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Political, Social and Religious Dynamics in South-Eastern Europe
Dynamiques politiques, sociales et religieuses dans le Sud-Est européen

ABSTRACTS

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Religious Dynamics between the Pontos Euxeinos and the Aegean Sea in Antiquity / Dynamiques religieuses entre le Pont-Euxin et la mer Egée dans l'Antiquité

Convenors: Vasilica Lungu, Adrian Robu

Lucio Maria Valletta (EPHE-PSL, Paris)
Entre Laconie et Colchide : l'expédition du navire Argos à l'origine des Minyens de Sparte

Pour ce qui concerne l'origine des Minyens et les circonstances qui les emmenaient à Sparte, le récit d'Hérodote (Hdt. IV 145-48) nous fournit aussi aucuns détails intéressants, tels que le remarque que, selon les Minyens, Lacédémone était « le pays de leur pères ». Ce précis nous invite à comprendre si, effectivement, on a des éléments qui nous expliquent cette affirmation, en nous clarifiant aussi quel était le rôle des Minyens dans la civilisation de Sparte. D'après Pindare (Pind. *Pyth*. IV 33b-49), en fait, nous apprenons que la terre d'origine d'Euphamos (qui est dit fils de Poséidon) était précisément celle « sainte ville de Ténare » qu'encore à l'époque de Pausanias (Paus. III 25, 4-8) était le siège du sanctuaire de Poséidon le plus important de la Laconie, mais que (Pind. *Pyth*. IV 67-ss) en tout cas la *racine* des Minyens se lie avec l'entreprise des Argonautes, qui étaient partie d'Iolcos en Thessalie – ce qui serait cohérent aussi avec le témoignage d'Hérodote. Donc, importante ici serait précisément la race des Minyens qui suit Jason dans son entreprise (et qui donne origine aux Minyens des époques suivantes à la suite de tous pérégrinations les événements qui les intéressent) et non plus ceux qui restent dans la Laconie méridionale près la cité de Ténare, la mémoire desquels alla être effacée pendant les âges obscurs. D'après ces prémisses, ma communication vise à éclaircir les caractéristiques de la présence des Minyens à Sparte à l'époque archaïque, dans le cadre d'une culture qui à cette époque-là partageait plusieurs traits avec celle des régions de la Grèce du Proche-Orient.

Panagiota Avgerinou (Archaeological Museum of Megara)
The worship of Demeter in ancient town of Megara in West Attica, Greece

Pausanias (I 39,4-5) reveals that, according to the locals, the city of Megara received its present name in the time of Car, the first king of this land. It was then that the people erected the first sanctuary for Demeter's worship. They called their city Megara as was the customary term for the subterranean buildings and the pits connected with the celebration of Thesmophoria, a

religious festival, held in honor of the goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone.

Although the term *megaron* it is widely known as a large hall in a Mycenaean palace, in ancient literary sources it is attested that the word *megaron* or *magaron* had a wider meaning connecting with the subterranean cultic buildings of Demeter and Persephone and with the pits in which sacrifice was deposited during the religious rites. Besides, it has been connected with the verb *megarize* that means performing the chamber rites of Thesmophoria. In the modern town of Megara, rescue excavations have discovered remains of underground chambers named *hypogeums*. These are supposed to provide the archaeological evidence of the existence of megara in the context of individual chthonic structures for depositing offerings to deities inhabiting the underworld. More than one hundred of such built enclosed spaces beneath the surface have been unearthed up to the present day, some in an excellent state of preservation, in spite of the continuous habitation of the town. They had been structured deep in the virgin soil self-contained and freestanding, windowless and without façade aside of a road or on an open space. They vary in size and plan, being rectangular, irregular and trapezoidal. The ceramics found in the fill of the hypogeums are dated to the end of the 5th century until the middle of the 1st century BC. The deposits contained cooking ware, lekanae, chytrae, jugs, bowls of daily use and fragmentary amphorae of normal size, stone and clay mortars alongside a good number of black ware echinus balls, skyphoi, cups, kantharoi, plates. Also West Slope ware, moldmade bowls and unguentaria of standard gray fabric are usual findings. Apart from the ceramics, a variety of clay loomweights, stone tools, terracotta figurines, bronze coins as well as animal bones, are prevailed findings.

The purpose of this article is to prove that these isolated subterranean constructions occurred in relation to cosmological beliefs concerning chthonic deities who would give the owners good crop, plenty and wealth.

Stella Dreni (Archaeological Museum of Megara)
Religious Interrelations between the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea: The Numismatic Evidence and the Economy of Religion

Religion has always been the cornerstone of social and political life in all human history, while at the same time the distance between sites of religious importance seems to have scarcely hindered pilgrims to fulfill their promises. In cases of need, danger, happiness, or even obligation, by chance or purpose people travelling from one place to the other leave their trace in the sanctuaries.

Either travelers, or merchants, sailors, pilgrims, or even accidental visitors in remotely located or highly recognized and well-known religious areas, sanctuaries, temples, oracles etc. people always find the need to leave behind a small or larger sample of their gratitude towards the ever protecting deities. Coins, either of small or bigger value, have proven to be very important informants of these relations, though not only through their circulation. It is well known the effect the large and famous sanctuaries had both on political and social developments and the economy. In this study there will be presented the information provided by the coin circulation in religious sites in the Black Sea and the Aegean, indicating both the currency travelling for religious reasons, and the mutual influences in the formation of religious models, aspects and ideas.

Alexandar Portalsky (South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad)
Topoi of faith from Southeastern Europe and their parallels in northwest Anatolia. Sites of cultural and historical heritage in the context of the Palaeobalkan-Westanatolian community

This text looks at similar *topoi* of faith on the territory of Bulgaria, Greece and European Turkey in the light of their Asia Minor parallels. These examples complement the amplifying of an existing Palaeobalkan-Westanatolian community in the period from the (conditionally) late Bronze Age to the late antiquity, and its reflections can be captured in the Middle Ages. Examples include cave sanctuaries, open air sanctuaries, venerated natural sites, and the terms for naming them and the possibilities for interpretation as well. This parallelism can help wider interpretation of sites in Romania and Serbia. These are good examples of national and common cultural heritage of Southeast Europe.

Adrian Robu (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
Communautés cultuelles et transferts religieux entre l'Egée et le Pont-Euxin : l'exemple des colonies mégariennes

Ma communication porte sur la place des transferts religieux dans la création des panthéons des cités du Pont-Euxin et sur les parentés cultuelles existant entre Mégare et ses colonies (*apoikiai*). J'envisage de reconstituer dans ce cadre l'ensemble des traditions religieuses que l'on peut qualifier d'ancienne origine mégarienne et les différentes formes dont les coutumes de la métropole ont évolué dans les colonies. On peut inclure dans la liste des « cultes mégariens »

attestés dans les cités pontiques : Apollon *Pythaios* à Chalcédoine, Artémis *Orthosia* à Byzance, Déméter *Malophoros* à Mésambria, Dionysos *Patrôos*, Dionysos *Dasyllios*, Dionysos *Bakcheus* à Callatis.

Mais outre ce « noyau mégarien », on voit apparaître dans les colonies des réalités cultuelles appartenant à des traditions et des réseaux différents, pour lesquels plusieurs horizons d'interprétation peuvent être proposés. Dès lors, il faut élargir la comparaison à d'autres cités du monde égéen et étudier les liens cultuels des colonies en dehors des relations privilégiées avec la métropole. En effet, les colonies ont des contacts avec plusieurs cités et centres religieux du monde égéen (Delphes, Délos, Samothrace, Ilion, Athènes, Cos). La circulation des savoirs et des transferts religieux entre cités doit être étudiée dans un cadre plus large, égéen et pontique à la fois, afin que l'on puisse comprendre l'organisation des panthéons des colonies.

Je m'intéresse également dans ma communication aux acteurs qui construisent le discours identitaire dans les cités : les poètes, les historiens locaux, les représentants des grandes familles, les magistrats de la cité. Détenteurs d'un art spécifique ou d'une *archè*, ceux-ci contribuèrent à la création de l'identité cultuelle et civique des cités.

Yannis Chairetakis (Ephorate of Antiquities of Chania)
Clay vessels and magical rituals. From the Aegean Sea to the Pontos Euxeinos

Magical rituals are common practice all over the ancient world. In the last decades, many defixiones especially on lead tablets have been uncovered, increasing our knowledge on magic in classical antiquity. Alongside, some clay vessels bear inscriptions related to magical texts. Greece (Attica and Euboea), Bulgaria (Apollonia), and Ukraine (Olbia) are places where intact and inscribed vessels (skyphoi, cups, bowls) or lamps have been found, revealing that magical practices are more complex than we usually think. Furthermore, these items unveil the different ways magic is practiced. Some new questions arise. Why did people decide to use intact clay vessels? Can we infer the rituals? In this presentation we will try to answer these questions, setting the basis for further discussion.

Iulian Bîrzescu ("Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology, Bucharest)
Non-Ionic Archaic inscriptions from Histria and their context

In my paper I will discuss four Archaic inscriptions (three graffiti and one stone inscription), discovered in Histria and Tariverde many decades ago. These show a different alphabet than the typical Ionic one, that was very often documented for the Milesian apoikia. Discoveries of such inscriptions in an Ionian milieu are well attested for the Archaic period, in Ionia, Black Sea (Olbia, Apollonia, etc) or other areas, where the Ionian founded settlements or sanctuaries (Gravisca in Etruria, Naukratis in Egypt). For every case it is the local context, that can explain the appearance of such finds. In Histria these inscriptions were found in the main sanctuary of the city, the so-called sacred area, in secondary places, but originating from the sanctuary, and in domestic contexts, one being from a settlement in the territory. The paper will focus mainly on the non-Ionian inscriptions from Archaic sanctuaries, in order to better understand the Histrian context.

Vasilica Lungu (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
L'archéologie au service de l'étude de la religion grecque. Les autels et les foyers sacrificiels dans les nécropoles grecques ouest pontiques

Dans l'une de ses lettres rédigées durant l'année 355, le futur empereur Julien (361-363) présente ses impressions vécues lors de la visite des monuments antiques dispersés aux champs de Troie aux IVᵉ s., sur l'emplacement de l'antique Ilion. Il rencontre un épisode de ce pèlerinage, fort emblématique pour sa carrière, celui passé devant les tombeaux de deux héros homériques. Guidé par Pégase, l'évêque de la ville, le prince voit premièrement la tombe d'Achille, située sur la ville côtière d'Achilleion, qui était encore entretenue avec beaucoup de soin, et il s'incline devant la sépulture. Son guide l'amène après au tombeau d'Hector à Troie. « *Là* – raconte Julien – *comme je m'aperçus que le feu brulait presque les autels et qu'on venait à peine de l'éteindre, que la statue d'Hector était encore toute brillante de parfumes qu'on y avait versés, je dis, les yeux fixés sur Pégase : Eh quoi ! les habitants d'Ilion font donc sacrifices !* ». Son guide lui répondit « *Qu'y a-t-il d'étonnant qu'ils adorent le souvenir d'un grand homme, qui était leur concitoyen, comme nous faisons pour nos martyrs ?* ».

     La réponse de Pégase, fournie par Julien, ne manque pas d'intérêt pour l'archéologie pontique autant que les tombes des « grands hommes » de la nécropole grecque archaïque d'Orgamé reçoivent des offrandes et comportent des traces des sacrifices jusqu'à l'époque romaine. Ceux-ci ne relèveraient

toutefois pas – à notre avis – d'une tentative de rétablir le paganisme et l'hellénisme qui sont manifestement supplantés par le christianisme, mais d'honorer la mémoire des héros enterrés plusieurs siècles avant près de la porte de leur cité.

Cette présentation essaie d'engager une analyse interdisciplinaire sur l'évidence archéologique existante et de formuler les hypothèses qui se dégagent ; de confronter les données archéologiques avec les sources littéraires et l'iconographie céramique au sujets des religieux ; de suggérer des interrogations sur l'importance des héros historiques et des héros mythiques – voir le héros fondateur d'Orgame *versus* Achilles de Leuke – dans l'établissement des *chorai* de grandes villes d'Istros et d'Olbia.

Une telle démarche exige une réflexion sur les découvertes encore non publiées pour une large partie d'entre elles. Elles offrent une problématique questionnable, fondamentale pour cette présentation.

Aleksandra Nikoloska (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Skopje)
Religious dynamism behind an image: The development of the iconography of Cybele

The cult of Cybele has a long history of development on the territory of Asia Minor, especially in Phrygia, Lydia, and Troad. The Hellenes during their colonisation in the 8th century BC came across this cult and continued with the worship which was actually a continuation of their Creto-Mycenaean tradition of worshiping the Great Mother. They spread the cult further throughout the region of the Marble and the Black Sea, in important centres such as Cyzicus, Olbia, Tomis and Dionysopolis. In this paper we follow the development of the iconography of Cybele and some aspects of the cult and elements of different cultures that can be recognised behind the image of this goddess.

Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Skopje)
Pont-Euxin, la Macédoine et l'Orient – les relations religieuses

Le présent article indiquera les routes de pénétration des croyances orientales qui rayonnent d'une part à travers et à partir de l'Asie Mineure vers l'espace égéen, vers la Macédoine. D'autre part, ces phénomènes de culte se propagent, à travers les Balkans orientaux, vers la côte occidentale et septentrionale de la mer Noire. Les commerçants et les immigrés, qui ne sont pas toujours originaires du même territoire, véhiculent ces phénomènes qui sont

accompagnés de manifestations dans le domaine de la culture matérielle (artisanat, circulation de monnaies et rites funéraires). Le tout peut être défini comme une koinè culturelle de la région plus large.

Alina Streinu, Dan Pîrvulescu (Bucharest Municipality Museum)
Of Gods and men. Roman artefacts for rite and magic from the Maria and dr. George Severeanu collection

The presentation aims to paint the picture of an aspect in the daily life of the Romans, related to the rich pagan religion and popular beliefs and superstitions. It is underlined by several artefacts that were used to perform religious rites and by small objects meant to attract good fortune and favour of the gods, held in the *Maria and dr. George Severeanu* collection (Bucharest). The religious artefacts consist of a *patera* dish and two handles from two other vessels, both decorated with meaningful symbols, the head of Medusa and a ram's referencing the Golden Fleece. Another term for a smaller, similar vessel is *patella,* also a small bowl with one handle, mentioned by Varro, who said that this particular item was used for household rituals, and by Ovid, who notes their role in honouring the goddess Vesta and the Lars. The libations were part of the ritual practices performed in both, public and domestic, environments. The people in charge of performing them were priests or priestesses, magistrates and the emperor or his wife. The *paterae* are frequently represented in various forms in the iconography of different fields, from architecture to coins, emphasizing their role in the Roman religion.

The other type of artefacts can be referred to as amulets with representations of the Gorgon Medusa, popular in both Greek and Roman cultures and related to the rich mythology behind it. Among other items involved in this study, the phallic pendants are known to have been favoured by Roman soldiers; they are also worn by young boys up to the age of puberty. It was thought that these symbols were repellents of evil, which is why they were also discovered in other contexts and associated with various deities, for instance, Mercury and, through him, with commercial activities. It seems that practices related to a fertility cult and *Liber pater* were so popular and indecent, according to Christian morals, that even Saint Augustine recalls a procession, indicating how such practices were embedded in the early Roman society. Part of these practices are taken over from the Greek culture, while some are novel; some were performed in public and some in private life, but all were deeply rooted in the Roman's system of beliefs and thought to affect each step in life.

Alexandru Barnea (Université de Bucarest / Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan »)
Présences égyptiennes au Bas-Danube à l'époque du Bas-Empire

On présente premièrement quelques découvertes épigraphiques en grec, parmi lesquelles se trouve l'inscription funéraire d'un marchand de vins d'Alexandrie. Parmi les autres vestiges il faut remarquer la porte en pierre d'un tombeau avec quatre images en relief spécifiques pour l'Egypte et des pièces céramiques de la même origine.

Elena Gritti (University of Bergamo)
Gaudentius' travel towards Constantinople (Pall. dial. 3,133 - 4,28) : a Brixiensis bishop along the sea between the Aegean Sea and Pontus Euxeinos on behalf of theologian bishop Iohannes Chrysostomus

In the year 406 AD, Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia (nowadays Brescia, in north Italy), took part in an embassy with other four italians bishops, two priests and a diacon. They were sent towards Constantinople by Emperor Honorius and Pope Innocentius I, in order to meet Arcadius, Emperor's brother, ruler of the eastern part of Roman Empire, asking for a review of the Iohannes Chrysostomus' condemnation. Chrysostomus, Archbishop of Constantinople in 397 AD, developed a lot of struggles against Arians and was really strict against of abuse of authority by both ecclesiastical and political leaders; so Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, and Eudoxia, wife of Emperor Arcadius, were able to condemn him to exile in Armenia then on the bank to Pontus Euxeinos. Palladius, a monk, disciple and hagiographer of Iohannes Chrysostomus, wrote a dialogue about the life of his spiritual teacher, where he described different stages of western religious men's travel. They were stopped by army officers before Thessalonica (nowadays Salonicco, in Greece), not long after they were allowed to sail along the Aegean Sea. Nevertheless they were not able to reach Pontus
Euxeinos without having sustained a lot of imprisonments: «Κατεσχέθησεν παραπλέοντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀθήναζε ὑπὸ χιλιάρχου τινὸς δυστήνου, ὃς ἐξαυστῆς συνέζευξεν ἡμῖν ἑκατοντάρχην ἕνα, μὴ συγχωρήσας ἡμῖν παραβαλεῖν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ [...] Ἐμβαλὼν οὖν ἡμᾶς, φησίν, εἰς δύο πλοῖα ἐξέπεμψεν · ἐπιγενομένου δὲ βιαίου νότου, ἄσιτοι διὰ τριῶν διαπλεύσαντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν Αἰγαίωνα πέλαγος καὶ τὰ στενά, δωδεκάτην ὥραν τῇ τρίτῃ ὡρμήσαμεν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πλησίον τῶν Βίκτορος προαιστείων · ἐν ᾧ κατασχεθέντες τόπῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς λιμένας πραττόντων, ἀπήλθομεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω [...] καὶ

συγκλεισθέντες εἰς φρούριον τῆς Θρᾴκης παραθαλάσσιον, Ἀθύραν καλούμενον […]» (Pall. dial. 4,16-28). Ambassadors failed their aim and they had to come back to Italy, Chrysostomus was exiled, however he kept alive the correspondence with bishop Gaudentius and the western Church.

Svetlana Stoyanova Gancheva (Silistra Regional Museum of History)
Topography of Durostorum through the Principate and Late Antiquity

Around the topography of Durostorum, the headquarters of a legion and an important administrative, political, cultural and spiritual center, there are a number of unexplained problems that still have not got its final answer. The camp and the two civilian settlements built around it formed a kind of organism, each with its own development and at the same time interrelated.

In the recent years the archaeological excavations (Silistra and Ostrov) have complemented the picture and led to new facts. Within the boundaries of the legion camp parts of new buildings have been explored, as the excavations have shown that the territory of the Canabae was bigger than the one supposed so far, moreover at the end of the III, the beginning of IV century they were fortified. Along with the camp and the castle built on the Danube bank, the Canabae were also a reinforcing point.

Irini Svana (Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica)
Sacred trees and plants in ancient Greek religion and worship

Trees, fruits, herbs and crops are highly associated with the divine presence in ancient Greek religion. According to mythology, the goddess Hera was born under the sacred lygos on Samos, while Apollo and Artemis were born under the sacred palm tree of Delos. Demeter taught humanity the cultivation of cereals and Athena gave them the olive tree. Zeus, the father of gods and humans was predicting the future through the rustling leaves of the sacred oak in Dodona.

This presentation aims to highlight the role of plants and trees in ancient Greek religion, during the Classical Antiquity. Ancient myths and archaeological findings from ancient sanctuaries in the eastern Mediterranean will be the basis of this discussion. It will be reference to specific ancient cults, where sacred trees or plants play a key role in worship and cult practice. Furthermore, it's worth mentioning that many of these traditions travelled to the Black Sea during the Greek Colonization.

The Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium
and South-Eastern Europe / La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à Byzance
et dans le Sud-Est européen
Convenors: Ivan Biliarsky, Andrei Timotin

Andrei Timotin (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
La rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir à l'époque méso-byzantine : quelques réflexions

À partir de l'étude des chroniques et des textes hagiographiques méso-byzantins, on explore l'évolution de la rhétorique religieuse à Byzance à cette époque en relation avec la prolifération significative des pôles de pouvoir et de leur rayonnement dans la compétition sociale et politique.

Florin Filimon (University of Münster)
On holy men and imperial decision-making: hagiography, narrative strategies, and rhetoric of power

It may seem futile to state that nothing would enhance more the spiritual magnitude of the saint's *Life* then showing the holy man making use of his dioratic gifts for advising the imperial person. However, once such decision-making episodes are acquitted of merely embodying a *topos*, they are material worth examining for a wide range of purposes. The present inquiry seeks to answer to a series of research questions. How does the hagiographer construct the decision-making instance that is to prove the hero's spiritual prowess? Is the semantic of decision-making instrumental? Is the monk's intervention urgent? Which role does physical immediacy play – does the hero need to be in the emperor's proximity in order to address his advice? Does the emperor seek to objectify (not pejoratively connoted) the monk by keeping him in his close entourage? In search for answers, the paper analyzes such decision-making micro-narratives included within several *Lives* dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.

Thomas Daiber (Institut für Slavistik, Justus-Liebig-Universität, Gießen)
Allegory and Genealogy in Arguments with Jews in the 9th c. The Case of Vita Constantini-Cyrilli

While the rhetoric of power may take on diverse shapes, from open threat to indirect suggestion of superiority, religious rhetoric of power is additionally concerned with the transcendental legitimization of dominant behaviour. To serve the need for legitimization often quotations from culturally authoritative texts like the Bible or the Talmud are used as basic, sometimes as self-evident arguments. In the case of the Life of Saint Constantine-Cyril, the disputes with the Muslims and above all the disputes with the Khazars reveal much of this strategy. These disputes seem to have been more an object of studying linguistic features, than their philosophical and theological content. The paper will outline the logic of the course of the arguments and the priority of allegorical to metaphorical exegetical reading, point to the specific Hellenistic background not only of the Byzantine ambassador, but also of his Jewish interlocutors, clarify an argument, which until now is treated as a "locus obscurus", and underlines the importance of genealogy for the rhetoric of extending geopolitical power by framing the concept of genealogy with considerations about time and changeability in the Middle Ages.

Adrian Pirtea (Freie Universität Berlin)
The Power of Books. Arethas of Caesarea as a Scholar and Manuscript Collector

This paper discusses the career and scholarly interests of the erudite archbishop and collector Arethas of Caesarea (c. 860-930 AD) in the socio-political context of the early Macedonian period. Arethas is well known to scholars as a scholiast (e.g. to Aristotle's Organon) and as the owner/commissioner of very important Greek manuscripts of Plato, Euclid, as well as other works of Classical Antiquity. However, what has been less studied is the way in which Arethas' library and interests fit in, reflect, and respond to the larger cultural, religious, social and political issues of the Byzantine Empire of his day. How does, for instance, Arethas' knowledge of classical Greco-Roman philosophy, science, and literature bolster his standing as a clergyman and political actor at the Macedonian court? To what extent is this secular knowledge reflected on a rhetorical level in Arethas' own writings and how does it relate to his religious culture? As a relevant case study, my paper will focus on Arethas' largely ignored *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and on the possible reasons and motivation behind its composition.

Mihail Mitrea (Newcastle University)
Spiritual and imperial authority in the hagiographical works of Philotheos Kokkinos

Philotheos Kokkinos' *lives* of contemporary saints – dedicated to Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas (Tziskos) the Younger, Germanos Maroules, Isidore Boucheir, and Gregory Palamas – sought to shape and were shaped by the political and theological disputes of fourteenth-century Byzantium, especially those surrounding hesychasm. In Kokkinos' hands, hagiography turned into a versatile tool for promoting not only his contemporary saintly figures and hesychast theology, but also his own personal, political, and ecclesiastical agenda. At the same time, his *lives* of contemporary saints offer valuable material for the study of literary and hagiographic depictions of imperial power and the relation between the imperial office and ecclesiastical and spiritual authority. Throughout his *vitae*, Kokkinos praises imperial figures in customary fashion, even penning almost hagiographical portraits for some of them, while subtly criticizing others, and revealing his personal political inclinations. This paper investigates Kokkinos' depictions of late-Byzantine imperial figures and the power dynamics conveyed in their interactions with their contemporary holy men, reflecting on possible motivations behind these portrayals. It will focus particularly on Kokkinos' account of the encounter between Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos and the renowned holy man Sabas the Younger in early February 1347, during which the emperor's authority fails to overturn the holy man's stubborn refusal to accept the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Particularly interesting is Kokkinos' emphasis on the gesture of holding hands between the emperor and the holy man. As I argue, this account sheds light on Kokkinos' view on the relationship between *basileia* and *ekklesia* in late Byzantium.

Simona Nicolae (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
L'Empire des hommes agonise ; vive l'Empire des Cieux ! P*olitique et religion dans les écrits de Manuel Paléologue*

L'ouvrage proposé explore la rhétorique des textes de l'empereur byzantin Manuel Paléologue, pour déchiffrer « les signes du temps » et les symboles archétypaux du pouvoir impérial. On se penche sur les discours éthico-politiques du basileus et sur la correspondance avec Démétrios Cydonès, pour apercevoir la réalité politique byzantine, laïque et religieuse, au-delà de la stratégie discursive de l'empereur philosophe. La nature et la consistance du

pouvoir, un demi-siècle avant la chute de Constantinople, se dessine d'une manière subjective sous la plume du basileus, *ergo* on se demande quel est le vêtement qui laisse saisir de plus le contexte et la signification du moment historique : la lettre, en tant que manifestation [presque] libre de soi-même, ou le discours, l'expression mesurée de la dignité impériale ?

Tudor Teoteoi (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest, émérite)
*Les qualités du souverain orthodoxe, vues à travers l'*Histoire *de Jean VI Cantacuzène et les Chroniques slavo-roumains*

En s'agissant de la rhétorique religieuse du pouvoir, il y a une remarquable similitude des grandes idées directrices qu'on pourrait déceler à la lecture des plus différentes catégories des créations littéraires du Moyen Âge. Cette constatation vaut d'autant plus pour le cas du monde byzantin et post-byzantin, marqué par le grand nombre et la longue durée des permanences historiques.

Un autre intérêt à part d'une telle approche réside dans ses vertus comparatistes, grâce auxquelles on serait en mesure de juxtaposer des textes historiques d'étendue et de portée assez différentes, comme les Mémoires de l'ex-empereur Jean Cantacuzène, véritable Histoire fleuve de grandes dimensions, d'un côté, et les Chroniques slavo-roumaines de l'autre côté, genre historique dans lequel nous voyons une continuation des chroniques brèves byzantines.

En dépit de cette différence fondamentale de forme, nous ne serions pas par-trop surpris d'extraire un nombre considérable de ressemblances quant aux idées soulignées par ces textes, qu'on pourrait suivre de façon assez systématique.

La première idée concerne le souverain fidèle à la confession orthodoxe et défenseur de celle-ci. Selon les paroles de son grand allié, le patriarche Philothée Kokkinos, Jean VI Cantacuzène « se vantait avec l'orthodoxie et les dogmes apostoliques et ancestrales de celle-ci, en bien plus grande mesure qu'avec la pourpre et la couronne impériale ». À l'instar de Constantin le Grand, qui a présidé le Premier concile œcuménique, le même Cantacuzène s'est fait représenter en tant que président du synode de 1351, qui a consacré la victoire du palamisme, dans une illustration qu'on trouve à l'intérieur du manuscrit Parisinus gr. 1242 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Dans le même sens, la Chronique slavo-roumaine d'Azarie n'oublie point de mentionner que Bogdan et Pierre, les fils du voïévode Alexandre Lăpușneanu, ont bénéficié d'une éducation spéciale, « tout en étant bien élevés et confiés à l'enseignement des livres et des doctrines de l'orthodoxie ».

Le souverain théologien n'a point besoin d'une argumentation à part, vue l'entière activité de Jean Cantacuzène, qui a assuré le triomphe de l'hésychasme palamite et l'a défendu plus tard par sa qualité de moine orthodoxe, ainsi que par sa part prise au cadre des négociations engagées en vue d'un nouvel concile œcuménique, par ses écrits épistolaires adressés aux prélats catholiques, tels que le légal papal Paul, future patriarche latin de Constantinople. Suivant le chroniqueur Azarie de chez nous, « dans la quatrième année de son second règne, Alexandre Lăpușneanu a été atteint d'une grave maladie, et en se rendant compte que sa vie approche sa fin, il a convoqué les hiérarques de l'Église et les prêtres, de même que tous ses dignitaires, en leur donnant plusieurs enseignements divins nécessaires à la sauvegarde de l'âme, tout en confiant le sceptre de l'unique et seul gouvernement – on donne ainsi l'impression qu'il s'agirait d'Eusèbe de Césarée qui parlait d'un seul Dieu dans le Ciel et d'un seul et unique empereur sur la Terre – à son fils Bogdan ».

D'ici surgissent les dimensions universelles et œcuméniques d'un souverain orthodoxe, soit qu'il s'agisse d'un empereur, ou d'un souverain portant un titre bien inférieur à celui-ci. En quatrième lieu, un cérémonial à part doit confirmer ces dimensions. La protection du clergé orthodoxe et des Lieux Saints de l'orthodoxie suit en cinquième lieu comme un corolaire tout-à-fait nécessaire. Enfin, le souverain protecteur de l'Église et des moines, qui va à la recherche de ces-derniers, et finalement aboutit lui-même à la condition monacale, peut couronner ce discours rhétorique, dont la mission est de légitimer l'essence divine et éternelle d'un pouvoir donné par Dieu, envers qui celui qui l'exerce est bien responsable.

Andrei Prohin (National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History, Chişinău)
The Sovereign's Dream as Historical Parable in the Byzantine Chronographs from the Romanian Principalities (15th-16th c.)

The chronographs of George Hamartolos and Constantine Manasses, known in several Slavonic-Romanian manuscripts from the 15-16th centuries, contain numerous accounts of miraculous dreams and visions that are frequently accompanied by future prophecies. As a form of prophetical revelation, dreams and visions bear several affinities with apocalyptic literature, by evoking the otherworld, as well as with the prophecies of charismatic monks, being privileged beneficiaries of divine revelations. Within chronographs, the prophetical dreams frequently announce the emperor's destiny – his birth,

ascension to throne, political carrier and death. Christian monarchs often dreamt divine characters (angels, prophets and saints), announcing future events and making moral comments. The prediction of the future thus mingled with the spiritual advice. Being separated from its original context, the sovereign's dream became a historical parable valid for centuries long, a source of spiritual lessons and an example of medieval historical thought.

Vladimir T. Vasilev (South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad)
The Emperor versus Barbarians: Military tactics in Early Byzantium

The text analyses the military treatises written by the Emperors from the 7th to the 9th centuries. The expose examines the way that the Byzantine emperors describe the barbarians in several tactics and strategies. The author is trying to make a parallel between the Christian and Barbarian neighbours of Byzantium and their perception from the Empire: what is the difference between these groups and how the Empire fights against these peoples? The main questions are two. The first one is whether it is important for the Byzantine emperor that the neighbouring belligerent may be a Christian or a pagan country? And the second – how does the Christianity justify the war against the other Christian people? This information will be derived from the *Strategikon* of Maurice, the *Tactica* and the *Problemata* of Leo VI the Wise, the *Sylloge Tacticorum* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the *Praecepta Militaria* of Nicephorus II Phokas, Nicephorus Uranus' *Tactica*, several Anonymous Chroniclers and others. The aim of the work is to present the attitudes of the above-mentioned authors toward the neighbouring Christian, Barbarian and pagan peoples.

Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić (Université de Belgrade, Faculté de Philosophie)
Le rituel liturgique et la rhétorique du pouvoir dans la Serbie médiévale

Dans la présente analyse, notre but est de mettre un accent particulier sur le cadre idéologique et liturgique dans lequel s'est effectué le rituel de couronnement des rois serbes. La deuxième partie de notre recherche est dédié au problème de l'établissement complexe de la mémoire officielle du sacre royal en tant qu'évènement formatif de l'histoire serbe.

Ivan Biliarsky (Institut de Recherches Historiques, Sofia)
La rhétorique du pouvoir dans l'œuvre littéraire du patriarche Euthymius de Tarnovgrade

La communication propose une revue de l'œuvre littéraire d'une des plus grandes figures de l'histoire, de la vie spirituelle et de la culture de Bulgarie et des Balkans à la basse époque médiévale : le Patriarche Euthymius. Ce prélat de l'Eglise bulgare vécut pendant une période dramatique pour la Chrétienté orientale. C'est le temps de la conquête ottomane de l'Anatolie et de l'Europe du sud-est ce qui provoqua de nécessité de l'aide militaire et financière de la part de l'Occident, étant venue avec l'aspiration d'Union de l'Orthodoxie avec le saint Siège de Rome. Cette situation incita une consolidation des Orthodoxes autour de l'Eglise ce qui refléta sur les idées du pouvoir : sacralisation de l'Etat et du souverain, interpénétration entre l'Etat et l'Eglise en ce qui concerne leur conception, leurs actions, leur désignation dans l'histoire et dans ce siècle.

En tant que représentant de cette époque, peut-être le plus important en Bulgarie, le Patriarche Euthymius exprimait ces idées dans ses ouvrages littéraires d'une manière la plus claire dans le cadre de la littérature bulgare de la période. Dans ma communication, j'essayerai de revoir les témoignages les plus représentatifs en ce sens. Il s'agit de la création d'un panthéon sacré du Second Empire bulgare par les vies des saints liés au pays, par les services divins et des panégyriques. Il s'agit aussi des textes qui menaient à la sacralisation (ou au moins à l'interprétation en cette direction) de l'espace de l'Etat et de la capitale, du pouvoir, des souverains et du peuple par les translations de reliques des saints. Toutes ces idées, révélées par un langage, basé sur les textes bibliques et compris à partir de la base de l'Ecriture Sainte, trouvaient leur place dans l'œuvre du saint Patriarche de Tărnovgrade et dominaient la pensée politique des Balkans durant cette époque.

Sashka Georgieva ((Institute for Historical Studies, Sofia)
Marriage Law and Diplomatic Marriages in Mediaeval Bulgaria

The paper focuses on the canonical marriage restrictions such as age, kinship, denomination etc. reflected in the law codes thought to have been used in mediaeval Bulgaria and on the diplomatic, mostly interdynastic, marriages concluded with the active participation of Bulgarian rulers in the Middle Ages. The aim is to find out to what extent laws were obeyed by the rulers when conducting their marital diplomacy. Obviously special attention is paid to those marriages which were contracted despite the prohibitions of laws and canons. The purpose is to reveal the political reasons that brought such marriages to life overpowering the law.

Ivelin Argirov Ivanov ("St. Cyril and St. Methodius" University, Veliko Tarnovo)
Looking south: The Bulgarian Medieval Policy Towards Constantinople and Thessaloniki (8th – 14th c.)

According to some researchers, control over at least two of the three most important strategic centres in the Balkans - Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Sofia - provides a real basis for dominating the peninsula. In this context, the author considers the politics of medieval Bulgarian rulers to Constantinople and Thessaloniki - two of the most significant cities in medieval Byzantium and Europe. Speaking to the written sources of the political aspirations and military campaigns of the Bulgarians against these two centuries during the 8th-14th century, the article analyses the political and military strategy in pursuing these undoubtedly ambitious goals. Although the story gives clear examples of political and military pressure on Bulgarian rulers, against Constantinople and Thessaloniki, the author puts forward the thesis of the Bulgarian aspirations for mastering Constantinople's critical analysis. Analysing the medieval Bulgarian-Byzantine, Balkar-Latin, Bulgarian-Epiric and Bulgarian-Nikean relations, the author seeks to answer the question of which of the two cities - Constantinople and Thessaloniki - can be defined as the main and realistic goal of the medieval Bulgarian rulers.

Marian Coman (Institute for History "N. Iorga" / University of Bucharest)
Political Theory and Biblical References in Wallachian Charters (late 15th c. – early 16th c.)

For its first one hundred years the Wallachian princely chancery proved rather unimaginative when it came to writing the *arenga*. In contrast to other diplomatic formulae that varied considerably throughout the same period, such as the *intitulatio* or the *subscriptio*, the *arenga* remained unchanged. In the early 1470s the lord of Wallachia was still using for his charters a formula coined by his grandfather's chancery, structured around four New Testament quotations (Romans 8:14 and 2:7, Matthew 25:34 and John 13:32). The dependability of the chancery scribes on this single formula was brought to an abrupt and spectacular end in the last decades of the century. The Wallachian charters started to be adorned with diverse and fanciful *arenga,* which drew on a considerably larger assortment of Biblical and Patristic references (such as Jews, Psalms, Ezekiel, Hosea, Sirach, Ephrem the Sirian). In this paper I aim to

explore the reasons behind this sudden change, focusing mostly on the choices of Biblical references and their meanings.

So far, Romanian historians have seemed rather uninterested in exploring this topic. Taking on the classic definition of the *arenga* provided by Arthur Giry, in his highly influential *Manuel de diplomatique*, historians such as Damian P. Bogdan or Gheorghe T. Ionescu viewed this formula as a simple literary ornament, with no relevance whatsoever to the actual content of the charter. To this day, the sole authoritative study on the topic remains the one written by the literary historian Gheorghe Mihăilă in 1970, in his introduction to the edition of *Neagoe Basarab's Teachings to His Son Theodosie*. However, Mihăilă focused narrowly on the similarities between the chancery documents and the mirror-of-prince text. My approach will be slightly different, as I am interested in the charters themselves and in the role played by the *arenga* in the articulation of a political discourse. My contention is that the Wallachian case study actually endorses and exemplifies Heinrich Fichtenau's claim that *the arenga are the places in which the political language of Old Europe was communicated.* A close analysis of the *arenga* will reveal significant differences between the political discourses of four rulers of Wallachia: Vlad the defrocked monk (1481-1495), Radu the excommunicated lord (1495-1508), Neagoe the contested usurper (1512-1521) and Radu the relentless warrior (1522-1529).

Radu G. Păun (Centre d'Étude des Mondes Russe, Caucasien et Centre-Européen, CNRS – EHESS, Paris)
Prince contre son gré. Le refus du pouvoir dans la tradition politique du monde orthodoxe

Dans la tradition politique moldo-valaque et, plus largement, dans celle byzantine et d'inspiration byzantine, le pouvoir terrestre découle de l'élection divine ; il est un don de Dieu par excellence. Ceci étant, les souverains et les hiérarques reçoivent leur mandat ou, au contraire, le perdent, « selon la volonté de Dieu ». Devant l'Éternel, l'homme ne peut rien, c'est toujours la « droite du Seigneur » qui le promeut à une dignité quelconque et qui l'abaisse en raison de ses péchés. Vu de cet angle, le choix divin apparaît comme irrécusable, car rien ne peut s'opposer au « Créateur des toutes choses ».

La présente communication se propose d'analyser un *topos* (littéraire ?, rituel ?) : le refus du pouvoir. Attestée pour la première fois par la *Vie* de Saint Niphôn, en référence à Neagoe Basarab (1512-1521), cette pratique a connu une assez longue histoire, qui va de Neagoe lui-même à Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714).

La question se pose s'il s'agit d'un rituel effectif ou bien d'une construction littéraire, inspirée, à ce qui semble, par les écrits hagiographiques.

Lidia Cotovanu (Institut d'Histoire « N. Iorga », Bucarest)
« Les deux corps » du prince Matei Basarab (1632-1654) et la question de l'autonomie des laures princières de Valachie

 « Oint de Dieu », à l'instar du roi David, le prince régnant dans les Principautés danubiennes se voit inscrit dans la lignée de ses prédécesseurs régnants. En principe, il est l'héritier du Pays et le dépositaire du pouvoir autocratique reçu de Dieu, voire celui qui incarne l'État. Mais lorsque la lignée ascendante de l'héritier couronné est interrompue – par les « princes étrangers », arrivés dans les Principautés de Constantinople (à partir de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle) –, le souverain revient à sa condition humaine pour mieux discerner ce qui lui revient comme héritage, en vertu du droit privé de succession, de ce qui appartient aux princes « intrus ». C'est dans la lumière de cette double nature du monarque – Homme / droit privé, État / droit public d'origine divine – qu'il faut interroger la tentative du prince de Valachie Matei Basarab d'interdire la dédicace des laures princières du pays aux Lieux Saints orthodoxes d'Orient, dans les années 1639-1641. D'une part, il usa de son pouvoir de légiférer pour fixer publiquement l'autonomie des monastères princiers, un bien commun du pays à ses yeux. D'autre part, il dut limiter la nouvelle loi (*așezământ*) au seul cas des édifices fondés par lui-même et par ses ancêtres Basarab, dont la lignée dynastique aurait remonté au fondateur du pays lui-même. Matei Basarab, en sa qualité de souverain autocrate, législateur et juge suprême, se vit reporté à sa condition humaine en vertu du droit privé de fondation, droit aux lointaines racines byzantines (*ktitorikon dikaion*). C'est un cas éloquent dans l'histoire de la Valachie où le souverain fait preuve de ses « deux corps », d'homme et d'institution.

Elena Firea (Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca)
Holy Relics and the Legitimization of Princely Power in Moldavia (15th to 17th centuries)

Not long after the finalization of its state foundation and the establishment of a metropolitan seat subordinated to the ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople, the medieval principality of Moldavia acquired the holy relics of a Greek Orthodox neo-martyr, which were solemnly translated to the capital of Suceava and deposited for public veneration in the metropolitan cathedral. Besides pious motivations, the relics were clearly purchased in order to enhance the new political and religious prestige of the reign. The prince himself, Alexander the Good, publicly greeted and worshiped them, while proclaiming St. John the New as official protector of the ruling house. The saint enjoyed this particular status until the more prestigious relics of St. Paraskeva were brought to Iaşi by prince Vasile Lupu, more than two centuries later, and gradually assumed the role of divine palladium of the country.

The direct involvement of the local political and ecclesiastical hierarchy in both these *translatio reliquarium* suggests that the respective cults were invested from the very beginning with strong political significance. In is well known that the presence of holy relics conferred a sacral dimension to the place or institution which sheltered them, increased its spiritual importance, mediated between the ecclesiastical and the temporal poles of authority and enhanced the organic solidarities of the entire community that worshipped them. Not the least, possession of relics and participation in ritual ceremonies involving them were an excellent and indispensable instrument in displaying, glorifying and legitimizing political power in the middle ages.

The purpose of my paper is to explore the dynamic between relics and the legitimization of power in medieval and early-modern Moldavia. The investigation will assess the religious and political implications of the two-folded process through which relics and princely power legitimized each-other. On the one hand, the participation of the political and ecclesiastical authorities in acquiring and ceremonially greeting the relics fulfilled the function of authenticating them and officially inaugurating their local veneration. On the other hand, the participation of princes in public rituals involving relics, as well as their actions meant to promote their further veneration were definitely exploited for political and ideological purposes. Without any intention of tracing a senseless separation between politics and religion for medieval and early-modern realities, the paper will mainly focus on exploring why and how Moldavian rulers showed interest in the acquisition, transfer and display of

relics, in the attempt to affirm, emphasize, legitimize or even restore their political power.

Nikolas Pissis (Freie Universität Berlin)
Religious Rhetoric and Imperial Legitimisation: Russian Tsars and Greek Hierarchs in the 17th century

In the historiographical wake of the cultural history of politics (*Kulturgeschichte des Politischen*) issues of symbolic legitimization of power through rituals and ceremonies, images and discourses have attracted the attention of scholars, who have to a great extent left behind strict dichotomies of "real" and "rhetorical". Especially historians of the early modern age have stressed the various links between sacral languages and the constitution of political power in an attempt to refresh debates on an old but still paramount question, that of the relationship between religion and politics in the age of Reformation, Confessionalization and the Religious Wars.

   This paper deals with the role played by Greek clerics, patriarchs and metropolitans of the Eastern Church and, to a lesser extent, priest and monks, in the legitimization of the upcoming Muscovite monarchy as the leading power of the Orthodox world in the second half of the 17th century. To the questions to be addressed belong: the excessive but nevertheless selective use of byzantine references and accordingly the quality of byzantine tradition understood as an "invention of tradition" in the European context of the 17th century (an imagined, baroque Byzantium); following what Hans-Georg Beck has termed "Political Orthodoxy" the stress of the functional character of political theological discourses phenomena in a double meaning: a) exaltations of the tsars' alleged imperial virtues involved their use as moral admonitions, i.e. as tools to promote certain interests; b) rhetoric did not just glorify the tsars, but enabled Greek clerics to claim their distinct role as guardians of Orthodox imperial tradition and as guarantors of the tsar's legitimacy as an Orthodox emperor.

Robert Born (University of Leipzig)
Icons of the Virgin in the Service of the Habsburgs. Remarks on the Function of Images of Eastern Tradition in the Context of the Turkish Threat in East Central Europe

The veneration of the Virgin Mary was one of the pillars of the *Pietas Austriaca*, which was regarded for centuries as an inherited virtue of the dynasty. This

aspect of the imperial devotion became increasingly important against the backdrop of the confessional conflicts in the aftermath of the Reformation as well as in view of the "Turkish threat". In this context the Virgin Mary had been assigned with the honorific title of a '*generalissima*' of the imperial army against the Ottomans.

During the conflicts of the late 17th and early 18th century a series of victories of the imperial coalition had been presented as the results of the divine intervention of wonder-working images of the Virgin. The majority of these images staged by the Habsburgs as anti-Ottoman *palladia*, were wonder-working images wandering from border- and conflict-zones under Ottoman influence as well as western variation of Byzantine depictions of the Mother of God. The presentation will present these staging's of miraculous Images of the Virgin as part of an East Central European tradition, which was decisively influenced by the long-lasting conflicts with the Ottomans in this region.

Radu Nedici (University of Bucharest)
Wondrous icons between politics and religion: Building legitimacy among the Romanians in Transylvania in a time of internal power struggles and confessional dissent

In the spring of 1764 the people of the small cathedral town of Blaj, in central Transylvania, lived under the shock of recent incidents. The death of Bishop Petru Pavel Aron at the beginning of March was followed by the miraculous weeping of the icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as his coffin was laid in state inside the chapel of the episcopal palace. It was only the most striking and famous among the miracles that happened in Blaj over less than a decade, from the end of the 1750s to the late-1760s. By that time decades of internecine violence had created a split in the Romanian community in Transylvania between a tolerated majority of Greek Orthodox and a privileged minority of Greek Catholics. The sudden sign of God's presence came at just the right moment to indicate that Truth was being professed in communion with Rome, at the expense of religious dissent, which could not claim anything remotely similar.

Despite recent interest in the topic, all publications have targeted only the details of the events and their obvious confessional meaning, overlooking the deeper implications in terms of political legitimacy for church hierarchy. Bishop Petru Pavel Aron had left a disputed legacy, as he had come at odds with a few of his former companions early in his office, leading to a prolonged crisis within the ranks of the Greek Catholic elite in the late-1750s. His death opened

the competition for his succession that was to be fought between candidates who held well entrenched opposing views over major subjects of church discipline and governance. It is the contention of my paper that by publicizing the miracle of the weeping icon the vicar general Athanasie Rednic intended to underline not the wonder in itself, but to whom it had been performed. This allowed him to place all the gestures of his late superior in a much better light and thus give his candidacy the upper hand over that of his rivals, since he had always been the closest collaborator of the departed bishop. A brief look at two other similar miraculous occurrences involving Romanian hierarchs will further emphasize the significant place the supernatural had in the communication strategies of the era.

The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans: Structural Change and Continuity
La conquête ottomane des Balkans : changement structurel et continuité
Convenor: Oliver J. Schmitt

Mariya Kiprovska ("St. Kliment Ohridsky" University, Sofia)
Agents of Conquest: Frontier Lords' Extended Households as Actors in the Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans which constitutes a major period of change both for the consequent history of South-East Europe and for the empire-building process of the emerging Ottoman Empire, still awaits a balanced and critical scholarly assessment. Way too often the profound change that the conquest brought about is studied in a fragmentary, narrowly regional or state-centric manner, which obfuscates the complex matrix of political, social and economic relations between different actors, who essentially molded the multifaceted historical process of that change.

In recent historiography, both Ottoman studies and Balkan national scholarship, a consensus seems to rule as to the central role of several frontier lords' (*uc begleri*) families as chief protagonists of the Ottoman suzerainty in the Balkans. Accentuating on the fact that the dynasties of the Evrenosoğulları, Mihaloğulları, Turahanoğulları, and Malkoçoğulları, were the actual conquerors of large territories in the Balkans, which were subsequently brought under their hereditary governance, current studies agree that they retained relative autonomy vis-à-vis the central Ottoman administration and consider them as de facto rulers of the Balkan provinces. Yet, as much as recent scholarship has unveiled important details from the history of these noble families and renders them as mini-dynasties with substantial financial resources and landed properties, it still fails to situate them properly within the context of the multifaceted network of power relations in the early Ottoman Balkans and hence falls short in elucidating the true source of their regional power and influence on the one hand and in apprehending the real basis of their relations to the imperial center on the other.

