair des écrits de Grigore Brâncuș, caractérisé à la fois de sobriété et de la capacité de choisir toujours le mot idoine puisé dans un lexique d'une richesse exceptionnelle, fait la lecture non seulement profitable du point de vue scientifique, mais aussi délectable au plus haut point.

Cătălina Vătășescu

CONSTANTIN IORDAN
(1946–2021)

À la veille de Noël, Constantin Iordan, chercheur à l'Institut d'études du Sud-Est européen pendant près d'un demi-siècle (1970–2017), nous a quittés de manière inattendue. Quelques semaines auparavant, il avait fêté ses 75 ans. Né le 1^{er} novembre 1946 à Târgu Ocna, il a obtenu son diplôme de maîtrise à la Faculté d'histoire de l'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » de Jassy. Lorsqu'il a rejoint l'Institut, C. Iordan s'est voué, à la suggestion du professeur Mihai Berza, à l'histoire des relations internationales en Europe du Sud-Est au XX^e siècle, un domaine de recherche auquel il restera fidèle pendant toute sa vie. Avec le temps, il deviendra un très bon connaisseur de l'historiographie grecque et bulgare. Ses études et ses ouvrages ont porté principalement sur les relations roumano-helléniques et roumano-bulgares. Ses recherches ont également porté sur des figures représentatives du monde de l'entre-deux-guerres en Europe du Sud-Est, comme Elefthérios Venizélos (auquel il a consacré une monographie, publiée en deux éditions) ou la princesse Marthe Bibesco. Son dernier volume, *Dobroudja (1878–1940) dans l'historiographie bulgare post-communiste* (Bucarest, 2013), est devenu un outil de travail indispensable pour les historiens roumains intéressés par la question de la Dobroudja.

Constantin Iordan était membre fondateur de la Société roumaine d'études néohelléniques et membre de la Commission roumano-bulgare d'histoire. Il a vécu discrètement les dernières années de sa vie, en maintenant son intérêt constant pour la vie scientifique de l'Institut. Il laisse derrière lui plusieurs volumes importants sur les relations de la Roumanie avec l'Europe du Sud-Est dans l'entre-deux-guerres, mais aussi le regret d'une carrière sinueuse.

Daniel Cain

**VIE SCIENTIFIQUE
DE L'INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES
2021**

I. PROGRAMMES DE RECHERCHE

- 1) *Témoignages roumains à l'étranger. Créations roumaines et sources sur les Roumains dans les collections à l'étranger.* Collectif de recherche : Ioana Feodorov (coord.), Andrei Pippidi, Andrei Timotin, Mihai Țipău, Daniel Cain. Techno-rédactrice Iuliana Deac.
- 2) *Histoire des langues et des sociétés traditionnelles dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe.* Collectif de recherche : Cătălina Vătășescu (coord.), Oana Uță Bărbulescu, Simona Nicolae, Cristina Codarcea.
- 3) *Anthropologie sociale de l'espace du Sud-est européen.* Collectif de recherche : Stelu Șerban (coord.), Ștefan Dorondel.
- 4) *Institutions, religion et colonisation dans l'Antiquité grecque.* Collectif de recherche : Vasilica Lungu (coord.), Adrian Robu.
- 5) *Littérature byzantine (XI^e–XV^e siècles) : éditions, traductions et études historiques et philologiques.* Collectif de recherche : Simona Nicolae (coord.), Mihail Mîtreă, Mircea Duluș.
- 6) *Tradition byzantine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (XIV^e–XVII^e siècles).* Collectif de recherche : Andrei Pippidi (coord.) Petre Guran, Oana Iacubovschi, Mihail-George Hâncu.
- 7) *Le Sud-Est de l'Europe et la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque ottomane, XV^e–XIX^e siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Viorel Panaite (coord.), Radu Dipratu.
- 8) *Relations de l'Europe du Sud-Est avec le Moyen-Orient et le Caucase.* Collectif de recherche : Ioana Feodorov (coord.), Mihai Țipău, Radu Dipratu, David L. Neagu.
- 9) *Néo-hellénisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe: érudition, mobilité, modernité.* Collectif de recherche : Lia Brad Chisacof (coord.), Mihai Țipău, Ștefan Petrescu, Marilena Vlad.
- 10) *Relations interbalkaniques aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles.* Collectif de recherche : Daniel Cain (coord.), Florin Țurcanu, Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, Virginia Blînda.
- 11) *Bibliographie critique de la Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes.* Collectif de recherche : Andrei Timotin (coord.), Mihail-George Hâncu, Oana Iacubovschi, Ștefan Petrescu, Radu Dipratu.