Through a more thorough examination of the extended military-administrative households of the frontier lords the present paper's principal argument will be that these noble families created their own network of dependent loyalties and maintained a sizable group of their own devoted subjects, which included many Balkan Christians and which subsequently served as agents of the Ottoman order in the region. Only when this patronage network and its clientelistic relations are revealed, it will be possible to better

evaluate the enduring regional lordship of the frontier nobility and the role of the hence intermingled regional actors in the processes of conquest and governance, as well as their power relations with the Sultanic authority and the imperial center. The paper will draw upon Ottoman archival material, mainly from the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi and the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi in Istanbul.

Grigor Boykov ("St. Kliment Ohridsky" University, Sofia)
Conquered by Sword, Subdued by Charity? Geospatial and Socio-Economic Analysis of Islamic Pious Foundations' Landed Possessions in Ottoman Bulgaria

In a seminal paper, written more than seven decades ago, the father of modern Ottoman social and economic history, Ömer Lütfi Barkan stressed on the important role played by Islamic pious foundations (*vakıf*/pl. *evkaf*) in colonizing, reviving, and administering the newly conquered territories in the Ottoman Balkans. In Barkan's view, shared by a number of respectable scholars after him, the central authority facilitated and encouraged the establishment of Muslim charitable foundations in the then Christian Balkans by allotting landed properties to selected trusted individuals, who subsequently transformed their possessions into pious endowments. Normally these were badly ravaged, depopulated territories that were revitalized thanks to the purposely directed colonization of Anatolian Muslim population. Thus, the Ottoman state secured loyal enclaves and contact zones within the dominantly Christian territories, which facilitated the introduction and establishment of the Ottoman institutions and ruling order in the region.

　　　This paper will seek to test this generally established paradigm by providing reliable data, extracted from the Ottoman taxation registers from the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Identifying and geo-locating more than one thousand settlements in modern Bulgaria, which were administered by Islamic pious endowments, the study will on the one hand assemble sufficient data for consistent quantitative analysis of population structure and productivity of these settlement and will juxtapose it to the rest of the territory of the country that fell under the *timar* system. On the other, by making use of the available GIS applications, the paper will attempt a geo-spatial analysis of the collected data over a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) and will define an inhabitability and crop suitability index using altitude, soil quality, terrain ruggedness, access to water and main road infrastructure as variables in the analytic model. These results will be subsequently utilized for an in-depth analysis of the several categories of pious foundations that can clearly be distinguished on the basis of

the Ottoman sources and test whether one can establish perceivable patterns that link the endowers (sultans, royal family members, high ranking officials, frontier nobility, etc.) and particular locations or zones within the territory under study. General conclusions, based on the above-mentioned analysis will allow an overall assessment on the validity of the dominant thesis, proposed by Barkan and will certainly bring valuable, nuanced bits of hitherto unknown information that will enrich the understanding of Ottoman post-conquest practices of taking control over and administering of the Balkans.

Emir O. Filipović (University of Sarajevo)
Vis major, Act of God or Natural disaster? Ottoman Military Threat as Exemption from Contract Liability during the Conquest of the Balkans (14th-15th centuries)

This paper will examine instances in which the Ottoman military threat was presented in contemporary fourteenth and fifteenth century sources as a "higher force", a sort of a "natural disaster", and even as a punishment from God. By the late 1380's and early 1390's Ottoman *akıncı* raids on the territories of Serbia and Bosnia became a regular, although an unpredictable occurrence which could not be controlled or prevented. Therefore, any potential manifestation of this danger was deemed very serious and precautions and were usually taken in order to avert or limit damage of any kind. This was often expressed in written contracts whereby Ottoman threat, "fear of the Turks", or even news about their imminent arrival were used as justification to look for shelter where people and goods could be safe until the danger passed. In later times this unavoidable and inevitable occurrence essentially released the interested parties from contractual liability and obligation. That means that any agreement settled upon in a time of immediate Ottoman danger contained an exemption clause which excluded coverage for damage caused by the Ottomans, as an event which was beyond any practical control. In this way, Ottoman military threat was considered as an overwhelming and irresistible force that resembled natural disasters – hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, floods – which interrupted the expected course of events, caused damage to property and loss of life, ultimately preventing one or both parties from fulfilling their contractual responsibilities.

Antonis Athanasopoulos (University of Ioannina)
Ottoman invasions in the southern Balkans: the case of Peloponnese

At the end of the 14th century, the Ottomans had already settled in the Balkan peninsula and were rapidly expanding their possessions in the area, overcoming, eventually, any organized attempt on behalf of the Balkan forces (battle of Evros 1371, battle of Kosovo 1389). On the other hand, the Byzantine state's military and financial weakness had also led to the reduction of its territory, which was by then restricted to Constantinople and the surrounding areas, a part of Thrace and the Despotate of Morea in Peloponnese

Especially in the Peloponnese, balances were subtle: the intense Frankish presence, the diversity of the composition of the populations and the occasional service of interests, had created a state of political and social instability. The direct control of the area was of major importance for Byzantium, as highlighted by the assignment of the region's administration to members of the imperial family already by the middle of the 14th century. The first Ottoman invasion in the Peloponnese took place in 1387 and until the final conquest of the region in 1460, several attacks were carried out by the Ottoman army against the Byzantine possessions. The objectives of these raids, the Ottoman war tactics and the corresponding defense of the Despotate of Morea, the strategic importance of the Isthmus of Corinth and the strong connection between the Peloponnese and Constantinople will be analyzed thoroughly.

George Terezakis (University of Ioannina)
The Transformation of Thessaly to Early Ottoman Sanjak of Tirhala (Trikala) (12th-15th c.)

Over the last thirty years the growing corpus of late Byzantine and early Ottoman sources has yielded a number of studies that focus on the transitional period of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. It is not my intention to provide a detailed historiographical overview, although one cannot overlook the importance of the conferences that took place in Dumbarton Oaks in 1982, and, three years later, in Birmingham, at the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Both A. Bryer and M. Ursinus, among others, underlined the fact that "Byzantinists and Ottomanists found they were talking the same language", since they shared common social, economic, intellectual, and material concerns. From the 1980s to the present day a large number of researchers have dealt with this period of transition, hoping to contribute to the study of Balkan socio-economic and demographic history. In this respect, my announcement

will focus on the study of the region of Thessaly, using sources from both the Byzantine and Ottoman periods in order to shed further light on the transition from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman society. Particular emphasis will be given to the geographical distribution of settlements in this crucial period between the 12th and 15th c., as well as to the economic structures and social and productive activities that shaped the lives of the local population, both in towns and the countryside. Thus, my main question would be this: To what extent did the turbulent political and economic environment – having changed immediately prior to the Ottoman occupation, owing to the mid-14th c. demographic crisis– affect population movement? In other words, the aim of my research will be to clarify whether this was a spontaneous reaction by a distressed local population, or a calculated move related to other factors such as the pursuit of profit. Also, this approach raises questions about the size –and survey methods– of the local population, its composition, the proportion of the rural to the urban population, the size of different ethnic-religious minorities (Italians, Serbs, Albanians, etc) within the region, and the people's level of involvement in commodity production, which resulted in the transformation of the local economy.

Iassen Vanev (South-West "Neofit Rilsky" University, Blagoevgrad)
Political and commercial implications of the legal actions of the last Byzantine emperors

This presentation will demonstrate the influence of the Byzantine political, commercial and diplomatic tradition vis-à-vis the Ottoman Empire. These considerations are in the context of the inexorable Ottoman conquest and the near and impending demise of Byzantium. Despite these we can identify a large degree of continuity within the political and economic interactions between the states in the Eastern Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period and the Byzantine model is in the bottom of that.

Snejana Rakova, Elena Kostova (Institute for Balkan Studies, Sofia / Institute for Historical Studies, Sofia)
Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Venice and the Ottomans: regulation of the trade relations before the fall of Constantinople

The present study aims to present in parallel the regulation of the trade relations between Dubrovnik and the Ottomans and respectively between Venice and the Sultans of the early Ottoman Empire, when its European capital

was located in Edirne/Adrianople. The political context and the relations between the countries demanded the signing of commercial privileges. These official documents issued by the Sultan in favour of Venice and Dubrovnik, which in some cases date back to the same time, will be considered in the study. The analysis will include the external form of the documents – language, peculiarity of the form, archeographic description, etc., as well as the peculiarities of the content. The purpose of our work is to show the extent of the borrowing of the Byzantine practices; as well as the process of elaboration of the Ottoman models connected with the commercial regulation. For example, the privilege granted to the Republic of St. Blasius, on 6th of December 1430, is the oldest document preserved in the State Archive of Dubrovnik. This document was issued by the Sultan in favour of Dubrovnik merchants. In turn, on 4th of September 1430 the Venetians received a renewed confirmation of their privileges by Sultan Murat II. The agreement includes a peace treaty and clarifies the terms of tribute payment for territories owned by Venice. These two documents become a clear example outlining the similarities in the regulation of trade relations between the Porte and its economic partners in the region of the Mediterranean and in the Balkans.

Neven Isailović (Institute of History, Belgrade)
Croatian Noble Refugees in the Late 15th and 16th Century Banat and Transylvania – Preliminary Findings

In the late 15th century, the Ottoman pressure on the Kingdom of Croatia within the Hungarian Realm became unbearable for the marcher nobility which endured Turkish raids for decades, especially since the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia (1463). Without any significant subsidies from the central government and growing poverty due to the lack of resources and depopulation of their possessions, many nobles decided to leave their native land and resettle in another part of the Realm, where their status would be recognized and service to the ruler continued. The nobility of southern Croatia sought refuge in various parts of Hungary, among which were Banat and Transylvania. Their arrival to the easternmost part of the state mostly happened long before the division between the Habsburgs and the Zapolyas and their loyalty after 1526 was dictated by the majority within the community they settled into. In Banatian and Transylvanian sources the Croats are identified by their conspicuous surnames and the epithet Croatus (Horváth) and, sometimes, by their noble predicates which specified their original main estate. Many of them acquired possessions in the present-day Romanian lands, married into local noble

families and performed various duties, mostly as castellans of important fortresses such as Şoimoş, Lipova, Făgăraş etc. Even though they adapted to the new environment, it seems that the Croats kept close to each other, which can be observed through their documents, connections and family ties. Putting aside the most famous example of George Utješinović Martinušević (Martinuzzi), the presentation will include the case studies of Martinuzzi's compatriots – John Šušalić of Lukarić, John of Razvađe, Mark of Kamičac, George and John Bojničić, Francis of Petrovo Polje, the Melić family of Bribir, Cosma Petrićević, Nicholas Kolunić etc. Almost all of these nobles came from a small region between the rivers Krka and Cetina in southern Croatia.

Aleksandar Krstić (Institute of History, Belgrade), **Adrian Magina** (Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reşiţa)
The Belmužević family – the fate of a noble family in South Eastern Europe in the turbulent period of the Ottoman conquest (15th -16th centuries)

Voivode Miloš Belmužević was a significant figure in 15th century Serbian history. He was born to a noble family, whose members performed administrative duties in Zeta and northern Serbia during the reign of Despot Đurađ Branković (1427-1456). Shortly before the downfall of the Serbian medieval state, Belmužević supported the pro-Ottoman faction of Michael Angelović. Due to this fact, he fell into disgrace at the court and was deprived of his property in 1458. After the fall of Smederevo (1459) he entered into Ottoman military service and became a *sipahi*. In 1476/7, he held the market place of Jagodina in the Morava valley as a *timar*. He moved to Hungary most probably during the great Hungarian offensives against the Ottomans in northern Serbia in 1480 and 1481, when tens of thousands of Serbs were taken across the Sava and the Danube and resettled in southern Hungary, including Banat. After moving to Hungary, Belmužević fought the Ottomans along the border, but also on other battlefields, as the commander of a large detachment of light cavalry – *hussars*. He was wounded while serving King Matthias Corvinus in Silesia in 1488, and he distinguished himself during the wars of King Wladislas II Jagello against Maximilian Habsburg and Jan Albrecht in western and northern Hungary (1490–1491). For his loyal service and military merits, Belmužević was rewarded by king Matthias on several occasions, starting from 1483, with estates in Timiş, Cenad and Bač counties. It is after one of these estates in the vicinity of Timişoara that he was given the noble appellation "of Saswar". In 1496, king Wladislas II confirmed to Miloš Belmužević and his sons Vuk and Marko the earlier donations of Matthias

Corvinus. However, the voivode lost both of his sons in the next few years: Marko died under unknown circumstances before 1498, while Vuk was killed in battle against the Ottomans in 1499 or 1500, during an Ottoman incursion into southern Hungary. In this conflict voivode Miloš was also wounded. Later, in order to avenge his son, he ravaged the surroundings of Smederevo. Left without a male heir, Belmužević left his estate to his mother Olivera, his wife Veronica and his underage daughter Milica. King Wladislas II confirmed the will of Belmužević, written in the Serbian language and preserved to the present day, after his death in the autumn of 1500. Veronica, who came from the noble family Arka of Densuș from Hunedoara County, remarried after her husband's death to Stephen Bradacs. With this marriage, the largest part of Belmužević's property was transferred to Bradacs (the voivode left some possessions to his family). Becoming of age, Milica Belmužević started a series of legal processes in order to regain estates that were rightfully hers. Milica was married to Nicholas Kendeffy de Râu de Mori. This marriage strengthened Milica's ties with the home region of her mother, the land of Hațeg in the county of Hunedoara. Her life can be traced through a series of documents that span a period of six decades, outliving both her husband and son, John Kendeffy.

Networks in South-East Europe: Politics, Trade, Culture (14th-17th Centuries) / Réseaux dans le Sud-Est européen : politique, commerce, culture (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)
Convenor: Ovidiu Cristea

Paola Avallone, Raffaella Salvemini (Istituto di Studi sulle Società del Mediterraneo, CNR, Napoli)
From the Republic of Ragusa to the Kingdom of Naples. Brief notes on the events of the Radulovich family (16th-17th centuries)

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Republic of Ragusa was famous for its spice trade with the East through Alexandria, a trade which, however, began to decline after the Portuguese discoveries led to uncertainty and change. But their commercial skills linked to their maritime business activities helped the Ragusa merchants change their course. Starting from the second half of the century, they changed their commercial strategies, turning their interests towards the coasts of the southern Adriatic, in particular Puglia. However, many of these merchants were also found in Naples, the capital of the Kingdom, where they were engaged in the commerce of grain and oil, in currency exchange and in many other types of business, including investment on behalf of third parties in the Kingdom's public debt. When the British, French and Dutch arrived in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, many of the Ragusans decided to retire to the Republic, while others followed the path of investing in lands in search of a nobility for their own families. This was the case of Nicolò Radulovich, whom we find in Naples at the beginning of the seventeenth century and whose name is mainly remembered for the connections he had with the famous painter Caravaggio. In our paper we will try to outline the life of Nicolò not only as a "patron", but also as a "businessman", and what happened after he became a marquis with the purchase of the manor of Polignano a mare in Puglia.

Daniel Dumitran ("1 Decembrie 1918" University of Alba Iulia)
Concerning the history of an absence: The community of the Greeks from Alba Iulia

Attested by the historical sources, especially for the 17th-19th centuries, the Greeks' community from Alba Iulia no longer represents a component of the Transylvanian town's population, its existence from the early modern and modern era being guessed only from a few vestiges, such as the so-called

„church of the Greeks", that still mark the urban landscape. This was the first Orthodox church erected inside the town's walls, pursuant to the conditions created by the provisions of the Patent of Toleration issued by emperor Joseph II (November 8th 1781). However, the Greeks from Alba Iulia also played an important role in the town's economical history via merchandise traded along the routes linking the centres from South of Danube to the Central European towns, as well as via the activity of certain merchants settled here, which were attracted by the measures encouraging the naturalization of Southern Danubian merchants, adopted by the Viennese Imperial Court. This paper aims at describing the social – economical and cultural – confessional role of these Greeks in the community of the Transylvanian township, their way of integrating in the social urban structure, but also aims at restoring, if possible, the individual biographies of the community's members.

Isabel Grimm-Stadelmann (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, DFG-Projekt "Johannes Zacharias Aktuarios", München)
Postbyzantine "Iatrosophistic" Migration

Based on Galen's postulate that a doctor must also be a philosopher at the same time, the tradition of the so-called "iatrosophists" (physician-philosophers) developed in Late Antique Alexandria and continued in Byzantine Times with a clear renaissance in the 9th/10th century and also again in post-byzantine times. Already in the 12th/13th century, as a result of the 4th Crusade and the associated decentralization, Greek medical students started to attend the Italian universities to deepen their studies and returned afterwards to their homeland to spread their newly acquired expertise. Byzantine hospitals play a central role in the transcultural exchange of knowledge because of their multinational and multicultural staff. After the fall of Constantinople (1453) Greek *emigrés* firstly aimed to Crete from where they took the opportunity to scattered to the Italian universities, where especially Padua, Bologna and Ferrara developed into centers of post-byzantine iatrosophistical renaissance and central point for Greek medical students. After having finished their studies, some of them remained permanently in humanistic Italy, but a great part of these scholars returned to establish some kind of western-based "iatrosophistic" advanced health care in their homelands while another part took influential positions with the Osmanic Government. Essential impulses for establishing Byzantine Iatrosophism in Humanistic Italy emanated from two Byzantine migrants, Leon Allatios (1586–1669) and Zacharias Kalliergis (ca. 1473–after 1524), who finally settled in Rome, and brought forth several

excellent doctors. This paper will illustrate some examples from the biographies of such physicians, e.g. Alexandros Mavrocordatos (1641–1709) who's doctorate thesis confirmed William Harvey's theories concerning the blood circulation and who shared in between medical practice and diplomatic career, or Jacobos Pylarinos (1659–1718) and Emmanuel Timones (1670–1718), who anticipated Edward Jenners' method of vaccination, resp. inoculation against smallpox. Pylarinos also practiced as personal doctor of the Grand Duke of Moldovalachia and Peter the Great of Russia.

Agon Rrezja (Institute of National History / Department of Ancient and Medieval history, Skopje)
Today's Kosovo, an important political and commercial area of Albanian nobles during the 14th-15th centuries

This medieval study deals with the nowadays Kosovo which played an important role in XIV-XV c. with its geostrategic roads and market. The rivalry of the Balkan feudalists who raised after Tsar Dusan's death (1355) brought into play a part of the Albanian elite , who was fighting for domination in today's Kosovo. This was due to the geographical position and the extent of the famous route (the so-called 'Via de Zenta'), the importance of which was enormous due to the Ragusan's trade that took place on this path. This route starts in Lezha then it spreads from Vau i Dejës to Pulatium (Puka) than pass through Prizren and it divides with two secondary roads one for Trepça and the other to Novaberda.

        Ragusan traders established consulates through which was developed an extraordinary communication, not only economical but also political. As the researchers dutifully point out, today's Kosovo was the grain barn from which Albanian nobles as Balshaj family, John Kastrioti and Dukagjini families were supplied.

        At the end of the XIV th century and throughout the XV th century, this domain was attacked continuously by the Ottomans and it turned into a military-political arena. There is no coincidence that this road was one of the Ottomans' paths aimed at getting into Italian states. Therefore, George Kastrioti Scanderbeg, Lord of Albania (Dominus Albaniae) placed a special emphasis on keeping the Dukagjin people on his side and through them to create a powerful state, thus aiming to defend the Albanian lands from the Ottoman conquest.

Joanna Bencheva (University of Sofia)
Trading with Foodstuffs in the Balkans in the 14th-15th century

The paper will analyse evidence from various sources concerning trade with foodstuffs in the Balkans during the 14th-15th century. The aim is to outline the trade between the Italian cities and the Balkan states and to examine the internal commercial exchange of foodstuffs in the Balkan societies. My analysis will focus on the products with the largest market share in the foodstuffs trade like grain, wine, honey, fish, cheese, etc. Another point will deal with the influence of the political situation in the Balkans over the trade with foodstuffs in the period under scrutiny.

Irena Bogdanović (Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Slavic and Greek translations of pastoral plays Aminta and Pastor fido

In 16th and 17th century the Italian ideal of the theatre spread over the Balkan Peninsula and found its way onto Slavic and Greek territories where it mixed with native practices adapted to local needs. The two bucolic masterpieces of Ferrara, *Aminta* (c. 1573) by Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) and *Pastor fido* (1590) by Giambattista Guarini (1538-1612) were taken from the Italian theatre at the end of the 16th century confirming the flourishing of the translations of these two dominant pastoral works in Ragusa, by both Slavic and Greek scholars.

Anita Paolicchi (University of Florence)
Reliquaries in South-Eastern Europe: between Byzantine tradition and stylistic innovation

In the last decades, growing attention has been dedicated to the cult of saints, to the circulation of relics and to their precious containers, the reliquaries. In Western Europe (and the USA) the research developed in two directions: the first one has aimed at showing the general features of this phenomenon, in a view which highlighted the common traits, and has developed a categorization of the reliquaries based on their shape and function; the second one has focused the analysis on small groups of objects sharing common shape, stylistic features, origin or destination, and has highlighted their connection to a certain visual culture, artistic movement or local tradition. On the contrary, in Southeastern Europe, due to the political circumstances of the 19th-20th centuries, the research has been developed on a more regional basis, pointing

out the peculiarities of the artistic production in a certain area, rather than discussing the common traits (shape, structure, decoration, function) which are at the basis of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine reliquaries, intended as a typology of liturgical vessels. I believe that any analysis – even one dedicated to a single object – can be fruitfully developed only if grounded to a well-defined general scheme.

My presentation, based on my on-going PhD research on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine reliquaries made in the Balkans, is founded on these premises, and it will be dedicated to the analysis of some of the peculiarities of the reliquaries made in Southeastern Europe, in constant comparison with the Western ones. Great attention will be given to the stylistic evolution of these artifacts, investigating the routes through which the foreign (i.e. Western and Eastern) stylistic influences reached the Balkan peninsula. Special attention will also be given to some atypical objects belonging to Orthodox foundations, but whose shape does not conform to the Byzantine standards (e.g. reliquary busts): the presentation will investigate the reasons which made this possible.

Dimitris Georgakopoulos (University of Ioannina)
Serbs and Albanians in Epirus, according to the author of the Chronicle of Ioannina (14th -15th c.)

The so-called *Chronicle of Ioannina* is a significant source for the history of NW Greece during the Late Middle Ages. The author was an anonymous monk from the town of Ioannina in Epirus, who wrote in the beginning of the 15th century. Most of his account refers to the Serbs and the Albanians who ruled specific parts of Epirus, such as Ioannina and Arta, at that time. This paper deals with the literary perception of the Serbs and the Albanians in the Chronicle. Some of the issues under consideration are the image of these Balkan nations as well as the attitudes of the locals towards them.

Ioannis Kioridis (Hellenic Open University, University of Zaragoza)
The image of the Greek in the Catalonian Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner (First half of the 14th century)

This paper deals with the image of the Greek in the Catalan Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner (first half of the 14th century). Ramon Muntaner was an eyewitness to the campaign of the Great Catalan Company in the East in the early 14th century. This mercenary army was used by the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos in order to assist him in dealing with the Ottoman threat.

Muntaner recounted these adventures in chapters 194-244 of his Chronicle. Besides the numerous references to historical figures of Byzantines, geographical terms of the region and various local traditions, Muntaner often expresses his opinion of the Greeks of that time, both famous and not. Despite his familiarity with the Greek language, he is usually critical, especially about Greek people of this period. The paper examines the relevant passages and interprets the attitude of the Catalan chronicler, linking it to potential political springs and his position within the Great Catalan Company.

Katarzyna Niemczyk (University of Silesia, Katowice)
Antemurale Christianitatis. South-Eastern policy of the kings of Poland in the first half of the 16th century

The aim of this paper is to explain the meaning and the reason of the anti-Turkish ideology, known as "Antemurale Christianitatis" in the policy of the kings of Poland at the turn of 15th and 16th centuries. In order to better understand the phenomenon, one must compare dealings against Turkey of three consecutive Polish kings: Johannes Albrecht, Alexander and Sigismund I. All of them differed when it comes to the idea of war against Turkey and a general concept of "Antemurale Christianitatis". Johannes Albrecht tried to use this ideology to achieve his own particular policy and conquer Moldova. Sigismund I. however was much more careful as he was rather afraid of some deterioration of the mutual relations between Poland and Turkey and didn't see any reason for beginning the war against the Ottoman Empire. The idea of a crusade against Turkey was very popular at that time in Europe and Sigismund felt forced to voice his accordance with this trend although in reality he was very reluctant to make this idea happen.

Paulina Grobelna-Mazurek (University Adam Mickiewicz, Faculty of History)
Entre l'Europe de l'Ouest et du Sud-Est. Absolutum dominium – respublica – tyrannis dans la République Nobiliaire de Pologne (XVIe-XVIIe siècles) – de la notion à l'imaginaire par l'usage politique

Le cas de la République des Deux Nations constitue un exemple exceptionnel pour un échange des idées, qui ne connait ni les frontières du temps, ni de l'espace. Le modèle antique de la *monarchia mixta*, adapté sur la Vistule au début de l'époque moderne, influença (et fut influencé par) les débats européens sur la nature et les limites du pouvoir en tant qu'un argument contre le gouvernement tyrannique du souverain. Mais, l'idée ne s'installe jamais dans

le vide. Une fois acceptée, devient la partie de la réalité qu'elle crée. Pour la noblesse polonaise la notion de *respublica*, telle que la précisa Aristote ou Cicero, était plus qu'une idée abstraite. Elle faisait la référence à l'image de la *Reipublicae* très attachée au quotidien, dans laquelle le système axio-normatif de celle-ci se reflétait. Il se reposait sur les valeurs les plus respectés dans la vie publique, conformes à la tradition républicaine, comme la liberté, la loi, la vertu, la justice, la citoyenneté. Il démarrait dans les moments décisifs et c'était à lui qu'on se référait dans les débats politiques au sujet de l'état où les deux notions : d'*absolutum dominium* et de *tyrranis* jouaient un rôle important. Elles renvoyaient à la réalité renversée et indésirable dont on craignait et dont l'exemple faisaient les régimes politiques des autres pays, comme – entre autres – de la France et de Turquie. Comprendre cette triade des notions c'est non pas seulement mieux connaître la culture politique de la noblesse polonaise et son langage politique intercepté par les hospodars de Moldavie au tournant du XVIe et XVIIe siècles (C. Bobicescu), mais aussi faire conscience des principes de la politique extérieure de Pologne en face de ceux-ci. Le but principal de cette intervention constitue à présenter les réseaux des idées en tant qu'un effet des contacts politiques de la Pologne entre l'Europe de l'Ouest et du Sud-Est dans la perspective des notions mentionnées.

Sabina Madgearu (University of Bucharest, Faculty of History)
Castle Networks of the East in Illuminated Manuscripts Produced in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century France

The current study puts forward an iconographic analysis of medieval castles of the East, where East refers to South Eastern Europe and the Near East extension which at the time meant Byzantium and the western extremities of Outremer. It relies on the serial treatment of illuminations found in manuscripts (whether chronicles or other accounts) that render images of castles/castle-cities of the surveyed region. The serial treatment of such primary sources originating in France requires the use of the comparative method – assessing the similarities and differences between several illuminations showing the same episode – and also a qualitative and quantitative approach that presupposes the evaluation of the quality and quantity of castle representations. The goal is to point out what castles were predominantly painted and how they made up a network converging to building a coherent western policy or, on the contrary, a conflicting one that opposed the West and the East. Since a civilization is defined by the space it uses, the Eastern castle network can be a tell-tale index of the parameters within which this part of Europe was developing at the time

and of how important it was to the West. It also speaks about the great length to which the West was willing to go to keep the Christian oikoumene united and protected. As a matter of fact, the castles of the East show, through their resemblance to those of the West, the capacity of the West to engulf the East in its network, just like present-day European Union.

Vladimir V. Mihajlović (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
How to Write an Encyclopedia: L. F. Marsigli and his Network

L. F. Marsigli (1658--1730), a soldier, diplomat, and man of letters, spent the final decades of the 17th century in the lands of South-Eastern Europe. Marsigli was a colonel of the Austrian troops in the Great Turkish War and the imperial commissioner in establishing the border after the Treaty of Karlowitz, but also the author of the most comprehensive book on South-Eastern Europe of the time: it's lands, people, history, flora and fauna, rivers etc. The aim of this paper is to show the ramified network L.F. Marsigli established in order to create his encyclopediac master-piece – *Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus.* The network which included people of all classes and faiths, of all ethnicities and positions: from members of Europe's most renowned learned societies to local fishermen and shepherds.

Manuela Dobre (University of Bucharest, Faculty of History)
The Role of the Past in shaping the XVth Century Byzantine Identity

The Byzantine world owes a lot to the cultural heritage of antiquity. It is worth mentioning that Byzantium established its own identity, its own norms and values based on references to its past. It worshiped the tradition and based his religious and political ideology on previous examples. The founding myths illustrating the importance of origins as well as references to the past are important topics for the process of developing and cultivating the identity of a people. Our paper underscores how the respective themes are highlighted in the fifteenth century historical sources describing what may be addressed as a Byzantine identity. These were hectic times, both politically and religiously, when continuous territorial gains by the Ottoman Turks made even more pressing the need for Western help which the Pope was able to deliver in exchange for concessions from the Eastern Church. According to official ideology, the Empire was acknowledged to be the right heir of the Roman Empire and till the very end the Byzantines considered themselves to be Roman citizens but not the product of Roman past. There was a new self-identifying

ideology in the making coming together with the Constantinian age. It is important to see to what extent the Byzantine authors laid emphasis on the Roman past in order to legitimate their claim to a Roman identity, which they were already depicting as a mark of Constantinople rather than Rome's legacy.

Dana Caciur ("N. Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest)
Diplomacy and coexistence in 16th century Dalmatia. The regional officials of Venice and the general requirements of neighbourliness with the Ottoman Empire

The Venetian – Ottoman relations cannot be fully understood without the perception of the interactions between the men who made these relations functioning. It is well known that the officials and functionaries of both powers had to respect and obey the requirements of the peace agreements or treaties and also to apply and act as the interest of the state demanded. In the case of the 16th century Dalmatia the functioning of administrative and diplomatic network between the officials of the both powers is emphasized by at least two methodological approaches. The first one concerns the typologies of interactions between the subjects of both empires and it is revealed by the specificity of the sources. The second one is related to the provincial events (unpredictable or provoked) that challenge their administrative skills. In the first case, the large amount of sources (*relazioni, dispacci, commissioni, lettere, etc.)* construct an official perspective over the attitude, the command and practice a regional representative should adopt in order to achieve their government goals. On the other side, it is the particular experience of the involved individual that allows a better understanding the evolution of the events in the area. Accordingly, a dissociated perspective on similar sources would provide an extended image over the relational interactions of those in charge with a border region.

My paper aims to shortly present the variety of interactions of the Venetian officials from Dalmatia with the Ottoman ones from vicinity. Despite the predominance of a Venetian perspective (given the majority of Venetian sources used for the research) cases as the illicit border crossings, harmful interventions over the rural population or trading regulations allow the reconstruction of the steps toward a proper communication between the officials. The letters exchanged between the Venetians and Ottoman authorities, the documents collected to support a decision, the people put in move to gather information or the gifts and services exchanged might suggest equally numerous ways of interacting or keeping in function of a collaborating network.

Florin Nicolae Ardelean ("Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca)
The role of Serbs in the conflict between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in Banat and Transylvania (1551-1552)

During the year 1551 the Habsburgs temporarily gained control over Transylvania and the Banat. Thus their common frontier with the Ottomans was considerably expanded. Ferdinand I of Habsburg sent an army led by general Castaldo to these new acquired regions in order to enforce his rule and to defend them from his enemies. The Habsburg mercenary force was insufficient, so recruiting local troops seemed to be a good alternative. From the beginning of the campaign the Serbs, who were already actively involved in border conflicts between the two empires, were considered an important factor in the success or failure of this campaign. Gaining and maintaining the support of Serbian leaders was further complicated by the shifting position of George Martinuzzi. In this paper I will analyse the role of Serbian troops during the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict during the years 1551-1552 as reflected by several narrative and official sources. I will also try to emphasize the role of warfare in the process of South-Slavic migration in Transylvania and the Banat.

The Black Sea and its Straits: a Permanency of South-East European History/ La Mer Noire et ses détroits : une permanence historique sud-est européenne
Convenors: Sergiu Iosipescu, Ionel Cândea

Radu Ştefan Vergatti (Université "Valahia", Târgovişte)
Un problème d'urbanisme antique sur les bords de la mer Noire : l'assainissement de Tomis aux IIe-VIe siècles

Les constructions modernes de Constanţa (ancienne Tomis, Roumanie) ont découvert plusieurs canaux souterrains, datant de l'époque romaine, dont la signification restait énigmatique. Plusieurs hypothèses ont été avance parmi lesquels leur utilisation comme catacombes chrétiennes ou un système de défense de la ville. Les chercheurs se sont demandé quel était l'objectif initial de ces canaux. De nouvelles recherches dans la « Métropole du Pont » ont permis à l'auteur d'avancer une autre interprétation qui se propose de montrer que ces canaux souterrains étaient des aqueducs construits par les Romains pour fournir de l'eau à la ville antique de Tomis.

Şerban V. Marin (Romanian National Archives, Bucharest)
The Venetian Crusading Routes towards the Straits (11th-13th Centuries)

This paper relies upon a number of around 250 Venetian chronicles consulted at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, Österreichische Nationalbiblothek in Vienna and the library of Museo Civico Correr in Venice, written between the 13th and the 18th centuries. Confronted with the huge number of Venetian chronicles, modern scholars have usually left them aside. Nevertheless, their importance should not be underestimated: although rather secondary sources, they express very well the viewpoint of the Venetian society on certain events in the past.

Among the events narrated in these sources, I will focus on the Venetian military activities against Byzantine territories in the Aegean towards the Straits in the context of the classical crusades. To be more specific, it is first and foremost about four major events in which the Republic of Venice was involved:

– the conventional First crusade, in which the Venetian fleet acted also in the island of Rhodes and in Asia Minor ("Smyrna");

– the campaign enterprised by Doge Domenico Michiel, when returning from the Holy Land, in which the Venetian fleet also pillaged

a various number of Byzantine islands (Rhodes, Chios, Samos, Mytilene) and cities (Modon);

– the war against Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, on which occasion the Venetian fleet inflicted serious damages on the islands of Chios and Negroponte;

– the Fourth Crusade.

One could draw the conclusion that the Venetians regarding the attacks upon various Byzantine possessions as crusading feats. Thus, the anti-Byzantine attitude of the Venetians is illustrated by their intention to be present closer and closer to the Straits and to Constantinople itself.

The paper has in intention to follow the various manners proposed by the Venetian chronicles in presenting the routes followed by the Venetian fleets on their way towards the Straits. It makes an attempt to offer a quantitative analysis, making comparisons between figures and proposing percentages related to the Venetian fleet routes in the Aegean during these four events.

Sergiu Iosipescu (Institut National du Patrimoine, Bucarest)
Navigation et cartographie de la mer Noire (XIIIe- XVe siècles). Etude de cas : le basin nord-ouest pontique

Par le dépouillement des sources écrites et archéologiques, l'auteur établit premièrement l'envergure de la navigation pontique pendant la domination mongole (milieu XIIIe- première moitié du XIVe siècle). Après le début d'une présence des navires italiens dans la mer Noire à côté de celles de Byzance, on assiste à l'établissement de la domination des républiques maritimes et spécialement de Gênes, qui entre de bonne heure en conflit avec Byzance et les Etats riverains, prélude à la conquête Ottomane.

Héritière des directions du commerce byzantin, du cabotage et des voyages à la grande mer, la navigation italienne a comme reflet scientifique les portulans et la cartographie. Leur étude conjuguée présente un grand intérêt pour tracer les étapes de la découverte européenne de la mer Noire, pour étaler les connaissances et les habilités exceptionnelles d'une pléiade des cartographes de la fin du moyen âge.

L'étude de cas propose une restitution des informations sur la navigation et la cartographie du basin nord-ouest pontique par une analyse détaillée du *Compasso da Navegare*, – publié jadis par le professeur Bachisio Motzo et étudié par notre amie Madame Professeur ElisavetaTodorova –, des portulans grecs, – publiés par Armand Délatte, et commentes par le regretté

Petre Ş. Năsturel –, en liaison avec des cartes portulaniques conservées à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, au Cabinet des Cartes et Plans.

Les cartes portulaniques du fameux Petrus Vesconte (Pietro Visconti), de 1313, 1318, 1320 ont une importance tout à fait remarquable pour le progrès de la navigation et des connaissances italiennes sur le littoral nord-ouest de la mer Noire, du système lagunaire Sinoe-Razelm, de l'interfluve Danube-Nistru (Dniestr), de la valeur de l'ile des Serpents pour l'orientation des navires vers les bouches du Danube.

Les recherches périégétiques et archéologiques de l'auteur dans cette région prouvent la véracité des données des portulans et cartes portulaniques et leur importance pour l'histoire de la navigation pontique, de l'évolution hydrographique du delta danubien.

Ionel Cândea (Académie Roumaine, Bucarest)
Sur le Danube maritime : la ville de Brăila/Ibrail et ses fortifications (milieu du XVIe –début du XIXe siècle)

La grande campagne du sultan Suleyman le Magnifique en Moldavie en 1538 eut comme conséquences territoriale deux importantes modifications de la carte politique du Nord-ouest de la mer Noire : la principauté roumaine Est-Carpatique perdit la cite fortifiée de Tighina sur le Nistru et la Valachie la ville de Brăila.

La perte de Tighina, devenue Bender (en français „La Porte", une porte pour les Ottomans), avait une importance circonscrite surtout au bas-Nistru, mais celle de Brăila avait une signification européenne. Car depuis le milieu du XIVe siècle, dans les circonstances de la Croisade anti-Mongole et de la Reconquista sur l'ancien empire de la Horde d'Or, le port était le terminal d'une des grandes routes du commerce international (« la route de Brăila ») qui liait, par la Transylvanie et à travers les Carpates, l'Europe Centrale et de l'Ouest avec le Bas-Danube et la mer Noire. Pour la principauté de la Valachie, depuis l'étape de possession moldave et ensuite l'annexion par l'Empire ottoman de Chilia-Lycostome, ainsi que celle de Cetatea Albă (1486), Brăila était le principal port danubien-pontique du pays.

Si les aspects économiques de l'appartenance de Brăila au sandjak de Silistrie de l'Empire ottoman ont été éclaircis récemment par Mme. Anca Popescu dans son livre, je veux développer dans ma communication les aspects politiques et surtout militaires. Elles sont le résultat des longues années de recherches archéologiques et de l'analyse des matériaux découverts par les fouilles programmées ou par des trouvailles fortuites.

Contrairement aux opinions avancées par des historiens et surtout par feu le professeur Constantin C. Giurescu, monographiste de la ville à son six-centième anniversaire, les données archéologiques ont infirmé l'assertion d'une fortification de Brăila avant la conquête Ottomane. La ville-port roumaine n'eut pas une citadelle. Seulement après 1538 la présence militaire ottomane fut accompagné par la construction d'une forteresse, dans les années 1540-1546, par l'ordre du sultan Suleyman le Magnifique. Dans le même temps le fonctionnement de la nouvelle organisation militaire impliqua la constitution, comme auparavant à Turnu (le Petit Nicopolis/ Nigebolu) et à Giurgiu d'une qaza, hinterland agricole avec quelques villages Roumaines, arrachés à la Valachie.

Par les recherches archéologiques nous savons aujourd'hui que la forteresse avait été implantée sur le site de l'ancien cimetière de la ville du XIIIe-XIVe siècle. Les fouilles ont bénéficié, surtout après 1986, de la découverte des nouvelles sources et notamment du plan de la ville de Brăila en 1819, élaboré grâce aux levées effectues après la guerre Russe-Ottomane de 1806-1812.

Les dernières fouilles ont découvert des fragments du système de communications souterraines du réduit central avec les enceintes. D'après les plans conservés, la forteresse d'Ibrail avait, lors du commencement de sa démolition en 1829, cinq enceintes.

Pendant les presque trois cent ans de présence ottomane la fortification de Brăila avait suivi l'évolution générale de l'art de la fortification, d'autant que, à la fin du XVIe siècle, en 1711, puis pendant les guerres de 1768-1774, 1787-1792, 1806-1812, 1828-1829, elle dut subir des sièges, dévastations et après, pendant les temps de paix, des reconstructions et d'adaptations aux nouveaux armements de l'Europe moderne.

Matei Cazacu (CNRS, Centre d'Études Turques, Ottomanes, Balkaniques et Centrasiatiques, Paris)
Mare clausum versus Mare liberum – permanences historiques et héritages impériales

Le souvenir de "Mare nostrum" romain était-il présent dans la pensée politique des trois empires (byzantin, ottoman et russe) qui ont essayé de fermer et d'ouvrir, d'imposer donc leur domination incontestée sur la mer Noire ? Voilà qui pose aux historiens le problème de l'existence des permanences historiques, concept énoncé par Nicolae Iorga au Congrès des historiens de Zurich en 1938. "La terre", "la race", "l'idée/ l'histoire", les trois composantes

de base de ce concept, s'appliquent-elles aussi aux mers et aux océans, et plus précisément àla mer Noire ? Pour Byzance et les Ottomans, le problème central était l'approvisionnement de Constantinople, une nécessité qui n'était pas présente dans les plans de la diplomatie russe et soviétique : elle aurait pu le devenir si Tsarigrad et les Détroits étaient occupés. On peut donc constater la continuité byzantino-ottomane dans l'élaboration de la conception globale sur le Pont-Euxin. En revanche, la Russie partait du côté opposé, la domination des côtes orientales et occidentales qui devait conduire à l'entrée triomphale dans la Ville impériale. Ce projet a échoué, tout comme avaient échoué, en leur temps, les tentatives des Varègues et des Cosaques qui ont tenté son occupation par la voie maritime. Les Romains et les Ottomans ont réalisé cette opération par voie de terre, combinée, il est vrai, dans le cas des derniers, avec des opérations navales à caractère plutôt limité dans l'ensemble des efforts de guerre. On peut voir, par conséquent, que la composante "terre" a été déterminante dans le cas des premiers, Romains et Turcs, mais inexistante dans le cas des Russes qui ne disposaient pas de groupes humains compactes dans la zone. "La terre souveraine imposera sa volonté, avec ses voisinages et son horizon aussi", écrivait Nicolae Iorga, et elle s'explique par l'importance des agglomérations humaines romaines, grecques et turques tant en Asie mineure que sur le continent européen. De même, la composante "race" et "histoire", inexistantes chez les Russes, dont le rôle dans le passé byzantin et ottoman, assumé de façon abusive par l'historiographie moscovite, a consisté seulement dans les bandes de pirates Varègues et cosaques, d'une part, et de fournisseurs d'esclaves (Slaves et Coumans) et matières premières – céréales, fourrures, cire, miel – pour les marchands tatars, génois, vénitiens et turcs.

Mirella Vera Mafrici (University of Salerno)
Diplomacy and trade between Mediterranean and Black Sea during the Napoleonic Wars

The paper focuses on the context of the Mediterranean States after the Russian-Turkish wars. The opening of the Black Sea to foreign trades and the freedom of navigation for Russia and later Austria, France and other nations brought a new start in commercial relations between these ports and the Mediterranean ones. After the peace of Amiens (1802) ship-owners and merchants addressed to the Black Sea for their trade, but the Napoleonic wars determined a change of the commercial relations in the Mediterranean. For the Ottoman neutrality Turkish ships replaced the French ones in the Levant trade.

Moreover, the Continental System affected England's interests and interfered with the revival of trade in the Kingdom of Naples, conquered by Napoleon in 1806. The treaty of Tilsit (July 7th, 1807) between France, Russian Empire and Prussia definitely influenced the relations in Mediterranean: the weakness of the Ottoman Empire was counterbalanced by the Russian Empire prestige. The Kingdom of Naples was part of the *Great Empire* and its economy was subservient to the France. Only in 1813 the diplomatic and trade relations between Naples and Petersburg resumed.

Maria Sirago ("Liceo Classico Jacopo Sannazaro", Naples)
New spaces for the development of trade in Southern Italy: the Black Sea (1787-1860)

After the departure of King Charles VII of Bourbon from Naples (1759) the ministers who surrounded the new sovereign, the young Ferdinand, intensified the policy of commercial expansion of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, above all thanks to Abbot Ferdinando Galiani. He had lived in Paris between 1759 and 1769, where he had been sent as an embassy secretary and had attended literary salons. Back in Naples, after long years of negotiations in 1787, shortly before his death, he had managed to make a treaty of commerce between Russia and the Kingdom of Sicily, thus opening new routes in the Black Sea for the Neapolitan merchant navy, which in those years were increasing. Slowly the ships loaded with grain began to leave from the port of Odessa (founded by the general Hispanic – Napoletan Giuseppe de Ribas in 1794) and the other ports of the Crimea and the Sea of Azov. And all this increased further after the Restoration (1815) throughout the second Bourbon age (1815-1860).

Dragi Gjorgiev (Institute of National History, Skopje)
Migration from Macedonian s to the Black Sea region in the XIXth century (according to Ottoman sources)

Our paper analyses several ottoman censuses from the XIXth century relating to the towns in Macedonia. These sources show an unbelievable number of craftsmen from these towns who in this period were living and working in various cities of the Ottoman Empire, among them Istanbul, Burgas, Varna, Constantza, Ruse, Bucharest and others. They represented a strong economic migration that dealt with very different professions and was very mobile, staying sometimes for several decades in different cities. One part of them

never came back. They are, in fact, the predecessor of modern economic migrations that are still present among the Balkan population.

In addition to economic aspects, this migration has had a very significant impact on the changing habits of life in their home towns, bringing the cultural and linguistic influence of the cities and environments in which they worked.

Raluca Verussi Iosipescu (National Institute of Heritage, Bucharest)
Between Sea and Danube – Sulina and the Work of the European Commission of the Danube

The paper presents the transformation of the modest borough of Sulina situated at one of the mouth of the Danube River from the middle of the 19th century to the beginning of the WW I. This transformation was due to the work of the European Commission of the Danube. Created by the initiative of Napoleon III, the commission was established conforming to the article XVI of the Paris Peace Treaty (18 March 1856), after the defeat of the Russian Empire in the Crimean War. Russia was expelled from the mouth of the Danube, the Unified Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia (Țara Românească) being the first national state which recovered a small part of its medieval maritime façade.

From 1857 to 1886 the European Commission of the Danube, its technique service leaded by an eminent engineer, Sir Charles Hartley, realized a great improvement of the navigation at the mouth of the Danube, transforming a significant segment of the river, from Sulina to Brăila, into a maritime way for navigation.

Simultaneously Sulina became a modern town – soon a *porto franco* – with many stone-houses, maritime agencies, banks, consulates, modern quays and light-houses, churches (orthodox, catholic, Anglican, a mosque) and, of course, the European Commission' palace, technique service, villas, shipyard, with a water and electric plant. A town often comparted by its picturesque aspect with Bergen in Norway.

This remarkable transformation on the Black Sea was the first great and successful enterprise of the European spirit.

South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediteranean
Le Sud-Est Européen et la Méditerranée orientale
Convenor: Ioana Feodorov

Vera Tchentsova (Maison française d'Oxford ; UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée)
"Moscow, the Queen City, trembled all over while welcoming you…": About the second visit of Patriarch Macarius of Antioch to the Russian Tsar's Court

The second voyage of Patriarch Macarius III Ibn az-Zaʿīm of Antioch to Moscow attracted much less scholarly attention than his first visit to the Russian capital. Surely, this second stay did not leave such an extraordinary narration as that of Paul of Aleppo, the Patriarch's son and Archdeacon, who thoroughly described their first voyage. However, an important volume of archival documentary materials that give evidence of Macarius's life in Russia, his role in the church council of 1666-1667 and in discussions concerning the liturgical reforms going on in the Muscovite state, allow to fill the absence of the detailed narration. Archival documents on the participation of the Eastern Patriarchs, Macarius of Antioch and Paisius of Alexandria, in various church ceremonies and celebrations hold particular interest: they show the Russian government's attitude to the Eastern Churches at that time. The special respect and attention from the Muscovite authorities to the Eastern Patriarchs was a consequence of a long and painful "Patriarch Nikon issue". The Eastern Patriarchs' help to obtain a canonically justified solution, necessary for the Russian patriarchal Chair, vacant because of Nikon's departure, was essential not only for the Russian Church, but also for the State. This paper focuses on several aspects of Macarius's stay in Russia and on his connections with Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and the Russian élite.

Carsten-Michael Walbiner (Research Center for Oriental Christianity, Catholic University Eichstaett)
Traces of Russian (church) history in the writings of Macarius b. Al-Zaʿīm

Macarius, who held the post of patriarch of Antioch from 1647 until his death in 1672, was the most prolific writer of the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox in early modern times. His oeuvre owes much to the several journeys he made to the Balkans, the Ukraine, Russia and Georgia. It was there that he found the time and inspiration for his literary work, which mainly exploited Greek texts – be it by full translations or through partial borrowings. Macarius showed

considerable interest in the history and present state of the countries that he visited, which is reflected in works like a history of the Walachian rulers or *Aḫbār bilād al-Kurǧ* ("History of the Georgians' country"). Macarius went to Russia twice. While the first sojourn (1652-1659) was described in detail by his son and travel-companion Paul 'of Aleppo' (d. 1669), the second visit (1666-68) was not captured in a similar matter. This paper aims at exploring the traces of Russian (church) history in the writings of Macarius, by focussing on three texts:

1) The story of the conversion of the Russians as told by Paisios Ligarides in his "Book of Signs",
2) A *notitia episcopatum* of the Muscovite Patriarchate, which forms part of a work on the seven ecumenical councils, and
3) A note on three religious controversies fought over in Russia during Macarius's visits.

Mihai Ţipău (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
Byzance et les Grecs dans le récit de voyage de Paul d'Alep

Le grec était un moyen principal de communication pendant le voyage des prélats antiochiens dans le monde orthodoxe et surtout à Constantinople et dans les Pays Roumains. Le Patriarche Macaire et son fils, l'archidiacre Paul, employaient leurs connaissances de grec tant pour les services de l'Église, que pour leur interaction quotidienne avec les Grecs ou les Roumains. Mais une fois arrivé à Constantinople, Paul d'Alep s'intéressait aussi de voir et reconnaitre les traces et les vestiges de l'Empire chrétien dont il était familiarisé à travers ses lectures. C'est la gloire de Byzance qu'il cherche, même dans les Pays Roumains ou en Russie. Versé dans l'histoire byzantine, Paul d'Alep confronte ses connaissances livresques avec les réalités qu'il rencontre sur le terrain, en offrant un récit qui rivalise et même surpasse celui de plusieurs voyageurs occidentaux au Levant. La contribution présente traite de la présence d'informations sur les Grecs et Byzance dans le récit de voyage de Paul d'Alep, proposant une meilleure valorisation de ses notes par les historiens de l'héritage byzantin.

Sofia Moiseeva (St Tikhon's Orthodox University, Church Research Center "Orthodox Encyclopedia", Moscow)
Hagiographical Renaissance as a part of Melkite Renaissance: Macarius b. al-Zaʿīm's contribution

Hagiography, an extremely important part of the ecclesiastical literature, has been developing among Melkites, in the Arabic language, since the 8th century. A number of original pieces from the 9th-10th centuries demonstrate the evolution Melkite hagiography went through in regard of literary genres and style. Then, after several centuries of gradual decline, this hagiographical tradition enjoyed a revival during the so-called "Melkite Renaissance" in the 17th century. The major actor in this process was Macarius b. al-Zaʿīm, Patriarch of Antioch (1647-1672). This paper is meant to answer the question: Which forms did this revival take, with respect to the previous Tradition? Among the issues to be considered are: the circle of Saints chosen for constructing the "hagiographical world" of the Church of Antioch, the interaction of hagiography with other literary genres (historiography), the use of hagiographical *topoi*, etc. Of particular interest are the traces of hagiography in the biography of Macarius's teacher Meletius Karma, Metropolitan of Aleppo and later Patriarch of Antioch under the name of Euthymius II (1634-1635).

Stavros S. Panayiotou (Neapolis University, CY)
Re-examining hagiographical sources on the Arab-Byzantine intercultural relations in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean

This presentation aims at re-examining Christian hagiographical sources which need further consideration as regards the role of the Muslim settlement and its heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the 9th-10th centuries AD, where the two prominent empires (Byzantium and Islam) reached their peak for sovereignty in the Mediterranean Sea. Christian historiography, such as Saints' biographies and several prejudiced narratives influenced by religious, political and ideological fanaticisms, increased the tendency of misrepresenting historical facts by insulting the Muslim authorities and their naval warfare, characterizing them merely as bloodthirsty pirates. However, in connection with the Islamic maritime law, several interesting materials have emerged that shed additional light on the transcultural heritage between Byzantium and Islam in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Crete, Cyprus and the Cyclades. My aim is to enrich the view of naval warfare with supplementary material, so as to omit exaggerated aspects and biased misconceptions by

revealing a better balance between the Byzantine and Arab intercultural relations in the Eastern Mediterranean. After ca. 825 AD, when the Andalusian Muslim refugees sailing from Andalusia via Alexandria disembarked on Crete, they established the Emirate of Crete, from which several naval expeditions were undertaken across the Aegean. Two interpretations have sprung out of this practice, mainly based on whether these practices were actually mostly unlawful practices of a form of maritime violence or activities authorized by the state (the Caliphate). Arguing against the first and favouring the latter, I contend that, taking into account Muslim and Syrian sources, the Byzantines and the Arabs, despite their struggle for thalassocracy, undoubtedly passed through a peaceful period of consent by sharing commercial trade and respecting each other's military and naval intelligence. Besides, several archaeological findings, such as the Serce Liman shipwreck found in the Sea of Marmara, at Constantinople, support our conclusion that the two powers negotiated and got involved in the Mediterranean on an equal footing.

Constantin A. Panchenko (Moscow State University)
Romanians and the revival of Palestinian monasticism in the early Ottoman period

The Late Middle Ages were a period of decline of the Middle Eastern Christian peoples in general and their monastic movement in particular. The severity of the ascetic life in desert monasteries did not attract the Melkites of Syria and Palestine. Most of the Palestinian monks were of Balkan or Caucasian origin. They had little ties with the local Christian population and crucially depended on financial and demographical support from their distant metropolitans. The collapse of the Orthodox states of the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea region in the 15th century under the Ottomans' blows aggravated the crisis of Middle Eastern monasticism. A lack of financial support from the outside Orthodox world and the local Melkite communities, as well as the pressure of nomad tribes, caused a gradual abandonment of the Judean desert monasteries starting with the 13th century. The political structure of the Greek Orthodox civilization changed drastically in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. New centres of power appeared, with claims to the Byzantine heritage. The Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia considered themselves successors of the Emperors of Constantinople and protectors of the Orthodox Churches. They sent alms to Mount Athos, Mount Sinai, and the Holy Land. The Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516–1517 strengthened the ties between the Middle Eastern Melkites and their co-believers in Eastern Europe. It promoted an influx of

monks and alms from the Balkans that lead to a revival of the Judean desert monasteries. In the 1530's the famous Mar Saba convent, which had been abandoned in the late 15th century, was resettled by a group of Slavic and Greek monks, with financial support from the rulers of Wallachia. The first head of Mar Saba was the former abbot of the Sinai Monastery Ioakim Vlachos ('the Wallachian'). In the 16th century the Mar Saba monks and the Archangels Monastery of Jerusalem founded a monastic republic (almost forgotten by later historians) equivalent to similar autonomous monastic communities of Sinai, Mont Athos, Meteora, etc. The Mar Saba brethren – which were multi-ethnic, with a Serbian predominance – received permanent support from the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, who were attached to the same Slavonic culture as the majority of the Sabaite community. The paper surveys various ties between the Danube Principalities and the Middle Eastern monasteries (Sinai and Mar Saba) in the 16th century.

Charbel Nassif (Leiden University)
Les miniatures des empereurs byzantins et des sultans ottomans dans le manuscrit Ad-Durr Al-Manẓūm de Yūssef Al-Muṣawwer

Le manuscrit *Arabe C 358* de l'Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux de Saint-Pétersbourg est la traduction arabe d'une partie de la chronique de Matthieu Kigalas imprimée en 1637 à Venise. Le manuscrit a été réalisé vers 1648 par Yūssef Al-Muṣawwer (fin XVIe siècle – 1660-1666), célèbre traducteur, peintre et miniaturiste d'Alep, disciple du patriarche d'Antioche Makarios III Ibn al-Zaʿīm, promoteur d'un renouveau spirituel dans son Église. Le manuscrit est orné de 80 miniatures d'empereurs byzantins et 14 miniatures de sultans ottomans. Nous nous proposons de présenter brièvement dans cette intervention, premièrement, les portraits des sultans ottomans. Nous étudierons par la suite les portraits des empereurs byzantins, sous différents aspects (vêtements et insignes impériaux), afin d'évaluer leur fidélité au code vestimentaire byzantin impérial et de mettre en évidence certaines particularités iconographiques liées au texte (portraits de Julien l'Apostat et de Léon V) et à l'histoire de l'Église melkite (culte de saint Syméon Stylite, la renommée de l'hymnographe Kassiani), pour finir par identifier les sources iconographiques de ces miniatures.

Ioana Feodorov (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Was Peter Movila's Confession of the Orthodox Faith a source for the teachings on the Orthodox faith in the 1752 Beirut Psalter?

The first Arabic book printed in Beirut, in 1752, was an Arabic *Psalter*. It was printed in Arabic types at the St George Greek Orthodox Monastery. I have recently located a copy at the Library of the University of Uppsala (Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek). On page 2 starts a *Brief teaching on the Christian faith*, followed by: "On the Christian's way and the sign of the Holy Cross." From line 9 on there are questions and answers introduced by letters printed in red ink: *s* for *su'āl*, "Question", followed by *ǧ* for *ǧawāb*, „Answer". Christodulos, Bishop of Gaza and Ramla, prepared in 1675 the first Arabic translation of the Greek version of the *Orthodox Confession* composed by Peter Movilă, Metropolitan of Kiev. Christodulos's version has the title: *Kitāb iʿtirāf ar-raiyy al-mustaqīm*, "The Book of the Confession of the Orthodox Faith", and it comprises three parts, on *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*. The author of the Greek text is called *Mūǧīlās*. An intermediate between the two could be the *Teaching of the Orthodox Christian faith*, translated from Greek into Arabic by Sophronius of Kilis, in three parts that comprise 128 questions and their answers. This paper presents a comparison of the three texts, offering insight into their possible relationship.

Benedict Valentin Vesa (Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)
Theology and Education in the Church of Persia

Education was from the very beginning an essential component in the Syriac Christian milieu. Thus, next to the parish church one identifies the presence of a school, at the beginning mostly exegetical, developed within the frame of the Hebrew theological tradition. The educational institution was also part of the monastic preparation, but not in an uninterrupted form and not always accepted. The most representative educational institution for this area was the School of Edessa – Nisibis, called "School of the Persians", after the arrival of the Nisibis refugees, and, later on, transferred again to Nisibis. This place became, especially after the Christological disputes, the centre for learning the East Syriac 'Orthodoxy' *par excellence*, the Theodorian perspective. One may identify great personalities who studied and taught in this institution, as Qiyore, Narsai, Henana of Adiabene, Babai the Great, Martyrius / Sahdona, and others. In this paper I will firstly deal with the educational tradition in the Syriac milieu, in particular the East Syriac line, and the forms it took; secondly, I will focus on

the School of Edessa – Nisibis and the development of a specific theology. Finally, I will highlight the role of this institution for the East Syriac Church, as a possible educational paradigm used later on.

Georgiana Focşineanu (University of Bucharest)
Politeness and impoliteness in Paul of Aleppo's travel journal (1652-1659)

Our paper presents a survey of Paul of Aleppo's travel journal from the view point of historical pragmatics. Taking into account the *politeness theory*, our research explores and describes a rich inventory of language strategies of politeness (and impoliteness) in this Christian Arabic text. It also reveals the politeness codes identified by Paul in the countries and cities that he visited together with his father, Patriarch Makarios III Ibn al-Za'īm, with a main focus on Constantinople, the Romanian Principalities, and Ukraine. Thus, protocol patterns are identified, resulting from a combination of previous knowledge, from Paul's Syrian background, and newly acquired strategies, which he came to observe during his seven-year journey through Eastern Europe and the Levant.

Yulia Petrova ('A. Krymsky' Institute of Oriental Studies, Kyiv)
The Collection of Arabic manuscripts at the V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Kiev)

There are several collections of Oriental manuscripts preserved in Ukraine (Kyiv, Lviv, Odessa, and Kharkiv). The Manuscript Institute of the V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Kyiv) contains the largest collection of Arabic manuscripts in the country. It was formed mostly on the basis of the following separate collections:
1)   The collection of the Polish nobleman Józef A. Jabłonowski that had become a part of the library of the St Vladimir University of Kyiv;
2)   The private collection of the Academician Agathangel Krymsky, containing manuscripts brought by him from the Levant and Trebizond;
3)   The library of the Kyiv Theological Academy, where some Arabic manuscripts donated by Archimandrite Antoninus (Kapustin) were preserved.
During the 20th century the Arabic manuscripts preserved in Kyiv were studied by I. Krachkovsky, T. Kezma, V. Rybalkin, and O. Savchenko. The total number of Arabic manuscripts mentioned in the brief catalogue of O. Savchenko (1988) is 71. The comparison of some manuscripts with the data available revealed a

need for its revision and the composition of more detailed descriptions. This paper surveys the history of this collection, with a special focus on the Arab Christian manuscripts, as well as the items that could be of special interest for specialists.

Serge Frantsouzoff (Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux, St. Pétersbourg)
Les vieux livres imprimés en écriture arabe dans la collection de Jean-François Xavier et Jean-Baptiste Louis Jacques Rousseau, père et fils

Au mois de novembre de 2018 l'Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux célébra son bicentenaire. C'était la collection des diplomates et joailliers français Jean-François Xavier Rousseau (1738–1808) et son fils Jean-Baptiste Louis Jacques Rousseau (1780–1831), acquise par le Gouvernement de Russie, qui a constitué le noyau des fonds des manuscrits proche-orientaux du Musée Asiatique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences à St. Pétersbourg. Il est généralement accepté que cette collection n'incluait que les manuscrits. Pourtant la lecture attentive du catalogue de son premier lot (vendu en 1819), qui comprenait exactement 500 exemplaires ([Rousseau J. – B.L.J.], *Catalogue d'une collection de cinq cents manuscrits orientaux*, Paris, Imprimerie Le Normant, 1817), démontre qu'il s'agit de 484 copies écrites à la main et de 16 vieux livres imprimées, chrétiens aussi bien qu'islamiques. Onze d'entre eux ont été identifiés et retrouvés dans la bibliothèque de l'Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux. Ils ont été publiés dans les imprimeries fondées à Rome en 1584 par le Cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis (2 ex.) et en 1613 par François Savary de Brèves, Ambassadeur de France auprès du Saint-Siège (1 ex.), par le renégat transylvain et premier imprimeur ottoman Ibrâhîm Müteferriqa, à Constantinople, en 1728 (2 ex., dont un en 2 volumes) et, ce qui nous intéresse le plus, par le Métropolitain (et Patriarche) Athanase III Dabbâs, à Alep, en 1706-1707 (5 ex.). La production d'Alep comprend deux Psautiers de 1706 (tous les deux incomplets), un Tétraévangile et un Évangéliaire parus la même année et un recueil de 34 homélies de St. Jean Chrysostome imprimé en 1707. Cet Évangéliaire luxueux et assez volumineux (566 p.) mérite une attention particulière, puisqu'il n'est attesté nulle part dans les travaux consacrés à l'imprimerie d'Alep et à ses livres. Au total la collection de Rousseau, père et fils, donne une impression relativement complète des premiers livres imprimés en caractères arabes. C'est dommage qu'elle ne fût pas appréciée jusqu'à présent sous cet aspect.

Ljiljana Stošić (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Islamic Influences and Orientalism: Serbian Art and the Balkans

Serbian fine and applied arts between the 16th and 20th centuries reveal an Islamic influence and Orientalism, which first emerged in the art of the Orthodox Balkan peoples during Ottoman rule, initially as stylized vegetal or geometric ornaments in miniatures and calligraphy, architecture, furniture, textile items, jewellery and weaving, and later in icons and fresco painting. In the 18th century, Oriental influences were also adopted from European Rococo, whereas in the 19th century they came from the then-popular Orientalism in historical painting, genre scenes and portraits. This leading style was adopted both by Western European and by local painters trained at art academies in Vienna, Pest and Munich. East Mediterranean cultural roots were sporadically revived in the 20th century painting through local artists who studied in Paris and continued careers in their home countries. Typical iconographic motifs included arabesques, Kufic letters and Rumi ornaments, six-pointed stars, floral motifs – such as tulips, wild roses, carnations and chickpea leaves, as well as Saracenic pointed arches and turned wooden balusters. The Oriental style was also reflected in the choice of materials (*e.g.*, mother-of-pearl) and techniques (*e.g.*, inlay and marquetery), the use of turquoise and orange, and, in particular, the use of silver for decorative surface effects. The most common Oriental elements of dress and accessories included caftans, turbans, shalwar and Turkish slippers, as well as sabres, pitchers and Persian rugs, which adorned not only the dress and the setting of portrayed historical figures, but also appeared in depictions of Christian saints. In the 19th century, the fez, a type of men's hat, remained a feature of urban national costume throughout the Balkans. Black Arabs, Saracens or Egyptians were the shared motif in the fine arts and literature of the Balkan peoples. Cut-off heads, impaled bodies, or the cutting off of tongues, reflecting the cruelty of retribution and punishment of offenders and infidels, appeared in copperplate engravings only exceptionally. The scenes from Turkish baths, with eunuchs and odalisques – lying on sofas or seated with folded legs, *alla turca*, on tables – still remain unrivalled among Oriental cabinet paintings.

Aleksandar Z. Savić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)
Athos – Jerusalem – Sinai: Towards a conceptual understanding of the Holy Places in Medieval Serbia

In the present paper we argue that Serbian sources (mostly but not exclusively comprising hagiographic material) reveal a peculiar conceptual framework in which the focal points of Orthodox spirituality were conceived of in the Middle Ages. The process of 'discovering' the *loca sancta* – Athos, Jerusalem, and Sinai, in that particular order – which goes back to St Sava's peregrinations in the Eastern Mediterranean, appears to encapsulate a highly intricate notion of progress which gradually unfolds not only on a physical, spatial plane, but also in terms of a spiritual advancement of the newly constituted Nemanjić realm and its subjects. By tackling the discourse on a Serbian presence at the holy places, as attested to in our sources, we shall strive to elucidate certain ideological implications of St Sava's travels.

Radu Dipratu (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
The 'imperial signs' (nişan-ı hümayun) and the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process in the 17ᵗʰ Century

Capitulations (*'ahdname-i hümayun*) formed the basis of Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic and commercial relations throughout the existence of the two neighbouring states. However, the documents issued from 1595 to 1641 followed the same pattern of articles, only updating the names of current sultans and doges, without introducing new items. New affairs appear to have been regulated through 'Imperial Signs' (*nişan-ı hümayun*), documents similar to the Capitulations, but complementary to them. Focusing on two such *nişan*s from the first half of the 17ᵗʰ century, I will analyse why and how they were issued, how they were structured, and what topics they covered. I will show that the 'Imperial Signs' became a crucial aspect of the Ottoman-Venetian peace-making process, as they were renewed, alongside the Capitulations, after the enthronement of each new sultan.

Paolo Gerbaldo (Université de Turin)
Presque en Orient. Le regard différent sur le Sud-Est Européen d'un voyageur italien : Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto de Turin à Constantinople

Quelques années avant la mise en service du train qui sera connu comme « Orient-Express », l'itinéraire pour arriver à Constantinople traversait,

lentement, le Sud-Est Européen. Le regard des voyageurs sur cette mosaïque des territoires offre aussi des informations importantes pour la connaissance du Sud-Est Européen qui était toujours un endroit peu fréquenté. La route qui va de Vienne jusqu'à Varna est secondaire, car les voyageurs qui vont en Orient préfèrent utiliser les paquebots pour Alexandrie ou Constantinople. Le récit du voyage fait en 1872 par le comte italien Stanislao Grimaldi del Poggetto (1825-1903), qui voyagera aussi sur la Méditerranée orientale pour aller à Beirut, va offrir de ce monde, culturellement encore loin, un regard privilégié entre voyage matériel, histoire, ressource économique et vie sociale.

Liviu Bordaş (New Europe College, Bucharest)
From the Ottoman Empire to the Mughal Empire. The many lives of an 18th century political adventurer

The paper discusses the biography and writings of an 18th century political adventurer who is almost absent from the modern research. He was born in the Ottoman Empire, but travelled all over the world and ended his life in Calcutta. Known as the author of three books, published between 1784 and 1793, under the pen name "Elias Habesci", and for several political-diplomatic roles, performed under various names, his true identity remains unknown. His possible identities are: Greek, Romanian / Aromanian, Albanian, Italian, Catholic Levantine, and Antiochian Arab. In his writings and in other accounts about him there is data to support each of these identities. I am discussing them by analysing his works dedicated to the Ottoman Empire, the Papal States, Georgia, India and Indochina, in conjunction with documents and correspondence that I have researched in archives of Paris, London, Calcutta, and New Delhi. Although no definitive conclusion can be drawn yet, some identities are more probable then others. In order to further the research, the collaboration with experts in the field of Turkish, Arabic and Persian studies becomes a necessity.

Şerban V. Marin (National Archives of Romania, Bucharest)
The Geographical Dimension of the Venetian Crusades. Between Terra Santa and the Balkans

This paper relies upon a number of around 250 Venetian chronicles written between the 13th and the 18th centuries, which I researched at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and the Library of Museo Civico Correr in Venice. Confronted with the huge

number of Venetian chronicles, modern scholars have usually left the above-mentioned ones aside. Nevertheless, their importance should not be underestimated: although rather secondary as sources, they express very well the viewpoint of the Venetian society on certain events in the past. Among the events narrated in them, I will focus on the routes followed by the Venetian participants to the Crusades. To be more specific, I will address first and foremost what one conventionally calls the First Crusade and the campaign carried out by Doge Domenico Michiel in 1122-1126 in the Holy Land. In both these Crusades, beside the military deeds in the coastal areas of Syria and Palestine, the Venetian crusaders were involved in events taking place in territories belonging to Byzantium: the stopover in the island of Rhodes and the descent in Myra ('Smyrna', as most chronicles call it by error) in order to get possession of St Nicholas's relics, during the First Crusade, and especially Doge Domenico Michiel's military raid in the Archipelago on his way back from the Holy Land. Thus, one could draw the conclusion that the Venetians considered the attacks upon various Byzantine possessions as crusading feats. I intend to follow the various manners proposed by the Venetian chronicles in presenting the routes followed by the Venetian crusading fleets on their way to or back from the Holy Land and these fleets' diversions in the Balkan region, *i.e.*, especially in the Aegean Archipelago, Peloponnesus, the Ionian Islands, and Dalmatia. This paper makes an attempt to offer a quantitative analysis, drawing comparisons between figures and proposing percentages related to the Venetian fleet routes in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean and Ionian Seas during these two Crusades. This method has in intention to demonstrate that, from the particular viewpoint of the Venetian chronicles, the involvement in the Byzantine South-East Europe represented a crusading deed almost as much as the military actions in the Holy Land.

Paule Fahmé-Thiéry (Paris)
Écriture de récits de voyage. Autour de Paul d'Alep, de Makarios Ibn al-Zaïm et de quelques voyageurs orientaux

Les récits de voyage d'orientaux deviennent un objet d'études sur lequel se penchent un nombre croissant de chercheurs. À ce titre je prendrai en compte des récits de voyageurs circulant dans le « Domaine », aire géographique et culturelle désignée par André Miquel, ainsi qu'à quelques autres circulant hors de ce « Domaine ». Pour intégrer les éléments de ce contexte culturellement prégnant, ma recherche porte donc sur des écrits rédigés par des voyageurs chrétiens ou musulmans sur une période allant du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle. Un

certain continuum peut être repéré sur cette période dans l'histoire ottomane, le XVIIe siècle en représentant un moment charnière, et le récit de voyage de Bûlus Ibn al-Zaïm une épiphanie et un exemple accompli. L'ensemble de ces récits doit être interrogé quant à la motivation de leur écriture et quant aux objectifs poursuivis, ces questions permettant souvent de suivre la genèse de l'écriture du récit. L'apparition d'un ressenti, d'une sensibilité, de l'expression d'émotions personnelles, de retours sur soi permettent de distinguer des récits plus ou moins normés et des écarts plus ou moins accentués par rapport à ces normes. À la fin du XVIIIe siècle et au XIXe siècle nombre de récits de voyageurs orientaux basculent vers des modèles exogènes. En projetant quelques regards vers des récits anciens du Xe siècle (Ibn Fadlân) ou vers des récits postérieurs à la période retenue, XIXe siècle (Tahtâwî), je m'intéresserai à des récits du XVIe siècle (les *Sefarat*) et du XVIIe siècle, notamment le *Seyâhatnâme* d'Evliyâ Çelebi, la *Rihla* de Bûlus Ibn al-Zaïm, et le voyage en Georgie de Makarios Ibn al-Zaïm. Je m'attarderai également sur le récit de Hanna Dyâb, écrit à la mi-temps du XVIIIe siècle. Je rechercherai ce qui me semble relever de la progressive mise en place de la modernité dans l'écriture des récits de voyage d'orientaux.

Mustafa Yavuz (History of Science Department, Istanbul Medeniyet University)
The Ottoman Reception of P.A. Mattioli's Commentaries on the Materia Medica of Dioscorides

The renowned European botanist of the 16th century Pietro Andrea Mattioli was also court physician to Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria, and Maximilian II, the Holy Roman Emperor. His most famous work *Commentaries on the* Materia Medica *of Dioscorides* was rapidly published in many European languages: Italian (1544), Latin (1554), French (1561), Czech (1562), and German (1563), having an immense influence on the botanists and physicians after him. Close to Europe, in the 18th century Ottoman Empire, there were irregular movements of translation and transfer of "new sciences", especially that of "new medicine". Both by its textual and illustrative information, the *Commentaries of Mattioli* influenced Ottoman physicians and scientists of the time. Drawing an allegory to contemporary biology, I intend to consider this transfer of information and materials "from source to sink" as dissemination of knowledge. I shall discuss the importance of translating a section of this work in Ottoman Turkish, as *Kitab al-Nabat* ("The Book of Plants"), and the essential

role of two persons involved in this new version: the translator, Osman Ibn Abd al-Mannan, and the patron, Ottoman Vizier Köprülü el-Hac Hafız Ahmed Pasha.

Teymour Morel (ENS-CNRS, Centre Jean Pépin, UMR 8230)
Asʿad al-Yānyawī et la tradition philosophique arabo-islamique : Une étude sur le manuscrit Manisa, İl Halk Kütüphanesi 5842

Asʿad al-Yānyawī, alias Yānyalı Esad Efendi (m. 1143/1730 or 1731), est un savant ottoman originaire de Ioannina, en Épire. Entre 1686 et 1687, il gagna Constantinople pour y effectuer ses études supérieures qui aboutirent à un diplôme d'enseignement (*mudarris*). Il est fameux pour avoir occupé les fonctions de réviseur dans l'imprimerie d'Ibrāhīm Müteferrika, de maître de langue turque de Dimitrie Cantemir, de professeur à la *madrasa* d'Eyüp à Constantinople et de juge de Galata. Patronné notamment par Alexandre Mavrocordat, mais aussi par le grand vizir Ibrāhīm Pāšā, Yānyawī est principalement connu pour avoir traduit en arabe deux commentaires à Aristote rédigés par Ioannes Cottunius (1572-1657), originaire de Véria (en Grèce actuelle) et professeur au *Studium* de Padoue. Pour lui, l'un des principaux handicaps dont souffraient les études philosophiques en terre d'Islam consistait dans le manque de rectitude des traductions du grec à l'arabe qui furent entreprises à l'époque abbasside. Il plaida pour un nécessaire retour aux sources et projeta de traduire à nouveau la *Logique*, la *Physique* et la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote. Il choisit les commentaires de Cottunius aux deux premières pour s'aider dans cette tâche, en les traduisant toutes deux presque intégralement. Certains de ses disciples l'aidèrent dans sa tâche.

Le « manuscrit-bibliothèque » 5842 de la Bibliothèque publique de Manisa est un recueil de textes qui fut possédé par un vieil étudiant de Yānyawī jamais identifié comme tel à notre époque, et pourtant bien connu dans l'histoire ottomane. Il contient, en premier lieu, une copie de la traduction de la *Logique* qui est suivie par une série de textes appartenant majoritairement à la tradition philosophique arabo-islamique, tradition dont Yānyawī affirmait pourtant vouloir se distancer. Ma contribution se présentera sous la forme d'une brève étude de ce codex en ayant pour but d'évaluer le degré de cohérence de ce recueil avec l'enseignement du maître de Ioannina.

Stefano di Pietrantonio (Université Catholique de Louvain / École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris)
L'original grec du Kitāb fī ṣināʿat al-faṣāḥa *du Patriarche d'Antioche Athanase III Dabbās*

Parmi les traductions arabes d'ouvrages grecs attribuées au patriarche grec-orthodoxe d'Antioche Athanase III Dabbās (1647-1724) se trouve un traité d'éloquence sacrée intitulé le plus souvent dans les manuscrits *(Kitāb) fī ṣināʿat al-faṣāḥa*. Athanase Dabbās en a achevé la traduction à Alep en 1718. Cet ouvrage en cinq livres traite du beau discours et des figures de style en combinant références à la littérature grecque patristique et emprunts à la mythologie grecque antique. Conservé dans un nombre important de témoins manuscrits (plus de cinquante à ce jour), répartis principalement entre le Liban, la Syrie et Rome, ce texte ne révèle à aucun endroit le titre de l'ouvrage grec dont il est tiré ni le nom de son auteur, comme ce fut déjà le cas lorsqu'Athanase Dabbas traduisit du grec en arabe le célèbre *Divan* du prince Dimitrie Cantemir (sous le titre *Ṣalāḥ al-ḥakīm wa-fasād al-ʿālam al-ḏamīm*). Toutefois, après avoir exploré plusieurs pistes possibles, nos recherches nous ont permis de lever le voile sur la genèse du *Kitāb fī ṣināʿat al-faṣāḥa*, qui est la traduction d'un ouvrage intitulé *Τέχνη ῥητορικῆς* et que l'on doit au Grec Frangiskos Skoufos, qui l'a publié à Venise en 1681. Si les circonstances dans lesquelles Athanase Dabbās a pu se procurer ou consulter un exemplaire de cet imprimé ne sont pas encore connues, cette découverte ouvre des perspectives inespérées pour la compréhension du texte du *Kitāb fī ṣināʿat al-faṣāḥa* et l'étude du projet qui accompagnait la version arabe.

Devotion and Pious Donations to the Holy Places within the Ottoman Empire / Dévotion et donations pieuses aux Lieux Saints de l'Empire Ottoman
Convenor: Radu G. Păun

Lidia Cotovanu (Institut d'Histoire « N. Iorga », Bucarest)
Métoques avant les métoques. Dédicaces de terres valaques aux monastères du Mont-Athos (XIVe-XVIe siècles)

Dans l'historiographie roumaine il est unanimement accepté que la pratique de la dédicace de lieux de culte valaques et moldaves à titre de métoques envers les Lieux Saints de l'Orthodoxie début dans les années 1565-1570. Le monastère St-Nicolas de Bucarest, fondation du grand *ban* Ghiorma, fut le premier métoque – constitué d'un monastère, avec tous ses biens meubles et immobiliers – acquis par le Mont-Athos dans les Principautés danubiennes. On a affaire, dans ce cas, à une forme de dédicace dont l'objet est structuré autour d'un édifice religieux (monastère, église, skyte), qui sert de lieu d'administration du patrimoine investi dans l'acte de fondation. Or, cette forme de dédicace envers les Lieux Saints d'Orient ne constitue qu'une étape dans la chaîne de l'organisation des dons envers les Lieux Saints. À part les dons d'argents, accomplis en règle générale par les princes régnant des Principautés, il faut compter les cas des dons de domaines fonciers – villages entiers ou en partie, avec les paysans asservis, lieux déserts, forêts et montagnes, etc. – qui, comme jadis à Byzance, avaient statut de *métoques*. De cette forme de dédicace a bénéficié tout spécialement le monastère athonite de Kutlumus (à partir de la fin du XIVe siècle), mais aussi le monastère de Xénophon (premier quart du XVIe siècle). À destination restreinte, cette forme de dédicace déboucha elle-même, en début du XVIIe siècle, sur l'organisation de l'objet de la dédicace autour d'un monastère : Clocociov, dans le cas de Kutlumus ; Jdrelea, dans le cas de Xénophon. Le but est ici de comparer ces deux formes de dédicace – *sans* et *avec* édifice religieux comme lieu d'administration des biens fonciers dédiés – et tacher de dégager, autant que possible, le régime juridique des terres arrivées dans les mains des moines « grecs » avant le milieu du XVIe siècle. Pareille démarche nous aidera, peut-être, à mieux saisir les motivations menant à la structuration des dons de terres envers les monastères « grecs » autour de lieux de culte bâtis sur place, en Valachie et en Moldavie.

Elias Kolovos (University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology)
Orthodox Patronage across South-East Europe under the Ottomans: the case of Mount Athos, mid-16th century

In this paper, I will present the Ottoman documents concerning the permission to the monks of the Athonite monastery of Xeropotamou to rebuild its main church (katholikon) in 1564-1567, thanks to donations by the Moldavian ruler Alexander Lăpuşneanu (1552-1561 and 1564-1568). Alexander Lăpuşneanu was at that time also a donor for the rebuilding of the main church (katholikon) of the monastery of Dochieariou (1567) as well as for the refectory and the hospital of the monastery of Dionysiou (1563). After his death, his wife Ruxandra and her son Bogdan donated a lot to the Athonite monasteries of Docheiariou, Dionysiou and Karakallou in order to help them rebuy their properties after the confiscation of the monastic properties under Sultan Selim II in 1568-1569.

Radu G. Păun (Centre d'Étude des Mondes Russe, Caucasien et Centre-Européen, CNRS – EHESS, Paris)
Pour une histoire sociale des relations roumano-athonites. Quelques pistes de recherche

Le récit historiographique dominant a depuis longtemps fait de l'histoire des donations valaques et moldaves aux lieux de culte situés à l'étranger, et notamment au Mont Athos, une histoire de princes et de seigneurs pour lesquels l'acte de donation a eu une signification idéologique étroitement liée à l'héritage « impérial » byzantin. Cette perspective est en grande mesure le résultat d'un vice de documentation : à force de mobiliser des sources « classiques » (chartes, inscriptions (gravées, peintes ou brodées), notices marginales), qui très souvent expriment des attitudes plutôt individuelles, on a fini par perdre de vue la composante sociale du phénomène.

La présente communication se propose d'ouvrir quelques pistes de réflexion en partant du postulat que la donation pieuse est un fait social, à savoir un moyen de recomposer un groupe (famille, clan, communauté territoriale) autour et en fonction d'un repère à portée identitaire (lieux, saint(e)s, reliques, icônes réputées miraculeuses, etc.) censé structurer et protéger ce groupe. À ce titre, elle doit être étudiée avec les outils de l'histoire sociale, afin de déceler les motivations des acteurs et recomposer, tant que faire se peut, la dynamique des pratiques de dévotion sur une durée moyenne et longue. Aussi, il est impératif de replacer le phénomène dans le contexte large

des échanges à l'œuvre entre les différentes régions du monde orthodoxe, de Jérusalem jusqu'en Russie, en passant par les Balkans et par les deux principautés danubiennes.

Augustin Guriță („Al.I. Cuza" University, Jassy)
The Poverty-saving Assets. The Metochia of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Moldavia and Wallachia (18ᵗʰ and 19ᵗʰ centuries)

The relations between the Romanian Principalities and the Patriarchate of Alexandria, one of the 'most forsaken' Apostolic Churches, are insufficiently known, especially due to the lack of documents. The presence of the Alexandrian patriarchs in the Romanian space intensified especially after the end of the 16ᵗʰ century, as they almost ceased to see their own diocese, and established their second temporary residence in Constantinople. Following the publication of new documents, Romanian-Alexandrian relations can be better understood in the context of 'the Phanariot period'. In this paper I will focus on the connection of the Romanian Principalities with the Patriarchate of Alexandria, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, until the moment of secularization. During this period, the constant aids from Moldova and Wallachia contributed to the survival of the second apostolic see of the Orthodox world. The metochia had a special role in this, especially since they were constantly sending funds to the Patriarchate. The estates of the dedicated monasteries have been disputed over the years, and the knowledge of all aspects of these realities leads to a better understanding of how the connections to 'Holy Places' have been administered by various princes or during the periods of military occupation.

Maria Litina (National Bank Cultural Foundation, Centre for History and Palaeography)
The contribution of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem to the education of Greek communities' in the Balkans: the case of the metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Philippopolis (1885-1888)

The paper examines the role of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem in supporting Greek schools in the Balkans in the late 19th century, a period marked by intense nationalist antagonisms in the Balkans. With particular reference to the activities of the metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Philippopolis, one among many others in the region of Macedonia and Thrace. The metochion was a centre for gathering pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem and

collecting alms from the Orthodox flock. As a result of increasing pressure by the Bulgarian community of Philippopolis to purchase this metochion, in 1885 the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Philippopolis Ioakim (1885-1890) requested the permission of the Patriarch of Jerusalem Nikodimos (1883-1890) to donate the metochion's land property to the Greek community of Philippopolis in order to build a Greek school. The procedure of the property's donation to the Greek community is followed through the extant correspondence preserved in the Archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, shedding further light to the Patriarchate's support of the Greek Orthodox population in the Balkans after the Patriarchate of Cyril II (1845-1872), in reaction to the Bulgarian efforts for ecclesiastical autonomy and national independence through the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate.

Mircea Grațian Duluș (Central European University, Budapest)
Defining Orthodoxy in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily: The case of Philagathos of Cerami and Neilos Doxapatres

The coexistence of the three most important religious traditions of Medieval Europe in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, namely the Byzantine Greek, Franco Latin and Arab-Muslim, determined the Sicilian kings (1130–1194) to devise a complex religious system aimed at harmonizing the divisions between its ethnic and religious communities. This paper explores the manner in which Greek Christianity affirmed and defined its beliefs and identity against the background of the Norman royal experiments of appropriation of different Mediterranean religious traditions for conveying the message of a distinct, multi-lingual and multi-ritual Church solely subjected to the king, the supreme head of the (Sicilian) Church. The analysis will consider the homiletic corpus of Philagathos of Cerami and the monumental theological anthology, *De oeconomia Dei* of Neilos Doxapatres with a twofold focus: to assess the extent of religious convergence of the Italo-Greek and Byzantine tradition with the Latin Church and to observe the reflection of the Norman notion of theocratic kingship therein. The investigation will look at the hitherto unexplored allusions to specific Latin doctrines (i.e. papal primacy and Filioque) in Philagathos' homilies and reassess Neilos' extensive polemical engagement with the Latin Church (e.g. *De oeconomia Dei*, book II, chapters 190, 191 and 201). At the same time, the analysis will consider the appropriation of the Byzantine ideology of power on behalf of the Norman dynasty accomplished by Neilos and Philagathos (e.g., four Philagathean homilies enclose explicit references to the Norman rulers – hom. 4, 27, 50, 52 and 53 –, whilst several other delivered in various churches in Palermo may involve audiences with links to the Norman court – hom. 21, 23, 33, 35 and 61).

Snezhana Filipova ("S. Cyril and Methodius" University, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje)
The Precious gifts by the Byzantine emperors to the Ohrid Archbishopric

The relics and art works (embroidered airs, icons, etc.) preserved to a certain degree up today, once possessed and/or gifted to The Ohrid archbishopric by several Byzantine Emperors speak of its importance and diplomatic contacts. It also shows the importance of its role within the Byzantine and Serbian state. It was the Ohrid archbishop that together with his colleague from Trnovo attended and conducted the very important event in 1346 in Skopje. A legend tells the so-called *Tsar gate* was built and closed not to be used again after a coronation of a Byzantine emperor in Ohrid (probably in the 2/2 of the 3th C.) It is not far from the truth, some scholars believe. it may be the emperor once depicted on the walls of the small cave church of St. Erasmo near Ohrid.

Today most of the precious gifts and objects are on display in the Sofia National Museum of History, taken by and transported to Sofia by the Bulgarian army during the Balkans Wars. They have been for the first time exported to a Moscow exhibition in 2000.

When some church documents and imperial acts are missing to support the importance or a rank of a Church, it is the official precious gifts that come as the main proof to testify its status. Even though the head of St. Clement, the most important religious figure for the south Balkan Slavs has been stolen and can be traced in Ber, Greece, his body and role are not possible to be diminished and beheaded all together with the role of the Ohrid Archbishopric.

Petre Guran (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Unity of Faith and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy: the Gordian Knot of the Orthodox Idea

Since 1204, the first Fall of the Constantinople and to many historians the real end of the Byzantine Empire, the Byzantine Church had to face centrifugal tendencies. Thus historians are in there right to see the unity of the Church as deriving from the prestige and power of the Byzantine emperor. Nevertheless, the unity of the Byzantine Church survived the XIIIth century's atomization of the Empire and even more surprisingly it attained in the XIVth century a form of unity which by far surpassed any political relevance of the Empire. This is the *unity of faith*. The historical mechanism by which this unity of faith was obtained and preserved implies the existence of a hierarchy, which was embodied throughout the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods by the hierarchical system built around the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Only, the

crises in the functioning of the Patriarchate unveiled the existence of an informal hierarchy formed by monastic charismatic figures. The most visible center that produced such figures was Mount Athos, but in relation with a wide net of monastic settlements throughout the Orthodox World. The interplay between the two hierarchies extended as a pattern of Orthodoxy from the XIIIth to the XXth century. Can this historical mechanism help overcome the XXIst century's crisis of Orthodoxy?

Ion Croitoru (Université « Valahia », Târgovişte)
L'importance du Tome synodal du février 1347 pour l'Orthodoxie du monde byzantin et post-byzantin

The Christian Byzantine civilization was marked by great polemics in the 14th century, related, on the one hand, to the so-called "hesychast controversy", and, on the other hand, to the disputes between the pro-Latins and the anti-Unionists. To these aspects, one can add the civil wars in the Byzantine Empire and the diminution of its territorial extension, facts that diminished the State authority and permitted the Orthodox Church to become the most stable component of the Empire. The Synodal Tome of February 1347 represents one of the effects of these disputes, with many consequences for the Orthodoxy of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world, such as: the creation of a relation between the monastic circles, like the one of the Holy Mount Athos, and the ecclesial hierarchy in the Byzantine Empire, so that after 1347 these circles take over the actual leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Patriarchal See being occupied by disciples of Saint Gregory Palamas; the indication of the line to keep in order to maintain the accuracy and authenticity of the Orthodox teaching, aspects taken over, after the fall of Constantinople, by the Orthodox Christians from outside the Ottoman Empire, but kept as well in the Orthodox Christian world that was under Ottoman dominion; these attitudes permitted the development of the 18th century spiritual revivification movements, occurred around the Saints Basil of Poiana Mărului and Paisie Velecikovski in the extra-Carpathian Romanian Countries or under the guidance of the Saints Nicodemus the Hagiorite, Macarius of Corinth and Athanasius of Paros in the Holy Mount Athos.

Iulia Nițescu (Institute for the Research in the Humanities, University of Bucharest)
The Question of Sofiia Palaiologina's Religious Identity in Moscow

Since the 18th century, historians have regarded Sofiia Palaiologina's arrival in Moscow as the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Muscovite state, one where the `Byzantine legacy` would have become the new goal of the grand princes and tsars of Moscow. Sofiia, the niece of Constantine IX and the second wife of Ivan III of Moscow, was considered to be the perfect mediator for transfers of court ceremonies, coats of arms, or knowledge from Byzantium to Moscow. Despite her Byzantine origin, her Latin and pro-Unionist connections, such as the pro-Latin views of her father, or the seven years she spent in Rome as a Papal ward, led to an ongoing scholarly debate regarding her faith before the marriage.

    In this paper I argue that the Muscovite chronicles developed an Orthodox identity of Sofiia which didn't necessarily reflect her beliefs, but the marriage policy Ivan III wanted to establish. By analysing the *Moskovski svod 15 veka* in contrast with other more independent chronicles, I will discuss the detailed account of the marriage negotiation with Rome as an attempt to integrate Sofiia in a coherent narrative concerning the Muscovite ruling family, and as a possible official answer to her `Roman` origin. The Muscovite text gives very few information about Sofiia's life after the marriage, but offers an elaborate description of the negotiations, of the embassies sent to Rome, or of Sofiia's journey, making her wish to keep her Orthodox faith the central argument of the marriage. The biased nature of the text has been pointed out by researcher such as Konstantin Bazilevich or Tatiana Matasova, but the debate over Sofiia's faith has not been settled. I aim to extend this debate by analysing Sofiia's place within the marriage policy of the grand princes of Moscow, specifically in connection with the marriage negotiations for her and Ivan's children, where the Grand Prince of Moscow made faith a key issue.

Andreea Iancu (Bucarest)
Le tierçage successoral (τριμοιρία) : un héritage byzantin à l'épreuve de la pratique juridique (Valachie XVIIIe-début du XIXe siècle)

La τριμοιρία est une institution qui relève de la dévolution successorale, répondant aux circonstances spécifiques règlementées par la Novelle 26 d'Andronic II Palélologue (en 1306) : l'existence d'un époux survivant, le décès de l'enfant mineur après la mort d'un de ses parents. L'époux survivant héritait

alors un tiers de la succession de l'époux prédécédé. Le deuxième tiers revenait aux ascendants de celui-ci, afin qu'on ne rajoute pas à la douleur de la perte de leur descendant l'injustice de la perte de la propriété (lignagère). Enfin, la troisième partie, « la part de l'âme », était réservée aux commémorations, aux actes de charité et aux donations pieuses du défunt.

En Valachie, la *trimoiria* était considérée également une institution coutumière. Tout en connaissant l'origine canonique-byzantine de l'institution, le jurisconsulte grec Michel Photinos renvoyait, dans son Manuel juridique (1777), aussi à la coutume locale de la *trimoiria* définie, selon lui, par son ancienneté et par l'« amour pour les gens ». Fondée sur la philanthropie byzantine, le tierçage successoral attribuait à l'épouse survivante une partie afin de compenser les souffrances de la grossesse, de l'accouchement et de la perte de l'enfant. Une justification similaire était invoquée en faveur de l'épouse n'ayant pas eu d'enfants (*teorîtra*) pour les souffrances qu'elle avait vécues auprès des son époux malade ou bien comme reconnaissance de sa contribution, dans le temps, au patrimoine de celui-ci. Par ailleurs, le dernier argument était repris dans les testaments en faisant preuve d'une trimérie concernant non seulement la succession légale mais aussi testamentaire. Dans son analyse de la trimérie, Val. Al. Georgescu confrontait l'héritage byzantin à une coutume qui nourrissait la tendance de transmettre l'héritage à l'époux/se survivant/e sans enfants et de remplacer ainsi la solidarité lignagère par la solidarité entre époux. Son hypothèse soulève plusieurs questions. S'agit-il d'une tendance encouragée par les autorités juridiques ou bien elle est issue d'une pratique juridique ? Quels milieux décrivait la pratique de la *trimoiria* et quelles configurations parentales ? Comment la nature philanthropique de l'institution s'articulait en justice aux enjeux patrimoniaux et à la gestion des commémorations ? Quelles justifications pour les formes atypiques de la trimérie byzantine identifiées dans la pratique juridique ?

Une dernière question que nous envisageons d'aborder serait la pluralité des sources de droit concernant la réglementation de la trimérie. Comme Valentin Al. Georgescu le montre, il y avait également des différences dans la réglementation de la trimérie entre le Manuel juridique de 1777, au chrysobulle d'Alexandre Ypsilantis de 1775 et à son *Code* (1780). Nous allons prendre en compte tous ces modifications dans l'analyse de la pratique juridique. Quelles significations avaient-elles dans le contexte où le fondement légal d'une décision juridique des autorités ecclésiastiques consistait parfois en la complémentarité entre le droit canon (*pravila sfântă*), le droit princier (*Pravilniceasca condică*) et la « coutume de la terre » (*obiceiul pamântului*) ?

Quel était le choix en termes de fondement légal fait par les tribunaux laïques dans la question de la trimérie ?

Le corpus de notre recherche sera constitué surtout par des registres princiers (ANIC, mss. rom. 22, 28, 77-78, etc.) et ecclésiastiques, notamment BAR, Doc. Ist., MCCCXXXV/1-299: Registre de la diocèse d'Argeş (1792-1819), 299 de documents: procès de divorces, procès liés à l'héritage (la plupart relatifs à la trimoria), testaments, adoptions; BAR, mss. roum. 4025 (1808-1817) : Registre de la Métropolie de la Valachie, 96 documents, essentiellement des testaments, donations, feuilles de dot, échange/vente de terrains ecclésiastiques etc.