II. PROJETS DE COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE

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- 2) *Ethnicity, People and Environment on the Danube (2018–2021)*, projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Ethnologie et de Folklore et Le Musée d'Ethnographie de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences. Coord. : Stelu Șerban, Petko Hristov.
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- 4) *The Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (2018–2021)*, projet de l'ISSEE en collaboration avec l'Institut d'Études Byzantines de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences. Coord.: Andrei Timotin, Srdjan Pirivatrić.
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- Cătălina Vătăşescu, *Termes pour « fiançailles » et « mariage » en roumain, albanais et les langues romanes occidentales*, in Лора Тасева, Пенка Данова (éd.), *Югоизточна Европа през вековете : социална история, езикови и културни контакти*, Studia Balcanica 35, София, Институт за балканистика с Център по тракология, 2021, p. 355–366.
- Cătălina Vătăşescu, *Un livre important dans le développement des études concernant l'union linguistique balkanique : Th. Capidan, Limbă și cultură (Bucarest 1943)*, in Cătălina Vătăşescu (éd.), *New Perspectives on Balkan Linguistics. Nouvelles perspectives sur la linguistique balkanique. Proceedings of the session held at the 12th International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2021 (BIESEE 17), p. 183–190.
- Marilena Vlad, *Damascius on Self-Constituted Realities*, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 103 (3), 2021, p. 404–428.
- Marilena Vlad, *Damascius. New Insights in the Platonic Tradition*, in S. Wear, F. Lauritzen (éd.), *Byzantine Platonists*, Franciscan University Press, Steubenville Ohio, 2021, p. 75–91.

V. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES (CONGRÈS, COLLOQUES, TABLES RONDES)

- Virginia Blînda, *Fugitives and refugees at the Southern Wallachian border (1853)/ Fugari și refugiați la frontiera de sud a Valahiei (1853)*, Conférence internationale *Frontiere și contacte. Fenomene locale, regionale și globale*, Craiova, 19–20 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Daniel Cain, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu, *Destinul unui fost consul onorific al României la Moscova : Pierre Guerin*, Conférence *La réseau consulaire de la Roumanie (1918–1947)* organisée par la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université „Al. I. Cuza” de Iași, le Centre d'histoire du XX^e siècle des Archives Diplomatiques – MAE, l'Université „Valahia” de Târgoviște, 15 avril 2021 (en ligne).
- Daniel Cain, *Din neajunsurile războiului de alianță : români și ruși pe frontul românesc (1916–1917)*, Workshop *O vecinătate dificilă. Relațiile româno-ruso-sovietice 1914–1965*, Institut d'Histoire „Nicolae Iorga”, 7 oct. 2021.
- Lia Chisacof, *De adăugat la istoria anului 1821*, Communication à l'Institut Diplomatique Roumain, 27 mai 2021 (en ligne).
- Lia Chisacof, *Emperor Trajan : 1821 under other circumstances*, Conférence internationale *An Epoch Threshold? The Year 1821 in the History of South-East Europe, at Bicentennial*, Iași, 24 sept. 2021.
- Radu Dipratu, *'I shall not take their churches and turn them into mosques': The Legal Status of Catholic Churches in Ottoman Galata as Prescribed by the 'ahdnames*, Conférence internationale *The Conversion of Spaces and Places of Worship in Anatolia*, ADÎP (*Anadolu Din ve İnançları Platformu/ natolian Religions and Beliefs Platform*), 11 avril 2021 (en ligne).
- Radu Dipratu, *Protecting Catholics in the Ottoman Empire : Capitulations Granted to the Habsburgs in the Seventeenth Century*, communication présentée aux Séminaires d'études balkaniques de l'Académie Autrichienne des Sciences (Balkanforschung and der ÖAW), 27 avril 2021 (en ligne).
- Ștefan Dorondel, *A New Ecological Order in Eastern Europe*, Conférence internationale *Recent History of Technology, Mediterranean Studies, Environmental Humanities : An encounter*, Athènes, 2 juillet 2021 (en ligne).
- Ștefan Dorondel, Stelu Șerban, *The Ethnography of a Flood*, Conférence internationale de l'Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 11–12 mai, 2021 (en ligne).
- Mircea Duluș, *Defining Religious Identity in the Twelfth Century Norman Kingdom : The Case of Philagathos of Cerami and Neilos Doxapatres*, Workshop („André Scrima”), 25 mars 2021 (en ligne).

- Mircea Duluș, *Late Antique Anti-Christian Polemics and the Framing of Byzantine Scriptural Exegesis: the case of Philagathos of Cerami and Neilos Doxapatres*, Communication – The Research Institute of the University of Bucharest (ICUB), 8 avril 2021 (en ligne).
- Ioana Feodorov, *Un Acatist arab necunoscut cu posibilă origine românească : mistere și indicii*, Conférence internationale organisée par l'Académie Roumaine (Cluj) – Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, 28 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Ioana Feodorov, *On the occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of Ahatanhel Krymskyi, the prominent Ukrainian orientalist, scientist, writer, and translator*, Conférence internationale Ahatanhel Krymskyi and Lebanon. *On the occasion of the 150th birth anniversary of Ahatanhel Krymskyi, the prominent Ukrainian orientalist, scientist, writer, and translator*, Beirut, AUB, 11 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Mihai Hâncu, Emanuela Timotin, *Translating the Akathistos Hymn from Slavonic into Romanian Ms 1348 of the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest*, Workshop *Manuscript Tradition and Visual Culture. Circulating Models and their Reception in South-Eastern Europe, 14th–18th c.*, New Europe College, 26 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Oana Iacobovschi, *The Names of the Angels – the Expanded List. Literary and artistic Routes of Dissemination in late 15th century Moldavia*, Workshop *Manuscript Tradition and Visual Culture. Circulating Models and their Reception in South-Eastern Europe, 14th–18th c.*, New Europe College, 26 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, « *De viscolia Patriei nu sânt în neștiință* ». 1821 văzut de studenții români din străinătate, Conférence internationale *An Epoch Threshold? The Year 1821 in the History of South-East Europe, at Bicentennial*, Iași, 23–25 sept. 2021 (en ligne).
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, *Un proiect medical eugenist din anul 1938: «Considerațiunile asupra sănătății publice* », ale Dr. D. Mezincescu, Conférence nationale *Între tradiție și modernitate : Elitele din România în secolul «cel scurt», 1918–1989*, Târgu-Mureș, 8 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, « *Éviter les fleurs vénéneuses, cueillir les fleurs suaves et utiles* » de la civilisation européenne. *Les premiers boursiers roumains à Paris à partir des années 1820*, Colloque International *Globalisation des idées révolutionnaires dans le sillage napoléonien: les années 1821 des Balkans à la Cordillera*, INALCO, Paris, 14–16 oct. 2021.
- Vasilica Lungu, *Tomis... « on ne trouve nulle part dans la région danubienne des ruines de cette importance* ». *Camille Allard și vestigiile cetății antice la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea*, Colloque ARA – 2021, Bucarest, 23 avril 2021.
- Vasilica Lungu, A. Baralis, *Colonising a marshy area: the settlements of the Northern chora of Istros*, Colloque international *Fishing and Greek Colonisation in the Black Sea during Antiquity : a geographical and regional approach*, Aix-en-Provence, 3–4 juin 2021.
- Vasilica Lungu, A. Baralis, M. Guzelev & K. Panayotova, *Mud bricks, wattle and daub, and perishable materials in the domestic architecture of the Greek colonies on the western Black Sea coast*, Colloque international *Terra, legno e materiali deperibili nell'architettura antica*, Padova, 4–7 juin 2021 (en ligne).
- Vasilica Lungu, *Nasperce wine and Sinope transport amphorae at the Ptolemaic Court*, Conférence PATABS IV – Ankara-Bucharest-Batumi, 13–15 juin 2021 (en ligne).
- Vasilica Lungu, P. Dupont, *Chian & Mainland North-Ionian Archaic East Greek transport Amphoras, Case study of the Orgame Herôon specimens*, Conférence PATABS IV – Ankara-Bucharest-Batumi, 13–15 juin 2021 (en ligne).
- Vasilica Lungu, R.G. Dimitriu, S. Pop, I.M. Stanciu, B.M. Barbu, *Near-surface Geological Context, Natural and Anthropic Features Revealed by Drone-borne Geophysics : Case Studies near Danube Delta*, Proceedings of the 11th Congress of the Balkan Geophysical Society, Bucharest, 10–14 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Vasilica Lungu, P. Dupont, *Ceramica fină greco-orientală : identitate și colonizare la Acic-Suat, Caraburun*, Session de communications *Pontica*, Constanța, 17–19 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Zamfira Mihail, *Personalitatea și opera Cătălinei Velculescu*, Communication à „Forumul cultural al Râmnicului” al Centrului de Studii Medievale Premoderne „Antim Ivireanul”, 26 sept. 2021 (en ligne).