Elisabeta Negrău ("George Oprescu" Art History Institute, Bucharest)
Art Connections between Romanian Principalities and Epirus and Western Macedonia in the 17th Century: Contexts and Outgrowths

Almost 50 years ago, at the second edition of the International Congress of South-East European Studies, held in 1970 in Athens, the Romanian historian Maria-Ana Musicescu was stressing the importance of studying the contacts between the Romanian Principalities and Epirus in the 17th century, pointing out their particular importance for the study of painting production in Wallachia and Moldavia. However, since then, there were only few attempts of approaching the subject. Previously restrained to drawing a general research frame of the "Greek influence" (Vasiliu, 1987-1988), only recently did more consistent contributions to the study of the 17th–century painting, mostly of Wallachia, started to emerge (Tchentsova 2007; Popa et alii 2008), but an in-depth, thorough research of the subject still has to be accomplished. Our paper presents virtually unknown cases of Greek Macedonian and Epirote painters who worked in the Romanian Principalities starting with the second part of the 16th century until the beginning of the 18th century, commissioned by the rulers (voivodes) of the two countries. The research was conducted on unpublished fresco ensembles, like Clocociov, Strehaia, Golia, but also on previously published frescoed monuments, like Bucovăţ, Plătăreşti, Băjeşti, Topolniţa, Hurezi, Hlincea, Cetăţuia bringing up new data and conclusions on the identity and artistic background of their painters.

The Epirote and Greek-Macedonian painters contributed consistently to the stylistic features and iconographic repertoire of the 17th–century Romanian painting, by preparing or influencing local artists. Revealing the complex relations between the painters and their princely donors and correlating it with the cultural and theological climate of the time, we conclude

that the Greek Macedonian and Epirote artists, as agents of one of the most conservative cultural areas of the South-Eastern Europe, contributed significantly to strengthening the affiliation of the art of Wallachia and Moldavia to the rigorous trends of post-Byzantine traditionalism. The Romanian rulers of the 17th century had been interested in a re-Byzantinisation of the two Principalities and they headed for this purpose to painters from Epirus and Western Macedonia.

Dragoş Gh. Năstăsoiu (Center for Medieval Studies, National Research University "Higher School of Economics", Moscow)
Cross-credal Devotion: Catholic Saints Venerated by the Orthodox

Throughout the Middle Ages, Orthodox and Catholics had a common veneration for an important number of saints that have appeared in the Christian calendar before the separation of the two Churches as a consequence of the Great Schism (1054). Cults of saints such as that of the holy warrior George (d. 303), holy virgin and martyr Catherine of Alexandria (d. ca 305), or holy bishop of Myra Nicholas (d. 343) were highly popular both in the East and West, whereas other cults enjoyed a far greater veneration within one of the two churches and only a limited one within the other. For instance, pre-Schism saints such as the holy popes Clement I (d. 99) and Sylvester I (d. 335) or the founder of the Western monastic order St. Benedict of Nursia (d. 547) were highly revered within the Church of Rome; even though recognized by the Church of Constantinople, these saints received only an occasional veneration among the Orthodox. The Great Schism did not mean only the theological and institutional separation of the two Churches, but usually also the segregation of devotion: from that moment on, newly-canonized holy men and women were exclusively venerated by the faithful belonging to the respective Church which proclaimed them as saints.

On the basis of both textual and visual evidence, the present paper examines those cases of cross-credal devotion of post-Schism, Catholic saints by the Orthodox occurring during the Late Middle Ages in cultural contact zones, such as the Holy Land, Cyprus and Crete, Southern Italy, Dalmatian coastal towns, or Transylvania. In these territories found under foreign rule, the local Orthodox were greatly exposed to the dominant cultural model of the Latins, their response to it being sometimes reflected also in the religious and devotional sphere. Such trans-confessional forms of faith include: the Orthodox relevance of the cults of local – Venetian (St. Fosca of Torcello, d. 250/1), Sicilian (St. Catald of Taranto, canon. ca 685), or Limousin (St. Leonard of Noblac, d.

545) – saints in the Nativity Basilica in Bethlehem; the Slavic connection of the cult of St. Vitus (d. 303) and its ideological significance for medieval Serbia; the consequence of Franciscan and Dominican presence in Crete for the Orthodox veneration of St. Francis of Assisi (canon. 1228) and St. Peter of Verona (canon. 1253), respectively; or the assimilation of the cults of the holy kings of Hungary – Sts Stephen, Emeric (both canon. 1083), and Ladislas (canon. 1192) – by Romanian Orthodox noblemen in Transylvania.

In these instances of shared devotion by Catholics and Orthodox in medieval cultural contact zones, the Latin saints either preserved their Catholic devotional features within new, confessional contexts (i.e., Orthodox) or their cult was enriched with additional traits that were relevant from the point of view of Orthodox religious practice.

Irina Sedakova (Institute for Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Orthodox Values in Bulgarian Traditional Culture of 19th-21st centuries: an Ethno- and Sociolinguistic Approach

The paper explores the major values related to the Christian Orthodoxy and the religious discourse in the Bulgarian patriarchal (mostly rural) and modern (mostly urban) societies. In the center of the study are religious notions, such as the seven sins, the Trinity, virtues, etc. The church rituals and formalities such confession and communion, christening and naming of a baby, wedding ceremony, burial and church commemoration, fasting are investigated from the axiological point of view. The images of the priests, monks and nuns are also described, as well as the church objects (a candle, bread and wine) also acquire positive or negative qualities. Many church feasts and holidays, veneration of saints add to the axiological picture of the Bulgarian traditional and modern model of world (the term by Tatian Civjan).

The analysis show that the Bulgarian traditional religious axiology is very close to the pre-Christian world view and corresponding beliefs. Lack of professional literacy of the village priests added to the system of this values and corresponding customs, as the local churches did not oppose "pagan" rituals and even included them in the services (christening of a baby, name day, etc.). Still, it was a must to go to the major church holidays which are of highest values in all the narratives. The modern urban society partly is more secular, but the major church ceremonies are still in demand. The value of them occasionally is far from the religious ones, among important needs and intentions are: esthetics, good luck for the future, avoiding of the evil eye, preserving the family tradition.

The study is based on the published materials, archives, my own field records and the modern sources of the information – the Internet publications, blogs, Facebook, etc.

Lusine Gushchyan (Musée ethnographique de la Russie), **Valentina Fedchenko** (École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)
Le phénomène du pèlerinage chrétien à l'exemple des cultures arménienne et grecque

Le pèlerinage comme un phénomène qui relie des gens, qui habitent à une distance considérable les uns des autres, est l'un des facteurs les plus intéressants de la culture. Dans cette communication, la question du déplacement des individus et des groupes pour les raisons sentimentales ou traditionnelles religieuses sera étudiée dans les cultures grecque et arménienne.

Contrairement à la culture musulmane, dans la littérature canonique chrétienne, il n'y a pas de prescription pour la visite obligatoire d'un lieu sacré durant la vie. Malgré cela, les Grecs et les Arméniens forment depuis longtemps des lieux de pèlerinage pan-ethniques, que les membres de la société doivent visiter seulement une fois dans leur vie, et des lieux d'importance locale, qui prévoyaient en général une visite chaque année, selon le cycle du calendrier religieux.

Cette communication présente une analyse de la structure générale du pèlerinage dans la tradition chrétienne, les principales directions, les périodes de pèlerinage et ces participants. Le processus de pèlerinage comprenait certaines actions, textes, ainsi que les traditions alimentaires et des objets thématiques nécessaires et spécifiques.

À la suite de l'étude du matériel, un schéma radial spatio-temporel à trois niveaux a été conçu. Dans l'ère préindustrielle (traditionnelle), les membres de la communauté fréquentèrent toujours les endroits dans un petit rayon de son lieu de résidence et se déplacèrent parfois au deuxième niveau, aux endroits, éloignés du lieu de résidence. Dans l'ère industrielle et post-industrielle, un troisième type de pèlerinage dans les lieux les plus éloignés apparaît.

Dans la période moderne il n'y a aucune régularité de visites par des pèlerins aux lieux des trois niveaux. La communauté arrête de créer des lieux saints du premier niveau. Un pèlerin moderne souvent ignore les deux premiers niveaux de pèlerinage et préfère de faire un pèlerinage une fois à l'un des lieux les plus éloignés de son lieu de résidence. En outre, Jérusalem est le seul lieu

sacré en dehors du temps et en dehors des changements techniques et culturels, qui a constamment attiré les pèlerins des trois groupes considérés et n'a jamais complètement délégué son caractère sacré à d'autres endroits.

Il est possible de diviser les visites aux lieux de pèlerinage dans les catégories suivantes :
1. Cycliques, qui sont liées aux vacances annuelles et ne changent pas le lieu. La raison de ce pèlerinage est la tradition de rassembler la communauté dans un lieu lors d'une fête particulière ;
2. Singulières, qui peuvent avoir les directions suivantes :
   2.1. Visites aux lieux où sont conservées des reliques ou des attributs miraculeux ;
   2.2. Visites aux bâtiments religieux sacrés (églises, monastères), y compris des ruines ;
   2.3. Visites aux petits lieux sacrés (ruisseaux sacrés, arbres, croix, rochers, ici inclut aussi le concept arménien de « sanctuaires de la maison »), qui ont reçu leur statut sacré dans la tradition « empiriquement » ;
   2.4. Visites aux lieux de résidence et enterrement des « maîtres » et des « savants », qui ont été canonisés dans la communauté au cours de leur vie ou après la mort.

À l'époque moderne, dans les sociétés diasporales, l'apparition de lieux sacrés est observée exclusivement dans l'espace, qui est perçu par eux comme une « patrie », abandonnée ou nouvellement acquise. Ainsi, les lieux saints commencent à jouer le rôle de leurs propres lieux commémoratifs.

Mira Markova ("St. Kliment Ohridsky" University, Sofia)
Saint Anna's Cult in Bulgaria – Cultural Transformations and Contemporary status (in the Light of Orthodox Dogma and Traditional Practices)

In the recent years of constant and difficult transition in Bulgaria, the ordinary man has been turning more often to religion, resulting in the activation of a number of local rituals, the birth of new myths and the compilation of new and old legends. This study aims to shed light on one of the less popular cults of saints in Bulgaria by tracing the connection between the past and the present through the prism of the local culture in Bulgaria.

The image of St. Anna created in Bulgaria reflects practices related to the worship of ancient supreme female deities that commanded human life and death in addition to relicts related to the cult of different agricultural goddesses. After all, in Christianity the Theotokos is established as the collective image of the supreme female deities of the pre-Christian epoch, but individual invariants

can be explored in the case of St. Anna as the mother of Theotokos. The intensity and versatility of the St. Anna's cult in Bulgaria speaks of the cult's depth and antiquity. Saint Anna continues to be worshipped even in scarcely populated villages. The local population perceives the saint as "particularly powerful" so her vows should not be forsaken. St. Anna stands next to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the traditional Bulgarian culture, combining the notions of motherhood (such as joy and suffering) and the notions of the feminine foundation in the overall human culture.

Miruna Tătaru-Cazaban (Université de Bucarest, Faculté des Sciences Politiques)
« Conscience orthodoxe » et pluralité de l'Europe selon Alexandru Duțu

Profondément dédié à la promotion de la connaissance du sud-est européen, l'historien Alexandru Dutu (1928-1999) a contribué par ses études sur la culture des livres de sagesses, les métamorphoses de l'idée d'Europe et l'histoire des mentalités dans ce qu'on peut appeler le *Commonwealth* orthodoxe, à définir les grandes lignes de la dynamique religieuse et politique de l'Orthodoxie face à la modernité. Bien qu'il n'ait pas abouti à la synthèse historique qu'il avait toutes les ressources intellectuelles à produire, Alexandru Duțu nous a fourni à travers ses contributions hautement appréciées par les historiens de la culture ancienne des Pays Roumains et du Sud-Est Européen les éléments d'une vision à la fois compréhensive et critique des rapports entre « les modèles politiques » et les « identités nationales » dans l'« Europe orthodoxe ». Notre propos est celui d'investiguer le concept de « conscience orthodoxe » qu'Alexandru Duțu a forgé afin de définir une culture commune du sud-est européen et l'individualité de cette partie de l'Europe, qu'il aimait identifier comme celle de saint Maxime le Confesseur, complémentaire de l'« Europe de Dante ».

Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe
Les traductions de la littérature patristique dans le Sud-Est européen
Convenors: Zamfira Mihail, Lora Taseva

Aneta Dimitrova ("St Kliment Ohridsky" University, Sofia)
Traces *of an Unknown Old Church Slavonic Translation of the Homily on Repentance, Continence, and Virginity (CPG 7555)*

Most of the homilies in the so-called *Zlatostruy* collection (*Chrysorrhoas*) were translated in the beginning of the 10th century in the Bulgarian capital Preslav with the personal support of Tsar Symeon (893-927). One of the core texts – No 23 in the longer version of *Zlatostruy* – is the Homily on Repentance, Continence, and Virginity (CPG 7555), allegedly written by John IV of Constantinople (Jejunator, 582-595) and traditionally ascribed to St. John Chrysostom. The main Old Church Slavonic translation of the homily is preserved in many copies both as part of *Zlatostruy* and in other manuscripts. One of the copies, however, presents a somewhat different text. Manuscript No 386 from the Hilandar monastery (14th century) opens with the homily in question and it corresponds in general to the translation from *Zlatostruy*. Yet the Hilandar copy contains many variant readings which follow another Greek version of the homily. In this paper I argue that they are remnants from a different (now lost) Old Church Slavonic translation of a slightly different Greek version, which was used for emendation and revision of the main text. This unknown translation intermingled with the basic text but the revision was not carried out to the end. One can only hope that in the future the complete translation will be discovered.

Petra Stankovska (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts)
The Homilies of Origenes and John Chrysostom in Croatian-glagolitic Breviaries of 13th-15th century

The Croatian-Glagolitic Breviary is a unique book of the Christian West, as it brings the content of this liturgical book into the Slavonic language. The Croatian-Glagolitic Breviary was probably composed around the middle of the 13th century, thus capturing the pre-Trident composition of the breviary (based on the Benedictine type), which includes some of the texts of the Eastern Church Fathers. The paper will analyze homilies of Origen and John Chrysostom in particular from the point of view of the applied translation technique and the

examination of the original from which the translation into Croatian Church Slavonic was made.

Lora Taseva (Institute for Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
In Transfiguration Domini by Proclus of Constantinople (CPG 5807) in the Medieval South Slavonic Literature

The Homily on the Transfiguration of the Lord (BHG 1980) is one of the few texts related to Proclus of Constantinople whose authorship is considered indisputable. In this paper I will examine its reception among the Balkan Slavs during the Middle Ages according to the data in ca. twenty South Slavonic copies preserved today. The comparison of the three translations of the Homily with its Greek source text is going to answer the question whether they originate from the same redaction of the Byzantine text. Also, the translation peculiarities of the three independent Slavonic versions will be analysed and an attempt will be made to place them in the context of their contemporary translation schools.

Ekaterina Dikova (Institute for Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
The Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ *(CPG 3939) Ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian in South Slavonic Tradition: The Construction of Rhetorical Rhythm*

The authorship of the sermon in consideration is disputable and, most probably, it is some compiled text. But this captivating piece of writing enters the Slavonic church tradition as a unit ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian and is kept there intact as such (at least up to the fifth edition of St. Ephrem's works printed by The Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra in 1908). There are two translations know to us so far in about ten copies. The purpose of my paper will be to investigate the ways in which rhetorical rhythm of this sermon is rendered into Slavonic and the techniques applied in both the source language and the target language to construct it. Since, from ancient times, rhythm is considered the result of word arrangement and phrase endings, I'll be most interested in the interactions of *cola* in *periods* and the figures related to: word order (e.g. *hyperbathon*, *zeugma* etc.), parallelism (especially *homoiteleuton* and *homoioptoton*) and spelling (i.e. *metaplasm*). The comparison of the two translations will hopefully give evidence on the level to which each interpreter was acquainted with Greek rhetoric.

Zamfira Mihail (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest, émérite)
Les écrits d'Éphrem le Syrien en slavon (XIVe-XVIIIe s.). Versions renouvelées

Les textes dévoilent l'indépendance de l'option de ceux qui assurent la traduction : l'élément le plus important était toujours la qualité du prototype utilisé dans l'acte de traduction. Nous avons comparé à ce titre certains manuscrits des écrits de saint Éphrem en slavon (XIVe–XVIIIe s.), qui sont nombreux dans les bibliothèques roumaines. On s'intéresse aussi à ce que les recherches actuelles dans le domaine de la traductologie peuvent apporter à l'étude de la *réitération des traductions religieuses* dans la pratique de la traduction.

Au XVIIIe siècle, ce fut le moine Païssy qui a insisté sur la nécessité de la correction de certains écrits slavons patristiques, notamment les écrits d'Éphrem. Alors il s'est proposé de procéder à une nouvelle traduction. Le vénérable Païssy a constaté que les textes hésychastes « avaient été écrits dans la langue hellène-grecque la plus pure » au Mont Athos. Dans cette phase décisive de sa démarche, consistant à élaborer un texte patristique correct en slavon, en tant que véritable « théoricien » de la traduction, auxquels il avait lui-même été confronté, Païssy a énuméré les éléments qu'un traducteur devait nécessairement prendre en compte pour établir une traduction aussi fidèle que possible.

Georgi Minczew (University of Łódz, Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe)
Osservazioni sulla traduzione slava di Panoplia dogmatica di Eutimio Zigabeno

La *Panoplia dogmatica*, creata poco dopo il processo contro il bogomilo Basilio e durante il regno dell'imperatore Alessio I Comneno (1081-1118), è senz'altro la più grande compilazione antieretica della letteratura bizantina. Il lavoro dello studioso e monaco Eutimio Zigabeno venne diffuso nel mondo bizantino-slavo durante il XIII secolo. Oggi conosciamo quattro trascrizioni – sia frammentarie, sia più complete – che contengono frammenti o interi testi dei primi 11 capitoli di questo lavoro: dalle introduzioni in versi fino al capitolo 11 contro gli ariani compreso, e la seconda parte, dal 12 capitolo dedicato allo Spirito Santo, fino al 28 capitolo contro i musulmani. La seconda parte, incompleta, è di particolare interesse per la storia culturale dei Balcani, considerando che contiene capitoli contro i massaliani, i pauliciani e i bogomili; essa viene custodita in due manoscritti: RDR 296, preservato nell'Accademia Rumena delle Scienze, e № 1/108, nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Odessa. Entrambi i manoscritti

provengono dalla fine del XV secolo e, secondo la maggioranza dei ricercatori, si tratterebbe in realtà di un manoscritto convolutus.

L'intervento è dedicato a un'analisi testologica delle quattro trascrizioni slave conosciute ed è un tentativo di dare una risposta ad alcune delle domande su questioni finora non del tutto risolte:

1. Quando è stata tradotta *Panoplia dogmatica*? Esiste una sola traduzione? Qual è il collegamento fra i testi slavi e l'originale greco?
2. Dov'è stato tradotto il saggio antieretico?
3. Qual è il collegamento, su un livello linguistico e testologico, tra la parte rumena e quella di Odessa?

Juergen Fuchsbauer (University of Innsbruck)
Embedded Theology. Slavonic Translations of Patristic Literature Contained in Greek Compilations

In spite of their theological importance, the complete oeuvres of many of the Church Fathers such as the Three Cappadocians have never been transferred to Church Slavonic during the Middle Ages. Slavs became acquainted with their reasoning mainly through the Slavonic versions of extracts contained in compilations. A case in point is the *Dioptra*, a Byzantine didactic poem consisting of over 7.000 verses, the greater part of which is modelled as a dialogue between Flesh and Soul. Its author, a monk named Philippos incorporated both short quotations of numerous theologians and monastic writers and extensive excerpts of their works into his text. For instance, substantial parts of Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione* were included into it. The Slavonic translation of the *Dioptra*, which was created in 14th century Bulgaria and became widely popular on the Balkans and in the Rus', made texts like this available to a Slavonic audience. In my paper I shall give an overview of the reflections of patristic thinking in Slavonic translations such as the one of the *Dioptra*.

Malgorzata Skowronek (University of Łódz, Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe)
On authorities and epistles. Church Fathers in anti-heretic polemics in Medieval Slavic codices

The paper relates to a collection of texts referring to Church authorities from mostly the first millennium, used as representative for late Medieval Orthodox polemics with the Roman Church and other religions. The collection, containing

parts of correspondence, opinions and standpoints, spread in 14th-16th South-Slavic codices, seems to develop a stable base for religious discourse in the Balkans, even far from its original contexts. Its place and vicinity in particular manuscripts will be discussed as well.

Daniar Mutalâp (University of Bucharest)
The Romanian contribution to the pre-existing philokalic tradition: a manuscript from 1769

The aim of this paper is to provide a synoptical description of the "philokalic tradition" which foreshadows the publication of The Greek Philokalia (1782), focusing on the structural analysis of a Romanian manuscript from 1769. Known as "The Philokalia from Dragomirna Monastery", the ms. B.A.R. 2597 was copied by monk Raphael, a prodigious scribe, corrector and translator, in 1769, outrunning thus the publication date of Φιλοκαλία των Ιερών Νηπτικών.

        The former and the latter have in common some works of the desert fathers such as Evagrius Ponticus and John Cassian, 7th to 12th century authors like Avva Philemon or Philoteos of Sinai and hesychasts such as Simeon The New Theologian, Nicephoros the Hesychast or Gregory of Sinai. However, there is a conspicuous variation when it comes to the selection of the texts, "The Philokalia from Dragomirna" scoping a wide spectrum of authors (from St. Barsanuphius to Nil Sorsky), anonymous texts and different fragments from "The Sayings of the Desert Fathers". Furthermore, the Romanian manuscript can be regarded as a "proto-philokalia", due to the fact that it respects the major themes of this type of collection of patristic texts, namely *nepsis*, *hesychia* and the extensive revolving around "The prayer of the Heart".

Biblical Apocrypha in South-Eastern Europe. Variation and Transmission from Antiquity to Modern Times / Les apocryphes bibliques dans les Sud-Est européen. Variation et transmission de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne
Convenors: Anissava Miltenova, Emanuela Timotin

Basil Lourié (National Research University Higher School of Economics; *Scrinium. Journal of Patrology and Critical Hagiography*, Leiden)
A Seventh-Century Syrian Petrine Apocryphon Preserved only in Slavonic

The *ca.*13th-century Russian compilation *Epistle against the Romans* contains some ancient documents translated into Slavonic in an earlier epoch. Among them is a peculiar account of Peter's preaching in Rome, allegedly resulting in the conversion of the whole city. Although the Slavonic text is certainly translated from Greek, the story itself is Syrian, bearing many hallmarks of Syrian hagiography (going as far as making the young Ignatius of Antioch a companion of Peter!). The text could be dated relatively exactly to the late seventh century. Its remote background is in the Pseudo-Clementine literature, but the work as it is emerged at the interface between Constantinople and (Balkan?) Syrian communities.

Agnes Kriza (Universität zu Köln, Slavisches Institut)
Apostle Peter, Saint Sophia and the first church of Rome: a late Byzantine anti-Latin "apocryphon"

In fourteenth-century Russian literature a narrative appeared about the twelve apostles and the foundation of the Church in Rome. Among others, it describes how the Apostle Peter converted the Roman emperor's relative, Sophia, who became a nun and subsequently built the first Christian church in Rome. Although this story may seem to be an ancient apocryphon, in fact it is an integral part of a popular and long Slavonic anti-Latin treatise. By exploring the polemical ecclesiological message of this narrative, as well as its close links with other hagiographical texts and by surveying its visualizations in late Byzantine and medieval Russian art, this paper will shed light on the importance and diversity of the Slavonic and Byzantine anti-Latin literary corpus.

Alexandra Evdokimova (Institute of Linguistics, Moscow)
Biblical Apocrypha and Theotokos in South East Europe on the material of the Byzantine inscriptions

In my report I want to show how the apocryphal texts (*Protoevangelium of James*, *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, *Johannis Liber de Dormitione Mariae* etc) influence the texts of Byzantine inscriptions and the image of the Theotokos in them. The inscriptions from South-East Europe will be compared with monuments from Cappadocia and other regions of Byzantium.

Julian Petkov (University of Heidelberg)
Behind the mirror: who were the readers of medieval apocalypses?

The research of apocalypticism has been for decades very theory-based. After a long period of neglect during the 20th century, some very basic questions started to arise as to whether the apocalyptic literature may have been 'the mother of primitive Christian theology' (Käsemann). Others deplored the disregard which modern scholars have shown towards apocalypticism and compared this attitude to a 'stepmother' (Koch). In the meantime, some considerable progress has been made towards an evidence-oriented taxonomy of the genre (Collins & colleagues). Only in recent years, however, the scholarship has finally turned towards the texts themselves in an attempt to trace their extensive journey through time and space. Nowadays, we start to realize that the apocalyptic literature comprises in fact a huge corpus of sources which have been only insufficiently explored and are still rarely published.

Against this backdrop, the question about the historical contexts of apocalypses still remains an urgent desideratum. Who wrote these enigmatic texts? Where and when did he do so? For whom and why have they been composed? And finally, who produced and copied them in the course of centuries, and for whom were these numerous copies designed?

In my paper, I will attempt to tackle some of these questions. In doing so, I will address the case of the unknown audiences of medieval apocalypses. Who, when and why used to read them, and what were the expectations of the presumable readers? After a survey of the evidence, I will propose some arguments for further discussion.

Vadim Wittkowsky (Humboldt University, Berlin)
Towards a New Edition of the Slavonic Baruch

The paper deals with a quite extraordinary situation in the modern research history of the Slavonic version(s) of the so called Third Baruch apocryphon. Although several manuscripts (very old among them) were published in the last decades by Tomislav Jovanović, these publications are never mentioned either in the edition by Alexander Kulik (2010) or in the monography on Old Slavic Eschatology by Julian Petkov (2016). A comparison of all (ca. 20) manuscripts published until now could help in the solution of some important questions, especially whether a second translation of the apocryphon into Slavonic ever did exist.

Cristina-Ioana Dima (University of Bucharest)
The particularities of The Apocalypse of the Theotokos *in the Romanian Culture*

In the Romanian cultural space, the *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* was one of the most popular texts from the 16th to the 19th centuries, especially in rural communities. In my recent study, I identified 92 copies of this text, preserved in different manuscripts. I analysed each of them and established that they all derived from the Greek version. Some were translated directly from Greek, but the oldest ones (from the 16th and the 17th century) are translations from Slavonic.

There are six different translations supposed to have been made from Slavonic, each one having acquired specific particularities in the cultural milieu in which they circulated. The translation from Greek is very late (18th century), but it has developed five special variants and it can be found in more than 40 miscellanies. The most interesting group of the Romanian *Apocalypse of the Theotokos* preserves a version which I could not identify in any other cultural space. The whole narrative is embedded in a vision of a saint, named Seraphim, and the text has numerous specific motifs. A part of them are due to other apocalyptic writings, but folkloric elements are to be found, too.

Maria Stanciu-Istrate ("Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest)
The Road to the Afterlife in a Romanian Manuscript from the First Half of the 17th Century

Our work follows the research of an aspect that is deeply rooted in the Romanian ritual of burial. We refer to the toll-houses of the air, guarded by the fallen angels, chased away by Archangel Gabriel from the sky at the order of God. Situated between the earth and the sky, these toll-houses represent the trials that the souls of mortals are subjected to on leaving the body, a multiple sieve which only the virtuous are able to go through, being sent straight to heaven, while the sinners are thrown in the river of fire.

The topics of the journey that the soul of man is destined to go on after entering the realm of nothingness and of what will happen on doomsday are not new. Thus, the depiction of Christ's descent into hell appears in the Gospel that is attributed to Nikodemus. Following the pattern of this descent, similar narratives were written, and these played an important role in folk literature. The *Apocalypse of Paul the Apostle* or the *Holy Virgin's Journey* are among the earliest texts of this type.

But the narrative that influenced to a larger extent the belief in the toll-houses of the air is *The Life of Saint Basil the New*, written in Greek by his disciple, Gregory, sometime during the 10th century. This is one of the most eloquent and comprehensive eschatological writings that comprises an extensive description of what happens with the human soul after death and presents the most frightening details of the toils of the sinners thrown in hell, where all the crimes that each of these bear engraved on their forehead following their punishment.

Our paper aims to research these aspects, as they appear in the earliest Romanian version of this writing, translated from a Slavonic original in the first half of the 17th century. Special attention will be given to the echo that this narrative had in Romanian folklore, on the one hand, and in the field of fine arts, on the other.

Fedor Veselov (St. Petersburg State University)
Signs of the Apocalypse: Gog and Magog in Russian illuminated copies of the Alexander Romance

According to the Alexander Romance – one of the most popular medieval literary work about the famous ancient leader – while being in distant lands,

Alexander the Great met the evil peoples, Gog and Magog, who will flood the earth in the end of days. The hero was frightened by the 'uncleanness' of these peoples, and, with divine help, enclosed them among the Northern Mountains, and fenced the only pass with gates of copper. This episode first appeared in the Jewish Alexander tradition and found its way in almost all versions of the Romance. In Russian medieval literature we find it in the second version of the Chronograph Alexandria and in the later Serbian recension, the most popular in Medieval Russia. However, there is a group of Russian manuscripts where the episode about the unclean nations is extended and presents more detailed narrative, close to the text of the Revelation of Pseudo-Methodius. Three illuminated manuscripts of this group have a characteristic feature – certain miniatures, specially depicting Gog and Magog. These miniatures are unsigned and their subject can be defined only by tracing an apocalyptic iconography developed in Russian illuminated Books of Revelation of 16th–17th c. Certain miniatures, inspired by illustrations of the Revelation book, a characteristic extension of the text about the Enclosed nations, witness that in the period, when the archetype of the group was produced, apocalyptic feelings were at their peak. The controversial period of Ivan IV's rule, the Time of Troubles in the turn of the 16th c., as well as archaic features of miniatures of one of the manuscripts make possible to trace the group's origins much earlier than the middle of the 17th c.

Anissava Miltenova (Institute for Literature, Sofia)
Reconsideration of the Series of the Stories about Holy Tree Attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian in Slavonic Literature

The apocryphal series about the Holy Tree ascribed to St. Gregory the Theologian was widespread in medieval Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian literature. In an old publication (1982), I divided copies in three groups – in all of them, the episode about the joint work of God and Satanael at the time of the creation of the world and about the theft of Satanael in Paradise is included. New witnesses of the work (some of them from the 14th c.) have been discovered later and the analysis of their peculiarities indicates that this classification has to be corrected. The copies of Wallacho-Moldavian origin are important for the collation of the texts. The presence or absence of the passage in comparison with other texts in the miscellanies assumed a new explanation of the provenance of the episode and its including into the series in the form of question and answer.

Sladana Mirkovic (University of South Florida)
Variation and Transmission of the Moses and the Plagues Narrative in South-East Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times

In this paper I turn my attention to the few variations that occurred in the process of the transmission of *Moses and the Plagues on the Egyptians* narrative (*Exodus* 7-14) from the Greek to the South Slavic cultures from Antiquity to modern times. The Hellenistic Jewish image of *Moses and the Plagues on the Egyptians* depicts Moses as a diviner, magician, or a wise man whose rod possesses powers released only by God through Moses. Moses appears as the originator of Egyptian secret and esoteric knowledge. The plague narratives are represented through full-fledged philosophical and cosmological explanations as recorded in the biblical and extra biblical texts and other literary and material remains.

My aim is to show, by the example of the South Slavic imagery of the *Moses and the Plagues* narrative, how story patterns have been shaped by instilling in them singular content, how they have melded, interacted, and gone their separate ways. For instance, the South Slavic imagination and tradition of the 20th century gave rise to the image of the Philosopher King of the united South Slavic nations that embodies *Moses.* The appraisal of a national achievement of an extraordinary individual in the creation of the independent kingdom-state was expressed in the new South Slavic word in the image interpretation of the *Plagues on the Egyptians*. I will present how oral South Slavic aesthetics infused the written form as it is expressed through and shaped by the art of Ivan Meštrović.

Keiko Mitani (University of Tokyo)
Slavonic Translation of Testament of Job: Linguistic analysis of the Old Serbian Manuscripts

The list of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha contains a text titled *Testament of Job,* an apocryphal retelling of the Book of Job, composed from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century C.E. The Testament survived in four Greek manuscripts, a Slavonic translation and an old Coptic fragment. In spite of the growing interest to this text in the recent biblical studies, the Slavonic version has not been studied well enough. This presentation examines linguistic features of the Old Serbian copies of this text, and attempts to reconstruct the textual environment in which the Slavonic translation appeared and transmitted in the South Slavonic region.

Emanuela Timotin (Institute of Linguistics "Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti", Bucharest)
The Lament of Eve. *A Late Romanian Development of the* Life of Adam and Eve

This paper focuses on a late Romanian manuscript which presents a lament of Eve after she and Adam were cast out of paradise. I shall discuss its connections with three other texts which describe the life of the protoplasts (*Palaea historica*, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, and *The Lament of Adam*), establish the context when it was read or sung, and question its relation with a medieval Irish *Lament of Eve*.

Ivan Iliev ("St Kliment Ohridsky" University, Sofia)
The Antichrist Myth in the Slavonic Apocryphal works

The Antichrist Myth appeared as a result of collecting old Pre-Christian traditions under the influence of historical and sociological circumstances in the early Christian church. Among the first Christian authors dealing with the matter are Irenaeus (2nd c.-202) and Hippolytus of Rome (170-235) who left significant works on the Antichrist. Hippolytus' *In Danielem* and *De Christo and Antichristo* were translated in Old Bulgarian and later served as a base for several apocryphal works in the medieval times and were incorporated in various forms and interpretations in a new parabiblical literature. Most of these apocryphal works are still not examined and their contents are not reviewed or compared to the original translations.

Matija Ogrin (Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences)
Slovenian Manuscripts on Antichrist and the problems of manuscript tradition

Until now, at least ten manuscripts on Antichrist in the Slovenian language have survived. Apparently, all of them derive from the German text *Leben Antichristi* by the Capuchin friar Dionysius von Luxemburg, first published in 1682. In the Slovenian literary space, ten manuscripts, derived from the same textual origin, represent a very rich textual tradition (compared to the many texts that have survived only in *codex unicus*). Early literary studies report about an even bigger number of extant manuscript copies, which clearly indicates that the text on Antichrist was extremely popular, a real 'folk-book' on the one hand, but on the other hand its existence was restricted to manuscript culture (*sc.* manuscript publication) without any possibility to penetrate into the medium of printed book. The first translation, i.e. adaptation, in Slovenian language was

written by the Carinthian village scholar Matija Žegar in 1767. Besides the original, only two extant manuscripts are from the 18th century, all the others are from the 19th century, the latest on the record being written as late as 1869. At least three of them are actually miscellaneous manuscripts with considerable parts of the text on Antichrist, containing also various apocalyptic content.

After some historical introduction about Dionysius' *Leben Antichristi*, the paper will try to give an outline of the philological, i.e. text-critical, orientation within the Slovenian manuscript tradition. Was there only one translation, followed by a multitude of transcriptions, or were there additional subsequent translations and textual arrangements? The paper will open and tackle these questions by use of digital tools for collation of textual variance.

L.K. Gavriushina (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Transformation of the biblical texts in the folklore of Russian Old Believers living in Romania

During our research in the Russian villages of Romania we have discovered some stories and religious verses which have their origin in the biblical texts or are connected with apocrypha. They are examples of the specific folk tradition preserved by Old Believers which have settled in Romania in the main in XVIIIth century.

One of the verbal texts presents a part of the history of Joseph the Beautiful. It consists of one of the popular religious verses and a commentary to it. The folk version of biblical story has been turned into a kind of a fairy tale preserving various peculiarities of the peasant's manner of thinking. For example, Joseph is not thrown in a ditch but falls in a hole which the brothers have hidden with grass, when submit to their order to put the food at this place. The history of love of the «tsarina» of Egypt to Joseph is turned into a romantic adventure; it contains plenty of dialogues and the stamps of Christian tradition in the description of the events.

The stories of Old Believers dedicated to the different parts of the Old and New Testament are of particular interest as they give us the folk images of the characters of the Bible and the events of the Holy Scripture. They tell us, for example, about the robbers crucified together with Christ and describe the spiritual reflections of Mother of God. The history of the construction of Noah's Ark contains the description of the role of the Cat and the Mouse in it; it is known from one of the variants of the Revelation of Methodius of Patara as well.

The verbal forms of legends popular among the Old Believers are interesting as they show the particularities of the religious and ethnic self-consciousness of Russian peasants who still keep both orthodox and folk traditions as immigrants in Romania.

Milena Rozhdestvenskaja (St-Petersburg State University)
Old Russian apocryphal literature in the collections of the Institute for Russian Literature (Pushkin's House) of the Russian Academy of Sciences

The collection of the Pushkin's House of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg was founded by V.I. Malyshev in 1934. It contains medieval manuscripts gathered in expeditions to the Russian North – Karelia, the White Sea, the Arkhangelsk Region, Latvia, to the places where the Old Believers lived. The collections of manuscripts of the Pushkin's House are from territorial libraries in villages. Their repertoire consists of polemical works on the issues of the church schism, spiritual verses, historical stories, the lives of saints. A considerable place in them is occupied by the biblical apocrypha, especially on the eschatological theme. The report gives an overview of the apocryphal works in different collections and discusses the question of which apocrypha interested the Old Believers' scribes, and what are the reasons for their interests.

Ljubica Jovanovic (American Public University System)
What Is Transmitted from the Greek into the Slavic Cultures: Theology or Canon?

In this paper I argue that the concept of 'Biblical Apocrypha' misrepresents the history of the formation of the Christian scripture of South-East Europe. The most complete Christianization of the Slavs of South-East Europe occurred in the Cyrillo-Methodian mission of the 9th century. Its project of translating the Christian manuscripts from Greek into Slavonic was informed by the sophisticated Byzantine theology of patriarch Photios which laid down the criteria that identified the sacred texts and traditions of Christianity. This theology, which was filtered through centuries of religious and philosophical discussion and crowned by the decisions of the 7th Ecumenical Council, saw the entire cosmos as God's creation and a potential source of divine revelation. It intentionally rejected textual revelation as the exclusive avenue of communication with the Trinity. Subsequently, the idea of the Bible as a canon of divine revelation, which denies divine inspiration to certain writings on biblical figures and themes, was problematic. By using the example of the *Vitae Constantini* I will demonstrate the inadequacy of applying the term "Biblical

Apocrypha" in the context of the transmission of theological material by the 9th century Byzantine church leaders and philosophers to the South Slavs.

Maria Cioată (University of Manchester)
The Reception of Apocrypha as 'Popular Books' in Romania

This paper will focus on the scholarship and Romanian manuscript collection of Moses Gaster (1856-1939) while also considering earlier (esp. B.P. Hasdeu) and more recent scholarship (e.g. the series *Cărți populare* of the Romanian Academy's Institute for Linguistics 1996-2006). Its aim is to investigate the reception of apocrypha (broadly defined) as 'popular books' (*Cărți populare*, *Volksbücher)* in Romanian modern scholarship and earlier 'popular' (?) usage, as reflected in a selection of surviving manuscripts.

Giuseppe Stabile (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
Conversing with the Wise Alien. Sapiential Dialogues in the Rumanian Tradition from the Bible to the Popular Romance (16th-19th c.)

Some of the most popular texts in the old and early modern Rumanian tradition are mainly based on a sapiential dialogue. Just as in a very old Judaic and Middle-Eastern tradition, the sapiential dialogue contains, in all Rumanian translations, a trial of wisdom between a king and a demon, this last notoriously embodying "the Other". The manifold hypostasis of the demon putting enigmas and riddles, in fact, embodied a geographical as well as a cultural alterity, when it didn't display physical deformity too (e.g. the Sibyl's goose foot or Aesop's famous "demonic" ugliness). It was through the Solomonic and Sibylline apocrypha that these texts originally reached the Rumanian space in the 16th c., to be translated from Church Slavonic and Greek by the 18th c. Between the 17th and the 18th c., this parabiblical frame evolved in a more secular and romanesque way. We can also find examples of sapiential dialogues in the romances of Aesop, Ahiqar and Bertoldo, which were equally translated in Rumanian from Slavonic and Greek by the 18th c., being still widely copied and printed at the beginning of the 19th. My contribution aims to outline this crucial passage in the history of Rumanian civilization, focusing its more relevant implications in terms of taste, mentality and cultural models. I will try to outline the metamorphosis of this wise demon in its main features, firstly in respect of the fundamental oppositions "*medieval* vs. *modern*", "*eastern* vs. *western*" and "*sacred* vs. *profane*".

The Printing Press in and for South-Eastern Europe
L'imprimerie dans et pour le Sud-Est de l'Europe
Convenor: Archim. Policarp Chițulescu

Anca Elisabeta Tatay (The Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca),
Octavian Gordon (University of Bucharest)
*Early Romanian books written in Greek in the Vatican Apostolic Library (17th –
19th centuries)*

The Vatican Apostolic Library is the owner of an important collection of early
Romanian writings. While researching in the library, we found 148 Romanian
books of which 137 are early writings and 11 are modern ones. 104 of them are
written in Romanian in Cyrillic script, 37 in Greek and 7 in other languages
(French, Arabic, Latin). Certainly, we do not claim that this is a complete
inventory, as it is rather impossible to aim for completeness in such a vast
library.

The books in Greek in the research collection were published in the
Romanian territories (in Bucharest, Iași, Râmnic, Târgoviște, Snagov) or abroad
(in Leipzig, Venice and Wrocław). Their detailed description, including *Title,
Format, Ornamentation, Contents, Stamps, Notes, Binding and State of
Conservation, Labels, Bibliography and Observations*, reveals precious
information, some of which relates to the peculiarities of the collection.

The general themes explored concern the defence of the Orthodox
dogmas and the fight against Catholicism and Calvinism. The collection contains
church, lectern, history books etc. Some of them are decorated with attractive
engravings such as title page frames, coats of arms, illustrations (among which
remarkable portraits, often in metal, a technique rarely used in the Romanian
territories at that time), frontispieces, vignettes and adorned letters, or have
covers decorated with medallions representing biblical scenes. Before resting
in the Vatican Library, these books belonged to famous people of the time
including Mihail Ghica, Manuil Ioan Ghedeon, Bishop Filaret Yanulis of
Kalavryta and Aigialeia, and the founders of the collection: Cardinal Tisserant
and his Eminence Korolevsky.

Daniela Lupu (Bucharest Municipality Museum)
The Lazaru Brothers of Ioannina, paper merchants, editors and owners of a printing house in Wallachia (second half of the 18th century)

Our paper presents the printing and publishing enterprise of brothers Nicolae and Ioan Lazaru of Ioannina, which operated under the protection of the Phanariote rulers of Wallachia between 1776 and 1789. They were given permission to open a paper manufactory in 1776 and a printing house in Bucharest in 1783, which published books for the Greek population and for scholars, as well as for schools and churches across the Ottoman Empire. In order to finance their business, Nicolae borrowed large sums of money and became heavily indebted. Lacking funds and pursued by creditors, he closed the printing house in 1784, after having published only two books: a *Great Spelling Book* (1783) and the work of hieromonk Professor Iosif Moesiodax, titled *Physical Notes* (1784).

In 1789, the Lazaru brothers reopened the printing house with the help of Prince Nicolae Mavrogheni (1786-1790), who gave them permission to open a printing shop at the *Izvorul Tămăduirii* (*Life-giving Spring*) Monastery, which the ruler had founded. For this reason it was also called *Life-giving Spring printing house.*

In the same year, when the Russian-Habsburg-Ottoman war (1787-1791) was well underway in the country, they published two other books. The first one is an anthology of poems which praises the ruler's victories over the Austrian army (*The brave deeds of Mavrogheni*). The second one is a translation from French into Greek of the work of the Russian general F.W. Bauer (*Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur la Valachie*, Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1778) titled *Description of Wallachia*. The publishing of this book is quite surprising because it contains criticism of the Phanariote princes and the Ottoman regime.

The Lazaru Brothers' printing house was the first lay printing establishment founded during the Phanariote rule in Wallachia, which proves that the theory of the Church's monopoly on book printing is not correct. The establishment published only lay books and was at the origin of the first acts of royal censorship (1784).

Dimitrios Kotsikas (University of Ioannina)
International relations, press and scholarship: the case of N.G. Dosios

Although N.G. Dosios is a very interesting case of a scholar with a multifaceted activity, information about him is extremely scarce and scattered. He was born in Ioannina, Epirus, studied in Germany and worked as a professor in Greek and Romanian schools for more than thirty years (1880-1915). He wrote novels and poems as well as educational books, published a great number of scientific and non-scientific articles, discovered manuscripts, collected and transcribed traditional songs and stories. Our PhD thesis at the University of Ioannina will be accompanied by the publication for the first time of a poetic collection of N. G. Dosios which is in our possession in an attempt to bring into light his life and his work. In our paper, we will focus on N. G. Dosios's role as an editor of a short-lived journal (14 vol.), "ΙΣΤΡΟΣ", published in Galatz between 1887 and 1888. Furthermore, we will try to approach Dosios's work as a contributor to many Greek and international journals, as well as a columnist of Greek and Romanian newspapers across more than fifty years (1880-1930).

Ksenia Melchakova (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
The first printing house in the Bosnia Vilayet

In 1866, in Sarajevo was founded the first printing house in Bosnia. The governor of the Bosnia Vilayet, Topal Sherif Osman pasha, tried to implement Ottomanism reforms in this part of the Balkan Peninsula and create a Bosnian nation. He invited publishing magnate Ignjat Sopron to Sarajevo. On 19 April 1866, Sopron's printing house was officially opened and the first newspaper of Bosnia "Bosanski vjestnik" was printed. The language of this issue was Serbian, but in its pages this language was called for the first time "Bosnian". After several months, Sopron sold the printing house to the Ottoman authorities. They started publishing the first official newspaper of the Bosnia Vilayet, "Bosna". It was a bilingual publication (Ottoman Turkish in Arabic script and Serbian in Cyrillic script). Later on, other bilingual gazettes were printed – "Sarajevski cvjetnik" and "Neretva". The printing house published textbooks for schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as books in Ottoman Turkish, Serbian, Hebrew and Aljamiado (popular among the Bosnian Muslims). In this report, we shall present the story of this printing house as an attempt of the Sublime Porte to bring together the multi-cultural and multi-national population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Taisiya Leber (Gutenberg University of Mainz)
The role of printing presses and printed books in the "transottoman" perspective (15th-17th centuries)

The main focus of the paper is on the role of printing presses and printed books in the circulation of knowledge between the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe, including Muscovy. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Greek hierarchs and monks – who were interested in maintaining active contact with the orthodox centres in Eastern Europe – organized ecclesiastical and intellectual networks in an attempt to strengthen their religious and cultural influence in Moldavia and Wallachia (tributary states of the Ottoman Empire), Ukraine (Poland-Lithuania), as well as in Muscovy. Because of the restrictive policy of the Ottoman authorities toward printing presses, it was necessary to find and shape alternative ways to preserve the imperial orthodox heritage.

The printing press made it possible to organize important ideological campaigns against non-orthodox denominations (Catholics, Protestants and Uniates), and to disseminate knowledge on interreligious life in the Ottoman Empire (disputes with Jews and Muslims). For the Muscovite rulers it was important to have sources of information (not least on the military, diplomatic and political activities) across the Ottoman Empire. The Greek clergy showed willingness to cooperate in this respect and deliver the necessary information in exchange for financial support for the orthodox endowments in the Ottoman Empire.

Oana-Mădălina Popescu (Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest)
Hasty Opinions, Outdated Clichés. The Need to Carefully Study Historical Sources

The purpose of this paper is to analyse a work attributed to Athanasios Parios, published in Istanbul at the end of the 18th century and translated into Romanian and printed in the Romanian Principalities at the beginning of the 19th century, as well as to outline the religious and political context of its creation. The analysis of the book and of the historical circumstances of its dissemination reveals the validity and present-day relevance of this work written two centuries ago. The book highlights the concern of the Orthodox Church for the salvation of the Christians' souls in face of the harmful concepts circulating at the time. Thus, any historiographic allegations concerning the obscurantism and fanaticism of the Church appear to be unfounded. Consequently, it is essential to carefully examine historical sources in order to avoid research errors.

Andreea Ştefan (Musée National d'Histoire, Bucarest)
S'en servir des anciens à l'Age des Lumières : Dimitrios Darvaris, nouvel éditeur – traducteur d'Epictète

Dans la présente étude je me concentre sur la réception des auteurs de l'Antiquité classique dans les Principautés Roumaines dans l'intervalle entre la fin du XVIIIe siècle et le début du XIXe. Plus précisément j'analyse les traductions du grec ancien en grec moderne vues dans le cadre des liens qui s'entretissent au niveau de la pensée entre la tradition grecque-orthodoxe et les influences occidentales, notamment l'esprit des Lumières, courant synchrone, et le Classicisme, que les intellectuels de langue grecque fructifient avec un siècle de retard. Mon étude porte sur Demetrios Darvaris (1757-1823), traducteur d'auteurs anciens en grec moderne, mais aussi auteur de livres de grammaire du grec parlé, la *haploellēnikē*. Sa traduction du *Manuel* d'Epictète (Vienne, 1779) est envisagée comme le produit des interactions entre texte source, ce que Darvaris dénomme « prototype », et les pressions de la langue-culture cible, à savoir le grec moderne et l'espace socio-culturel des Balkans. Un intérêt particulier suscite le métatexte (surtout les préfaces du traducteur et ses notes) et les paraphrases (dans le corps de la traduction).