- Mihail Mitrea, *Raising Hands to Heaven in Times of Crisis : Philotheos Kokkinos' Prayers*, Workshop („André Scrima”), 25 mars 2021 (en ligne).
- Mihail Mitrea, *Performing Holiness in Late Byzantium : Philotheos Kokkinos's Life of Sabas the Younger*, Conférence internationale *Performance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium* organisé par l'Institute of Historical Research, Athènes, 23 avril 2021 (en ligne).
- David Neagu, *Cilician Armenia between Rome and Constantinople in the Twelfth Century*, Colloque *The Papacy and the Periphery, c. 1050 – c. 1300*, University of St. Andrews and University of Glasgow, 21–23 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Simona Nicolae, *Este aspectul grec mai mult decât o categorie gramaticală?*, Communication – Centre de philosophie antique et médiévale, Cluj-Napoca, 25 mai 2021 (en ligne).
- Simona Nicolae, *Creștinism imperial și tradiție filosofică păgână în epoca Paleologilor. Dimitrie Cydones, Manuel Paleologul, Georgeos Gemistos Plethon*, School of Advanced Studies, Colloquia Classica et Medioevalia Iassiensia, *Ideal Rulership - Ideal Rulers*, Iași, 5–7 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Simona Nicolae, *Μύησις și Ἀνάμνησις sau De la Platon și Aristotel la Maurice Ravel și Maurice Béjart*, Colloque international *Comunicare și cultură în România Europeană : Memorie – uitare*, Timișoara, 11 juin 2021 (en ligne).
- Viorel Panaite, *Setting free French captives in the Ottoman Mediterranean at the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Legal and diplomatic questions*, International Conference *Mediterranean crossings. Soldiers, prisoners and converts between permeable borders (16th–18th centuries)*, Università degli studi di Palermo (Italy) and Cisco Webex virtual platform, 13–14 janvier 2021 (en ligne).
- Viorel Panaite, *Western European Merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean in 16th–17th century Islamic-Ottoman. View. The Evidence of a Turkish Manuscript from Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, 5th Levantine Heritage Foundation Zoom lecture (guest speaker), 3 mars 2021 (en ligne).
- Ștefan Petrescu, *1821 στη Ρουμανική ιστοριογραφία (1821 în istoriografia românească)*, Conférence au Département d'Études Balkaniques, Orientales et Slaves de l'Université Macédonnienne de Thessalonique *To 1821 των Ἀλλων (Revoluția celorlalți)* 16 avril 2021, (en ligne).
- Ștefan Petrescu, *Filiki Eteria, contribuții istoriografice și metodologice*, Communication à l'Institut Diplomatique Roumain, 27 mai 2021 (en ligne).
- Ștefan Petrescu, *A Visit to the Working Laboratory of C.D. Aricescu, the Author of the First Monograph on the 1821 Revolution in the Romanian Principalities*, Conférence internationale *An Epoch Threshold? The Year 1821 in the History of South-East Europe, at Bicentennial*, Iași, 25 sept. 2021 (en ligne).
- Florin Țurcanu, Sophie Coeuré, *Trente ans après. Regard sur les archives des régimes communistes*, Table ronde de la Société d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine, Paris, 7 juin 2021.
- Oana Uță, Martin Maiden, *Croatian influences on the Istro-Romanian gender and number system?*, Conférence à *Romance Linguistics Seminars*, Oxford, 25 févr. 2021.
- Oana Uță, Martin Maiden, *Croatian influence in the fate of the Istro-Romanian genus alternans?*, Conférence à *Romance Grammars, Context and Contact Workshop (RGCC2021)*, Birmingham, 26 mars 2021 (en ligne).
- Oana Uță, *Povestea vocativului românesc : experiența predării românei ca limbă străină*, X^e Conférence internationale *STUR – Limba, literatura și civilizația română în lume*, 13 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Oana Uță, Martin Maiden, *Aspecte ale contactului lingvistic asupra sintagmei nominale în istroromână*, Conférences de l'Académie Roumaine *Limba română și relațiile ei cu istoria și cultura românilor*, 25 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *Shtresa etimologjike në Kanunin e Lekë Dukagjinit (Straturi etimologice în «Kanun i Lekë Dukagjinit»)*, Conférence internationale *International Conference on Albanian Studies*, Tirana, 25–27 nov. 2021 (en ligne).
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *N. Iorga dhe historia e Shqiptarëve (N. Iorga și istoria albanezilor). N. Iorga, një personalitet shumëdimensional i Europës Juglindore*, Colloque, Korça, 3 déc. 2021 (en ligne).
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *... la locul cela strimtul ... Lat. strictus în română și albaneză, la Conferința 1521–2021. Graiurile muntenesti de la scrisoarea lui Neacșu din Câmpulung la cercetările dialectale actuale*, Conférence à l'Institut de linguistique „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti”, Bucarest, 9–10 déc. 2021 (en ligne).

- Marilena Vlad, *L'aporétique de Damascius*, Colloque international *L'esprit critique dans l'Antiquité. Renouveau culturel et postures critiques à l'époque impériale et dans l'Antiquité tardive*, Université de Laval, Québec, 14–16 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Marilena Vlad, *Exaiphnes. Damascius on the identity of contraries*, Colloque *Damaskios: Philosophie, Religion und Politik zwischen Ost und West*, Philosophisches Seminar, Universität de Heidelberg, 28 sept. – 1 oct. 2021 (en ligne).
- Marilena Vlad, *Dionisie și Ierarhia cerească*, Communication – Centre de philosophie antique et médiévale, Cluj-Napoca, 9 nov. 2021 (en ligne).

VI. RÉUNIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ORGANISÉES PAR L'INSTITUT

L'ISSEE a organisé son troisième Colloque annuel *La coopération entre les peuples du Sud-Est européen du Moyen-Âge à l'époque moderne* (7–8 octobre, en ligne). Les membres suivants de l'Institut y ont présenté des communications :

- Daniel Cain, *Delimitation of the New Romanian-Bulgarian Land Border (1913–1914)*.
- Lia Chisacof, *Literature as key to the 18th century*.
- Ștefan Dorondel, Stelu Șerban, *Who Speaks for Nature? Ecological Restoration, Nature Knowledge and Experts of the Lower Danube*.
- Oana Iacobovschi, *The icon of Saint George with Scenes of his Martyrdom. A Moldavian Gift to the Monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos?*.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *From Bucharest to Athens: Reflecting on the Balkan Cooperation in the Greek-language Newspapers*.
- Mihai Țipău, *Constantinople, Bucharest, Venice. Versified Greek "histories" and their journeys (17th–18th centuries)*.
- Florin Țurcanu, *Les États nationaux des Slaves sud-danubiens dans la pensée de Nicolae Iorga au début du 20^e siècle*.
- Cătălina Vătășescu, *L'espace albanais dans l'œuvre de Nicolae Iorga*.

Le 4 novembre l'ISSEE a organisé en ligne, en coopération avec l'Institut d'Études Historiques de Sofia de l'Académie Bulgare de Sciences, le Colloque *Dobruđja as a border area in the Late Ottoman Empire, Bulgaria and Romania. History and memory*, (*Dobrouđja, région de frontière dans l'Empire ottoman tardif, Bulgarie et Roumanie : Histoire et mémoire*). À ce colloque ont présenté des communications cinq membres de l'Institut :

- Virginia Blînda, « *Les habitants qui fuient en Turquie et inversement* »: *observations en marge de quelques documents d'archives (1853)*.
- Daniel Cain, *The challenges of a new administration the case of Lipovan Russians from Tulcea County (end of XIX-century)*.
- Ștefan Petrescu, *The Greek Communities in Northern Dobruđja (1878–1880)*.
- Stelu Șerban, Ștefan Dorondel, *The sedentarization of Rudarii in socialist and post-socialist Bulgaria*.

L'ISSEE a organisé, en collaboration avec l'Université de Bilkent et l'Université d'État de Batumi „Șota Rustaveli”, la Conférence *PATABS IV*, 13–15 juin 2021 (en ligne).