Alexandru Nicolaescu (Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, Sibiu), **Sorin Radu** ("Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu)
Romanian newspapers published for peasants in Transylvania at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: between cultural and political education

Our paper examines the evolution of the Romanian newspapers for peasants and the way they tried to educate in a cultural and political manner the Romanians in Transylvania. The purposes of such newspapers were to educate the peasant population and to raise awareness in respect of fundamental political, moral and economic issues. They were also used for political propaganda. The newspapers also included popular articles with a varied content, from agricultural tips and instructions on how to use agricultural machinery to literary and fashion columns. Based on one of the newest methodological and conceptual approaches, we wish to explore an untapped topic in the Romanian historiography. The exploration of these means of cultural and especially political propaganda in the late 19th century and early 20th century could lead to important conclusions regarding the cooperation between the cultural and political elites in Central and South-Eastern Europe at

a time when the vast majority of the population lived in rural areas. Our research aims to identify the role played by the Romanian Transylvanian newspapers for peasants in helping them improve their daily life through the dissemination of information concerning new farming methods and techniques, the benefits of using industrial products and working in industry. We shall also explore the emergence of new social systems and the role of cultural elites in attracting the population to support their political, social and economic goals. Our research aims to reveal the peculiarities of these newspapers for peasants by comparing them to other types of publications and to determine whether and to what extent they served their purpose. In our analysis, we shall focus on newspapers aimed at Transylvanian peasants such as *Foaia Poporului*, *Şcoala poporală*, *Şezătoarea*, *Solia satelor*, *Libertatea, Ţara Noastră* etc., archive documents, memoirs, and special literature.

***Between the Imperial Eye and the Local Gaze. Cartographies of
South-Eastern Europe / Entre la surveillance impériale et le regard local.
Cartographies de l'Europe du Sud-Est***
Convenors: Marian Coman, Robert Born

Işın Taylan (Yale University)
Approaches to Old and New Geography: Ptolemy in early Ottoman Atlases

From the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century,
cosmographical treatises dominated Ottomans' understanding of geography.
This genre of scholarship served as an encyclopaedia of its time, providing
"comprehensive and accessible compendia of essential knowledge" (see
Gottfried Hagen, *The Order of Knowledge, the Knowledge of Order: Intellectual
Life*). Ptolemaic model dominated many aspects of this genre, and continued to
do so even with the introduction of another geographical genre into the
Ottoman intellectual realm: the atlas.

      The first *telif* of Katip Çelebi's *Cihannüma* is a classical cosmography
in line with the tradition of Kazvini and Mehmed Aşık. It is for the second *telif*
that Katip Çelebi organized it as an atlas, influenced by Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis
Terrarum* and *Atlas Minor*. In Katip Çelebi's words "*bu kıtâbı eski ve yeni
coğrâfyalardan tahrîr eyledük*" (Süleymaniye Manuscript Library,
Nuruosmaniye 2998, vr. 423b). *Tarz-ı cedid, nev usul* and *yeni coğrafya* indeed
refer to the new approaches to geographical and cartographical knowledge and
are prevalent in geographical treatises, atlases and even state documents.
Meanwhile, Ptolemaic worldview continues to exist. Then, what is this new
geography? What is old geography? In this paper, I aim to engage in these
issues, studying Ptolemy in the early Ottoman atlases in the 17th and 18th
centuries.

Robert Born (Leibniz Centre for Cultural and History of Eastern Europe,
Leipzig)
Maps and the Anti-Ottoman Propaganda (16th-18th Centuries)

The rise of the Ottoman Empire to become a leading power in Europe occurred
in parallel with the great voyages of discovery and the media revolution. The
presentation will discuss the role of cartography as a means of propaganda
facing the 'Turkish threat' between the battle at Mohács (1526) and Second
Siege of Vienna (1683). Starting from the group of maps designed by Wolfgang
Lazius (1514–1565), the court historian and chief of the Habsburg collections,

the discussion will also consider leaflets as well as city vedutas produced in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire and Hungary. Another focus of the discussion will be the sophisticated printed maps produced during the Long Turkish War (1591–1606) produced by the Habsburgs and their allies, above all Prince Sigismund (Hung. Zsigmond) Báthory of Transylvania (1572–1613), to present their military successes against the Ottomans and emphasize their territorial claims.

Andrei Nacu (Institute for Social Sciences and Humanities, Sibiu)
Habsburg Military Plans of the Transylvanian Saxon Cities Produced Between the End of the 17th Century and the End of the 18th Century

At the end of the 17th century, the Principality of Transylvania, vassal of the Ottoman Empire for most of the period that followed the fall and partition of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, was conquered by the Imperial Austrian armies and was added to the Habsburg dominions. The fortified cities of the Transylvanian Saxons (Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa, Sighişoara, Mediaş and Sebeş), all situated relatively close to the new border, were meticulously surveyed by the Austrian military engineers in the first decades of Habsburg rule.

The oldest known comprehensive plans of Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa and Mediaş were published in 1699 as part of a large map of Transylvania (*Mappa della Transiluania…*) created by the Italian-born military engineer Giovanni Morando Visconti. The first city plans of Sighişoara were made after ca. 1730, while the only 18th century detailed cartographic representation of Sebeş comes from a large-scale map of the Sebeş district made in 1769.

The largest number of cartographic documents published between 1699 and ca. 1780 are dedicated to Sibiu. This is not surprising, as the city was home to the Transylvanian main governmental body (the *Gubernium*) after 1692 and was the seat of the provincial military headquarters after 1703. Several plans depicting fortification projects were produced as well, particularly after the construction of a new citadel initiated in the early 18th century at Sibiu.

A secondary focus of our investigation is the reconstruction of the 18th century urban landscape of Sibiu, Braşov, Bistriţa, Sighişoara, Mediaş and Sebeş with the help of the old city plans. This is achieved by processing the documents in GIS applications such as Global Mapper and QGis.

Josef Wolf (Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen)
Giovanni Morando Visconti, an Almost Unknown Imperial Cartographer of the Balkans and Transylvania

After the Siege of Vienna 1683 the military confrontation with the Ottoman Empire took place in an area that was geographically insufficiently known, and which increasingly – the more the Emperor's army pushed forward into the South-East, to the lower Danube and the Balkan interior – took on the character of a "terrae incognitae," blank spaces. The conduct of the war was however reliant on spatial knowledge, which in turn depended on military-scientific thought, geographical discourse and cartographic practice. Cartographic knowledge was concerned not only with strategically important outline maps, but above all with knowledge about a geographically delimited and topographically describable area. The conflict provided an unforeseen impetus for military and fortification cartography. Military cartography increasingly focused on the influence of the terrain on military operations, and fortification architects optimized the form of the defensive structures.

　　　The expansion of Austria's power promoted the rise of imperial cartography, which culminated in the final phase of the Great Turkish War. Here above all the manuscript maps created around 1690 by Giovanni Morando Visconti (1652-1717), kept at the General Archive in Karlsruhe, and the border maps made after the conclusion of the peace of Karlowitz (1699) by Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730) and Johann Christoph Müller (1673-1721) that broadened the knowledge of the Northern and Central Balkans, should be mentioned.

　　　Coming from the Swiss canton of Ticino, Visconti was an engineer and fortress builder in the imperial army. Under Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria (1662-1726) he took part in the siege of Belgrade in 1688. In 1690 he accompanied Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden-Baden (called Türkenlouis, 1655-1707) on his campaign into the Balkans, along the Danube between Belgrade and Vidin and into Transylvania. Visconti's spatial representations of the northeastern and interior Balkans depict the conceptional space of the military and political decision-takers as well as those of the geographers and military cartographers.

　　　As part of the border survey following the Peace of Karlowitz 1700-1701 Visconti surveyed the Carpathians of Transylvania. His survey data represent the basis for the frontier map of the territory, which showed the boundary between Transylvania and the Banat of Temesvar. One year earlier

he had published in Sibiu (Hermannstadt) his outstanding "Mappa della Transilvania e Provintie contigue nella quale si vedano li Confini dell'Ongaria". This map was the most important regional source for Johann Christoph Müller's depiction of Transylvania in his well-known map of the Kingdom of Hungary (1709).

Marian Coman (University of Bucharest / Institute of History "N. Iorga")
From Map to Text. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnetz's Reading of a Map of Wallachia (1716)

In the autumn of 1716, the Habsburg army entered Wallachia to "liberate" it from the Ottomans. Ridolfo Damiano de Brünnez, a churchman with a good knowledge of the country, offered his services to the Habsburgs. His memoir, written in Italian and having a baroque title – *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* (C0938 no. 201q Princeton University Library) – was addressed to the Habsburg emperor. The first part of the manuscript was a meticulous geographical description of the country, based on a cartographic source, most probably on a variant of the map usually ascribed to *Constantin Cantacuzène. My paper aims to look at* Ridolfo's reading of the map and to explore how he translated the map into a text. Hopefully, this investigation will shed further light on the diffusion and reception of the first maps of Wallachia.

Benjamin Landais (Université d'Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse)
La cartographie parcellaire et la construction de la mosaïque ethnique du Banat (1773-1848)

Avec les moyens de l'État habsbourgeois et le soutien direct de l'empereur Joseph II (1741-1790), le relevé parcellaire du Banat est rapide et massif : une centaine de villages est cartographiée chaque année après 1773. L'objectif poursuivi est double : l'introduction de l'impôt foncier et la rationalisation économique de la gestion des terres. Pour ce faire, les ingénieurs ne se contentent pas d'enregistrer le parcellaire existant, mais sont chargés d'imposer un véritable nouvel ordre social et spatial : définition de droits de propriété effaçant les appropriations antérieures, redécoupage et redistribution des terres, déplacement des bornes du finage, régularisation des villages, allant jusqu'à leur destruction et reconstruction systématique. Cas

limite d'une expérience de cartographie coloniale, l'imposition des formes géométriques dans l'organisation du finage, définitivement fixée par le dessin du plan, est pensée comme un moyen de discipliner durablement des populations locales réputées retardataires. Les modèles suivis dans cette nouvelle organisation du finage sont ceux des colonies allemandes créées dans le Banat au cours de la décennie précédente (1763-73).

La volonté de séparer des populations aux statuts différents – colons « allemands » et anciens habitants, nommés « Nationalisten » – précède de plusieurs lustres l'entreprise de cartographie systématique des finages villageois. Toutefois, celle-ci va précipiter la recherche systématique d'une homogénéité confessionnelle puis ethnique à l'échelle locale. Chaque opération de *reambulatio* – c'est-à-dire de mise à jour du relevé des limites de terrain – peut ainsi devenir une opération de redistribution des terres et provoquer des micro-déplacements de population. Dans ce contexte seigneurial et colonial – le servage n'est aboli qu'en 1848 –, les mobilités paysannes ne sont pas totalement libres. De tels exemples sont légion et touchent toutes les communautés mixtes pendant deux générations. En 1777 à Făget, les habitants « valaques » doivent quitter la rive gauche de la Timiş, réservée aux seuls Allemands. En 1802 à Sânandrei, les habitations et les terres des Allemands, auparavant dispersées dans un village majoritairement orthodoxe et roumanophone, sont regroupées à l'occasion d'une *reambulatio*. Ces modifications sont toujours commandées par les administrateurs de domaine, mais elles suivent des demandes sociales et des justifications diverses au XVIIIe siècle : celle des colons qui craignent pour leur sécurité, celles des clercs catholiques qui craignent presque autant la conversion de leurs ouailles à l'orthodoxie que la corruption de leur foi et de leurs discipline religieuse par leur voisin, celle des officiers de domaines eux-mêmes, qui redoutent l'ensauvagement des colons au contact de populations moins évoluées. Au début du XIXe siècle, il est désormais convenu que c'est la différence de mœurs qui impose un développement séparé de chaque nation. Les ingénieurs-cartographes du Banat ne se contentent donc pas d'enregistrer la mosaïque ethnique, mais contribuent à la créer.

Silviu Anghel (The National *Museum* of Maps and Old Books, Bucharest)
The Borders of Dacia. A Romanian Cartographic Journey (1816-1944)

Dacia was present in Romanian minds long before it was first drawn on a (Romanian) map in 1816. From then on the historical construct of Dacia was ever more present in Romanian culture and cartography, until the inter-war period, when it was printed in a flood of maps, most of them in history

textbooks and school atlases. The present paper does not intend to analyse all the implication of Romanian's connection with their mythical, Dacian past. It will discuss only one aspect, that of borders of Dacia. Yet it is not a paper about border mapping. Nor is it about the value (or lack thereof) of reconstructions of ancient realities based on historical clues. It is rather a paper about a modern construct and the inevitable dangerous modern liaisons that come with it, liaisons which come from the realm of culture and ideology, the image of self and last but not least from the realm of politics.

Emanuil Ineoan ("Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca)
Mapping as a Battlefield in the Balkan Region. The Aromanian Case and its Cartographic Representations During the 19th and 20th Centuries

Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians and Istro-Romanians have served, to this day, as proofs of the existence of the Oriental Romanity in a part of Europe which has suffered, throughout time, transformations that have substantially modified the Roman heritage of this area.

The presence of Aromanians in the Balkans has sparked numerous controversies about their autochthonous character or the origins of their spoken idiom. Their identity as a Latin people has been challenged, on countless occasions, by the various national propagandas developed in the Balkans in the modern age.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the young Romanian state becomes more and more interested in the existing Aromanian communities within the Ottoman Empire which they considered part of its Romanian heritage. This support sparked a surprised and suspicious reaction from the Great Powers and caused immense anxieties to its neighbouring states, in particular Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Not once, Romania's involvement in the region was perceived as having a detonator effect on the Balkan political arena, which was anyway complicated by subsequent waves of radicalised nationalisms.

My presentation provides an introduction into the Aromanian issue through an inventory of the main cartographic representations produced in the Greek, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Italian, British and Albanian historiographies related to this topic.

Cezar Buterez, Carmen Toncea, Theodor Cepraga, Andy Stanciu, Iulian Dochiţa (University of Bucharest / Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu")
Beyond the Region of the Unknown. Documenting the Small-Scale Romanian Army Shooting Maps (1916-1959)

The Army Shooting Maps were the first cartographic product that covered all the Romanian territories and also the first in the country's history that used a unitary coordinate system, Lambert-Cholesky. Even though the maps were graphically transposed from previous sources, they were continuously updated after 1924 and used up until 1959, when they were replaced by the soviet-inspired cartography using the Gauss–Krüger system. The maps had an obvious military purpose for which they served not only Romania, but other European countries too, yet they include such an important amount of content that they can become a valuable resource in historical-geographical reconstruction of the natural and cultural landscape.

Following the initiative of the geo-spatial.org eHarta project of digitally preserving and freely sharing old cartographic materials, this paper aims to advance the knowledge, discovery and use of the 1:100 000 scale Army Shooting Maps collection. It will firstly try to identify and digitize all of the map sheets and document them through metadata creation. Using free and open-source software, it will then build a cartographic-based web interface for downloading and using the maps and their metadata for conventional historical and geographical studies, as well as for further enquiries using Geographical Information Systems and other digital-based approaches.

Merchants in the Balkans: Family and Geographical Solidarities, Networks and Commercial Techniques / Les marchands dans les Balkans: solidarités familiales et géographiques, réseaux et techniques commerciales
Convenors: Cristian Luca, Salvatore Bottari

Georgios Kardaras (Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens)
The Byzantine–Bulgarian treaty of 716 and its commercial dimension

Focusing on the fourth clause of the treaty, the paper considers the development of trade activity between Byzantium and Bulgaria as well as the communication possibilities of Byzantium with the Middle Danube. Taking into account the relative testimonies as well as the finds, is rejected the view that the establishment of the Protobulgar khaganate caused the interruption of the contacts between Byzantium and the Avars and, on the other hand, is pointed out the significant position of Bulgaria as intermediate for the cultural influences in the 8th century.

Penka Danova (Institut d'Études Balkaniques, Sofia)
Le marchand écrivain et la fortune de ses écrits durant les XVe–XVIe siècles

Peu de marchands du Bas Moyen Age nous ont laissé d'écrits ou de description de leurs traversées des terres balkaniques. La communication se penche sur des textes italiens et l'usage que les marchands voyageurs et/ ou personnes de leur milieu familial on fait de ces écrits en tant que sources des chroniques, des livres de géographie ou d'histoire ou des poèmes (G. Sercambi, B. Dei, B. Michelozzi, B. Bonsignori et d'autres).

Gerassimos Pagratis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Greeks subjects of Venice in Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Business: some sixteenth century case studies

In the economic historiography of Venice, subjects usually play the role of the backdrop to images-studies referring mainly to the enterprises of Venetian nobles or *cittadini*. Even though in recent years researches which see the subjects not only as transporters of cargoes but also as managers of trading houses have been published, these concern primarily the eighteenth century. Moreover, in order for us to compile a typology of the Serenissima's Greek subjects' participation in maritime trade, a satisfactory number of case studies

is necessary. Some such case studies are presented here, regarding ship-owners originated from the Venetian maritime state.

Benedetto Ligorio (Sapienza University of Rome)
The Ragusa (Dubrovnik) trade geography in South-Eastern Europe in the 17th century

The Merchants of the Republic of Ragusa were actives in the main important cities of the Balkans in a strictly cooperation with autochthonous merchants and members of other ethnic groups like Jews, Albanians, Greeks and Romanians. The consulate system of Ragusa and the trade networks were intersected in a 'grid' of private business and state interests. Despite of the harbour cities of Ottoman Empire and Republic of Venice, The Republic of Ragusa had the advantage of the full neutrality who allowed the ragusan galleons (also known as argosy) to transport the goods purchased in the Balkans in the Western Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic. The topic of the presentation is to reconstruct the trade geography of the Republic of Ragusa in South Eastern Europe and identify the economic specialization of the import cities and the network between Ragusan merchants, Jewish brokers and ottoman cities. For example, in primary sector Ragusa import from Durazzo (Durrës) and Valona (Vlöre) wheat and salt and from Scutari, wood and dried fish. The secondary products, particularly textiles and leather were part of the more significant trade activity of Ragusan merchants. From Sofia the Ragusan Merchants imported Leather of high quality comparable to the products of the Iberian tannery. The network of the textiles trade cover all the northern area of the South–Eastern Europe: from the Adriatic coast to the Black sea: the cities of Mostar, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Sofia, Plovdiv, Nikopol, Varna, Bucharest, Braila, were involved in the import-export of Ragusan merchants of silk and wool. The connectivity of trade across religious faith, political borders and ethnic identity and create an economic geography in which merchants, supply chain and hub cities were the strongly related.

Eleni G. Gavra (University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki)
Commercial routes and trading posts of the Greek communities in Romania: Cultural and Ekistics Heritage

The Greek presence in contemporary Romanian provinces (Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) starts from the early modern period, shortly after the fall of Constantinople (1453). During the Ottoman domination of the Greek peninsula

(15th–19th century), hundreds of Greek merchants emigrated from the Greek peninsula and settled in many Romanian villages and cities where they established their own communities. A variety of reasons, like the semi-autonomous regime in the Principalities, various privileges being given by the local authorities and trade opportunities especially in the 'free ports' are the causes of the emigration. The 'gold' era of the Greek communities was the period 1711–1821, being known as 'the Phanariot period', when highly educated Greeks from the area of 'Phanari' in the centre of Istanbul were nominated by the Sublime Porte to run the ottoman provinces close to the Danube. In these areas-cities Greeks played an important role in financial – business/commercial – and social activities. Thus, they financed and erected churches, schools, public institutions, they set up businesses – such as printing offices, industries, workshops, banks, shipping companies – they built houses of remarkable quality, interesting architecture and important contribution in the urban scene.

This paper is an effort to describe the presence of Greek merchants and evaluate their activities concerning, both, the trade markets and the local everyday life. Looking at the vast ekistics heritage it is easy to understand that during 19th century, when the national movement of the Romanian Unification was under way, the Greek communities faced the dilemma to leave the Romanian areas or to assimilate with the locals.

Cristian Luca (The Lower Danube University of Galaţi / Romanian Institute of Culture and Humanities Research in Venice)
Balkan Merchants as Suppliers of Agricultural Produce and Raw Materials from the Romanian Principalities to the Northern Italian Markets during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Romanian Principalities supplied large quantities of raw materials to the markets of the Italian Peninsula: bovine and sheep skins, wax, wool etc. got to Venice, Ancona, and, in the second half in the 18th century, Trieste, once the Adriatic port of the Hapsburg Empire took over a good share of the annual flows of trade between Eastern Europe and Northern Italy. Balkan merchants, mainly Greeks, but also Bulgarians, Aromanians, Slavs, Ottoman Turks, managed to capitalize on the opportunity to control the exports of raw materials and foodstuffs from the Romanian Principalities to the markets of the Italian Peninsula. They took advantage of the lack of competitiveness of local merchants and made good use of the possibility to directly manage the transportation of goods by land or sea, by resorting to the

services of transporters with Ottoman citizenship. Merchants like the Greeks Nikolaos Karaiannis, the Maroutsis brothers, Andreas Koutunis, Aromanians such as Ioan Gheorghe Papa, Slavs like Jovo Kurtović from Trieste and others were the vectors of connecting the Romanian Principalities to the international economic flows. For Balkan merchants, trading raw materials from the markets of the Romanian Principalities was a constant of their economic activity during the 17th century, but the changes in the political and economic situation of Eastern Europe during the next century, especially after the reopening of the Black Sea in 1774 for the navigation of non-Ottoman merchant ships, and direct access to the grains and raw materials from the Northern Danubian area led to a new and sustainable dynamics of the international trade in the North-Western part of the Black Sea Basin. In this new stage of the Romanian trade, the Balkan merchants, faced with the competition of Western merchants and ship-owners, managed to keep their active presence in controlling and managing exchanges of goods, and their commercial houses were among the actors of the medium and long distance international trade in Europe at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries.

R**oxana Coman** (The Bucharest Municipality Museum)
Balkan merchant houses in the 18th and 19th centuries. From cosmopolitanism to nationalism

What do Kastoria, Siatista, Thessaloniki, Gjirokastra, Ohrid, Sozopol, Nessebar, Plovdiv, Bucharest, Ploiesti, Istanbul, and so on, have in common? Apart from being cities in different Balkan countries, they share a common Ottoman influence, especially when it comes to architecture. In Greece the manors are called *archontika* (*αρχοντικα*), and considered to be representative for the Macedonian architectural style, in Romania, they are simply called merchant homes and considered Ottoman, in Bulgaria they are seen as Bulgarian architectural heritage. The manors still preserved in one form or another throughout the Balkans, have been mostly built in the 18th and 19th centuries. The majority of the owners were merchants or members of the local bourgeoisie. Whether we call them Balkan or Ottoman architectural heritage, these houses have witnessed an interesting process – their meaning and symbolism have shifted from representatives of local identity (especially in the cases of Bulgaria and Greece) to national, and, to some extent, Ottoman. Their affiliations to various architectural styles depict what was going on in the Balkans at a certain point. For example, some *archontika* in Kastoria follow the stylistic traits of Art Nouveau and, even Art Deco.

Regardless if we label them as examples of vernacular or Ottoman architecture, these houses were built with various materials that reflect the commercial ties between the various Balkan regions and between the peninsula and the rest of Europe. Painted by local painters, decorated with panels of either precious or local type of wood, with ceramic tiles from Vienna, with Murano windowpanes, the manors were, in some cases, built by people trying to escape from Ottoman persecution in remote places, but still managing to procure the needed and desired materials. Having this in mind, one question arises. Could we speak of the architectural unity as a fashion trend initiated and then, spread across the Balkans as a mark of social class? Why would people opposing the Ottoman regime choose to construct their homes using Ottoman elements?

Roumiana Preshlenova (Institute of Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
Between Vienna, Bucharest and Thessaloniki: Bulgarian Expatriate Merchants and Nation Building in 19th Century

The proposed paper will focus on the network established and maintained by Bulgarian expatriate merchants in Vienna and Bucharest in the second half of the 19th century to promote the higher education of young compatriots. Special attention will be paid to their benevolent activities in this respect. Another issue to be regarded is their view on Central and West Europe, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other hand, as educational centres where the new Bulgarian elite had to be nurtured in the process of nation-building. Last but not least, their understanding of the scope of the territories of the Bulgarian state as well as of duties and loyalties will be regarded.
The contribution will be based on archival sources from the 19th century and on primary research.

Evguenia Davidova (Portland State University)
Merchants' Strategies for Business Expansion: Perspectives from the 19th Century Central Balkans

This paper, through the examination of a few case studies, explores the strategies for business expansion of three generations of merchants. The approaches vary from kin and family solidarity to marriage, employees' recruitment, professional espionage, specialized education, communication with local administration, and evolving accounting practices. I will seek to answer to following set of questions: How did each generation employ such

strategies? Which ones were successful? Were they transmitted to the next generation? What was the role of various ethnic and religious networks, as constructed by traders' social interactions? How did professional cooperation and competition occur? What was the impact of business expansion on family daily practices and social behaviour? What were the representations of social status and success as well as professional failure of the 'Conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant,' as Traian Stoianovich aptly put it?

The paper, grounded in business correspondence, wills, local chronicles, commercial guides, memoirs, and newspapers, will explore how such strategies contributed to formation of middle classes, transitions to modernity, and articulation of nationalist aspirations.

Gergana Georgieva ("St. Cyril and St. Methodius" University, Veliko Tarnovo)
Balkan Merchants in the Nineteenth Century – New Data about Their Social Profile and Property Status

Small towns and big villages located in the lower parts of the Balkan Mountains are very indicative of the development of trade and crafts in the central Balkans. They are motive force of the economic and social processes in the Balkans in the 19th c. Traders were the most economically and socially active group that set the framework and rhythm of the development of the Balkan society in the period in question. Therefore, traders were key players in their communities in many aspects – not only in economic but also in social, and even in cultural dimensions. I will try to outline their social and economic profile based on unpublished Ottoman documents in order to complement to the general picture of the nineteenth-century trade in the region.

The survey is based on Ottoman registers (*temettuat defters*) of Gabrovo, Tryavna, Arbanassi, Lyaskovets and Svishtov from 1845. They give detailed description of the economic status of taxpayers in the surveyed settlements. Thanks to these detailed registers, we can discuss not only the features and elements of a typical merchant household and economy, but also we can compare their property status with that of their fellow citizens. It is clear that, unlike craftsmen, farmers and clergymen for example, most traders did not rely on alternative sources of income but focus mainly on trade. In addition, documents from the personal correspondences of some merchants (in Greek and Bulgarian) enrich the investigation and contribute substantively to the study.

Interesting processes are tracked thanks to the sources – some of the settlements, which in the past were centres of international trade, such as

Arbanassi, declined and focused on local trade in the 19th century, while other neighbouring settlements were gaining momentum, like Lyaskovets. Moreover, a symbiosis between neighbouring settlements developed. For instance, Gabrovo and Tryavna did not compete, but complete each other – Gabrovo developed as a merchant centre, while Tryavna specialized in transportation of goods through the mountainous passes. Danubian cities already developed as leading trade centres, which would attract later the unemployed population from the mountainous areas and will cause substantial economic migrations.

The economic profile of those towns reveals the logic of their development – the strong emphasis on trade requires development of trade networks and connected them with many other urban centres within the region. The economic orientation of the central Balkan region to the Danube River and also the strong connection with Wallachia are very clearly visible. I will try to explain how strong and how important these connections were for the economic development of the mountainous towns.

Nikolay Ivanov Todorov (Silistra Regional Museum of History)
Traders on the Lower Danube – Economic and Social Status of The Traders in Tulcea and Silistra according to data of Temettuat Defters

The beginning of the commercial shipping on the Danube in the 1850s led to the economic rise of a number of settlements along the right bank of the river, which naturally formed in their professional structure a serious commercial class. Formally regulated by the Ottoman authorities, the rights and the obligations of merchants are subject of special interest by the historiography. However, the specific source material adds some elements to their status, which sometimes remain unnoticed by the imperative legal norms of the Ottoman law.

The present study aims to clarify the socio-economic status of the class of traders in Tulcea and Silistra in the 1840s. Except the long-distance traders (*tüccar*, *bazargân*), it refers also to those who carried out commercial operations on the local market – *bakkal*, *dükkânci*, *meykedeci*. The analysis is based mainly on the kept in Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi *temettuat defters* of Tulcea and Silistra, a number of published and unpublished diplomatic documents, especially those stored at the Bulgarian Historical Archive of the St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library.

The information from the *temettuat defter* allows to form a detailed picture of the business activity of each individual merchant, which is of particular importance for the study of the trade in the Ottoman era.

In the period under review the trade was the activity that shaped the economic profile of the urban economy of Tulcea and Silistra. The traders were not the most numerous social group, but definitely they received the highest income in the town. This naturally allowed them to invest in a variety of business initiatives, to build personal wealth and property.

Their economic situation led also to the acquisition of a higher social status, including in the local government, which guaranteed them not only greater security but also allowed them to increase their personal wealth.

All this allows to outline a local variant of the development of the urban economy, which in turn details the overall picture of the urban economy in the examined period.

Nevena Stiliyanova Nedelcheva (Popovo Historical Museum)
Merchants in Deliorman (the example of Hezargrad)

The report will present new information on the socio-economic development of Hezargrad in the middle of the 19th c. extracted from unpublished Ottoman documents – temettuat defters. We will introduce new unpublished data about the merchants in Hezargrad and their social and economic status. This study will focus on the trade population of Hezargrad and will provide information on their households, income and taxes. The research will present general information about the economic situation of merchants in this town; it was focused on the leading industries and specific occupations. The economic structure of the merchants, the peculiarities of its territorial organization, the confessional structure and some details of the economic development of the trade community in Hezargrad will be commented.

Ivaylo Naydenov (Institute for Historical Studies, Sofia)
Business Practices and Strategies in the Central part of the Balkans during the 19th Century: the case of the Pulievi Brothers

There is long-lasting scholarly interest in the history of the Bulgarian merchants and merchant houses in the 18th and 19th century but those researchers have paid attention mostly to the traded commodities, invested capital, profits and losses, itineraries, etc. All mentioned elements are of prime importance conducting a research in the realm of economic history, but still there are issues to be investigated. Among them I would like to outline the need of detailed studies of the commercial enterprise and entrepreneurship;

entrepreneurial practices, strategies and behaviour; the importance of commercial information doing business, etc.

In the proposed paper, I am dealing with the entrepreneurial activity of brothers Hristo, Nikola and Ivan Todorovi Pulievi. They were sons of the prominent notable (*çorbadji*) from Karlovo (District of Plovdiv) Todor Puliev. They established commercial enterprise with their relative Evlogi Georgiev (1839). A few years later his brother – Hristo Georgiev was also enrolled in the work of the trade house 'Pulievi–Georgievi'.

From the early 1840s onwards Hristo and Nikola T. Pulievi expanded their network in the Central part of the Balkans. After the Crimean War (1853–1856) Nikola T. Puliev and his agents restricted their activities. Much more intriguing is the case with Ivan Todorov Puliev who lived and worked part-time in Galati, Braila and Serres.

On the basis of Pulievi's archive (letters, commercial ledgers, bills of exchange), I am going to reveal their role in the merchant house. I will pay attention to the organization of the trade they conducted. I will depict their mercantile network, and most importantly I will reveal Pulievi's business practices and strategies.

The abundant documentation bespeak that the Pulievi brothers cultivated a specific entrepreneurial mentality that is reflected in their long-standing economic activity. It is only through extensive research of longer periods of different case studies, that we can acquire an adequate notion about the essence of commercial entrepreneurship.

The Afterlife of the Byzantine monuments in Post-Byzantine Times
La fortune des monuments byzantins à l'époque post-byzantine
Convenor: Elena Boeck

Stefania Gerevini (Università L. Bocconi, Milan)
Making Byzantine art "history": the Pala d'oro in San Marco, Venice

This paper explores the afterlife of Byzantine monuments in post-byzantine times through analysis of the fourteenth-century renewal of the Pala d'oro, the majestic Byzantine altarpiece that embellished the high altar of San Marco, Venice, since the twelfth century.

Born as a Byzantine province, but soon grown into an independent state and a competitor of the Empire, Venice was a "post-byzantine" city for much of its medieval history. How does this interpretative framework enrich (or limit) our understanding of Venice's appropriation and reinvention of such Byzantine artworks as the Pala d'oro?

Though it often serves as a convenient chronological marker, the term "post-byzantine" is hardly neutral. On the one hand, (self) identification as "no longer Byzantine" entails the recognition that a significant historical and political discontinuity has taken place. On the other hand, it rests on a presumption of cultural contiguity with Byzantine traditions. In what measure is such specific historical consciousness attested in medieval Venice?

Reconsidering the complex physical history of the Pala d'oro and its substantial renovation in c.1345, this paper investigates Venice's changing perceptions of its own relative proximity to (or distance from) Byzantium over the course of the middle ages, and illuminates the emergence of a new sense of history in the city in the mid-Trecento, at a time of heightened internal instability and uncertainty about the future.

Maria Alessia Rossi (Princeton University)
Byzantine Monuments in the Serbian Kingdom or Serbian Monuments in a Post-Byzantine World?

After the 1204 conquest of Constantinople, the Byzantine identities were severely challenged. The dialectic tension between the Byzantine Empire's loss of control and the growing power of its neighbours, not tamed after 1261, suggests a scenario that in a way becomes post-Byzantine.

It is in these same years that the Serbian Kingdom emerged onto the political scene of the eastern Mediterranean, initially as an enemy of the

Byzantine Empire and later, from 1299 onwards, as one of its main allies, securing solid ties with the latter. Both felt the need to legitimize their power and wealth by constructing and renovating churches and monasteries; and to reinvent a cultural identity, as in the case of the Byzantine Empire, or to create a new one, as in the case of the Serbian Kingdom, via innovative and original iconographies. The geographic proximity, the numerous diplomatic missions, and the family ties between the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom, allowed for literary and artistic exchanges. But how strong was the Byzantine cultural influence on its neighbour? Was the Serbian artistic production overwhelmed by the former or was the Byzantine heritage perceived as a distant recollection?

This paper will focus on Christ's miracle cycle in monumental decorations. The sudden proliferation of this iconography in both territories in the early Palaiologan period, clearly suggests a link. Examples of Serbian churches housing this cycle, such as St George at Staro Nagoričino (1315–1317) and the katholikon of the monastery of Gračanica (1320–1321), will be compared with Byzantine instances. An in-depth examination of the iconography of Christ's miracles will prove similarities and differences that together suggest a unique connection between these regions where Byzantium could both prompt a feeling of desire and denial; of shared heritage and complete rejection.

Nicole Paxton Sullo (Yale University)
Imagined Cityscapes and Mythical Histories: The Riccardiana Virgil in the Wake of Constantinople's Fall

This paper investigates the rich image program that adorns a mid-fifteenth-century Florentine copy of the *Aeneid* (Biblioteca Riccardiana ms. 492) within the context of its creation during the years immediately following the 1453 fall of Constantinople. The luxury Virgilian manuscript contains the *Eclogues* (f. 1r–15v) and *Georgics* (f. 18–49v), each prefaced with a quarter-page illumination, followed by the *Aeneid* (f. 61r–236), which boasts eighty-six illuminations in the same format, this time at the foot of every folio for books one through three. Although the miniatures, painted by Apollonio di Giovanni and his bottega, remain unfinished, peculiarities in the costume of the epic's actors and in the topographies represented offer insight into concepts of "greekness" and Hellenism in the face of an Ottoman Constantinople. In the tradition of Maffeo Vegio and Cristoforo Landino's textual commentaries on the *Aeneid*, Apollonio composes a visual exegesis that hurtles Aeneas' journey into the world of a Quattrocento humanist audience. Otherworldly spaces of

legendary accounts become punctuated with familiar realia; here, distinctive headdresses worn by medieval Byzantine aristocracy come to designate the ancient Greek protagonists, while the Trojans' turbans identify them with Turkic populations. Two maps of the Mediterranean Basin interrupt the long sequence of narrative images, and allow for further intermingling of time between past and present. The manipulation of images to include contemporary realism suspended in a mythical imaginary generates a pictorial framework meant to engage multiple levels of interpretation. Through a consideration of the painter's wider oeuvre and Italian reactions to the fall, this paper parses through Apollonio di Giovanni's graphic commentary in order to explore signifiers of culture that at once suggest the erudition of the ancient world and political realities with implications for the Florentine economy.

Charles Barber (Princeton University)
The Archaeology of Past, Present, and Future: Francesco Barozzi and Georgios Klontzas on the column of Arcadius

This paper examines the role played by the column of Arcadius in the apocalyptic imaginary. While this column was available for antiquarian study until its demolition in 1715, there is a quite different, yet notable interest in this monument in the second half of the sixteenth century. Understood as the location for the inscription of the *Oracles* of Leo the Wise, the texts and images discussed in this paper show how this reputation was both constructed and quickly disseminated in a rich body of texts and images that situated this work within the urgent narratives formed within a Veneto-Cretan milieu that sought to understand the seemingly inevitable victory of the forces of the Ottoman Empire.

Michalis Kappas (Ephorate of Antiquities of Messenia)
The afterlife of Byzantine monuments in the Peloponnese: Three cases in Messenia

In my paper I will discuss the afterlife of Byzantine monuments in the Peloponnese in three different contexts: in a monastic (Andromonastiro), in an urban (Kalamata), and, finally, in a rural context (Kastania). Andromonastiro is a small monastery near Ancient Messene, founded in the early 13th century. The monastic complex underwent two extensive restorations in the early 17th and in the mid 18th century respectively. Both of them were permitted by the Ottoman administration of the region, while local ecclesiastical authorities (bishops and abbots) were involved in the renovation projects. The second case

study focuses on two parish churches (St. Apostles and St. Constantine) in Kalamata, the most important urban center of the region since the 12th century. Both were constructed by the same team of masons in the mid-12th century, and were enlarged and restored during the Second Venetian period (1689-1715). Though no inscriptions related to their renovations are preserved, it seems that the local Orthodox population of the city got profit of the relaxation of Ottoman restrictions as far as the renovation of ecclesiastical institutions inside urban centers that took place during the Second Venetian period. The third case focuses on the church of St. Peter in Kastania, a flourishing village in the Mani peninsula. The church was built after the mid-12th century and remained constantly in use as a parish church until the mid-20th century. Through the centuries it was renovated many times, while in the early 19th century (1813) an impressive bell-tower was added at its west side reflecting the economic prosperity of the region just before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution (1821). Though the three cases under examination reflect three different historical and political situations in the Post-Byzantine Peloponnese (Ottoman, Venetian, and the semi-autonomous region of the Mani) it seems that in all of them the Byzantine origins of the buildings in discussion are not perceived as a 'distant phenomenon'. In the Post-Byzantine Peloponnese the Orthodox Church and its monuments was always perceived as an institution closely related to its Byzantine Past, which seems to be the case for all the Greek speaking populations throughout the Balkan Peninsula.

Theocharis Tsampouras (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki / University of Western Macedonia)
Church institutions in continuous existence since the Byzantine period: a characteristic of privilege or disadvantage during Ottoman times?

Claiming a Byzantine heritage and proving an uninterrupted existence since Byzantine times ensured for church institutions of the fifteenth century a sense of stability and accorded them privileges granted by the Ottoman state, mainly because their connection with Byzantium was viewed by the Ottomans as an indication of a preexisting working network of local self-administration. It is quite illuminating to examine how this specific characteristic gradually diminished in importance and started to be considered as a major drawback from the seventeenth century onward.

In the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries a severe economic crisis struck the Ottoman Empire and radically transformed the self-organization framework of local Christian communities, which was already

established by the church institutions. This was both demographically and socioeconomically a challenging time for Christians of the Ottoman Empire; Population numbers were decreasing, while cities were losing a great part of their inhabitants, who were showing a preference for small villages or started moving to the mountains. Old money holders and landowners, struck by the economic crisis of the seventeenth century, struggled to cope with the new rules of the economy, having already been profoundly impacted by the fiscal changes and the transformations of land ownership that were happening in the Ottoman Empire at the same time.

This wealth redistribution caused remarkable alterations in the social structure of the non-Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire. As for the church institutions of the Orthodox – the monasteries and the village churches, but also the episcopates and the archbishoprics – the crisis only meant one thing: ending up in massive debt. The debts of the Archbishopric of Pogoniani in Northern Greece e.g. became so heavy that it couldn't even pay its basic annual tax to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The financial state of its neighboring Archbishopric of Dryinoupolis in southern Albania was even worse: its debts were steadily accumulating in the late 16th century and its officials were constantly failing to respond properly to this unprecedented crisis. Dryinoupolis' Archbishop Kallistos, who was burdened with a debt of more than 60.000 akces, even started pawning his own vestments and was ultimately forced to resign in 1609 under the pressure of his enormous debt.

The dire financial straits of the ecclesiastical hierarchy also caused a major shift in art patronage practices throughout the Balkans. Old Christian elites of the cities were falling into decline and new patrons were coming forth in mountainous villages and small market towns across the Balkan Peninsula. In fact, the names of people who exercised authority within the Orthodox Church – from archbishops and bishops to local priests – are less frequently mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions of the seventeenth-century monuments.

The sudden change in the financial status of art commissioners is mirrored not only in the quantity but also the quality of executed works. The advanced aesthetic taste and the theological sophistication of sixteenth-century elites disappeared almost completely in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The painted examples that still survive demonstrate that there was a demand for low-cost works of small scale, which could be quickly and easily finished. This artistic change started manifesting itself more emphatically in monasteries founded in the Byzantine period and in urban environments: most city-based artistic workshops were dismantled, a development that is affirmed

by the small number of Orthodox churches built and decorated in Ottoman cities from the last decades of the sixteenth century at least until the 1650s. The workshops that were affiliated with existing monasteries, and thus connected with the Byzantine tradition, soon followed the same fate. As a result, local stylistic idioms that were clearly oriented toward a continuation of the late Byzantine tradition, e.g. the so called "Schools" of Kastoria, Ioannina, or Ohrid, gradually merged into a common homogenized style, suitable for urban and non-urban environments alike.

This paper will examine, through an interdisciplinary methodology, how church institutions in continuous existence since the Byzantine period coped with change from mid-sixteenth century on and how they progressively loosened their ties with the Byzantine tradition in order to respond to the challenges of their time.

Ovidiu Olar ("N. Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, Vienna)
The Byzantine Manuscripts of a Post-Byzantine Prince. Alexandru II Mircea of Wallachia (1568-1577) and his Self-Fashioning

This paper explores the strategies employed by the Wallachian prince Alexandru II Mircea in order to construct a successful identity and public persona. It focuses on several Byzantine manuscripts "embellished" by the prince and donated to prestigious monastic centres, such as Dionysiou Lectionary Cod. 587, Sinai Lectionary Cod. 208, and Rockefeller McCormick 2400 (Chicago University). It invokes briefly *Suceviţa* 23 – a lavishly illuminated Slavonic Tetraevangelion also commissioned by Alexandru II Mircea. It insists on the innovative character of the "painted chronicle" of Bucovăţ monastery which accompanies the portraits of Alexandru and of his brothers, Miloş and Petru Şchiopul ("the Lame"), prince of Moldavia (1574-1579, with interruptions, and 1582-1591). This first-person narrative tells the story of the ruling prince since his birth, in 1539, until "now", that is, 1574. Once placed alongside the manuscripts given as gifts, it reveals a highly crafted concept of sovereignty. Although seldom read in a "Byzance après Byzance" key, the Byzantine manuscripts actually serve as vehicles for an intriguing new legitimizing narrative.

Alice Isabella Sullivan (University of Michigan)
Reinterpreted Traditions in the Churches of Medieval Moldavia

In the crucible of the post-1453 world, the sacred landscape of the principality of Moldavia was transformed. Over four dozen churches were built under princely patronage that reinterpreted Byzantine church building traditions, among others, alongside local developments. One of the more distinctive features of these religious buildings, their triconch layout, was adapted to local needs in the Moldavian context. Likewise, the extensive mural cycles decorating the interior and exterior walls of these churches, rooted in Byzantine prototypes, were modified in order to respond to the new forms of these buildings, and reflect local needs and concerns. This paper addresses the ways in which Byzantine modes of building and decorating churches were reinterpreted in the Moldavian context in the century after the events of 1453, and how these traditions were further transformed in the monuments built during the second half of the sixteenth century and the initial decades of the seventeenth century. The later monuments, I argue, certainly recall Byzantine traditions, but they more so respond to the earlier Moldavian reinterpretations of these traditions, mediated through the motivations and patronage of Stephen III (r. 1457-1504) and Peter Rareş (r. 1527-1538; 1541-1546). Therefore, I question in this paper: How "Byzantine" are the Byzantine church building traditions reinterpreted in the Moldavian context, even two centuries after the fall of the empire in 1453?

Diana Iuliana Barbu (Romanian Patriarchate, Buchares)
The Orthodox Painters from the South and North of the Danube in the Romanian principalities in the 16th-18th centuries

The few recorded names of church mural painters who worked north of the Danube between the 16th and 18th centuries open fruitful new fields of research in the historiography of Romanian art. New insights can be gained by reconstructing their origins and chronologies of their activity (knowing that the majority of the artists were anonymous), studying inscriptions in Greek or Slavonic letters, establishing the existence of mixed teams, and analyzing iconographic, stylistic and technical allogeneic elements. Statistical appraisals such as M. Chatziadakis – *Fichier des peintres grecs 1454-1820* or studies by Eugenia Drakopoulou, "*The Itineraries of the Orthodox Painters in the 18th Century: Common Aesthetics in South East Europe*" and "*Peintres de l'espace greece et balkanique: les conditions de leur acceptation et leur*

réception", crowned by the two volumes of the Greeks Manolis Chatzidakis, Eugenia Drakopoulou, *Έλληνες Ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση (1450-1830),* where it identifies over 20 Greek painters active in the Romanian space, as well as the numerous studies published by Romanian authors, form the starting point for *The Orthodox Painters from the south and north of the Danube in the Romanian principalities in the 16th-18th centuries*, having as a research area Wallachia, Transylvania and Banat. The study will produce a body of statistical knowledge about muralist painters who worked in the aforementioned area, based on existing studies and new research on the stylistic, iconographic and technical elements that individualize the artists.

Aleksandar Ignjatović (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture)
Neither Byzantine nor Serbian: Byzantine Architecture in Serbian Historiography of the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century

To say that Byzantine architecture represents the backbone of Serbian cultural heritage is something of a truism. Since the birth of modern Serbian national historiography, the encounters and relationships between medieval Serbia and Byzantine culture, art and architecture have preoccupied historians, who devised a thesis about peculiarly "national" variants of Byzantine style in Serbia that had flourished between late XII and early XV century. However, the historiographical accounts on Serbo-Byzantine architectural relationships dealt more with issues of Byzantium as a value-loaded construct than with historical realities in medieval Serbia. These relationships were only part of a much wider Serbo-Byzantine discourse, which operated across various disciplines, as well as in popular culture. For, between the late XIX and early decades of the XX century the attribute "Byzantine" expanded well beyond its basic sense of referring to the architectural heritage of the Eastern Roman Empire and the neighbouring regions. In fact, Byzantium was loaded with connotative meanings, which defined those qualities of the culture associated with medieval Serbia as Byzantium's cultural and political inheritor.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the historiographical construction of Byzantine architecture in Serbian historiography represented an ideological tool par excellence — i.e. an integral part of the nation's historicity and modernity, political formations and frontiers. Firstly, the cultural construct of Byzantium was highly instrumental in the Serbian national narrative, torn between a need for cultural authenticity and an imperial mission. Secondly, the relationships between Serbian and Byzantine culture, as seen by art and architectural historians of the late XIX and early XX century,

corresponded to a recognizable ideological agenda inextricably linked with the idea of the restoration of medieval "empire". In this context, "Serbo-Byzantine" architecture depicted the image of a past that would justify the country's enlargement and its eminent status regarding its neighbours. Byzantium in Serbian national historiography was not only a historical phenomenon — whose chronological, cultural and even political frontiers and identities were highly problematic, as Averil Cameron has recently shown — but a set of ideological assets characterized by complexity and fluidity. And it was this complex image of Byzantium and Byzantine architecture that became useful for crafting an idea of medieval Serbia which would, and should, represent a predecessor of modern Serbia on the cusp of its political and territorial expansion.

Ljubomir Milanovic (Institute for Byzantine Studies, Belgrade)
Re-animation of Byzantium: the case of the chapel of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Belgrade

The church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Belgrade was built in 1929 as a mortuary chapel for the main city hospital and originally executed in a late neoclassical style. During the 2000s, the Serbian Orthodox Church and municipal authorities undertook a program of renovation that would involve the integration of Serbo-Byzantine elements into the existing structure. The resulting building combines a Byzantine-styled cupola with the pre-existing classical portico. I argue that the renovation of the chapel of Saints Cosmas and Damian was intended to make the building more easily recognizable as an Eastern Orthodox church and raises several questions: Is this an example of an appropriate adaptation of Byzantine forms within contemporary church architecture? Is this an example of a nostalgic Byzantinism? Does the imposition of stylistically diverse elements damage the architectural and historical integrity of the neoclassical monument?

Mariëtte Verhoeven (Radboud University, Nijmegen)
From East to West and Back Again: The Relics of St Gregory the Theologian and St John Chrysostom

In November 2004 the relics of the patriarchs and Eastern church fathers St Gregory (329-390) and St John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) returned to Istanbul after having been in Rome for 800 years. They were taken from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade and were kept

in St Peter's. This contribution will consider the history and memory of the veneration of these relics in both East and West, in the period between 1204 and now.

Written Culture of the Peripheries from Middle Ages to Modern Times
La culture écrite des périphéries du Moyen-Âge à l'époque moderne
Convenor: Paolo Odorico

Daniele Bianconi (Università degli Studi « La Sapienza » di Roma)
La notion de périphérie (et province) en paléographie grecque

L'intervention portera sur la notion de périphérie en paléographie grecque, dont un certain 'provincialisme' a toujours été considéré comme le véritable trait distinctif, sinon constitutif. À travers une série de cas spécifiques, nous essaierons de libérer de toute connotation négative la catégorie des « périphéries graphiques » : pendant le Moyen Âge grec entre certaines provinces (ou ex-provinces) de l'empire eurent lieu des contacts et des échanges mutuels, qui furent très productifs et importants sur le plan graphique et, surtout, culturel, et qui parfois exclurent la même capitale, Constantinople, si bien que le paradigme interprétatif 'centre *versus* périphérie' commence à montrer des signes évidents d'insuffisance.

Charis Messis (EHESS – Paris)
Versions littéraires de la province : le cas de la Macédoine

Le but de cette présentation sera d'analyser le rapport qui se crée entre province et production littéraire en examinant l'élaboration littéraire du trajet qui conduit de Constantinople à Thessalonique. La Macédoine acquiert une visibilité accrue à partir du 12e siècle et jusqu'au 15e siècle à travers une série de textes littéraires et satiriques : elle devient l'espace de référence et d'action d'un nombre considérable de personnes et de situations qui échappent à la normalité, racontent une sorte d'expérience liminale, et qui expriment les points de vue d'auteurs qui se définissent dans leur majorité comme Constantinopolitains, même s'ils vivent pendant une longue période dans cette province en tant que hauts ecclésiastiques ou fonctionnaires d'Etat, ou passent à travers elle en tant que simples voyageurs.

Sergio Basso (Università Roma 3)
Circulation périphérique et "fluidité" des textes : l'exemple du "Barlaam et Ioasaph" au XIe siècle

Barlaam et Ioasaph est un best-seller du début du XIe siècle, une version grecque d'une saga qui parcourut toute la Route de la Soie : expliqué d'habitude

comme la christianisation de la vie du Bouddha, il est le résultat d'une longue chaîne qui de la littérature arabe traversa celle pahlavi, arabe, géorgien, pour finalement arriver, grâce au génie d'Euthyme l'Athonite, au grec médiéval. C'est l'exemple d'une circulation littéraire en grec médiéval, qui ne passe pas par Constantinople, mais s'épanouit plutôt dans ces magnifiques centres de médiation linguistique, ces laboratoires de frontière, qui furent les monastères syro-palestiniens et – seulement plus tard – l'Athos. Comme un papier tournesol, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* offre ainsi le droit à une série d'observations sur la circulation des livres dans les périphéries de IVᵉ à XIᵉ siècle.

Romina Luzi (EHESS, Paris)
Les romans paléologues de la « périphérie byzantine »

Le caractère anonyme de tous les romans byzantins de l'époque paléologue rend difficiles l'étude des circonstances de leur rédaction ainsi que l'identification de leur lectorat. Trois des romans vernaculaires de l'époque paléologue, qui seront l'objet de notre étude, le *Φλόριος καὶ Πλατζιαφλόρε*, l'*Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρῶνα* et l'*Ἀπολλόνιος τοῦ Τύρου*, sont adaptés de romans latins. Pour ces ouvrages les spécialistes ont proposé des régions périphériques de l'empire byzantin, où la présence latine s'était bien enracinée. Dans ces régions, la réélaboration de ces textes nous paraît l'hypothèse la plus vraisemblable, puisque la cohabitation avec les Occidentaux a façonné le goût des lecteurs en les tournant vers des thématiques et un registre plus populaires. La reprise de certaines éléments narratifs et de nombreuses occurrences lexicales montrent également la formation d'une tradition narrative qui devait être appréciée et répondre aux attentes de ses lecteurs.

Elena Nonveiller (EHESS, Paris)
Quelques attestations de sacrifices animaux en l'honneur de saints locaux circulant dans l'aire chypriote autour du XIVᵉ siècle

La persistance de pratiques sacrificielles sanglantes dans des contextes chrétiens est attestée dans les périphéries rurales de l'Empire byzantin jusqu'à l'époque tardive, malgré les interdictions des autorités ecclésiastiques. Trois textes très intéressants, mais malheureusement fragmentaires, inclus dans le *Parisinus gr*. 2244, datés au XIVᵉ siècle, provenant de l'aire chypriote, nous informent sur certaines prescriptions rituelles à observer pour le sacrifice des animaux domestiques en l'honneur de saints locaux. Nous n'allons pas discuter des apories philologiques et herméneutiques, mais des questions que ces textes

soulèvent sur les fonctions sociales, culturelles et religieuses des pratiques hétérodoxes dans la vie quotidienne des communautés rurales, même par rapport à l'Église officielle.

Dieter Fahl, Sabine Fahl (Greifswald University)
What did a Novgorod monk do in the early 15th century with the South Slavic translations from Greek chronography?

The Paleya genre, an area long neglected because of its complexity, in the last decades gained more and more scholarly attention. The so called Short Chronographic Paleya, compiled in the Novgorod area in the early 15th century, is part of this tradition, linking Old Testament history, para-Biblical traditions and chronography from the creation of the world to the Byzantine emperor Romanos I Lakapenos (10th century).

For the first time, the Church Slavic text of the Short Chronographic Paleya is now made accessible to scholars who are not Slavists by a critical face-en-face edition (Church-Slavic and German) with commentary. Jewish and Christian non-canonical, canonical and chronographic texts – some preserved only in Slavic, some preserved in parallel traditions – offer a multi-faceted picture of the historical knowledge, an educated monk in Northern Russia had at that time. Building on current findings – above all on the latest studies of the Paleya tradition, made in a Russian-German-Bulgarian team – the paper offers a survey on paths of transmission and methods of choosing and compiling the sources.

Ovidiu Olar ("N. Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest / Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)
Giulio Mancinelli SJ (+1618) and his Journey across Wallachia and Moldavia

In spite of the prominent role played within the Society of Jesus at the end of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century, P. Giulio Mancinelli SJ has not yet received the scholarly attention he truly deserves. The aim of the present paper is to cast new light on his mission in Wallachia and Moldavia. Based on archival material held in Rome and Naples, it will be shown how this mission connects with the mission to Constantinople and how it fits into the Early Modern Catholic missionary policy.

Xavier Agati (EHESS, Paris)
Le texte comme manifeste politico-religieux : transmettre Byzance aux sujets et vassaux chrétiens de l'Empire Ottoman au XVIIIᵉ siècle. Le cas du Livre des Règnes de Césaire Dapontes

Tout texte pose immédiatement la question de son récepteur, de l'identité de celui-ci, des circonstances et de la raison pour laquelle l'auteur lui a destiné son texte. Le Livre des Règnes de Dapontes, œuvre encore inédite conçue dans l'Athos en 1772-1774 et évoquant la succession de tous les empereurs de Byzance, malgré son sujet a priori éloigné de la conjoncture du XVIIIème siècle, pose pourtant cette question de façon particulière.

En effet, on constate qu'il n'y figure aucun destinataire explicite ni même, à la différence d'autres œuvres de Dapontes, aucune dédicace ou même référence à aucun personnage important. En revanche, on trouve au fil du texte des adresses à certains personnages que l'auteur a soin de laisser plus ou moins dans l'ombre de l'implicite.

Mais surtout, l'économie toute entière de l'œuvre semble répondre à un schéma extrêmement précis, une idée directrice maîtresse, qui implique un destinataire précis, donc identifiable. Il s'agira dans mon intervention de poser la question de ce ou ces destinataires, et par conséquent de la transmission de ce texte, dans ses prévisions et dans sa réalisation : à terme, il s'agira de poser la question du but véritable de l'ensemble de l'œuvre.

Efi Synkellou (University of Ioannina)
The reception of the "Despotate" of Epirus in Modern Greek historiography (19th – early 20th centuries)

The so called Despotate of Epirus is one of the Byzantine-Greek States formed in the western parts of the Byzantine territory after the Latin conquest of Constantinople (2014). It was in the middle of the 20th century when D. Nicol recorded in detail the history of this state based on Greek and Western sources; from that moment a new research field in Byzantine history has been opened. The "Despotate" has attracted many scholars, Greek and foreign who studied-and still do, different aspects of its history and culture. As a consequence, we have today a good piece of information on the history of the specific state not only in the 13th century when it flourished, but also after its disintegration into small localities until the Ottoman occupation in the 15th century.

However, that was not always the case. In the 19th century the influence of the Enlightenment and Fallmerayer's theory on the Slavic origins of the Greeks, had led a part of Greek scholars to treat Byzantium derogatory and disconnect it from the Greek history. On the other hand, the evolution of Greek national historiography contributed to the restoration of Byzantium in Greek historical consciousness especially from the middle of the 19th century onwards. So, Sp. Zampelios and K. Paparrigopoulos undertook to "renegotiate" the Byzantine history and integrate it into the national heritage.

In this light, the "Despotate" of Epirus as part of the Byzantine history has been treated as a Greek state-centre of resistance against the Latins. Many Greek scholars have described its history in the framework of the narration of the political conditions in the Byzantine Empire between the first and the second the fall of Constantinople to the Latins (1204) and the Ottomans (1453) respectively. They have also presented it either in contrast with Nicaea or in a spirit of localism. All these scholars, such as P. Aravantinos, S. Xenopoulos, A. Miliarakis, I. Romanos, A. Moustoxedes, I. Lamprides, K. Sathas, S. Lampros, etc. as well as their perceptions on the "Despotate" of Epirus are discussed in this paper.

Vitomir Mitevski (Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Skopje)
South Slavic Oral Epic Tradition about King Marko Written Down in 19th century in Relation to the Byzantine Epic Poem about Digenes Akritas

During the XIXth century Slavic and Greek versions of the poem about Digenes Akritas were discovered and published. At the same time, the songs about South Slavic epic hero King Marko were written down and published. Some extensive analyses today show that there was a narrow connection between Byzantine and South Slavic epic poetry from the Middle Ages to the Modern Times. Many parallels on the level of the style, motives and typical heroes provide an evidence that the Byzantine poetry was very well known in the Balkans during the Middle Ages which can be taken as an additional argument that the Slavic translation of the poem about Digenes Akritas was made in the Balkans and afterwards transferred to Russia where the manuscripts were discovered in the XIXth century.

The Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages /
L'héritage byzantin dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe au Moyen Âge
Convenors: Srdjan Pirivatrić, Andrei Timotin, Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu

Nebojša Porčić (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)
Byzantine Influences in the Documentary Production of Serbian Medieval Rulers

As one of the "new nations" of the Middle Ages who established and developed their political organization within the framework of the Byzantine commonwealth, the Serbs were also greatly influenced by Byzantium in the production of documents through which political leaders exercised and represented their power. However, Serbia's position on the fringe of the commonwealth, in immediate and intensive contact with the Latin West, meant that there were also strong influences from that direction, while the growing strength and self-confidence of the Serbian rulers resulted in increasing importance of local customs, especially since the majority of documents were produced in the native, Serbian language. In this presentation, the analysis certain diplomatic features of the approximately 450 preserved documents of medieval Serbian rulers, which cover a period of roughly three centuries form the 1180s until the Turkish conquest, demonstrates that Byzantine influences had a continued presence and played a decisive role in shaping some of the most prominent and enduring characteristics of Serbian medieval documentary production, but also that this presence had a diachronic dynamism with periods of increasing and decreasing intensity. Comparison of these periods with the dynamics of political relations between Serbia and the Byzantine Empire demonstrates a close correlation between them.

Nebojša Šuletić (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)
Restoration or Continuity: Serbian Patriarchate in the Latter Half of the 16th century

The restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I (1520–1566) is considered as an important event in the history of the Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, in contemporary sources this event has passed almost unnoticed. The restoration is not mentioned either in the 16th century Church chronicles or in the Serbian Church tradition from the 17th and 18th century, and even the very person of the first head of the restored Patriarchate – Patriarch Makarije – is equally left to oblivion. His origin and the date of his arrival at the head of the Serbian Church have not been confirmed to this day.

The sources first mention Makarije in the afterword of a Psalm book printed in the Mileševa Monastery on November 4, 1557, as "His Grace Archbishop of Serbian and Maritime Lands, and Northern and Other Regions". Most authors believe that this is close to the time of the restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate. Separating the actual facts from massive layers of historical interpretations, this study revolves around the question: whether the restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate was a real historical event that occurred at the time of Sultan Suleiman I, or just a theoretical construct created by historians in the latter half of the 19th century?

Petre Guran (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
The Legend of Roman and Vlahata. Saint Sava of Serbia and Orthodox Historical Consciousness in the XIIIth century

A miscellaneous manuscript from the first half of the XVIth century, named after its owner, the *Voskresenskij Letopis*, contains a variant of the Court Chronicle of Moldavia composed during the reign of Stephen the Great (1457-1504). This Chronicle starts with a short tale concerning the origins of the Vlah population in the County of Maramureş, which is related to the creation of the Principality of Moldavia in the XIVth century. The eponym brothers Roman and Vlahata, leaders of an „Old Rome", represent the resistance to heresy in the Western lands and to the schism of pope Formosus. They are called upon by a king Vladislav, nephew of Sava the Serbian archbishop, to fight the Tartars. After their successful contribution on the battlefield against the Tartars, they receive from king Vladislav the right to settle in Maramureş in order to escape a forceful conversion to the Latin Schism by the new Romans. Among them arose the valiant Dragoş, founder of Moldavia. Albeit the legendary impression, the narrative uses a wide range of historical information, such as the cardinal and later pope Formosus episode, the role of archbishop Sava in consolidating Byzantine Christianity in the Balkans, the reign of a Vladislav, nephew of Sava, as Serbian King, the battle against the Tartars on the river Tisza (1241), but also a Hungarian king Vladislav/Ladislaus IV, who also resisted a Tartar invasion (1285). Romanian historiography attempted to restore some coherence of this narrative from the point of view of the state-building process, our interest is to shed a new light on the formation of Orthodox historical consciousness in the XIIIth century, of which saint Sava of Serbia was an unyielding promoter.

Aleksandar Z. Savić (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)
Islam and Muslims in the Thought-World of Medieval Serbs: A Cultural and Intellectual Aspect of the Byzantine Heritage in South-Eastern Europe

As far as it may be deduced from the surviving evidence, it was only from the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the Ottoman conquest that Muslims came to occupy a place of some importance in the original works of Serbian literature. However, even then the faith and practices of the enemy were of virtually no consequence; instead, what we have is a discourse drawing upon Christian apocalyptic visions and representing the Muslims as a mere instrument of God's wrath caused by the sins of the faithful. Yet, before the conclusion is made that Serbian literati had no knowledge of or interest in the Islamic cultural milieu—prior to as well as amid the conquest—one should consider a great many Greek-to-Slavonic translations which mediated, through a variety of genres (polemics and apologetics, hagiography, liturgical texts, historical writings, etc.), a much more substantial (although biased and misconceived) notion of Muhammad's teachings. So why has this notion not left a more tangible trace in the mainstream of medieval Serbian writings? This paper aims to shed some light on how the intellectual and cultural radiance of Byzantium influenced knowledge production about Islam and Muslims among the South Slavs, focusing primarily on the Serbian case.

Oana Iacubovschi (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Portraits of Saints Represented as Icons. Their Place and Function in the Decoration of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches

The habit of representing portraits of saints in the form of rectangular or, sometimes, circular icons, as if hanging on the walls of the church, can be traced back, based on iconographic evidence, to the eleventh century. With perhaps older origins, this type of representations has been preserved in monuments scattered across the Balkan Peninsula, and beyond. From the Cappadocian church of St. Barbara, in Soğnalı Valley (1006 or 1021), the basilica of St. Sophia in Ohrid (1050s), Bačkovo church of the Mother of God in Bulgaria (mid-twelfth century) or the katholicon of Studenica Monastery (1208/1209), to Panagia Asinou in Cyprus (1105/06, late thirteenth century), St. Demetrius church in Mystras (late thirteenth century), Taxiarchis Mitropoleos in Kastoria (fourteenth century), or the late fifteenth and sixteenth century Moldavian churches of St. Nicholas-Popăuţi, the Dormition church in Baia, St. George

church in Hârlau, the Annunciation church of Moldoviţa Monastery, the metropolitan church in Suceava, and St. Paraskeva church in Roman, painters included images of saints represented as icons in the mural decoration of the worship space, following a number of established patterns. Half-length portraits of bishops, martyrs, holy apostles, monks or other venerated saints are the most often represented figures. To understand the origins of this practice, and its persistence over the centuries, different examples of Byzantine and post-Byzantine icon-like portraits of saints will be discussed, paying attention to their geographical distribution, their interaction with church architecture and the iconographic program as a whole, to the identity of the holy figures whose icons are imitated in fresco and their relevance for the patron or the community attending the church.

Ştefania Dumbravă (National University of Arts, Bucharest)
Connecting to the Melting Pot: Embroideries by Hristofor Žefarović in the Romanian Principalities, and Their Cultural Testimony

Hristofor Žefarović's life and work offer a picture most representative for the eclectic and effervescent cultural climate of the 18th century in Central and Eastern Europe, and especially in Vienna. Born towards the end of the 17th century in Dojran, he died in 1753 in Moscow, after having spent most of his working years in Vienna. His entire work, from his mural paintings (in Bođani/Bačka and Siklós), to his prolific work in copperplate engraving, starting from around 1740 (his *Stemmatographia* of 1741 being his seminal work, a catalyst of Bulgarian and Serbian national identities at the time, informed by a variant of panslavism), to his embroideries, speaks to the meeting of post-Byzantine content and Baroque expression in form, that is an essential trait of the religious art created in Vienna for the use of Orthodox believers.

        The unmediated presence of some of his works in the Romanian Principalities, at least some due to direct commission by local patrons, and not to historical accident, connects these areas to the artistic milieu in Vienna around the mid-18th century – more specifically, to the strong Orthodox community there, a community that Žefarović is known to have worked for, and that comprised mostly Greeks. This connection marks a relatively rare, precisely dateable and identifiable moment of contact between Wallachia and Moldova, and the cosmopolitan Viennese environment of the mid-18th century, and begs several questions regarding the circumstances of this cultural bridge. Who commissioned the pieces bearing the name of "Constantin Brâncoveanu"

(an *epitaphios*, two *dveras*) to Žefarović, and what was their relationship to the social circle of the artist's patrons in Vienna, where he was in 1752, the date on the embroideries? What is the relationship between these pieces, and the rest of his works in Romania – Metropolitan Niphon's *sakkos*, as well as an *epitrachilion,* in Bucharest, at the National Museum of Art of Romania, and another *epitrachilion* at the Neamț Monastery (highly similar to the ones by Žefarović in Bucharest, and Belgrade)? What is the relevance of the group of *epitaphioi* by Žefarović, the one in Bucharest among them (along with the ones in Budapest, St. Catherine in Sinai, and Vatopedi, and possibly others, all of them rather consistent in composition and style), in the emergence of a new iconographical typology in this category of religious embroidery, around the middle of the 18th century (one that would enjoy a long-lasting influence over religious embroidery in the Romanian Principalities over the next century, being reprised in numerous *epitaphioi*, both commissioned in Vienna, and made locally)? What is the significance of Hristofor Žefarović's embroideries, insofar as they can be analyzed as a *corpus* from iconographical and stylistic standpoints, within his work, and what are the implications regarding patronage and taste in the religious art of the Romanian Principalities, around the mid-18th century, and subsequently?

Sergiu Iosipescu, Raluca Verussi Iosipescu (Institut National du Patrimoine, Bucarest)
Autour du patrimoine byzantin dans les Pays Roumains : la cité de l'île de Păcuiul lui Soare et l'Église princière Saint Nicolas de Curtea de Argeş

Parmi les monuments énigmatiques du patrimoine de la Roumanie, la cité de l'île de Păcuiul lui Soare occupe, sans contredit, une place de premier ordre. Les recherches archéologiques poursuivis depuis 1957 par une équipe animée par le regretté Petre Diaconu, et qui comprenait Dumitru Vâlceanu, Radu Popa et Silvia Baraschi, ont découvert parmi les ruines d'une cité partiellement engloutie dans les eaux du Danube, un riche inventaire de la fin du Xe siècle jusqu'au début du XVe. D'après cet inventaire et à partir des sources écrites, le directeur des fouilles, feu Petre Diaconu, a soutenu avec ferveur l'identité des vestiges de l'île de Păcuiul lui Soare avec la fameuse Vecina/Vicina.

Les auteurs de la présente communication, participants aux fouilles dans les décennies 7-9 du XXe siècle et coauteurs d'un ample projet de restauration en 1999-2000, proposent une nouvelle lecture des découvertes et de sources concernant la cité de l'île de Păcuiul lui Soare du point de vue du patrimoine byzantin.

Quoique dans cette cité on n'ait pas identifié les fondations d'une église, Vicina représente, d'après les auteurs, par sa position et son rôle dans la création du siège métropolitain de la Principauté de Valachie (*Țara Românească*), la liaison nécessaire or même *the missing link* entre les monuments byzantins du despotat de Dobrotitza (1348–c. 1385) et l'église princière Saint-Nicolas de Curtea de Argeș. On peut retrouver dans les monuments byzantins de Mesemvria (Nasebar) et Dristra (Silistrie) l'archétype de cette église de Saint-Nicolas, érigée en cathédrale métropolitaine en 1359, et également de l'église voisine de Saint-Nicoară. D'ailleurs l'église princière Saint-Nicolas de Curtea de Argeș conserve encore une importante partie de la peinture de tradition paléologue et sa « découverte » par les savants fut une des grandes surprises du Ier Congres d'Études byzantines organisé en 1924 par Nicolae Iorga.

Maja Nikolić (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)
Byzantine History in Μικρογραφίαι of George Klontzas

George Klontzas (c. 1540–1608), famous Cretan panel and a miniature painter, composed his well-known Μικρογραφίαι between 1590 and 1592. It is part of the Codex CL. VII No. 22 (1466), today preserved at the Marciana Library in Venice and contains hundreds of miniatures, which are the mixture of "truth and imagination, history and myth". Many of them illustrate the visions and prophecies of Daniel, Leo the Wise and Methodius from Patra. It is the most important illustrated Greek manuscript of its era, in which Klontzas presented the most important historical events and personalities of the Greek history up to his times. In narrating them, it appears that Klontzas entirely adopted the new political-ideological concept that called for the acceptance of a new political circumstances – the disappearance of Byzantium and the rise of the Ottoman Empire.

Marka Tomić-Đurić (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
The Cult of Saint Zotikos and His Images in Serbian Medieval Painting

According to hagiographical sources St. Zotikos was greatly venerated in Constantinople, where he founded an orphanage (ὀρφανοτροφεῖον) under the patronage of Emperor Constantine the Great, which would develop into the most important charity institution in the Eastern Roman Empire. However, with the exception of calendar illustrations in miniature painting for December 31st, when the church commemorates the martyrdom of St. Zotikos of

Constantinople, images of this reputable saint are very rarely found in Eastern Christian art, which suggests that his cult was slow to spread beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire, particularly its capital.

Interest in the cult of St. Zotikos was revived in the age of the Palaiologoi, as evidenced by new hagiographical works – an encomium in honor of the saint penned by Constantine Akropolites, Byzantine nobleman and author († 1321-1324). The paper discusses the reception of the cult of St. Zotikos Orphanotrophos in medieval Serbia in light of iconographical sources, and analyses representations of the saint in Serbian monumental painting of the 14ᵗʰ century.

Mihail-George Hâncu (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
For Whom the Saint Fights: Military Saints as Allies in Battle

Although one may simply define military saints as soldiers who declared their faith and died as martyrs, their use in the hagiographical discourse adds a further layer to their definition. On the one hand, they are often seen fighting against dragons and serpents (as general symbols of evil), but one may also find them fighting alongside the faithful in times of need: such was the case of Saint Demetrius, who is depicted fending off Avar and Slavic invaders in their many attempts to conquer Thessalonica. Although one legend has him be directly involved in the death of the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan, he becomes very popular among the South Slavs. This motif, which is deeply ingrained in particular historical and political realities, ends up being transferred in various hagiographical and sometimes historiographical texts – as is the case of Saint Procopius supposedly fighting for Stephen the Great of Moldavia against his Wallachian rival, Basarab IV Țepeluș.

The Imagery of Eastern Christianity and Islam According to Western Travel Descriptions during the Second Half of the 16th Century / L'image de la chrétienté orientale et de l'islam selon les récits de voyage occidentaux dans la seconde moitié du 16e siècle
Convenors: Ionuț-Alexandru Tudorie, Bogdan Tătaru-Cazaban

Daniel Benga (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)
The religious otherness in the description of Eastern Liturgies by western travellers in the second half of the 16th century

The advent of the Reformation, in the first half of the 16th century, and the desire to know Eastern Christianity produced several diaries and travel descriptions that focused on the fate, history and spirituality of Eastern Christianity. My presentation will address and analyse the way in which the *images* of Eastern Liturgies are constructed in the diaries and travel accounts of Stephan Gerlach and Salomon Schweiger, two evangelical pastors, who spent some years in Constantinople in the second half of the 16th century. The Western mental images of the Eastern Liturgies seem to be marked by prejudice, clichés and stereotypes. The novelty of this investigation lies in the attempt to go beyond the structured approach to *otherness*, which is focused on social-cultural elements, and instead dwell on liturgical performance and the investigation of the *other*'s beliefs, as identity markers. Based on Tzvetan Todorov's typology of the relationships with the *other* we will carry out our research along three lines: *praxeologically* (closeness or distancing from a foreigner, delimitation or adaptation), *axiologically* (value judgments such as good/ bad, attractive/ unattractive) and *epistemologically* (knowledge/ lack of knowledge, acquaintance/ lack of acquaintance).

Bogdan Tătaru-Cazaban (Institute for the History of Religions, Bucharest)
L'image de Constantinople et du monde musulman chez Guillaume Postel

Grand voyageur et chercheur infatigable des langues et des coutumes de l'Orient, Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) fournit aux lecteurs occidentaux dans la seconde partie du XVIe siècle une perspective sur la société et surtout sur la religion musulmane enrichie par des observations directes et à partir de la connaissance des textes originaux. *De la republique des Turcs, et là ou l'occasion s'offrera, des meurs et loy de tous Muhamedistes* (1559) représente la contribution où Postel mélange avec saveur érudition et impressions de voyage afin de construire et de transmettre une image plus complète et, d'une certaine façon, plus « proche » d'un monde qui faisait peur mais qui, dans sa vision,

pouvait être intégré dans des projets « cosmopolites » et « universalistes ». Bien que tous les œuvres de Postel soient subsumées à sa vaste utopie millénariste qu'il croyait soutenue par les démarches politiques du roi de France, *De la Republique des Turcs* contienne cependant des données qui méritent d'être étudiées comme relevant d'une nouvelle étape de la découverte de l'autre par l'Occident et comme un complément que le XVIe siècle était en train d'apporter aux approches médiévales de l'Islam et au dialogue intellectuel avec celui-ci. Notre propos est celui de cerner les éléments d'originalité de cet ouvrage du « fol et docte » Postel concernant l'image du Constantinople à l'époque ottomane et de la religion musulmane par rapport à la tradition intellectuelle médiévale latine (Vincent de Beauvais, Ramon Lull, Nicolas de Cues, Vincent de Beauvais, Nicolas de Cues, Ricoldo da Montecroce) et aux récits de voyage de ses contemporains tels Jacques Gassot (*Le Discours du voyage de Venise à Constantinople*, 1550), André Thevet (*Cosmographie de Levant*, 1554), Pierre Gilles (*De Bosporo Thracio libri*III, 1561 et *De topographia Constantinopoleos*, 1561-1562) ou Jean Chesneau (*Voyage de Paris en Constantinople*, vers 1566-1574).

Octavian-Adrian Negoiţă (University of Bucharest)
Muslim Circumcision as Reflected in the Western Travel Descriptions of the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

This paper focuses on Muslim Circumcision as reflected in the Western Travel Descriptions of the second half of the sixteenth century. This religious practice of paramount importance for entering 'the religion of Mahomet' seized the attention of various Western travelers to the Ottoman Empire, being usually labelled by them as an equivalent of the Christian baptism. Moreover, circumcision is closely connected with the religious phenomenon of conversion of faith. During the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Sunni policies initiated by Sultan Suleyman I have been pointed towards both the Muslim and non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire, conversion to Islam played a central role in the process of Islamization of the newly conquered territories. In this paper I will focus on circumcision as a religious practice and I will attempt to provide a comprehensive account on how the Western travelers depicted it in their travelogues. To do so, my attention will focus on the travelers, their intellectual background and their agenda, and on the narrative differences between the accounts. In the paper I will take into consideration also various sources that can offer related information on Muslim circumcision in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period.

The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean through the Eyes of Western Travelers / L'Empire Ottoman, les Balkans et la Méditerranée orientale au miroir des voyageurs occidentaux
Convenor: Viorel Panaite

Miloš Ivanović (Institute of History, Belgrade)
The Perception of the Ottomans in the Eyes of Serbs from the late 14th Century to the end of 15th Century

After the battle of Maritsa in 1371 territories of the Serbian lords were under strong Ottoman pressure. That is the reason why the "fear of the Turks" phenomenon was widespread in Serbian sources since that time. Severe consequences of the Serbian defeat at Maritsa were recorded by Isaija the Monk. However, the image of the Ottomans over time has become more complex. Constantine the Philosopher, hagiographer of Despot Stefan Lazarević depicted Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402) as great conqueror, brave warrior and just ruler. In his work, this Ottoman ruler was presented as a protector of Stefan Lazarević. At the end of 15th century, Konstantin Mihailović, former janissary wrote his *Memoirs* and dedicated them to Polish King John I Albert (1492–1501). His aim was to emphasize the need of common Christian war against the Turks. According to him, the Ottomans had good military organization. On the other hand he stressed that they achieved successes through frauds.

Ivayla Popova (University of Sofia)
Culture, Languages and Customs in the Balkans seen through the Eyes of Western Travelers of the 15th Century

The present study focuses on texts of Western Travelers (Konrad Grünemberg, Pietro Casola, Arnold von Harff, Felix Fabri) and data pertaining to the culture, languages and customs of the Balkan people. Curious details about wedding and funeral customs in the Balkans can be found in the travel notes of Konrad Grünemberg. Arnold von Harff provides valuable data on Balkan languages - Slavic, Greek, Albanian and Turkish, including short dictionaries of these languages. In the travel notes of Western pilgrims and travellers, the ethnic diversity of the Balkans is consistently reflected. The western texts state that the majority of the Balkan population was Christian Orthodox. At the same time, there is interesting information on the minorities of Gypsies and Jews in a suburb of Modon, and their characteristic cultural features are discussed at length.

Manuela Dobre (University of Bucharest, Faculty of History)
L'image de la ville de Constantinople dans les œuvres historiques du XVe siècle

Constantinople, en tant que centre politique et religieux incontestable du monde byzantin pendant plus d'un millénaire, représente la référence obligée pour tous les auteurs du XVe siècle. Mais ce que nous relèvent leurs œuvres c'est plutôt « l'idée de Constantinople » que « l'image de Constantinople ». Même si notre intention est de mettre l'accent sur quelques problèmes idéologiques et moins de reconstituer l'aspect de la ville impériale, nous croyons qu'il est nécessaire la mention des certains repères topographiques identifiés dans les œuvres dont nous intéressent. Au-delà de la description de la capitale byzantine ou de la distinction de certains éléments de topographie du Constantinople, ayant une valeur plus ou moins grande du point de vue idéologique, ce qui est vraiment important pour les historiens de cette période est la signification de la ville, surtout du point de vue politique et religieux. En tant que capitale des empereurs romains, Constantinople est individualisé par sa qualité du centre politique de l'État byzantin et aussi du monde chrétien tout entier, mais elle est en même temps une ville sacrée, défendue par Dieu, qui a comme protectrice la Vierge, la première parmi les saints.

Viorel Panaite (University of Bucharest / Institute for South-East European Studies)
Western Merchants, Trade and Consuls in the Ottoman Mediterranean at late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. The Evidence of Western Travelers' Accounts.

The use of Ottoman documents is a prerequisite for studying the Levantine trade and the presence of Western merchants in the Ottoman Mediterranean. But drawing conclusions without using also non-Ottoman sources is wrong from a methodological point of view. The travellers' accounts are complementary sources for diplomatic, legal and administrative information found in the Turc 130 manuscript from the BnF. Their use is necessary to portray the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century Mediterranean atmosphere in an objective manner. In this paper, I will present the most important information from the accounts of French, English and Italian travellers who sojourned in the Ottoman domains during the time of the French Ambassador François Savary de Brèves (1593-1605). With their help, elements of urban life can be recomposed in major Levantine cities (such as Alexandria, Aleppo and Istanbul) involving Western merchants, trade and consuls.

Radu Dipratu (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
A Costly Affair: Western Travellers to Ottoman Jerusalem in the Early Seventeenth Century

Jerusalem was one of the most important destinations for Western-European travellers who were visiting the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period. Unlike the trading hubs of nearby Aleppo or Damascus, Jerusalem presented no real economic interest for Westerners, but its' religious significance meant that considerable numbers of visitors took on a journey that was neither cheap nor safe. In this paper I will analyse information found in early modern travel accounts to determine the practical aspects of a visit to Ottoman Jerusalem: itineraries, means of transport, travel papers and the sums of money required to obtain them. This information will be compared to the official regulations found in Ottoman law books (kanunanme) and capitulations ('ahdname), as well as in the individual "passports" (yol kükümleri), to see in what degree was theory reflected in practice when it came to foreign non-Muslims visiting Islam's third holiest city.

Octavian-Adrian Negoiţă (University of Bucharest)
Western Travelers to Mount Sinai during the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

Considered a holy site by all the Abrahamic religions, Mount Sinai has attracted the attention of Western travellers to the Levant since medieval times. For Christians, this place is even more significant as it hosts one of the most important monasteries of the Christian Orient, St. Catherine's Monastery. This presentation focuses on those travellers who, on their way to the Holy Places in the Levant or Constantinople, also turned their attention towards this Holy Mountain. These travellers – as J. Palerne for instance – described not only the environments of Mt. Sinai, but also took a close look at the monastery of St. Catherine and its monastic life. Their accounts are sources of paramount importance also for providing first-hand information on one of the most important Christian holy sites in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, they help our understanding regarding shared religious spaces within the eastern Mediterranean during the early modern times, as Mt. Sinai was a region where Muslims and Christians lived together.

On Rivers and Seas: Hydropolitical Conflict and Maritime Cooperation in South-East Europe / Sur les fleuves et sur les mers : conflit hydropolitique et coopération maritime dans le Sud-Est européen
Convenors: Constantin Ardeleanu, Stelu Şerban

Luminita Gatejel (Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südost-Europaforschung, Regensburg)
Exploring the Lower Danube: Cartographic and Commercial Expeditions of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Late-18th Century

During the European geopolitical transformation of the 18th century, the Lower Danube became increasingly important to the Habsburg state. As part of the mercantilist state building policies, the Danube figured prominently as a route for transporting manufactured goods to the Orient. Likewise, Russian expansionist policies emphasized the strategic importance of the Lower Danube to the monarchy. As a result, a heterogeneous group of travelers made up of merchants, state officials, military men and orientalists set out to explore the Danube up to its flow into the Black Sea in the late-18th century. This paper analyzes the types of knowledge these semi-official, semi-private missions produced and the purposes they served. Further, it looks at the various innovations, such as ship building or measurement techniques that these expeditions brought about.

Constantin Ardeleanu (The Lower Danube University, Galați/ New Europe College, Bucharest)
The Making of an Epistemic Community of Experts in Inland Navigation. The Case of the Maritime Danube in the Mid-19th Century

Epistemic communities are networks of professionals "with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area". During the past century, epistemic and other categories of professional communities have become significant actors in the international system through their involvement in the construction of transnational rules and norms and in transnational governance.

This paper analyses a special case of an epistemic community created in the mid-19th century at the Lower Danube, through their contribution in the establishment and development of the European Commission of the Danube. This institution was appointed in 1856 to improve navigation along the

maritime section of the river, and its seven members, representing the seven signatory powers of the 1856 Paris Treaty, started to introduce a modern set of regulations on the Danube.

The author maintains that several of the commissioners acquired expert knowledge in inland navigation that allowed them to influence decision makers in their countries into reconsidering the international status of the river. In this paper, he looks at the cohesion of this historical epistemic community, its relationship with governments in post-crisis conditions of uncertainty, the nature of their knowledge and expertise and the way in which these were later employed.

Daniel Cain (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
A Trouble Maker Border: Danube as a Source of Conflicts between Romania and Bulgaria (1879–1919)

After the Congress of Berlin, the lack of a clear border on the Danube was for three decades the source of many – often bloody – incidents between Romania and Bulgaria. These incidents are often connected to the right to own and exploit the islands on the Danube situated along the common border. These disputes and incidents – which multiplied around 1900 – were, at some point, on the verge of causing a military conflict between Romania and Bulgaria. The constant change of the thalweg of the Danube was the actual source of these incidents. The river's capacity for making new islands and 'swallowing' others opened the way for diplomatic talks and territorial negotiations. The right to exploit the Danube's resources was not the only factor that made the Romanian–Bulgarian relations tense. There was another international law issue generated by the lack of a clear border on the Danube. Some Bulgarian enclaves were likely to emerge on the Romanian territory because of the appropriation of some islands by the opposite bank, in which case new disputes would have broken out. The incidents that occurred around 1900 convinced the governments of the two riparian countries of the need for a convention regarding the settlement of the Danube border. Apart from being economically valuable, these islands are of a significant military importance. Owning some of these islands could be a substantial advantage in the event of a war. This is exactly what happened during the Great War.

Stelu Şerban (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
"Using" the Danube. Levees on the Romanian and Bulgarian Banks in the Interwar Period

As in the case of other European rivers such as the Rhine, Rhone or Po, the modification and levee construction work on the Danube massively commenced at the middle of the 19th century. Nevertheless, in the lower portion of the Danube there were not major changes prior to the 1900s. From the very beginning, the technological means of achieving the systematization of the Danube on the Bulgarian–Romanian border were not very different to those employed in previous periods along the Upper Danube. Relevant technology was imported by international co-management commissions, like the European Danube Commission, though only in a limited section of the Danube, from Brăila to the mouth of the Danube.

At the beginning of the interwar period, the Danube Paris conference held in 1921 was the one that marked a decisive turn in the use of the river waters, not only for navigation purposes. The conference's final treaty provides in this respect conditions for the execution of various types of hydraulic works: defense against floods, the construction of irrigation networks and investments in the economic development, land improvement, ample levee construction and course rectification. Notwithstanding, these works, the levees construction particularly, took place in different national contexts on both sides of the Danube border between Romania and Bulgaria. In Romania the Danube was meant to play a role in the country's electrification in the national schemes of state intervention. The larger floodplain on the Romanian side turned the improvement of agricultural lands and the fisheries into viable enterprises, also spurred by the state. Thus, the state appears as a factor of technological rationalization through its bureaucracy and institutions, at the same time showing a strong interest for technological sharing on the global world. In Bulgaria the interest in electrification was less intense, the state becoming involved later, in the late 1930s. The levee construction project along the Danube occurred in times of political turbulence, as an incomplete solution to the national refugees' trauma. The irrigation systems, a domain in which the 1920s water syndicates law proved its viability, at least by comparison to Romania's case, were not connected to the Danube area. Furthermore, the type of associative organization in Bulgaria hindered technological sharing at the international level. Therefore, the Bulgarian side of the Danube did not represent a favorable field for the development of techno-statism, which is more visible and efficient in the case of Romania.

The Phanariot Literature / La littérature phanariote
Convenors: Lia Brad Chisacof, Jacques Bouchard

Lia Brad Chisacof (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Looking anew at the Phanariot Literature

If solely approached from the point of view of its linguistic expression, or seen from a large literary prospect (which rightly identifies Baroque characteristics) or, again in connection to folklore, the Phanariot literature might not reveal all its essential traits. In our opinion it is mainly its social context that is the most significant.

Its poetical corpus for instance seems to be the expression of a well-kept intimacy as opposed to the everyday context and it was stuff for a special kind of performances held inside private mansions protected by ferocious Albanian guards.

The surrounding 18th c. Balkan reality was mainly imbued by instability and violence on a daily basis[1]. The consequent dominating feelings seem to have been the insecurity and fear. It is obvious that the disquietude of the prevailing anonymous (was anonymity another shield against aggressiveness?) authors, the theme of the *fortunalabilis,* in fact laments, are directly linked to this daily troubling interval. It can be no coincidence that the first Phanariot poem known in the West, an eponymous such production of the Romanian aristocrat Ienăchiţă Văcărescu, should be called *Unfortune do I counter.*

Jacques Bouchard (Université de Montréal)
Un microcosme carcéral à l'image de l'Empire ottoman dans les Loisirs de Philothée *de Nicolas Mavrocordatos*

Dans son roman les *Loisirs de Philothée* (1717), le voïvode phanariote Nicolas Mavrocordatos (1680-1730) conduit ses personnages dans une prison d'Istanbul. Le narrateur transcrit le casier judiciaire de prisonniers issus de diverses nationalités qui composent l'empire du Grand Seigneur à l'époque des Tulipes : s'y trouvent renfermés un Chypriote, un Ottoman, un Égyptien, un Juif, un Dönme et un Syrien. Une pègre qui opère en toute liberté y côtoie

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[1] See Stefan Lemny, *Sensibilitate şi istorie în secolul al XVIII-lea românesc* , Bucharest 1989; Toader Nicoară, *Sentimentul de insecuritate în societatea românească la începuturile timpurilor moderne 1600-1830*, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

l'exaspération du désespéré en attente de procès. L'auteur de cette communication se propose d'examiner les cas présentés pour juger s'il s'agit d'affabulations romanesques visant à justifier le bien fondé du système judiciaire sous le règne du sultan Ahmet III, ou d'un *topos* littéraire commun au XVIIIᵉ siècle.

Ileana Mihăilă (Université de Bucarest, Faculté des Langues et Littératures Étrangères / Institut d'Histoire et de Théorie Littéraire)
Nicolas Mavrocordato, lecteur de Neagoe Basarab

Œuvre inscrite dans la tradition illustre des *miroirs des princes*, les *Enseignements de Neagoe Basarab à son fils Théodose* (c. 1520) eut un nouveau moment de gloire au début de l'époque des règnes phanariotes. Nicolas Mavrocordato, qui inaugura cette longue série de princes et qui mérite une attention particulière des dix-huitièmistes roumains, *sine ira et studio,* ce qui n'a pas été toujours le cas dans notre historiographie, s'y intéressa et la prit pour une de ses sources d'inspiration pour ses propres écrits destinés à la formation de son fils Constantin comme à sa propre gloire littéraire. Dans ses efforts réels de se présenter aux yeux des contemporains comme à la postérité comme un digne membre et successeur des familles princières valaques et moldaves (ce qui n'était pas complètement faux, du point de vue généalogique), dans son désir d'intégration dans une dynastie locale, le recours à cette légitimation littéraire mérite une étude attentive.

Marian Ciucă (Bucharest)
The Public Image of an XVIIIth century Prince in statu nascendi. Nicolaos Maurocordato as reflected in his correspondence

The paper will focus on a few items of Nicolaos Maurocordato's correspondence with some of the literary, religious, and political élite of his time. Reading through these one cannot fail to appreciate the mastership of the Prince in using classical Greek and, above all, his skilful use of Graeco-Roman rhetoric. However, beyond the impressive literary facet, these texts often reveal his determination to pursue political ambitions. Moreover, my attempt at reading between the lines of the Prince's letters seems to find support in other sources as well.

Andrei Eşanu, Valentina Eşanu (Institute of History, Chişinău)
The Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire in the area of interests of DimitrieCantemir after his establishment in Russia, 1711-1723

The paper argues that even after the Prut Campaign of Peter I, when prince Dimitrie Cantemir retreats to Russia, he continued to be largely concerned with everything he left in his homeland and in the capital on the shore of the Bosphorus. His occupations, thoughts and reflections were dictated not only by the interest in the Romanian history and civilization and that of the Ottoman Empire, which continued to dominate the Romanian Principalities, but also by the hope that he would eventually see the Principality of Moldavia free and independent, ruled by a hereditary prince in his person and his descendants, according to the principles that were stipulated in the April 12, 1711 Diploma of Peter the Great. To that end, D. Cantemir wherever he would be after 1711 (Kharkov, Moscow, Petersburg, Coirnaia Greaz, Dimitrievka, etc.), continued to show great interest on what was going on in the Romanian Principalities, in the Ottoman Empire, creating for this purpose a whole network of informers and couriers who regularly brought news from Southeast Europe.

As a consequence, the great majority of his time in Russia, the scholar prince continued to capitalize his academic and practical knowledge accumulated previously, by writing a number of fundamental works concerning the history and culture of the Romanian people, Turkish-Ottoman and Islamic civilization. At the forefront of his activities though, were not the things he was seeing and living in his new homeland, but everything that was happening in that Southeast European area, where he left so many memories and interests.

Another issue that kept him closely tied to the Ottoman capital was not only the fate of his fortune that was left there, but also his brother Antioch, former prince of Moldavia (1695-1700, 1705-1707), who from the summer of 1711 remained hostage in Istanbul and whom he wanted to set free.

Through all these scholarly and practical activities, Dimitrie Cantemir sought to further verify his hypothesis, or rather firm conviction, that the Ottoman Empire was in continuous decline and would soon disappear as a "kingdom" that did not enroll in the natural cycle of world history.

The conclusion drawn from the whole spectrum of information and data contained in this communication is that the scholar prince during his stay in Russia continued to be very much interested in the history and the immediate and lasting prospects of his people and Southeast European region as a whole, while seeking to maintain the Russian tsar' interest in this largely Orthodox space. According to D. Cantemir, as the greatest Orthodox Christian

power of the time, it was Russia's mission to liberate Southeast Europe from the Ottoman rule.

Ştefan Şuteu ("Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca)
Iordache Ruset (c. 1650-1720) – The Cantemirian Leopard

The Leopard is associated with Iordache Ruset in the "Scale" of the first Romanian novel – *Hieroglyphic History* by Dimitrie Cantemir. From the *Cupăreștii*'s [*Cupbearers'*] family came the boyars whom Constantin Cantemir wanted to kill. Aurel H. Golimas wrote about them: "They had all the attributes of some adventurers: agility of mind, boldness and skill, but they also had their natural flaws: greed and lack of any scruples. The plot and the concealment were handled with mastery." Iordache (The Leopard) is characterized in Cantemir's view of "malice over malice, cunning over cunning and madness over madness"; and according to Ion Neculce he was "the fountain of all malice".

Alexandru Madgearu (Institute for Political Studies of Defence and Military History, Bucharest)
Cantemir, the first modern historian writing on the Romanian-Bulgarian state founded by the Asan brothers

Cantemir was the first modern historian who wrote about the Romanian-Bulgarian state established after the rebellion against the Byzantine domination, in 1185. His main source was the history of Niketas Choniates, the most important for the first two decades of the state, but he ignored other indispensable sources like Georgios Akropolites or Jeffrey of Villehardouin. Large fragments from the book of the Byzantine historian and statesman were translated by Cantemir in his unfinished history of the Romanians. Even if he made a major fault identifying Ioniţă (Kaloian) with Ivanko, Cantemir achieved a valuable work. The history of the Romanian-Bulgarian state was seen as a part of the general history of the Romanians. He was determined to establish the truth about the participation of Romanians, denied by Mauro Orbini, one of the first promoters of the Panslavist idea.

Anca Mihaela Sapovici (Institut de Linguistique „Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti", Bucarest)
Particularités linguistiques de quelques écrits de Mathieu, Métropolitain de Myre

Parmi les figures les plus notables de l'immigration grecque des Pays Roumains on compte Mathieu, Metropolitain *in partibus infidelium* de Myre de Lycie et higoumène du Monastère Dealu de Valachie. Né vers 1550 en Pogonianí de l'Epire, Ματθαῖος ὁ Μυρέων ou Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Μυρέων (comme il signe), s'établit en Valachie autour de l'année 1607, où il va rester jusqu'en 1624, l'année de sa mort.