La série des conférences bimensuelles de l'ISSEE a continué pendant toute l'année, en ligne :

- Vasilica Lungu, *Dionysos și grifonii. Mit și istorie în spațiul pontic*, 12 janv. 2021.
- Cristian Gașpar (Central European University, Vienna), *Nume și identitate: toponime și antroponime din spațiul bănățean între conscripțiile fiscale medievale și defterele otomane*, 9 févr. 2021.
- Cristina Codarcea, *Episcopia catolică de Nicopole in sec al XVII-lea, între proiect și realitate*, 16 févr. 2021.

- Octavian-Adrian Negoită (Institute for the History of Religions, Bucharest-University of Copenhagen), « *Fii lui Lucifer și Copii lui Neptun* ». *Incursiune în literatura apologetico-polemică anti-islamică din perioada grecească premodernă (sec. XVI–XVIII)*, 9 mars 2021.
- Radu G. Păun (CNRS, EHESS – Paris), *Numele timpului. Despre rosturile listelor de monarhi în manuscrisele grecești postbizantine*, 16 mars 2021.
- Daniel Cain, *Destine din vremea Marelui Război : neamul Drăgeștilor*, 5 april 2021.
- Lia Chisacof, *Literatura secolului al XVIII-lea românesc îmbogățită cu achiziții noi în segmentul de limbă greacă*, 13 april 2021.
- Ioana Feodorov, *Ouăle de struț, de la Deșertul Nitriei la mănăstirile bucovinene*, 11 mai 2021.
- Viorel Panaite, *Documente otomane despre negustori francezi, mărfuri și taxe în Mediterana Orientală (sfârșit de secolul XVI – început de secol XVII)*, 18 mai 2021.
- Andrei Pippidi, *Lumea de alături în viziunea lui N. Iorga*, 8 juin 2021.
- Reine-Marie Bérard (CNRS, Aix Marseille Université, Centre Camille Jullian UMR 7299), *Les nécropoles archaïques de Mégara Hyblaea (Sicile) : étude archéothanatologique*, 29 juin 2021.
- Ioana Feodorov, ERC Advanced Grant – ISSEE : Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. TYPARABIC, 19 oct. 2021.
- Vera Tchentsova, ERC Advanced Grant – ISSEE : Early Arabic Printing for the Arab Christians. TYPARABIC, *L'exil pour dernière demeure : métropole Dosithée (Dosoŭtei) Barilă à Stryi*, 2 nov. 2021.
- Ștefan Dorondel, *Stat, comunități și natură la Dunărea de Jos : O istorie a insulelor dunărene (1830–2020)*, 16 nov. 2021.
- Sergiu Iosipescu (ISPAIM), *Revoluția română din 1821–1822. Izvoare și interpretări / Lia Chisacof (ISSEE), *Ecouri contemporane de expresie engleză ale revoluției române din 1821*, 21 déc. 2021.*

La Société Roumaine d'Études Byzantines, qui a son siège dans l'ISSEE, a continué sa série de conférences mensuelles (en ligne) :

- Alin Suci (Helsinki), *Corpusul ascetic al lui Ștefan Tebanul : context istoric și dosare de texte*, 26 janv. 2021.
- Andrei Prohin (Institute of History, Chișinău), « *Mica eshatologie* » în *cronografele bizantine din Moldova și Țara Românească (sec. XVI–XVII)*, 23 févr. 2021.
- Vlad Bedros – Andrei Dumitrescu (NEC), *Retorica imperială în Moldova : surse liturgice inedite și contexte iconografice (cca. 1480–1530)*, 20 april 2021.
- Adrian C. Pirtea (University of Vienna), *Bizanțul în Asia Centrală: Manuscrisele din Turfan și cultul Maicii Domnului în Orientul creștin*, 25 mai 2021.
- Ovidiu Sferlea (University of Oradea), « *...neîncetând vreodată să tindă spre cele dinainte și uitându-le pe cele dinapoi* ». *Pentru o tradiție a epectazei în teologia patristă și bizantină*, 15 iunie 2021.
- Maria-Lucia Goiană (Viena), *Viață monastică și poezie în Constantinopol în secolele VIII–IX : Opera iconografică a Sfântului Teodor Studitul (759–826)*, 26 oct. 2021.
- Dan Batovici (KU Leuven), « *Clement către Corinteni* »: *epistole, pseudoepigrafie și tradiții manuscrise*, 23 nov. 2021.
- Elena N. Boeck (Univ. Chicago), *A Singular Monument: Justinian's Bronze Horseman and Its Global Reach*, 14 déc. 2021.