     L'Histoire de la Valachie, *Les Conseils vers Alexandru Iliaş* et *La Complainte de la chute de Constantinople*, trois des œuvres rédigées après sot établissement en Valachie, mettent en évidence des phénomènes linguistiques et rhétoriques qui témoignent d'une dextérité extraordinaire dans la construction du discours, d'une grande facilité dans le balayage entre différents niveaux stylistiques et lexicaux et d'une parfaite maîtrise de l'art d'écrire.

     Dans notre étude nous nous sommes proposé de signaler les termes grecques spécifiques au début du XVIIᵉ siècle et les particularités lexicales, syntaxiques et phonétiques générales mises en évidence par ces écrits. Ainsi, outre les ainsi nommées commutations de code avec le roumain, phénomène sociolinguistique avec une riche illustration dans la période phanariote, nous avons porté une attention particulière aux mots avec unique attestation les écrits de Mathieu.

Ion Andrei Ţârlescu (Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest)
A less known autographed manuscript of Nicolae Milescu (Spatarion). Greek Manuscript B.A.R. 3 (580)

An important and lesser-known work of the seventeenth century (1698) is also Ms. Gr. 3 (580), a translation from Latin to Greek by Nicolae Spatar (Milescu). He himself mentions: "This Gyllius' Introduction chapter was translated from Latin to Greek by me – Nicholas (Spatarion) – in the famous Moscow, to the pleasure of my dear friend Mr. Georgios Kastriotes, and that will be remembered; On July 27, 1698". This manuscript is part of a corpus of two other papers; we do not exclude the possibility that at some point it might have belonged to Milescu's library. Codices are written by several hands, the third hand and the last being Milescu's. It is apparently an autograph translation of the introductory chapter of the *Topography of Constantinople* required in Greek by Nicholas Milescu's friend, Georgios Kastriotes. In this paper, we deal with the

thirteen-page manuscript that has so far been never analysed by philologists or paleographers.

Mihaela Marin ("Iorgu Iordan –Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest)
Emblematic figures in the Romanian chronicles of the eighteenth century: St. Constantin Brâncoveanu and the ruler Nicholas Mavrocordatos

Constantin Brâncoveanu stands as an emblematic figure in Romania's history. The twenty-six years of his reign in Wallachia – were a time of relative political stability, when the first exploratory contacts were initiated with the Western world, they were also a period of great cultural efflorescence, especially in architecture and printing, which made historians call it "Brâncoveanu's age". The Collaboration between St. Antim Iberian and martyr ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu aimed Romanian language development and language of its adoption as a religious service. Constantin Brâncoveanu supported the many Orthodox churches under the Ottoman Empire both financially and by printing the necessary books and liturgical activity by sending Arab and Georgian printing space. Bucharest became at that time one of the great Orthodox centres, where books could go both to churches in Greece, and to the south or east to the East Slavic or Greek Orthodox, Arab and Georgian. The image that contemporary chronicles project of the Wallachian prince is ultimately rather a multifaceted one, although they almost completely deprive his portrait of its physical elements. Nonetheless, its moral and political features, heavily coloured by the author's partisan attitudes, amply compensate for their absence.

The authors of the Wallachian chronicles in the 17th and 18th centuries are highly subjective. They are either laudatory to Brâncoveanu or derogatory to him, which is understandable in the context of the great boyars' and of Mavrocordatos' attitude to him. Except for *The Chronicle of Nicholas Mavrocordatos* and, to the Băleni Family Chronicle, most texts are favourable to Brâncoveanu. The chronicles' authors focus upon the ruler, the politician, the administrator, the benefactor, even upon the reformer. The figure that emerges from their pages is also that of a man in flesh and blood.

Charalampos Minaoglou (National and Kapodistrian University, Athens)
An Ottoman embassy returning from its mission: Ahmed Azmi Effendi traveling through Central and South East Europe in 1792

The dragoman of Azmi effendi's embassy to Berlin during the Austro-Russo-Ottoman war (1787-1792) was Constantine Karatzas (c. 1735-1812), who was a typical example of the middle-class Phanariots, the Greek-orthodox elite of the Ottoman Empire. In 1790 Karatzas was chosen as dragoman of Azmi Effendi to Berlin under the influence of the Prussian embassy in Constantinople and especially of his father-in-law John Fragopoulos who was the first dragoman of the Prussian embassy for some thirty years. After his return from Berlin Karatzas was raised to the highest office in Wallachia, next only to the Prince of Wallachia, the office of the Ban (Kaimacam at the time) of Craiova and he was suggested by the Prussian monarch to the Sultan as suitable for the office of Great Dragoman of the Porte. During his service as dragoman of Azmi, Karatzas kept a diary of the embassy's activities from the day they departed from Constantinople till the day they returned. The diary he kept is detailed, extended (its transcription consists of 900 pages) and still unpublished. It provides valuable information that the relevant Prussian and Ottoman documents lack on the negotiations between the Ottoman embassy and the Prussian officials, his personal contacts and relationships in Berlin, the different understanding of Prussia's institutions, society and intellectual life between the Greek dragoman and the Ottoman ambassador. It is also the unique source that presents the embassy's journey to and from Berlin. Especially, as far as it concerns the return journey of the embassy it provides valuable information that is very rare for any other Ottoman embassy of the eighteenth century. As all the diplomatic missions sent by the Sultans till that time were occasionally appointed there were neither exact instructions nor any sort of protocol on their return journey. Thus, Azmi followed the root he preferred, stopped wherever he pleased and came into contact with any government he could on his way back from Berlin to Constantinople. The embassy followed the root: Berlin-Dresden-Prague-Vienna-Buda-Pest-Timisoara-Sibiu-Bucharest-Sumnu-Corlu-Constantinople. This semi-official travel, during which the Ottoman envoy was free to do whatever he wanted, caused a severe delay to the return of the delegation. In this way the embassy concluded its return journey, which was conducted more as a private than as an official one. During it all its members had promoted their own interests sometimes totally opposed to the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Some years later the Ottoman state would discover the benefits of the institutionalization of diplomacy and would try to regulate its conduct in order to avoid similar attitudes.

Michał Wasiucionek ("N. Iorga" Institute of History/ New Europe College, Bucharest)
*Religion, Identity, and Sartorial Patterns in the Early Modern Ottoman Balkans:
A Comparative Perspective on the Danubian Principalities and Western Balkans*

In the narratives of South-Eastern Europe in the early modern period, the wide variety of garments donned by its inhabitants has attracted attention of both contemporaries and modern scholars. Throughout the centuries, this complex sartorial landscape has resulted in numerous depictions of attire both foreign and indigenous associated with different ethnic, religious and social groups inhabiting the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the fascination with local costume did not die down, instead coming into the focus of historians, ethnographers and nation-builders, who made attempts to classify local differences and distil the 'national garments' of newly-emergent nations. At the same time, the same political imperatives led to the 'sartorial revolution' in the nineteenth-century, whereby the traditional garments – associated with the Ottoman Empire – was rejected in a bid to rejoin Europe.

The scope of this study is to investigate the sartorial strategies of early modern Christian elites of the empire and the meanings they ascribed to the choice of clothing within the broader Ottoman context. Rather than taking envisioning a clear-cut and static system based on religious and ethnic difference, the paper takes a more intersectional approach and emphasizes the performative nature of sartorial strategies. Employing a variety of sources, ranging from documentary evidence to judicial registers to travelogues, my goal is to demonstrate the interplay between confessional and social identity embedded in the choice of garments and visual idioms. The paper investigates – through comparison between the Danubian principalities and western Balkans – that social status and the pursuit of distinction played a central role in the clothing choices of this social group throughout the period of Ottoman rule.

Mária Pakucs ("N. Iorga" Institute of History / New Europe College, Bucharest)
Consumption of Foreign Goods in Transylvania: The Role of the Greek merchants in Retail Distribution during the 16th and 17th Centuries

My paper shall exploit new material on the facts of consumption of foreign textiles, spices and other goods at the end of the 17th century in Transylvania. The history of retail sale and distribution of imported merchandise, either from the Ottoman Empire or from Central Europe, is hardly explored in our historiography. Greek merchants were the key-players in the circulation of goods, carrying silk, Venetian velvet or cotton textiles from the Balkans and English cloth and spices from Nuremberg or Vienna. The customer base of one Greek merchant can be reconstructed from the survived accounts.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu ("N. Iorga" Institute of History / New Europe College, Bucharest)
Circulation of Knowledge, Circulation of objects: Sartorial Law and Foreigners in the Danubian Principalities (18th century)

'Le luxe des boyards et des boyardes n'a pas des bornes. Leurs vêtements sont des étoffes des Indes, des schalls, des fourrures des martre-zibeline: Les uns et les autres offrent le premier échantillon des mœurs orientales.' So writes Charles-Marie d'Irrumberry conte de Salaberry, who travelled to Istanbul in 1796 and made a long stop in Bucharest. The opulent luxury of the boyars is a recurrent theme in all the eye-witness accounts of the period, but how was it seen through the intermediary of sumptuary laws? Sumptuary laws tell the story of the Phanariot rulers' efforts to regulate and control state and society. At the same time, clothing laws, to borrow the term used by Claire Sponsler (1992), help us to put together legislative texts and social practises in order to observe the different levels of the order that reigns in a society. My paper proposes to analyse the relation between sartorial regulation and social status during the 18th century and the very beginning of the 19th century. I try to observe if the Ottoman Empire functioned as a model in the elaboration of these late sartorial regulations and the role plays by the foreigners in the spread of the new fashions.

Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu (University of Bucharest, Faculty of History / Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa, Vienna)
A Concept in Need of Reconsideration: „Modernity" in 19th c. Romania

Two major paradigms of structural institutional modernization frame the evolution of the Romanian Principalities, and of the Romanian Kingdom, throughout the 19th century. The first is the post-revolutionary early 19th c. French institutional matrix, which sets individual and citizen rights at the core of the state and state's actions. The second is the Prussian/German institutional matrix, which emphasizes institutional development, the embodiment and raison d'être of the state. The tension between them overlaps deeply running social and political fractures within societies and political establishments, and has been mostly described as the clash between 'liberalism' and 'conservatism'. Political instability, i.e. the rapid succession of different governments and regimes in a short time span, rendered the thorough implementation of any of the two models impossible. Among other consequences, it led to the 'fast-forward' and contradictory nature of the process of modern state building and to its forced and inconclusive implementation from above (top – down).

Nicoleta Roman ("N. Iorga" Institute of History / New Europe College, Bucharest)
Fabrics and jewels. Fluctuations in price and interest in Wallachia's women' textile world of early 19th century

Clothes and jewels have always been among women's favourite personal assets and objects of display. They enfolded both wealth and symbols of prestige and social status, giving a hint to the public eye on the person's connection with the latest trends. All depended on fashion and how boyar ladies dealt with Western influences within the Romanian societies. Tailoring cuts, fabrics and patterns were imported and imitated by lower classes, while other clothes became cheaper and more affordable. While this represented a first, public level of how these assets were handled and perceived, another one, more private and important was dealt with by family. Clothes and especially jewels were an economic investment, and in certain cases a patrimonial heritage. The present study intends to explore various sources to cover these two levels of knowledge in what concerns their life, circulation and value in Romanian society.

Ahmet Nuri Yurdusev (Middle East Technical University, Ankara)
Formation of Nations in South-Eastern Europe: Ethnic or Civil?

This paper takes the issue with the prevalent view that the formation of national identities in South- Eastern Europe or the Balkans took place in line with the so-called "ethnic model" rather than the "civil model" of Western Europe. To begin with, it questions the ethnic versus civil dichotomy, and argues that said dichotomy is reductionist and simplifying the socio-historical experience of the South-Eastern European societies. The paper then examines ethnic and national identities as two distinct categories of collective social identification, and clarifies the confusion surrounding national identity, the confusion that results in the equation of national identity with ethnic identity. The paper concludes that national identities in South East Europe, like those in Western Europe, combine both the so-called ethnic and civil elements. This is exemplified with the Turkish case.

Anna A. Leontyeva (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
The Ottoman Rear Area During the War of 1735-1739 (According to the Data from a Country Town Sicil)

The war of 1735-1739 was waged by the Russian and the Austrian empires against Turkey and had a number of foreign policy reasons. Armed hostilities between Russia and Turkey took place in the Black Sea region and in Crimea. *Hacıoğlu Pazarcık* town (now Dobrich town in the north-eastern part of Bulgaria) was situated at the strategically important way that connected the centre of the Ottoman empire and the trans-Danube lands. During the Russian-Turkish wars of the 18th and 19th centuries, the town turned into an important point on the political map of the empire. *Sicils* of the town are a valuable source. It preserves evidence of events that happened in the Ottoman rear area and circumstances of daily life the population of the area lived during the wars. *Sicil* of Hacıoğlu Pazarcık for years 1739-1740 is considered in the presentation. The *sicil* materials refer to the concluding stage of the war. Documents related to the hostilities can be split thematically into several groups. The first group comprises documents related to the Ottoman troops' transfer to the place of hostilities, and includes instructions on the organization

of the troops' passage and their provision with whatever they required. Several documents related to July and August of 1739 deal with the troops gathering and the draft of volunteers to repulse the Russian army. Chronologically, these documents coincide with the offensive the Russian army undertook in Moldavia and Bessarabia in August 1739. Documents related to armed hostilities against the Russian troops can be distinguished as a separate block of documents devoted to levy of foodstuffs for the Turkish field forces. Minutes of the kadi court related to the period after the conclusion of the Belgrade peace in September 1730 deserve particular attention. The analysis of these minutes allows retracing the process of diplomatic relations establishment between the Ottoman and the Russian empires. In particular, instructions on provision of safety and security for the passage of Russian prisoners of war on their way from Constantinople to Russia, bills of foodstuffs the prisoners of war had been provided for and many other details are recorded in the *sicil*. In addition to that, the source data allow following up movements of both parties' diplomatic missions, discovering the composition of official delegations, their daily rations provided along their way to the place of duty station, as well as the means spent for providing their safety and security. Thus, in-depth analysis of the *sicil* and collation of data it contains with the course of military campaign allows casting a glance at events of the Russian-Turkish war of 1735-1739 from standpoint of daily life in the Turkish rear area.

Aytaç Yürükçü (Turkish Historical Society, Ankara)
*Political and Social Effects over South-Eastern Europe Diplomacy: A Case Study –
War Correspondents and the War Reminiscences during The Ottoman-Russian
War 1877-1878.*

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, which lasted for almost eleven months, and was fought in two fronts, is an important war that changed the international equilibrium and gave rise to universal consequences as Eastern Question, Balkan Crises, Armenian Question and Cyprus Question still felt today. The aim of this research is to discuss the international diplomatic deeds mostly against the Ottomans-of Russian, English, American, French, German, Italian, Swedish, Austrian and Prussian war correspondents working under the harsh conditions of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and their articles and caricatures. In particular, the study aims at analysing the details of *The 1877-1878 War Notes of a Russian War Correspondent,* Vasiliy İvanoviç Nemiroviç-Dançenko, who worked in the Balkan front for two years. His notes, observations and opinions, that constitute an original source, are reinterpreted,

in this manner, in the framework of information, and it will therefore be possible to interpret the developments of the period and be shared with the researchers.Besides, with the original sources of Keçeciza de Ferikİzzet Fuad Paşa Kaçırılan Fırsatlar (*Les Occasions Perdues*) and of an English war correspondent, Gay James Drew,and from his book *Plevna, The Sultan, and The Porte: Reminiscences Of The War in Turkey 1877*,they will convey their thougts about the war. Finally, the difficulties of war correspondence during this war, the approach of the Russian and Ottoman side to journalists, are depicted in their observations sent to their journals. This forms the basis of the thesis alongside information on journalists active during the war. This paper is reflective of such an effort to introduce and compare individual experiences of reports with Bulgarian Resources, Romanian Resources, Russian Resources and a lot of Diaries, Reminiscences.

Igor Kaliganov (Institute for Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Forgotten brotherhood, which today is hardy believed (from the history of the Bulgarian-Serbian relations IX–XX c.)

Today's steady cool relations between the Bulgarians and the Serbs are obvious to the outside observer almost immediately. Comfortable night trains between Belgrade and Sofia run empty and they are periodically cancelled for a long time due to the lack of passengers. Serbian language is not heard on the streets of the Bulgarian capital city, and Bulgarians only occasionally flash in the Serbian cities on their way to Western Europe. Cultural and scientific exchange between the two countries is reduced to a minimum. The gloomy shadow of historical events since 1885 (especially the inter-allied II Balkan War of 1913, the First and Second World Wars, when the Bulgarians and Serbs became enemies because of Vardar Macedonia) lay so deeply between two fraternal Slavic peoples that to hear a kind word about Serbs from Bulgarians or vice versa is almost impossible. But it was not always so. Since ancient times, the Bulgarians and the Serbs, as is usually the case with the neighbouring nations, often quarrelled with each other, periods of peaceful silence were replaced by mutual raids and wars. But they could not eradicate the strong spiritual ties that existed in the Bulgarian-Serbian region, starting from the end of the 9th-10thcenturies. Bulgaria succeeded in seizing some of the Serbian lands, which contributed to the Christianization of the Serbs and spread the Cyrillic alphabet and bookishness among them. This process continued in the future, when the Bulgarians and part of the Serbs fell under the rule of Byzantium. An important centre of spiritual Bulgarian-Serbian communication was Athos, where there

was a Bulgarian Zograf monastery dating from the 11th century, and a Serbian Hilandar one dating from the end of the 12th century. Thanks to the Bulgarian translated and original bookishness, Serbian literature managed to make a real take-off in the 13thcentury. For some time, it surpassed the literature of its neighbours. In the second half of the 15thcentury, it gave up its "debt" to Bulgaria, ruined by the Turks, thanks to a revival, with the Serbian assistance of the Bulgarian Rila Monastery, which hosted the largest book-writing and creative centre of that time. Throughout the centuries-old history of cultural and political interaction between the Bulgarians and Serbs and the long-standing human contacts between them, many different aspects can be distinguished: dynastic ties, joint struggle against Ottoman oppressors, assistance to Bulgarians in publishing Bulgarian-language books in Serbian publishing houses, fraternal feelings towards Bulgarians of Serbian writers and poets, etc. It seems that the systematization of such aspects and a reminder of their existence in the past are important both from historical and cultural, and in purely human, points of view.

Eleonora Naxidou (Democritus University of Thrace, Xanthi)
Nation and Territory in the 19th century Balkans: The Bulgarian Paradigm

This paper examines the territorial dimension of 19th Balkan nationalism, which is a very important aspect of the Balkan national movements. Being imported from the West by the intelligentsias of the diaspora, national ideology quickly spread and predominated in South-eastern Europe in the course of the long 19th century. More specifically, it was the concurrence of political and national entity, that is, the political principle of nationalism that prevailed and triggered the revolutionary activity against the Ottoman rule. In this context, the Balkan national intellectuals and activists were confronted with the problem of defining the borders of their future nation-states. In order to accomplish this difficult task, they employed historical and ethnological criteria. For this reason the medieval Balkan states were nationalized and the ethnic origins of the populations were called upon. Both methods were inadequate, however. The borders of the medieval Balkan states were not fixed, while populations of different ethnic origins were mixed. This was how such efforts produced nothing better than overlapping national territories leading to transborder or external national homelands' nationalism after the emergence of nation-states. This paper aims at showing how the Bulgarian national leadership of the Revival defined the national territory, and how this definition affected the national policy of the new-born Bulgarian Principality.

Stamatia Fotiadou (Democritus University of Thrace, Xanthi)
The Unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia and the Greek Press (1885)

The present paper aims at contributing to the complex and multifaceted issue of Balkan nationalisms, focusing on the issue of the unification of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia in 1885, which was closely related to the Graeco-Bulgarian antagonism over the future territorial control of the Ottoman-ruled provinces of Macedonia and Thrace. More specifically, in 1878, the Treaty of Berlin created a vassal Bulgarian principality confined to the area between the Danube and the Balkan mountain range, and an autonomous Ottoman province under the name of Eastern Rumelia in the northern part of Thrace, while Macedonia and southern Thrace remained under Ottoman control. Being strongly disappointed, the Bulgarians sought to revise the arrangements of the Congress of Berlin. The initial step was taken in 1885, when they proclaimed the union with Eastern Rumelia. This development alarmed both the Greek government, and public opinion. In this context the paper examines how the Greek press in Athens and Constantinople viewed this Bulgarian revisionist act in order to highlight the divergences and convergences of the Greek Great Idea of that period of time.

Nikita Gusev (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Bulgarian and Serbian propaganda on the question of Macedonia in Russia during the Balkan wars 1912-1913

The report focuses on the propaganda of Bulgaria and Serbia to Russia in 1912-1913. At the outset, they sought different goals: the Serbs justified the need for the gain of the Adriatic coast, Bulgarians – that of Adrianople. From the beginning of 1913, both sides had begun to prove their rights over Macedonia. The report shows their arguments (linguistic, historical, economic and geopolitical) which would affect Russia, the channels and agents of influence, the activity of Serbian and Bulgarian propagandists that had arrived in St. Petersburg.

Jędrzej Paszkiewicz (Institute of History, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)
Byzantine references towards the ideas of Greek and Bulgarian national unification at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries

The main aim of the paper is to show the impact of references to the Byzantine tradition, exploited by selected representatives of intellectual elites in the Balkans, on the Greek and Bulgarian national thought in the 19th and 20th centuries. The strategies of inclusion of respective references to the Byzantine tradition into the political sphere will be shown based on the interpretation of the selected historiographic works and on examining their actual role in the socio-political life of Greece and Bulgaria. According to intellectuals (historians, philosophers) such as Konstantinos Paparigopoulos, Manuel Gedeon, Gavrilo Krastović or Marko Balabanov, the Byzantine issues should be used to create a broad cultural metaphor, which should define a historical legacy of Greeks and Bulgarian people, as well as a symbolic community (Greek, Hellenic, Bulgarian, Slavic) or national space. All these motives, outlined on the pages of scientific, historiosophic works, became a significant ideological reference to the ruling elites in Greece and Bulgaria. They created theoretical basis for the activity towards the concretisation of the community-based consciousness and territorial expansion, interpreted in categories of national interests.

Jolanta Mindak-Zawadzka (Université de Varsovie)
Les Slaves musulmans des Balkans et le bogomilisme ethnopolitisé de nos jours

Après la désintégration dans les années 1990 de la Yougoslavie fédérale et multinationale, les Musulmans (par nationalité) se trouvèrent en position d'une minorité dans diverses régions des nouveaux États nationaux, comme la Serbie, le Monténégro, la Macédoine et le Kosovo. En Bosnie-Hercégovine, ils ont gardé leur position de population majoritaire, mais privée d'une puissance politique et culturelle satisfaisante. En (ré)formant la propre identité nationale, les Slaves musulmans – Bosniaques (de BiH, de Sandjak, de Kosovo), Torbèches et Gorans – s'efforcent de construire une nouvelle histoire/ mythologie nationale, qui devrait présenter leur tradition particulière dès le Moyen Âge. À ce propos, c'est justement l'idée selon laquelle leurs ancêtres se réclamaient du bogomilisme qui leur semble utile et attractive. La communication sera consacrée à l'étude de diverses manifestations de l'introduction de cette idée au débat public.

Takuya Nakazawa (University of Tokyo)
Creating Montenegrin National Culture: Cultural Politics in Socialist Yugoslavia

A new nation, Montenegrin nation was institutionalized in socialist Yugoslavia. Montenegrin communists worked for creating a new nation and national culture in this era. The concept of "Affirmation of Montenegrin Nation" impacted many fields in Montenegrin cultural sphere. I will study the idea and practices of separate Montenegrin nation in socialist era by archival materials and contemporary periodicals.

Petra Babić (University of Zagreb)
Mythologized historical heroes in the formation and affirmation of national identity

The paper elaborates the function of heroes in the national history and how they afterwards turned to be very important during the unification process and in the identity affirmation. This paper takes Croatia as a case-study and explores how common memory of such national heroes as Nikola Šubić Zrinski, Petar Zrinski, Fran Krsto Frankopan and *banus* Josip Jelačić contributed to the process of formation of national identity from the 16th to the 19th century. These four outstanding personalities took part in some of the key moments in Croatian history: the battle of Szigetvár in 1566 (Nikola ŠubićZrinski), the Magnate conspiracy, i.e. the rebellion against Habsburgs 1664-1671 (Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan) and the military campaign against Hungarian revolution in 1848 (Josip Jelačić). Owing to the great importance of these historical moments, a kind of a cult had been created about these protagonists. In the above-mentioned process, two periods can be identified, which correspond to the development of other European nations: 1) from the 16th to mid-19th centuries; and 2) during the second part of the 19th and in the 20th centuries. At the end of the first period, the cult of the Zrinski family was at its peak; in Croatian collective memory, it achieved the status of the nation's "golden age" and the Zrinski family started to occupy the place of a national dynasty. In the second period, because of the aforementioned military campaign, Josip Jelačić became in the public opinion someone who was able to restore Croatia's "golden age" and in this he was also mythologized as a nation's "saviour". The paper will show that it was not only their objective importance which launched these men as "national brands", but also the fact that they were fighting against the then justified enemy (i.e. the corresponding Ottoman, Austrian or Hungarian oppression). In addition, it will be shown how, in the

case of the four above-mentioned personalities, variations of popularity and the intensity of their cults changed in accordance with changeable political circumstances in Austria-Hungary and, later, Yugoslavia. Folk songs and other artistic achievements inspired by the above mentioned heroes (in music, poetry, literature and painting) will be consulted as one of the historical sources for this paper. Also, historiographical works and the presence of the heroes in everyday life (in newspapers articles, monuments and sculptures, names of streets and squares) will be explored too. All this will be used to demonstrate how the cults of the heroes as national saviours were formed during longer periods of time, and when – mostly in the second half of the 19th and in the 20thcenturies – they were used as elements of national cohesion, of national affirmation and even as a form of declaration of national identity.

Vladimir Crețulescu (Municipal Museum of Bucharest)
The Beginnings of Romanian national activism among Balkan Vlachs: Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Ghica and Ion Ionescu dela Brad

Via the union of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, modern Romania is born, as an autonomous nation-state. The new country starts to make its mark in regional politics. Notably, Romania sees the Balkan Aromanians (or Vlachs) – a local, romance-dialect speaking population – as ethnically Romanian. Therefore, this population becomes a focus of Romanian national policies in South-Eastern Europe. A Macedo-Romanian Committee is established in Bucharest in 1860, the task of which is to propagate Romanian national propaganda among the Aromanians. The Romanian government starts developing a network of Romanian schools south of the Danube, and steps are taken to gain a degree of religious autonomy for the Aromanian clergy. That being said, my paper will focus on the period immediately preceding 1859-1860. It is, in fact, during this period (throughout the 1850s) that the first plans for Romanian political action among the Balkan Aromanians are germinated. After the failure of the 1848 revolution in the Romanian Principalities, some of the exiled revolutionaries take refuge in European Turkey. Here, they come in contact with Aromanian communities. Taking note of some obvious linguistic and cultural similarities between Aromanians and Romanians, several of the former revolutionaries start making plans towards "awakening" the Aromanians' supposed Romanian national consciousness. My analysis will focus on several letters exchanged between three Romanian former 1848 revolutionaries (namely, Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Ghica and Ion Ionescu dela Brad) during their Balkan exile. Starting from these letters – based

on sparse allusions to political action among the Aromanians found therein – I attempt to piece together the timid beginnings of a covert plan to initiate Romanian national propaganda in Aromanian communities. It is my contention that such underhanded planning and action, all perpetrated while eluding the vigilance of the Ottoman authorities, lays the groundwork for the later development of official, state-funded Romanian propaganda among the Aromanians.

Ştefan Petrescu (Institute for South-Eastern European Studies, Bucharest)
Justifying Violence: Aromanian Issue and Political Crimes in Romania (1904-1907)

This paper discusses the murder case of Lăzărescu Lecanta. A lot of Aromanians and Greeks come from the multi-ethnic Macedonia and Epirus regions to live in Romania. The Vlach-speaking populations were considered by the Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks as being part of their nation. In 1903, reactionary terrorist violence broke out in the Ottoman Empire, involving the supporters of the Balkan nation states. The struggle between Greeks and Aromanians (who were divided into two main factions, one pro-Greek, the other pro-Romanian) had been a topic of permanent interest for the Romanian newspapers. In June 1904, a polemic dispute between two journalists of Aromanian origins ended tragically. The editor of the *Balkan* newspaper, Lăzărescu-Lecanta, was assassinated by Nuşi Tuli, the editor of the *Ecoul Macedoniei* newspaper, in the *Macedonia* coffee shop of Bucharest. Lăzărescu Lecanta was perceived as betraying his own groups. As a journalist in Bucharest, he hoped to see a closer cooperation between Greeks and Vlachs, and shared the opinion according to which the two peoples had a common enemy: the Bulgarians. As director of the Romanian High School of Iannina in the 1890s, Lăzărescu Lecanta had initially been a supporter of the Romanian national policy in Turkish Europe. In a report to the Romanian Minister of Public Education, he highlighted the policy failure of the extensive state-sponsored schools in the Ottoman Empire. The public opinion took part of the killer Nuşi Tuliu. The police immediately arrested the murder, but a few months later the justice system exonerated him of all charges. Between the 1904 and 1907 a wave of political murders were committed against the Aromanias who shared a Greek national consciousness, pejoratively known in Romania as *grecomans*. The paper examines the profiles of the murderers and their victims, the motivation behind committing the criminal acts, the controversial attitudes of the newspapers about the increasing violence, and

the connections between violence and power. The historical investigation is based on the Romanian newspapers (in Romanian and Greek languages) and the Archives of the Prefecture of Bucharest Police.

Oana-Maria Mitu ("Dunărea de Jos" University of Galați, Romania)
Nation Building and the Identity Problem in Greater Romania. Case Study on Southern Bessarabia

Inside the overall interwar process of building the political Romanian nation, Southern Bessarabia presented itself with interesting particularities. Fitted with special characteristics under the Russian Imperial rule, developing a very complex social scene because of colonisation as well as cultural and political policies, Bugeac (or Historic Bessarabia) posed important obstacles in front of the new State authority and its plans. The Romanian administration had a complicated situation to deal with: its own ethnics were hardly the numerical majority in the region; therefore, they were not able to induce change through horizontal social pressure. Minorities held the upper ground in matters of finances, education and culture levels, administrative knowledge and power. Furthermore, the entire elite, regardless of origin, had been assimilated into Russian culture. The Romanian State had few instruments at hand to convince the local population that its authority was better and more legitimate than the previous one (which had had time for over a century to impose itself). The final aim of the State was to create a profound ethno-national identity for Romanians, civic obedience for minorities and a political consciousness for all. All nation-building structures were claimed for the Romanian cultural model, but the actual transformation was painfully slow. The fact that the new administration did not have satisfactory results in creating a sense of security and wellbeing for the locals did not help the proceedings. The presentation will follow several points of interest concerning the evolution and the results of the process, including the State's choices of policies and instruments, the local population's standpoints and evolutions, and general conclusions on the matter.

Edda Binder-Iijima (University of Heidelberg and Göttingen)
Foreign Intervention in Support of the Romanian Monarchy at the End of the19ᵗʰ Century

The consolidation of the Romanian monarchy was not only a matter of internal politics, but involved the European Great Powers as well. The questions of the permanent residing of crowned prince Ferdinand in Romania in 1888 and later of his love affair with a Romanian lady demonstrate how perceptions and strategies of European foreign policy influenced the intervention especially of the Central Powers in favour of the preservation of the Romanian dynasty. Given the important strategic position of Romania in the Balkan Peninsula, where the monarch of German origin was seen as a guarantee for the adherence to the Triple Alliance, this question developed into an important issue for the powers in relation to the future of Romania and to the maintenance or disturbance of this European Alliance. This case study also shows how an apparently minor question of internal interest could become an instrument of policy-making in both domestic and foreign politics, with different intentions of the involved actors. Therefore it can serve as analytical device for examining the flexible relationship between great powers and a small state in times of crisis.

Ivaylo Nachev (Institute for Balkan Studies, Sofia)
Planning South-East European Primary Cities in the Late-19ᵗʰ to Early-20ᵗʰ Century (Planning in national state and in empires: the cases of Ljubljana, Sofia and Thessaloniki)

City plans became a powerful instrument to transform the urban fabric and played a role in the modernization of South-East European societies in the late-19ᵗʰ and early-20ᵗʰ centuries. Their preparation and implementation, being such an important factor was not only a question of expert decision making, but also of municipal and state policies. This paper intends to examine various modes of the process, namely urban planning in a national capital city – the case of Sofia, and the implementation of city plans of Austro-Hungarian Ljubljana and Thessaloniki under Ottoman control. On the grounds of such a wide geographical spread and varied political settings, an attempt will be made to elaborate on the pattern under which the process unfolds under different conditions. At the same time, city planning was an expert activity demanding highly specialized skills, which also facilitated the implementation of technological innovations in the urban environment. Moreover, during this

period, a very intensive international exchange of techniques and ideas took place in the urban planning field. In spite of pronounced distinctions in the three cases to be examined, there were also common dynamics the study of which could allow a better understanding of the modernization process in South-Eastern Europe.

Biljana Ristovska-Josifovska (Institute of National History, Skopje)
Exchange of Knowledge and Impact on Slavic Studies (through the Research Work of Petar Draganov from Moldova in Macedonia)

The research work of the Russian Slavist Petar Draganov from Moldova has an exceptional importance for the development of the Slavic studies in general, in a series of published articles and separate publications. On this occasion, we are focused on his research work linked to his stay in Macedonia, his interaction with the people and exchange of knowledge; his scientific thought in the context of the numerous works and scientific activity throughout his life, and the most important – the impact to the development of the Slavic studies as a scientific discipline.

Lidia Pakhomova (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscowa)
Modernisation of former Ottoman provinces as an object of contemporaneous scientific research. Alexey Kharuzin on Habsburg Bosnia

The Austro-Hungarian administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina became an object of contemporaneous scientific research. Scholars from the countries signed the Berlin Treaty, according to which Vienna received a mandate to occupy the Ottoman provinces, analysed the situation in the provinces. In the late nineteenth – early twentieth centuries, detailed travel essays on the occupied territories were published in Russia, Germany, and France. The presentation aims to show how the original and constructive model of the Austro-Hungarian rule was analysed by the Russian ethnographer and future governor of Bessarabia — Alexey Nikolaevich Kharuzin. His research objects were methods of incorporation of the Turkish territories into the Habsburg Monarchy. Kharuzin conducted a comprehensive analysis of the internal state in the occupied territories: he considered in detail the new types of communication, the organization of industry, agricultural policy, education system, social structure, ethno-confessional problems, etc.

Michalis Sarras (Greek Committee for South-Eastern European Studies)
South-Eastern Europe in the Long 19th century. Economic Approaches and Historical Inconsistencies

The aim of this paper is to think over the so-called "proto-industrialization" process in South-Eastern Europe, from the crucial Tanzimat period (1839-1876) to the Balkan Wars. A large part of the international literature with this term approaches as a result of the Ottoman Empire's liberal reforms on the economic development of the agrarian manufacturing/industry, taking place in the Balkan Peninsula –or even in South-Eastern Europe – during the late-Ottoman era. The term was coined, in 1969, by Franklin Mendals, when he investigated the 18th-century Flemish textile industry. By approaching the early industry-like process (pre-industrial revolution) as proto-industrial activity heralding the modern type of the industrial one, he understood the process of industrialization as an integral whole. The question rising first is whether the alleged "proto-industrialization" process did occur in the Ottoman Balkans and even in the wider South-Eastern Europe during the above-cited period. Particularly, the specific flourishment of agrarian manufacture will be explored, and whether the trading of the agrarian production is historically right to be carried out as a "proto-industrialization" Balkan process. The investigation attempted here will be comparative mainly with West European countries, where a phase of "proto-industrialization" clearly paved the way for the industrial revolution.

Castilia Manea-Grgin (Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar"/ University of Zagreb)
The 19th-Century Romanian Printed Cookbooks and the Building of a Nation

Historians of food, foodways and cuisines have often payed attention to cookbooks as a historical source. Printed cookbooks remain some of the richest records of past cooking and of the key shifts that occurred in cuisines and eating patterns over time (Stephen Mennell). The first known Romanian recipe collection dates back to the end of the 17th century and remained in manuscript for two hundred years. Consequently, the first two modern, printed cookbooks appeared in Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively, only in the 1840's. Until the end of the century, a few other "original" cookery books, besides translations, were published on the Romanian territory. This paper mainly aims at capturing the similarities and differences among the 19th-century Romanian cookbooks and, at the same time, at giving an overall picture of the cuisine they were

offering. It will try to answer questions such as who were the authors of the cookbooks and what audience they addressed, etc. Moreover, in a century when the notion of a national cuisine also emerged, did these cookbooks already reflect a "traditional"/ "national" Romanian kitchen or foreign influences are more obvious in them? Finally, the paper will attempt to put all of the cookery books under scrutiny in a larger, European historical context.

Between Czar, Kaiser and Sultan : New Approaches to the Age of Revolution in the Lower Danube and the Black Sea Area / Entre Tsar, Kaiser et Sultan : nouvelles approches de l'âge de la Révolution au Bas-Danube et dans la région de la Mer Noire
Convenor: Konrad Petrovszky

Salvatore Bottari (University of Messina)
The Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774 and its impact in the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean area

The influence and prestige of France in the Eastern Mediterranean were seriously challenged by the outcome of the war between the Russian and Ottoman empires of 1768-1774. The treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) clearly showed the structural weakness of the Ottoman Empire and marked the inception of the 'Eastern Question'. Russia asserted itself as a leading power even in those parts of Europe – like the Mediterranean – where it had been previously excluded from. Eventually, after centuries of struggles, Russia adopted a dominant role in the Black Sea while also increasing its influence in the Balkans. The diplomatic correspondences of England, France, Spain and the Italian States are valuable sources for the reconstruction of the impact the events of the Russo-Turkish war in 1768-1774 had on the Mediterranean in the ensuing decades. My paper focuses on the geopolitical equilibrium of the Mediterranean and Black Sea area and aims to show how Russia's prestige increased in European public opinion while giving rise to growing concerns in chancelleries from Versailles, Madrid, and Naples to Venice.

Kyrillos Nikolaou (Université européenne de Chypre)
Nouveaux éléments de présence de bateaux de guerre russes à Chypre pendant la guerre russo-turque de 1768-1774, sur la base des archives françaises inédites

Dans la bibliographie existante il est connue la présence de bateaux de guerre russes à Chypre pendant la guerre russo-turque de 1768-1774, qui ont utilisé l'île comme une station de ravitaillement pour leur campagne navale aux côtes du Liban, de Palestine et d'Egypte. Avec cette communication nous proposons d'étudier ce sujet sur la base des documents français inédits. Plus exactement il s'agît des informations que nous donne la correspondance entre André-Benoit Astier, consul de France à Chypre, et le comte Jean Voinovich, commandant de la flotte russe dans la rade de Larnaca.

Akitsu Mayuzumi (University of Tokyo)
Voyvoda and khan as diplomatic issues in Russo-Ottoman relations from the perspective of the history of the Black Sea region in the Eighteenth century

The Black Sea was known as the "Ottoman Lake" until the second half of the eighteenth century, although its rule over the Black Sea region can be characterized as indirect. Along with the area of direct rule in Anatolia and the *Özi ve Silistre eyâleti* (western coastal area), the Sublime Porte firmly controlled some important bases, such as Ochakiv, Feodosia (Caffa), Kerch, and Azov. The rest of the region was ruled by its vassal states of Wallachia, Moldavia, the Khanate of Crimea, and the Principalities of Western Georgia. After the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, these relations between the Sublime Porte and its vassal states were strongly influenced by Russian, followed by Habsburg and French, advancement into the Black Sea region. One major issue in the diplomatic relations between the Sublime Porte and the European powers, particularly Russia, was the Sultan's right to appoint or dismiss the rulers of the vassal states. Russia actively intervened in this issue to pursue advancement of its influence in the Black Sea region. To date, several studies have examined this topic regarding the Danubian Principalities and the Khanate of Crimea, mostly within the framework of national or diplomatic histories and only rarely in the context of the historical relations in the Black Sea region. This paper examines and compares the Danubian Principalities and the Khanate of Crimea as one issue and discusses the transformation of Ottoman suzerain-vassal relations and the Russo-Ottoman power relationship in the Black Sea region during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Mariya Shusharova (Institute of Balkan Studies & Center of Thracology, Sofia)
Between Demonstration of Power and Beheading: Networks of Alliances and Contention of the Provincial Elite (Ayans) of the South-East Danube Areas during the Late 18th Century

Based on my research on the local elite's networks of alliances and contention during the turbulent period of the late 18th century this paper focuses on the regional development of these networks of the provincial notables (*ayan*) in the districts of *Hezargrad* (Razgrad), *Şumnu* (Shumen), *Hacioğlu Pazarcik* (Dobrich) and *Rusçuk* (Rousse). During the 1787-1792 Ottoman war against Russia and Habsburg monarchy the *ayan*s from these borderland territories acquired a very important role in Ottoman wartime politics on account of their indispensable function in manning the army with mercenaries from their

provinces and in mobilizing local resources for different war exigencies. The details of coordinating these particular tasks led to the strengthening of the horizontal networks among the local notables of the region. On the other hand, the local interests of the provincial strongmen and the large-scale factionalism in the local societies of the different towns in the region gave the rise to networks of contention and conflict. A specific challenge to the regional power relations was the introduction and infiltration of the individual with strong regional ties in the imperial hierarchies – as was the case with the grand vizier *Rusçukli* Hasan Paşa, a representative of one of the local families contesting the *ayanship* in *Rusçuk*. During his tenure of office, several edicts for the execution of the local *ayan*s were issued as well as the order of the execution of the *voyvoda* of Wallachia (Nikolaos Mavrogenis). Thus, the regional and transregional developments as well the modes of punishment will also be addressed in this paper.

The Migration. Human and Political Condition in South-Eastern Europe
La migration. Condition humaine et politique dans le Sud-Est européen
Convenors: Elena Siupiur, Konstantin Nikiforov

Konstantin V. Nikiforov (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
The Formation of the Balkan Statehood

In the wake of the Congress of Berlin in 1978, the majority of Balkan states regained their independence after a long period of time, while Bulgaria was granted an autonomous status within the Ottoman Empire. Figuratively speaking, these countries came back to Europe after having been taken into Asia following the Ottoman conquests. Nonetheless, it was not enough to make a formal come-back: it was necessary to turn to Europe in the real sense of that word, which meant to Europeanise all the aspects of a largely patriarchal way of life; it was necessary to turn the people into true Europeans in the socio-cultural sense of the world. After the Berlin Congress on the Balkan Wars, the first one in particular had a special place in the re-arrangement of South-Eastern Europe. It was something of an East-European Reconquista which pushed the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman Turkish population back to Asia. The small Balkan states made a common stand in their own volition for the first time in history rather than acting in support of the Great Powers' agenda. The Balkan allies were even termed "the seventh Great Power". At the same time, nearly all the Balkan countries faced national disasters in the early twentieth century. The Ottomans lost their European lands and their Empire collapsed. Bulgaria was bitterly disappointed twice – after the second Balkan war and the First World War. Serbia lost its outlet to the sea and survived its own Calvary during the First World War. Macedonia remained divided. In the wake of the First World War, Greece suffered "Asia Minor disaster", the defeat of the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish war (1919-1921). The sole exception was Romania. It is believed that in the early twentieth century, after the two Balkan wars, more than half a million people have been forcibly displaced. Another large ethnic change occurred after the First World War the collapse of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. An exchange of populations took place in connection with the Greco-Turkish war. It touched on nearly 2 million people (1.5 million Greek sand 400 thousand Muslims). The trend became clear. Everywhere in Eastern Europe, there were attempts at creating a homogeneous ethnic state. At the end of the early twentieth century, the same trend prevailed. It is especially increased with the crisis of the socialist system. The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia fell apart to more or less mono-ethnic parts.

This trend is very different from Western to Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, especially after the Second World War, another multi-ethnic tendency increased.

Raluca Alexandrescu (Université de Bucarest, Faculté de Sciences Politiques)
La circulation intellectuelle au XIXᵉ siècle et la construction du narratif démocratique, entre acceptations et refus

Pour la Roumanie moderne, le moment 1848 fut le catalyseur d'une dynamique de la modernité qui pénétrait difficilement les institutions et la société roumaine de la première moitié du XIXᵉ siècle. La circulation des catégories nouvelles, comme les étudiants (qui voyagent de plus en plus vers l'Occident et qui se forment intellectuellement en France et en Allemagne) se retrouve à la base de la dynamique des paradigmes en construction au milieu du XIXe siècle. Ayant à l'esprit la disposition de l'imaginaire politique de 1848 et de l'après 1848, cette communication avance l'hypothèse d'une modernisation démocratique construite autour et par ces acteurs à travers un narratif politique basé sur ce que Yaron Ezrahi (2015) appelle les « imaginaires politiques » basés sur la circulation ou la migration culturelle et intellectuelle. Pour cette période, on compte examiner deux grandes catégories de modèles d'imaginaires politiques liés aux influences liées à ce phénomène, toujours liés à la modernisation et aux différents projections démocratiques mobilisés : 1) La démocratie synonyme de l'occidentalisation ; 2) La démocratie nationale (voire, dans un second temps, d'inspiration strictement autochtone). La fragilité de la construction de l'imaginaire démocratique roumain est liée aux modes de lectures proposés par les acteurs roumains de 1848 et de leur relation avec les milieux politiques et philosophiques français, surtout. Les intellectuels roumains de cette génération se retrouvent devant le double défi d'un renouveau institutionnel qu'ils doivent proposer et d'une construction méthodologique de la projection démocratique elle-même qu'ils ont à parfaire. La modernisation de la Roumanie à l'époque est donc intimement liée à un processus *d'importation des idées philosophiques et politiques* de la modernité européenne, doublé par un processus *d'acculturation*. Les acteurs de 1848, confrontés à l'échec du mouvement révolutionnaire en soi, se retrouvent engagés soit dans le processus institutionnel de modernisation produit surtout après l'union de 1859, soit (parfois en même temps) dans un processus de recomposition de l'imaginaire démocratique moderne basé sur l'idée d'Occidentalisation. Le modèle occidental se retrouve vite en collision avec un

modèle concurrent qui surgit dans le discours et l'imaginaire politique roumain lié à l'identité nationale en *dépit* de l'influence occidentale.

Mihai Sorin Rădulescu (Université de Bucarest, Faculté d'histoire)
Une famille serbo-bulgare dans les élites militaires et intellectuelles roumaines

Simion Stoïlow (1887–1961) est un nom de premier rang dans les sciences mathématiques roumaines et le fait qu'il est porté par l'Institut de Mathématiques de Bucarest reflète la valeur de sa personnalité. Homme de gauche depuis ses années d'études en Sorbonne, Simion Stoilow a été aussi l'un des premiers ambassadeurs à Paris du régime communiste roumain et l'un des premiers recteurs de l'Université de Paris sous le nouveau régime. Son père, le général Simion Stoïlow (1841–1901) a participé avec bravoure à la Guerre d'Indépendance de 1877–1878. Son épouse née Olga Greceanu était la fille du colonel Iancu Greceanu – de la famille Greceanu de l'ancien district de Romanați, de nos jours Olt – et de son épouse née Pauline Bengescu, issue d'une vieille famille de boyards du district de Gorj. Son ancêtre lointain mais direct était le *clucer* Stroe de Greci (aujourd'hui dans le district d'Olt), frère du *sluger* Preda dit *Floricoiul*, le gendre du voïvode Michel le Brave. La famille Stoïlow s'est apparentée – par des alliances matrimoniales – avec d'autres familles illustres roumaines : les Oteteliṣanu, les Costa-Foru. C'est un bon exemple du pouvoir d'intégration – et également du cosmopolitisme – de la société roumaine d'avant le régime totalitaire.

Virginia Blînda (Institut d'Études Sud-Est européennes, Bucarest)
La migration des livres dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe (milieu du XIXe siècle)

La « migration » du livre laïc dans le sud-est européen donne une image concernant la circulation des hommes et des idées dans cette partie de l'Europe vers le milieu du XIXe siècle. Les mouvements révolutionnaires de l'époque obligèrent le pouvoir, quel qui fût, à redéfinir sa position par rapport aux phénomènes – y compris d'ordre culturel – susceptibles de porter atteinte à la stabilité des régimes politiques. C'est pourquoi notre présentation suivra la circulation des livres et du savoir à travers le sud-est de l'Europe au milieu du XIXe siècle.