VII. ACTIVITÉ DIDACTIQUE

Trois chercheurs de l'Institut donnent aussi des cours à la Faculté d'Histoire de l'Université de Bucarest : Daniel Cain a tenu un cours sur *Conflits ethniques et religieux dans les Balkans (XIX^e–XX^e siècles)*. Cristina Codarcea a donné le cours méthodologique d'*Anthropologie des Balkans*. Viorel Panaite a tenu des cours de licence (*Histoire de l'Empire ottoman et des peuples de l'Europe du Sud-Est ; Islam et Sud-Est de l'Europe au seuil de l'époque moderne ; Langue turque ottomane ;*

Paléographie ottomane), de master (*Langage islamique de la paix et de la guerre*) et un cours pour les étudiants en doctorat (*À propos des archives, des bibliothèques, des livres rares et des documents. De la recherche classique à l'ère de l'internet*).

À la Faculté des Langues et Littératures étrangères de l'Université de Bucarest Simona Nicolae a donné des cours et des séminaires concernant la morphologie du verbe grec et la littérature grecque pendant les périodes impériale, préclassique et classique. Elle a tenu aussi des cours pratiques de byzantinologie et a dirigé des travaux de licences. À la même Faculté, Andrei Timotin et Marilena Vlad ont tenu des cours dans le Programme de Master *Études religieuses - Textes et traditions*.

Andrei Timotin a donné aussi des cours à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études de Paris dans les programmes de master et doctorat.

Ștefan Dorondel a tenu le cours *Écoles et tendances en anthropologie culturelle* à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bucarest.

À la Faculté de Sciences Politiques, Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi a donné des cours de licence (*Politique et gouvernement en Roumanie, XIX^e-XX^e siècles, Histoire des Roms en Roumanie, Histoire de l'assistance sociale roumaine*) et de master (*Pauvreté et exclusion sociale*). À la même faculté, Florin Țurcanu a donné des cours et des séminaires au niveau de licence et de master.

Mihai Mitrea a tenu des cours et des séminaires à la Faculté de théologie orthodoxe de l'Université Babeș-Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca (*Langue grecque ancienne ; Histoire et spiritualité de Byzance*) et au Centre de recherche œcuménique de Sibiu (cours de *Langue grecque ancienne*).

Mihail-George Hâncu a donné des cours de vieux slave à l'Institut de linguistique „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” de l'Académie Roumaine et à l'École „Dan Slușanschi” de Langues classiques et orientales, organisée par le Centre de recherche œcuménique de Sibiu.

Oana Uță a donné des cours d'histoire de la langue roumaine (*History and Structure of Romanian, Paper XII lectures: Early Influences on Romanian – the Greek and the Balkan Sprachbund (linguistic union) ; Diatopic Variation and the Study of Regional Romanian : phonetics, phonology, and morphology ; Diatopic Variation and the Study of Regional Romanian: morphology and syntax*) et des cours pratiques de langue roumaine à l'Université d'Oxford.

À l'École d'été d'architecture et de sciences humaines de Bunești (Mălureni, Argeș), Petre Guran a tenu la série de conférences *Cortul sanctuar : arhetipuri istorice*.

Cours de langues balkaniques et orientales

L'ISSEE a continué à organiser des cours de langues balkaniques et orientales notamment pour les chercheurs et les étudiants en doctorat (en ligne).

- Cătălina Vătășescu a donné des cours de langue albanais (plusieurs niveaux) ;
- Lia Chisacof et Ștefan Petrescu ont tenu des cours de langue néo-grecque (2 niveaux) ;
- Elena Siupiur a donné un cours de langue bulgare ;
- Mihail-George Hâncu a tenu les cours de langue serbe et vieux slave ;
- Radu Dîpratu Siupiur a donné un cours pratique de langue turque ottomane ;
- Ioana Feodorov a tenu le cours de langue arabe.

Direction de thèses

Deux membres de l'Institut dirigent des thèses de doctorat dans le cadre de l'École doctorale de l'Académie Roumaine (SCOSAAR): Lia Chisacof (2 doctorants) et Ioana Feodorov (1 doctorant).

Quatre autres chercheurs de l'ISSEE dirigent des thèses de doctorat à l'Université de Bucarest: Viorel Panaite, Andrei Pippidi et Andrei Timotin à la Faculté d'Histoire et Florin Țurcanu à la Faculté de Sciences Politiques.

Virginia Blînda

Livres reçus

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