Sergiy Matsnev (Moscow)
Between adaptation and nostalgia. Destiny of Pontian Greeks from Soviet deportation to present Greece in 1949

After the exile from Turkey to the Russian Empire and – in 1919-1922 – to the Soviet Union, the Greeks from Pondos were settled mostly on today's territories of Abkhazia and Georgia and partly in Kuban (Russia). In 1949, with false accusation in collaboration with German Army in WW2, thousands of them were deported to different regions of Kazakhstan and Siberia. A small part of them succeeded in returning to the Caucasus in late 1950s, the other received a permit to repatriate to Greece in 1962. The majority did the same thing only in the beginning of the 1990s, during the time of collapse of the Soviet political system. However, until now the elder generation could not integrate completely into the Greek society, looking back to their joyful life in the Soviet paradise. It seems to be rather important to understand the motivation and different aspects of this kind of conservative mentality from the point of view of real history of their surviving in the Soviet Union, mentioning at the same time the orthodox faith as a spiritual basis and measure of moral for the majority of past and present Pontians. The author organized more than 20 expeditions to numerous places in Greece populated by so-called "New" and "Old" Pontians (like Aspropyrgos, Ano Liosia, Menidi, Elevsina, Nea Zygos, etc.) to collect the material for this research both on the "Soviet" and "European" periods of their life.

Mariana Alecu (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Unwillingly Leaving One's Native Town

The subjective approaches to migration/emigration/immigration range among the most invaluable proofs of the major infliction these dislocations/relocations trigger. One such approach that our paper will focus on is a collection (not paid attention to so far) of short essays written by the students of a Greek school in Bucharest. The moment of scripting is the very time of the massive forced emigration caused by the abusive installation (as just a tiny minority imparted the corresponding ideology) of communism in Romania after 1944. Written in 1948 by under-graduates of Greek origin in their characteristic manner typified by ingenuity and already observing the rules of censorship, they speak about the sufferance of unwillingly abandon of one's native place that happens to be charming and plentiful.

Natalia Golant (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg)
On Some Features of the Labour Migration of Romanians ("Vlachs") of Eastern Serbia

The report is based on the materials of the interviews conducted in 2015-2017 on the territory of Serbia (Zaječar and Negotin communities) and Austria (Vienna). Alongside with those who went abroad (mainly in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Austria) in the late 1960's – 1970's, who had worked for 30-40 years in foreign countries and returned home at a very old age, there are representatives of the next wave of migration that began in the late 1980's – early 1990's and caused by the collapse of the "socialist camp" and political turmoil of Yugoslavia's disintegration. The latter often continue to live in two countries, because their children or grandchildren grew up and studied in the West. For the Vlachs of Zaječar and Negotin, since the late 1980's to date, the main countries of migration have been Germany, Austria and Switzerland. In the choice of the regions of migration, the Serbian "Vlachs" differ from the people of Romania and the Republic of Moldova, as well as from the "Vlachs" from the regions of Bulgaria neighbored by Eastern Serbia, for whom the main countries of migration (which beganbecause of the collapse of the "socialist camp") were Romance-speaking countries – Italy, Spain and France. On the whole, one can say that the directions of migration of the "Vlachs" from eastern Serbia as compared with some of the peoples from Romania and Moldova are lesser determined by the language similarity and more by geographic proximity and traditional economic ties.

Tanya Nedelcheva, Albena Nakova, Kamelia Petkova (Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Sofia)
The Refugee Crisis Throughthe Eyes of Bulgarians

In recent years, the increasing flow of refugees passing the borders of our country has turned into one of the most serious challenges that Bulgaria has to deal with. The problem is topical and important as in this new situation, the meeting of different cultures, different civilizational, religious, and secular values, ever more frequently gives rise to tension, fear and rejection rather than hospitality and compassion. In the present article, the authors attempt to conceptualize the empirical data gathered in the framework of a survey conducted by a research team from the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The study uses two

sociological methods – in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Based on the empirical data, the article presents the faces of the refugee crisis in the representations of Bulgarians, and discusses to what extent the measures undertaken by the state are adequate with regard to the possibility of integrating these persons in the country.

From Ani to Romania: History, Tradition and Iconography /
D'Ani en Roumanie: histoire, tradition et iconographie
Convenors: Karen Khachatryan, Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalayan

Lusine Sargsyan (Matenadaran Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan)
Armenian Gospel from Surkhat dating back to the 14th century

At the Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni there is a library housing a collection of Armenian manuscripts and old printings. During my research trip to Romania in May-June 2017, I was able to study the above-mentioned collection. My paper is the first scholarly study of the manuscript Gospel (inv. no. 85/245), which has never been studied before by scholars including Frédéric Macler and Sylvia Agemian. From the artistic point of view, this manuscript is the most valuable in the collection and also the earliest dated manuscript of the collection. The Gospel was written in 1354 in Surkhat (Crimea). It consists of 287 paper folios, written in cursive *bolorgir* with black ink. Different parts of the manuscript are missing. Only one folio from the principal colophon has been preserved, which provides information about the date and place of writing of the Gospel. Despite of the poor information of the colophon, this Gospel is an important evidence of the movement of Armenians from Crimea to South-East Europe during the centuries. This paper discusses the artistic decoration of the Gospel: three portraits of the Evangelists – Matthew, Mark and John, three title pages from the Gospels of Mark, Luke and John. The study of the decoration of the Gospel based on the comprehensive analyses with other artworks from Crimea will complete our knowledge about the miniature art of the Crimean Armenians, which was at its highest level of development (14th century).

Mariam Vardanyan (Yerevan State University)
Armenian Altar Crosses in Romanian-Armenian Church Tradition

Large numbers of metal ritual objects are preserved in Armenian churches and in the Romanian museum collections of the Armenia Church, as evidence of the Romanian-Armenian great cultural heritage. All these collections are being studied only currently. In this report we are going to present our research about the Armenian altar crosses preserved in the collections mentioned above. Although in the Armenia churches from Romania there are currently used and preserved also altar crosses made by non-Armenian masters, typical for

Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Church traditions, in our report we are going to examine only the samples prepared by Armenian masters and typical for Armenian Church tradition. The most part of these samples were brought from various Armenian silver processing centres by pilgrims and merchants.

Altar crosses are one of the most important components of the Holy altar of the Armenian Church, which are used as in rituals as well as decorate the altar sanctifying it. The altar cross always has a pedestal, on which the cross relies on. As a rule, the altar crosses are not decorated richly. At the centre of cross is the Crucifixion, on the opposite side is the Holy Virgin with Child. On the endings of the cross are put the images of Evangelists, their symbols, Angels, Instruments of Passion and very rarely images of Saints. Pedestals, often decorated with floral and vegetal ornaments, are used for dedicatory inscriptions, and sometimes placed different images. All these features of Armenian altar crosses we are going to discuss trough the Armenian altar crosses preserved in Romania.

Seyranush Manukyan (Yerevan State University)
The Art of Icons of Romanian-Armenians

Large collections of Armenian icons are preserved currently in the Armenian Church and Museum of Botosani, Armenian Church and Museum of Suceava, the Dudian Museum of Saint Archangels Church in Bucharest and also in the Patriarchate of the Armenian Diocese of Romania, where are presented icons moved from the Armenian Church of Roman. The Romanian-Armenian icons need to be examined carefully, as there is no complete study on this theme. It is necessary to find out their origins, bases, connections between Armenian and local Romanian cultural traditions, technical and artistic language. The following questions are intended to be discussed in current report.

Summarizing our two-year observations on Romanian-Armenian icons, we can conclude the following: continuing the church traditions coming from the Armenian communities of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian Empire, particularly Crimea and Lviv, oriented by the local Romanian, especially Moldavian culture and traditions, the Romanian-Armenians create icons in the XVI-XIX centuries. They differ in their image types and stable iconography, with some national characters, connected with Armenian art of other centers of the current period, as well as Etchmiadzin, Jerusalem and Constantinople.

Levon Chookaszian (Yerevan State University)
Artworks as witnesses of the presence of the Armenians in Romania

The study of artistic legacy of the Armenians in medieval Romania allows for the reconstruction and imagining, to a certain degree, of a broader picture, a kind of mosaic of culture of immigrants from Armenia. The Armenian churches, monasteries and illustrated manuscripts are the main art works testifying to the presence of Armenians in medieval Romania, and also about their cultural activity there. It should be noted that the architecture is represented mainly by Armenian churches, and it is interesting that the first Armenian church in Romania was erected in 1350 in Botosani, another in 1395 in Iasi, and the diocese was founded in Suceava. The inscription of 967 on the northern wall of the Armenian church of Mother of God at Cetatea Alba or Akkerman (in historical region of Bessarabia, now Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi in Ukraine) as the Armenians called it, is the earliest evidence about the existence of a community in that area. The other inscription of 1174 indicates the continuous arrival of the Armenians to Akkerman during that period. Besides these inscriptions, the coins of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia struck during the reign of Hetum I (1213-1270) and found in Akkerman demonstrate the migration of the Armenians from Cilicia in that century

Among the earliest Armenian manuscripts copied and illustrated in Romania are those that are written by bishop Nikogos in 1459-1460 in Akkermann, and especially the Lectionary of 1460 (Yerevan, Matenadaran collection, No.9483), which is copied and decorated with the assistance of Archimandrite Stephanos and Hakob. The production of these manuscripts indicates that there was an Armenian church at this time in Akkerman. Another Lectionary (Matenadaran, No. 9485) was copied in 1459-1460 by Bishop Nikogos, in Akkerman church, and perhaps illustrated by him, and monk Stepanos for a certain Kyril.

The altar table silver cross of 1642 (Lviv, Museum of History) is connected to that community in Khotyn, according to the Armenian inscriptions belonging to Minas of Tokat (poet Minas Tokatetsi probably-L.C), and his wife Pirouz from Khotyn.

By a happy coincidence, the altar curtain from Suceava, decorated with Gospel scenes and images of the saints, has survived, and it was presented to the Mother See of the Armenian church at Holy Echmiadzin in 1663. According to the inscription on it, it was created in memory of Alexander of Focsani, his son Mahtesi Vartan. This artifact complements our comprehension concerning the artistic heritage of the Armenian community in Suceava.

The other Armenian manuscripts were written and illustrated either in Suceava, or brought from the Cilician kingdom or Cyprus and finished in Suceava. There is also the possibility that these manuscripts might have been brought from Taron (South of Armenia) or Crimea. Many manuscripts mostly dating from the 17th century have been copied in Armenian churches in Iasi.

In all probability, in the future many other Armenia artworks that have been brought to Romania or created in the Romanian provinces will be found, and they will tell other unknown facts about the history and culture of Armenian communities.

Beatrice Tolidjian (Washington)
Ponderings on the art of construction and facade embellishment in Ottoman Macedonia (4 churches and 2 mosques): resonances from medieval Armenia: artistic reciprocity

This study purports to survey trends in the art and architecture of the Armenian diaspora in the Ottoman Macedonian lands in the 16th –early 17th c. The buildings under discussion are a group of churches in north-eastern Macedonia (historic south-western Bulgaria) dating from that period. There is one pre-Ottoman building from the 11th century. This study also considers 2 mosques from the same period and geographic region.

All of the churches exhibit a close kinship to monuments of the Caucasus and Asia Minor, more specifically Armenia, in their external façade decoration and in the choice of building materials and techniques. The report discusses the characteristics in question and brings in Armenian parallels to illustrate the possible importation of artistic ideas. The discussion on the mosques towards the end of this report serves to illustrate cultural reciprocity (interpenetration of artistic ideas) and raises the question of a common group of builders executing commissions for both Christian and Muslim cult buildings.

As for sources attesting an Armenian presence in those areas, the 16th and 17th c. Turkish tax registers mainly from the Kyustendil sancak, as well as the Sicils (court registries) from the 17th c. for central Ottoman Rumeli (today's Bulgaria) are treasure troves of information on the lives and activities of Armenians living and operating within the imperial territories of that part of the Balkans as well as being inventories of Armenian names. There are also toponyms of Armenian origin. In addition, there are data from historiography, some as early as 11th c., hagiography, epigraphy a legal document from the 14th century, historical travelogues, an ecclesiastical report, among others.

This report is but one of several that is being dedicated to the broader study of the above-mentioned buildings.

David Neagu (University of Bucharest)
The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia between Ilkhans and Latins: 1289-1307

The purpose of this study is to survey the foreign policy of the Armenian kings between 1289-1307 with an emphasis on their links with the Papacy. At the end of the 13th century, the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia was not anymore the powerful state which had been governed by its first king, Levon I. The alliance concluded between the Armenian monarchy and the Mongol Empire proved initially to be fruitful. Still, after some successes, an army composed of Mongol and Armenian contingents was defeated by the Mamluks at Ayn Jalut, opening the way for the invasion of Cilicia. After the troops of the Sultanate of Egypt had been wreaking havoc in the kingdom for many years, in 1285 Levon II signed a ten-year treaty with Qalawun, yet this did not confer security to the Armenians. Thus, in 1289, when Hethum II assumed the Armenian throne, the kingdom was still threatened by the possibility of an invasion undertaken by Egyptian forces. Moreover, soon after he became king, the last strongholds of the Latin East were conquered by al-Ashraf, leaving the Armenian kingdom as the last Christian state in the face of the Mamluks' advance. In addition to external problems, between 1289-1307 Cilicia was marked by political instability, since the throne had not been occupied by just one monarch. Hethum II reigned three times and even faced a rebellion led by two of his brothers. In this climate of uncertainty, the Armenian kings continued to hope that their alliance with the Ilkhans would offer them security and the possibility to stem the advance of the Mamluks into Cilicia. However, after 1289, the Armenian monarchs sent embassies in Europe to the pope and to some Latin kings, asking for help against the Sultanate of Egypt. According to some papal letters written during the pontificates of Nicholas IV, Boniface VIII and Clement V, the Papacy was ready to help the Armenians in their struggle against the Sultanate of Egypt. Furthermore, the popes urged the Military Orders and even some of the European monarchs to come to the aid of the Armenian kingdom. In this context, the present study aims to address the following questions: what did the Armenian kings asked from the popes? If the pontiffs decided to help them, how did they choose to do this? Were they prepared to launch a crusade, or to send troops, or money? Was the defence of the Armenian kingdom included in a broader rhetoric concentrated on the recovery of the Holy Land?

Hasmik Stepanyan (Institute of Oriental Studies, Yerevan)
Hakob Sirouni's two historical fundamental books: a. Polis and its role; b. Pages from Manuk Bey's life

Polis and its role (4 vols. 1965-1988 Beirut, Antilias, in Armenian). This monograph is as priceless for Armenians and orientalists, as for the Turks and investigators of the Ottoman history. As books of encyclopedic value may give rise to a thousand new books and researches, so does this monograph containing material rich enough to cover various aspects of history, be it the catholic or protestant invasion aimed at tearing the Ottoman Empire and solving the "Eastern Question". The history of Constantinople from its foundation to the modern period.

  Pages from Manuk Bey's life (Yerevan, 2018, in Armenian and English, on the Occasion of International Conference Dedicated to Manuk Bey Mirzayan). Prominent orientalist Hakob Sirouni's research is dedicated to the famous diplomat of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, statesman, highly ranked merchant and banker, benefactor Manuk Bey Mirzayan (1769-1817). The book introduces Manuk Bey's activities, who was authorized by the Sultan's palace to lead peace negotiations with the Russians during the Russo-Turkish war and had a remarkable role in European diplomacy.

  There are so many unknown sources in these works so far used. They are also very important for Romania's history. Unfortunately, these two books are still unknown to Romanian biographers of Sirouni.

Georgia and South-Eastern Europe: Byzantine Heritage and Common Cultural Path / La Géorgie et le Sud-Est européen: héritages byzantins et parcours culturel commun
Convenor: Nino Kavtaria

Nino Kavtaria (Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)
The Diversity of Artistic Traditions in the Decoration of Georgian-Greek Liturgical Manuscript (разнояз. 0.I.58)

Bilingual liturgical book which survived at Saint-Petersburg library appears to be an interesting source for the study of artistic traditions of the miniatures inserted. Illustrations consisting of six cycles represent six different series and depict various iconographic and stylish tendencies; the theme of Christology, Old Testament, the scenes of the single festives of the Virgin and the Saviour, the Saints, personifications of the months, figures of the riding Saints, a Menologion organized according to the chronological raw, the scenes of Healing and of the Miracles follow the list.

The artistic appearance of the miniatures is firmly connected to the traditions of Georgian-Byzantine (post-Byzantine) fine arts of the XIV-XV centuries; in some of the cycles we even meet the impacts of the Comnenian traditions on the miniatures of the XV century.

In this paper we discuss those artistic traditions and influences that were revealed while analysing the decoration of this extraordinary collection. The presence of the Cretan fine arts in some volumes/chapters of the manuscript confirms the coincidence with the advanced artistic traditions of the epoch.

The variety of iconographic and artistic devices in this Greco-Georgian manuscript indicates it to be the monument of the epoch, where tradition and innovative visions are interrelated.

Eka Dughashvili (K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)
Old Georgian Translation Tradition in the Byzantine Cultural context

Translations of Eastern and Western literature have passed a path from free translation to accurate, formal, Hellenophilic translation, from dynamic, expositive to literary. The principle of free translation of Classical authors (from Greek into Latin) in the Middle Ages gradually was replaced by principle of

accurate translation. Along with this, cultural-ideological and historical-literary process was underway from Pre-Hellenophilic period to the Hellenophilic. Among various Christian nations Hellenophilia implied demonstration of special interest in the ideas typical of particular periods of Byzantine culture. Georgian translated literature witnessed this process from the 8th c. to 11th c., which was reflected in translations of Byzantine theological literature made in different periods. In this respect, different redactions of Georgian translations of the Bible, as well as Pre-Hellenophilic and Hellenophilic translations of Byzantine homiletic and hymnographic literature are especially noteworthy. The present article discusses old Georgian translation traditions on the basis of translations of homilies by Gregory the Theologian and hymnography by John Damascene and Cosmas of Jerusalem.

Old translation principles changed, due to a translator's or reader's new, the different attitude towards literary phenomena, according to new requirements of the period. To demonstrate different translation styles, we analyzed different translations of homilies by Gregory the Theologian, by Euthymius the Hagiorite, 10th-c. figure and translator at the Georgian monastery of Mount Athos and Ephraim Mtsire, 11th-c. translator at Antioch (who started Hellenophilic translation tradition).The translation by Euthymius the Hagioriteisis intended for a wide circle of readers and represents a simplified and free version of the original, with commentaries. The translation by Ephraim Mtsire is intended for fewer readers. It fully retains the theological-rhetorical style of Gregory the Theologian, like all rhetorical-philosophical details. The same difference is found between translations of Byzantine hymnography (hymns by John Damascene and Cosmas of Jerusalem) made in the 10th and the 11th cc.

According to hymnographic manuscripts and literary sources, in the 10th-c. translations, interpretation of the musical principle of hymns was as free as the translation method, being classified as dynamic equivalent type translation, with minor textual extraction-addition(for explanatory purposes), simplification of sophisticated theological content; plain style, absence of Greek lexical and syntactic calques; sometimes creation of a redaction differing from the original, this difference naturally does not affect the idea of the original and represents the translator's interpretation of the original.

From the viewpoint of arrangement of the hymn according to the original *ekhos* and translation method, Hellenophilic tradition is manifested to a greater extent in 11th-c. translations, where translations of poetic texts manifest maximum closeness to the original. Thus, formation of Hellenophilic translation trend in Georgian literature was facilitated by linguistic and

ideological requirements: the increasing importance of Greek as the original language for manuscripts and the increasing prestige of Byzantine education in the Eastern Christian world. Translators' cultural orientation towards thinking processes in Byzantium became active, critical study and commentary of texts, interest in actual issues of Byzantine literary theory and philosophical-scholarly concepts.

Ketevan Tatishvili (Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)
Hymns in Honour of Georgian Saints who Carried out Activities in Byzantium

The Feast Hymn Book compiled by Catholicos Anton I differ from other liturgical collections in that it comprises mentioning of almost all Georgian Saints. Frequently the entire Rite, i.e. canon or canons of a Saint together with short hymns, was compiled. In most cases, Anton himself wrote new hymns, incorporating them together with the old ones into his Feast Hymn Book. This approach was used by him in relation to the Feast Days of those Georgian Saints, who carried out their activities in Byzantium: Ilarion Kartveli, Eptvime the Athonite, Giorgi the Athonite, Ioane and Gabriel.

The Feast Day of Ilarion Kartveli, the IX century Georgian monk, falls on 19 November. The Feast Day is first mentioned in the XI century manuscript. Ilarion had great merit in promoting the monastic life and significantly contributed to building activities in Georgia. At the same time, his activities are of interest due to the fact that he spent the bigger part of his life abroad. He lived in Bithynia (on Mount Olympus). He travelled to Palestine, Rome and Byzantium. Ilarion was the first among the Georgian individuals of whom we are aware, to settle down in Byzantium (in the second half of the IX century). It was he who initiated relations between Byzantine and Georgian churches. In the Feast Hymn Book by Anton, Ilarion Kartveli's Rite consists of two canons. The author of one of them is Catholicos Anton. The author of the second canon is unknown. Anton's canon comprises an acrostic based on the phrase "I chant to you Ilarion the superstar". Certain facts from biography of St. Ilarion can be found in both the canon and sticheron written by Anton. This was to be anticipated because the hymnographer was familiar with the Life of the saint. The existence of one of the redactions in the Feast Hymn Book corroborates this consideration.

The Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos and the Georgian holy fathers from there had great impact on medieval Georgian literature, culture and development of social thought. As a result, entries for Eptvime the Athonite,

Giorgi the Athonite and Ioane the Athonite were included into the Synaxarion A97 as early as in the XI century. Liturgical books also comprise hymns dedicated to them. Anton wrote three canons (of Eptvime the Atonite, Giorgi the Athonite, Ioane and Gabriel) and incorporated them together with the short hymns into his Feast Hymn Book of a new redaction (S1464). Despite this, he left old canons and a number of short hymns dedicated to Eptvime the Athonite and Giorgi the Athonite unchanged. Catholicos Anton did not change the Feast Day of Eptvime the Athonite, but at the same time he rescheduled the Feast Day of Ioane the Athonite from 14 July to 12 July and established the Feast Day for Gabriel the Athonite on the same day. The Feast Day of Giorgi the Athonite falls on 30 June in old redactions of the Feast Hymn Books, while according to Anton's book it is celebrated on 27 June. It should be noted that in the Typikon A122, dated to 1749, the Feast Day of this saint falls on the same day.

The paper will discuss textual and artistic-stylistic peculiarities of the hymns written by Catholicos Anton in honour of Sts. Ilarion Kartveli, Eptvime, Giorgi and Gabriel the Athonites.

Mariam Nemsadze (Akaki Tsereteli State University/ Gelati Theological Academy and Seminar, Kutaisi), **Natalia Parjanadze** (Gelati Theological Academy and Seminary, Kutaisi)
The Contribution of Monastery of Iveron at Mount Athos in the Byzantine-Georgian Literary and Political Relations

The paper is an attempt to cover Byzantine-Georgian relations from various angles, mainly the political and literary ones. Byzantine-Georgian relations had a long-standing history. They shared many-fold interrelations diplomatic, cultural, religious, political and even military. Mutual commitment resulted in solid outcomes. The cosmopolitan, cross-cultural nature of Constantinople enabled Georgian scholars to adopt and enrich many aspects of spiritual literature. Special emphasis should be put on the contribution of monastic life in relation with literary and political relations. Mount Athos was truly the cradle of mutual cultural development. Firm cultural, literary, religious relations could not have stayed tight without political issues that gave way to the diverse forms of relations.

The Monastery of Iveron played an important role in the formation and positive development of mutual Georgian-Byzantine relations. Georgia greatly helped Constantinople in political issues. The Byzantine Caesar generously endowed the Georgian King David Kuropalates with several regions for military support, provided by David in the fight against the rebel Bardas Skliaros (979).

The army that consisted of 12000 Georgian warriors was under the charge of commander-in-chief Tornike. He was a monk at Mount Athos having a monastic name- John (Ioane), who returned to Mount Athos after the fight with honor and treasure.

The Monastery of Iveron (Georgian) is situated on the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mount Athos. At different times the monastery was differently referred to. At first, Iveron was called the "Monastery of the Iberian"; thereafter it was called the "Lavra of the Iberians." The foundation of the monastery is connected with the names of John the Iberian (Georgian) and his son Euthymius the Iberian. The scriptorium at mount Athos was established by John the Iberian. The Georgian monks were intensively involved in the process of translation of Greek religious texts into Georgian and the copying of Greek and Georgian manuscripts. The copying, creating and translating processes gave the way to creation of Iveron's valuable library that houses 337 Byzantine manuscripts, 86 Georgian manuscripts, including the most important Byzantine books that are only preserved in Georgian translations. Among them is a very important one Balavarian, which was translated from Georgian into Greek by Euthymius Athonite.

The Gelati Theological Academy was established on the basis of Byzantine experience. King David IV (the builder) was the founder of spiritual and intellectual centre of Gelati. The most distinguished monks who greatly contributed to the process of mutual intellectual exchange were Euthymius and Giorgi Athonites (Mtatsmindeli). The texts that Athonites worked on were the Byzantine ecclesiastical texts of ecumenical importance—including liturgical, exegetical, homiletical, polemical, hagiographical, and apocryphal literature. Euthymius translated works written by Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Anastasios of Alexandria, John Klimakos, John of Damascus, John Chrysostom, Maximus the Confessor, Michael Synkellos, and Andrew of Crete. Giorgi carried on Euthymius' work. His numerous translations include works by Byzantine authors such as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Wonderworker, John of Damascus, Athanasios of Alexandria, Theodore the Studite, and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Photios.

Convenors: Cătălina Vătăşescu, Vasilka Alexova, Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova

Petya Asenova (Université "St. Kliment Ohridski", Sofia) **& Christina Markou**
(Université de Komotini)
Grammaticalisation et modalité des formes du futur balkanique

Les formes spéciales du futur sont apparues (dans le domaine indo-européen en général) relativement tard. En grec, en latin et en vieux-bulgare (mais aussi dans les langues germaniques) elles apparaissent comme des syntagmes verbaux formés à l'aide des verbes modaux + l'infinitif du verbe respectif. Dans les langues balkaniques la concurrence entre les verbes les plus fréquents volo et habeo débouche sur la prédominance du premier (volo) sur le second, (habeo), qui garde cependant son importance : verbe fondamental de la formation du futur guègue (albanais du Nord), ou en rivalité avec volo dans les formes négatives du futur bulgare. Alors que les syntagmes de volo aboutissent à des formes complètement grammaticalisées du futur déictique, les syntagmes de habeo n'atteignent pas le même degré élevé de grammaticalisation. Et puisque le processus de grammaticalisation va de pair avec le passage de la modalité à la temporalité, le habeo-futur conserve sa modalité primaire de nécessité. Ce type de futur plutôt modal que temporel dépasse le territoire des langues de l'union balkanique pour y inclure l'Italie de Sud. Ainsi se formerait une aire balkanique élargie, en parallèle avec d'autres balkanismes.

Ce futur apparait sous deux variantes :

1) *habeo*-conjugué + (*të/ɗa /να/să*)-subj. : *u kam (të) bënj, ti këtˈbësh, ai/ajo katˈ bën...*; *имам да правя, имаш да правиш...* ; *ἔχωναγράφω, ἔχειςναγράφεις...* ; *am să fac, ai să faci...*

2) *habeo*-impersonnel (- 3-ème p.sg.) + (*të/ɗa/να/să*)-subj: *u kat bënj, ti kat bësh* ; *има да чакаш, има да плачеш* ; *ἔχεινακλάψεις...* ;*o să cînt.*

Les deux variantes présentent, dans chacune des langues balkaniques, différentes valeurs modales, marquées en général par l'engagement personnel et émotif de l'émetteur : nécessité et obligation, injonction, avertissement, menace, etc.

Les périphrases de ce futur de nécessité » ont aussi une extension au passé. Bien qu'elles expriment une action future, leur statut en tant que temps verbal reste peu clair. On s'abstient de les inclure dans le système temporel bulgare en raison du fait qu'elles sont déficientes.

À notre avis, ce futur « de nécessité » nécessite des recherches plus approfondies.

Ekaterina Tarpomanova, Bilyana Mihaylova ("St Kliment Ohridski" University, Sofia)
Future in the past and conditional in the Balkan languages

The conditional of the type *want*particle+ verbimperfectis considered one of the central features in the verbal system of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. The relation between conditional and future in the past has been widely discussed in the Balkan linguistics (Gołąb1964; Asenova 2002, among others). In Greek and Albanian the verbal form with future and imperfect grammatical markers is used both with temporal (future in the past) and modal (conditional) functions, in the Albanian grammar it is defined as homonymy. In Bulgarian, the Balkan-type conditional is found in the South-West dialects, while in the standard language the form of the type *want*imperfect auxiliary + *to* + verb present coexists with the Slavic-type conditional in the field of modality and has a temporal value too. Romanian conditional, *have*auxiliary + verb infinitive, formally differs from the other types attested in the Balkan languages, and there is not a future in the past in the temporal paradigm, but new forms emerge to express this grammatical meaning. Our study is a part of a wider project exploring the verbal categories in the Balkan *Srachbund*. In this paper we will discuss the functions of the future in the past and the conditional in the modern standard languages, considering their functioning in the overall verbal system.

Artur Karasiński (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun)
On the issues of Albanian word formation

In my paper I would like to reflect on the problem of the variance of word formation units in the Albanian word-formation system. Which of the allomorphs and on what basis should be considered as a basic form? This problem requires morphonological analysis. Description of the word-formation system, which in accordance with the principle of syntactic isomorphism assumes the adoption of semantic syntax, requires the use of the basic form of the word-formation morpheme, which is the so-called formal invariant. In the case of, for example, adverbial suffix like *-isht[ø]* and variants *(-ërisht [ø]*, *-ësisht [ø]*, *-imisht [ø]*) the situation is simple, but in the case of others suffixes such as for example: *-ak [ø]*, *-ës [ø]*, *-ic[ë]*, *-in[ë]*, which are the exponents of many different word-formation categories, the choice of the formal invariant causes doubtfulness. Usually, the derivational base or the form that occurs in more contexts is given. However, it is not always possible to nominate a candidate representing the morpheme and it is indicated arbitrarily any allomorph.

Irena Sawicka (Institute of Slavic Studies, Warsaw)
Convergent phonetic phenomena in the Central Balkanic area

As the central Balkan area I consider an area where convergent processes as still very active. Such an area, at least as far as the phonetics is concerned, constitute: Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo and Northern Greece. I will illustrate this with the examples from Macedonian dialects.

 The Macedonian language is located on the periphery of the Slavic languages and in the very center of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Borders with other Slavic dialects are impossible to determine on the basis of linguistic criteria. Between Bulgarian and Macedonian, and Serbian and Macedonian there are huge transitional areas on both sides of the national borders. The transition between Bulgarian and Macedonian phonetics constitutes also the transition between different phonetic types. On the other hand, the coexistence with Albanian and Greek dialects, whose actual status in some regions is comparable to Macedonian, leads to a number of converging phenomena that constitute the uniqueness of Macedonian phonetics against the Slavic background. The Macedonian-Greek convergence has a very large range –it has been observed in the functioning of vocalic clusters, consonantal palatalization, prosodic features, in lenitions, in sandhi phenomena, in certain types of consonant clusters, etc. Common phenomena are especially concentrated in the Aegean Macedonia and eastern Albania.

Dana-Mihaela Zamfir („Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest), **Oana Uță Bărbulescu** (University of Oxford / University of Bucharest)
Diachronic and diatopic variation in the inflection and phonetics of the Romanian nouns frâu 'bridle', grâu 'wheat', brâu 'girdle', and pârâu 'brook' and their Albanian correspondents

Our research will focus on the much-discussed loss of the etymological nasal consonant in the Romanian nouns inherited from Lat. *granum* and *frenum* and in the substratum nouns *brâu* and *pârâu*. We will discuss the evolution of these nouns in various historical stages and in different dialectal varieties of the Romanian language. Our study on nasality and rhotacism will correlate the Romanian data with similar phenomena present in the Albanian nouns borrowed from Lat. *granum* and *frenum* and in those etymologically related to Rom. *brâu* and *pârâu*.

Helmut W. Schaller (University of Marburg)
Turkish influence on Balkan languages: The case of loan-words.

In all Balkan languages and European languages, we find "loan-words" or "loans" as borrowed or adapted words from other languages, from Greek, Latin, Russian, German French and nowadays in a very high degree words from American English. Loanwords like Turkish words in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, Rumanian and Modern Greek as there are Balkan languages are words in the borrower's language where they are sometimes adopted or taken over in the same phonetic shape and morphological structure together with concrete objects of daily life or abstract conceptions. The overwhelming number of loan-words is always nouns, followed by a small number of adjectives and verbs, other word classes like conjunctions or interjections are rather rare. There are a lot of new linguistic terms concerning loan-words or loans as there are *acclimatization, alien word, borrowing, domesticated word, naturalized word* or also simply *translation*.

In the past we find a considerable number of publications dealing with the question of Turkish influence on the Balkan languages, especially on Bulgarian and Macedonian. It is evident that the Turkish rule, which lasted for centuries on the Balkans, has left deep traces on the culture and languages of the people living there. After the liberation from Turkish rule during 19th century in all non-Turkish languages in this region the number of Turkish words actually used decreased tremendously. Since the end of World War I Turkish words were found in great numbers only in regions with Turkish minorities or in the neighbourhood of a Turkish majority. Turkish expressions permeated the vocabulary in all the towns from the Aegean Sea to the Danube, from the Black Sea to Belgrade and from there to the river Drina. Loanwords concerning trade, tools, measures, coins, metals, textiles, clothing, housing, food, drinks, cooking and so on, were more numerous in Thrace and Macedonia than in other areas where the number of borrowings slowly decreased in the north-western direction of the river Drina. There were obviously four reasons for a stronger Turkish influence:
1. The presence of Turkish military and administrative personnel;
2. The colonization of certain areas of the Balkans by Turkish settlers;
3. The Islamization of parts of the populations;
4. The prestige of Turkish as the official language in the Ottoman Empire.

It has become commonplace by now to say that the Balkan languages show great similarities with respect to Turkisms. It was sometimes largely the same Turkish elements that were borrowed into each language. Some Turkisms

have disappeared, some have become well-anchored and virtually indispensable elements of a given language, others have acquired a pejorative, ironical or even vulgar connotation. But there are also many differences from one language to the other we have to discuss here. Turkisms may be part and parcel of the literary variety of one language, but they may have been considerably lowered on the stylistic status of specific Turkisms in individual Balkan languages, what can be shown by a certain number of examples taken here from the different Balkan languages.

Thede Kahl (University of Jena / Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)
Assessing the sociolinguistic vitality of Meglenoromanian (Meglen Vlach) in Turkey. New field researches

The Meglen Vlachs or Megleno-Romanians are an independent sub-group of the Balkan Vlachs, their language has more in common with Romanian than Aromanian has. Although Meglen Vlachs collectively settled in Central Macedonia at the beginning of the twentieth century, their people disseminated after a phase of rural exodus into Romania and Turkey. Economic aspects were primarily responsible for emigration to Romania, whilst emigration to Turkey occurred as a result of the Greek–Turkish population exchange. The majority of the Meglen Vlachs are Orthodox Christians. During the Ottoman era the Megleno-Romanian population had largely resisted Islamisation. However, there was one exception: the village of Nânti, whose population converted to Islam in the eighteenth century. After our first surveys between 1997 and 2001, we started to compare ethnolinguistic recordings from that time with the situation nowadays. The paper includes new interviews with speakers of the Meglen Vlach, and excerpts of their stories and songs. On the one hand, the decline of the idiom is obvious, on the other, some aspect of oral folklore has been preserved. But the collective memory concerning their Christian past in the Central Macedonian "memleket" where their forefathers came from has changed fundamentally.

Klimova Ksenia (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Philology)
The vocabulary of the Modern Greek folk mythology on the Balkan background: the ethnolinguistic aspect

The focus of the paper will be done with the methods of the Russian School of Ethnolinguistics, e.g. the transfer of linguistic methods to the study of Modern Greek folk culture, with an emphasis on the historical (diachronical) and

genetic aspects of research. The study of verbal, actional and subject codes of the traditional culture of Modern Greece can contribute significantly to the reconstruction of archaic Balkan elements and to the research of their origin.

The centuries-old history of the numerous contacts of Greeks with other peoples of the Balkan and Mediterranean areas had a great influence on the formation of the current folk mythological system, and we can speak about general Balkan mythological types, e.g. Christmas demons (*kallikantzaroi-karakondžula-karakondjul*), or female mythological characters (*nereida-vila-samovila*) etc. The historical conditions of constant contacts of Greeks with the languages and cultures of the southern Slavic area led to the appearance in the Greek system of some new mythological characters, which come from the Slavic tradition. This is the case of the characters *mora* and *smerdak*i and corresponding lexemes (*μόρα, σμερδάκι*), which were adopted by the Greeks from the Slavs. In other cases, only the word was borrowed, for example, rather early in the Greek language came the Slavic lexeme *v'rkolak> βρυκόλακας*, then it became widespread, but some basic characteristics of the Slavic character did not pass in the Greek cultural tradition.

In addition to lexical borrowings in the sphere of mythology, some conceptual motifs (e.g. 'shadow', 'noon', 'Saturday', 'wind') can be found: they are common to the folk culture of Greece and South Slavia. As the research has shown, a commonality of the beliefs and the similarity of the motives for the mythological character's nomination are caused by certain unified general Balkan beliefs about this or that phenomenon, for example, "Saturday" people (*savvatogennimenos, savvatianos, sbotnjak* etc.) with the internal form "Saturday", "vampire, walking dead".

The paper is based on the materials collected during our field work in Greece (1998-2016) and on the data base for the Modern Greek mythological system collected by the author.

Adnana Boioc ("Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics / University of Bucharest, Faculty of Letters)
The Slavic–Balkan Contact: The case of Lipovan Romanian

This article is devoted to the examination of the Romanian variety spoken in the Lipovan community from Dobrudja. I analyse the effects of language contact in the morphological and syntactic domains. The subject is very interesting, especially with respect to the *language contact* (Weinreich 2013, Sala 1977, Windford 2003, Matras 2010, etc.), since Romance, Balkan and Slavic features overlap in this variety.

Cătălina Vătăşescu (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, Bucarest)
Un livre important dans le développement des études concernant l'union linguistique balkanique : Th. Capidan, Limbă şi cultură (Bucarest, 1943)

Il existe plusieurs analyses sur la contribution de Th. Capidan à l'étude de l'histoire du roumain dans le contexte sud-est européen ; il faut mentionner, parmi les plus instructives et récentes, celle de Gr. Brâncuş, *Theodor Capidan şi problemele substratului limbii române* et celle de N.-Ş. Tanaşoca, *Theodor Capidan. Istoria în viziunea unui lingvist*. Nous nous proposons de présenter les idées théoriques et maints aspects de la méthode, ainsi que les résultats acquis par le linguiste roumain dans son livre *Langue et culture* (Bucarest, 1943) à la suite de l'examen linguistique, historique, ethnologique des relations entre les idiomes du Sud-Est européen. Ce livre reste de nos jours une approche particulièrement pertinente du domaine.

   Dans ses recherches Capidan bénéficiait du fait qu'il connaissait à fond lui-même le roumain, l'albanais, le grec, les langues slaves du sud. Locuteur plurilingue de l'espace qu'il étudiait, Capidan avait une vision complète des faits de langue et des circonstances culturelles et historiques qui les avaient forgés. Son livre met en évidence les rapports au long de l'histoire entre les traits caractéristiques d'origine de chaque langue et les faits dus aux contacts et au bilinguisme.

Joachim Matzinger (Balkanforschung der ÖAW, Vienna)
Albanian and Romanian convergence area

As is known, Albanian and Romanian (and its minor varieties) share a lot of similar if not identical features in their grammars like the postponed definite article, one of the classic Balkanisms. Both languages also have a certain stock of lexical items mostly in the field of small animal husbandry: the famous "substrate".

   In our presentation we will highlight the linguistic background of these common features within the context of the Balkan convergence area, a.k.a. Balkan *Sprachbund*. Unwrapping the language history of both Albanian and Romanian we will try to look behind what happened in the time periods before each of these languages was finally written down in the middle of the 16th century. By doing so we will base ourselves on recent literature.

Mihaela-Mariana Morcov (Institute de Linguistique « Iorgu Iordan-Al. Rosetti », Bucarest)
Noms de personnes en albanais et en roumain

Dans le système onomastique roumain et surtout dans le système albanais sont enregistrés plusieurs noms de personnes transparents du point de vue sémantique, sans correspondance – du moins en apparence – en dehors de l'espace balkanique ou du Sud-Est de l'Europe. Sauf le nom de *Bucur* (*Bukur*), (avec le féminin *Bukuria*, attesté en albanais), qui semble être hérité du fond autochtone commun, les autres noms qu'on a identifiés jusqu'à présent représentent des créations expressives indépendantes motivées par la même idée. Le fait qu'ils ne se retrouvent pas dans l'Europe occidentale, par exemple, nous détermine à penser qu'ils reflètent un modèle culturel commun. Notre but est de décrire l'histoire de ces noms, en identifiant leur source commune et l'étape où ils sont apparus.

Mariyana Tsibranska-Kostova (Institute of Bulgarian Language, Sofia)
The Memory of Language: Historicisms and Archaisms in the 14ᵗʰ century Original Works of Patriarch Euthymius

The study is an attempt to draw a classification of the lexemes with foreign origin, mostly Greek and Latin, according to the thirteenth original works of Patriarch Euthymius. Those lexical strata enclose multifunctional and non-homogeneous unities, dispersed in different textual contexts. They are just a nuance, not the base of the vocabulary, but perform important historical, cognitive, and stylistic functions, raising the prestige of the lexical richness, and crediting it with international dimensions in basic conceptual spheres of Christianity. The paper will present the contemporary achievements of the Bulgarian historical lexicology, including the digitized products and relevant tools concerning Patriarch Euthymius' written legacy.

Cristian Moroianu, Ion Giurgea, Monica Vasileanu ("Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest)
The project of a new Etymological Dictionary of Romanian (Dicționarul Etimologic al Limbii Române – DELR)

We will present the new Etymological Dictionary of Romanian, an ongoing project of the "Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy, of which the first three volumes have been issued (2011:

A-B, 2015: Ca-Ci, 2018: Cl-Cy). Compared to previous etymological dictionaries of Romanian, this dictionary differs first of all by the richness of the inventory (all the words registered in the thesaurus dictionary of Romanian and in a number of other reference dictionaries are included), and, starting from the second volume, by the inclusion of the remote etymology of borrowed words. We will present the structure of the dictionary and, in particular, the principles that govern the grouping of various forms under a dictionary entry, as part of a word's family. We will also compare this dictionary to other Balkan and Romance etymological dictionaries (in particular, the Bulgarian etymological dictionary, BER). In order to show the interest of this dictionary for comparative Balkan linguistics, we will illustrate with a few examples how this dictionary treats 'Balkan words' with obscure etymology. Besides informing the Balkan linguistics community on this new research tool for Balkan historical linguistics, we hope that the team of our dictionary will benefit from our foreign colleagues with additional bibliographical information which will improve our future work.

Alexandra Evdokimova (Institute of Linguistics, Moscow)
Cappadocian dialect and the orthographical, morphological and lexical computer description

In this report I would like to present a part of my project "Linguistic and paleographic bases of the Byzantine graffiti". Two linguistic bases were made in the Sil Fieldworks program and in the morphology system of the company ABBYY. The base in the Sil Fieldworks program has a data bank of the graffiti texts in the original orthography, different concordances, a lexicon based on the material from inscriptions, a morphological parser and a syntax presentation system. The base in the ABBYY morphology system includes all the morphological changes and variations caused by the writing peculiarities of the Byzantine inscriptions and the Greek words with all the forms found in the inscriptions. The texts of the inscriptions were taken from the TLG base, from a number of published sources and from the "fields", i.e. found by myself or sent to me by my colleagues from Kiev (Dr Timur Bobrovsky and Ekaterina Chueva).

Iustina Barbu (University of Bucharest)
Economic Aspects of the Jewish Community in Byzantium (10th to 11th centuries)

As the theological discourse becomes more and more a significant part of the imperial authority's policies, the Christian beliefs become therefore the moral guidelines of the Byzantine emperors, and the attitude towards the religious minorities and mainly the Jewish community can be interpreted as ambiguous, thus making their group a special one, tolerated, even protected by the state, but always criticised and marginalized in the eyes of the masses. We can see that even in this period of time the emperors had an ambivalent attitude towards the Jews, trying to maintain the ancient Roman privileges given to them, and at the same time to meet the expectations of a Christian majority enticed by its clerical leaders, who see a sign of weakness and a loss of faith in a tolerant emperor.

As part of the yet unfinished research regarding the statute of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire, and from the desire to treat in more detail some of the particularities of this community as well as the way its members are perceived in society, this paper wishes to approach the obvious encounters between Christians and Jews from an economic point of view, by discussing the main occupations of the Byzantine Jews and more importantly, if these are assigned to them from a stereotypical perspective. We also wish to determine if in fact we can speak about a "Jewish tax" applied to them in the Byzantine Empire. In this context, the aim of this paper is twofold: first, I would like to outline the role of the Jews in the Byzantine economy, establishing the parameters of their involvement in it, as well as their rights and obligations in this sense, and second to highlight the specifics of this community and its interactions with the Christian majority on an economic level.

Emilie Themopoulou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
La communauté juive de Salonique au XIXe siècle : évolution et transformations sociales

Dans notre communication nous étudierons l'évolution de la communauté juive de Salonique tout au long du XIXe siècle et les transformations sociales observées vers la fin du siècle. En examinant les étapes de l'évolution de la

communauté nous insisterons sur les réseaux commerciaux des juifs avec l'arrière-pays et particulièrement l'Europe centrale au début XIXe siècle.

Mădălina Vârtejanu-Joubert (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris)
Les enjeux de l'interprétation juive de la Bible au XIXe siècle roumain à partir de l'œuvre de Malbim

Rabbi Meir Leibush ben Yechiel Michel fut Grand Rabbin de Bucarest entre 1858 et 1864, période formatrice pour la modernité roumaine ainsi que, plus généralement, la modernité juive. Son grand rabbinat, d'orientation orthodoxe, fut marqué par l'opposition du courant « sudet » de la communauté juive, ce qui a finalement entraîné son départ. Auteur d'une œuvre riche et originale d'exégèse biblique, Malbim devint un des commentateurs les plus lus et bénéficiant d'une grande autorité intellectuelle et halachique. En partant de quelques passages nous essaierons de démêler les enjeux de l'interprétation biblique à une époque où modernité, dans l'acception du sociologue israélien Sh. N. Eisenstadt, et tradition se font face.

Ioanna Kotsiavra-Champoud (Paris)
Les Communautés hébraïques en Grèce, l'année 1943

En 1941, 79 000 Juifs vivaient en Grèce dans 31 anciennes Communautés, dont plus de 55 000 furent exterminés jusqu'à la fin de l'occupation. Les chiffres soulèvent un certain nombre de questions, dont la réponse fait référence aux circonstances, aux réalités sociales, économiques, idéologiques, et au contexte politique. L'État grec crée un régime fasciste à l'image de la « Nouvelle Europe » du nazisme, qui semble fasciner toutes les élites dirigeantes (économiques, spirituelles...).

Adolf Eichmann et le commandant militaire de Thessalonique Max Merten, furent immédiatement responsables de l'extermination de milliers de Juifs grecs. Cependant, la mise en œuvre des mesures officielles nazies était liée à la subjugation avec la coopération des autorités politiques locales, à la passivité ou au soutien des concitoyens, aux relations entre les populations, juive, non juive, chrétienne, au rôle des rabbins et des présidents des Conseils Juifs, à l'Eglise orthodoxe, à la Presse, aux mouvements de Résistance. La participation des Juifs à la Résistance – principalement le Front Populaire de Libération (EAM) et la lutte armée antifasciste aux côtés d'ELAS – diffère d'une

ville à l'autre selon le début des déplacements vers les camps de concentration, et la situation géographique.

L'histoire des Communautés hébraïques constitue une mosaïque de cas locaux et d'itinéraires collectifs ou de parcours personnels : déportation et extermination presque complète à Thessalonique, Ioannina et ailleurs, sauvetage total à Zakynthos, taux de sauvetage élevé à Athènes, Volos, évasion en Palestine, fuite dans la Montagne et lutte armée. C'est un rôle de différenciation important, que jouent, d'une part, les identités géographiques, culturelles et sociales des Communautés – sépharades ou romaniotes –, grandes et cosmopolites ou petites et isolées, et, d'autre part, les zones d'occupation et la chronologie des déportations qui en résultent.

L'hommage rendu à la mémoire des victimes de l'Holocauste est un devoir. Mais l'histoire n'est pas seulement la science de la mémoire, écrit l'académicienne Hélène Antoniadis Bibikou. Souvenons-nous de ses mots si réfléchis : « L'histoire est connue non seulement comme la science de la mémoire, mais simultanément et même plus comme (un) créateur de conscience, en particulier, un créateur de conscience de classe [...] L'histoire est *Praxis*. Pendant l'occupation, l'aide active des combattants de la Résistance au peuple Juif révèle un niveau de civilisation politique et la profondeur de leur « Conscience de Classe ».

Raia Zaimova (Institut d'Études balkaniques et Centre de Thracologie, Sofia)
Identités religieuses/nationales à Salonique ottomane

Il s'agit des missions lazaristes en Macédoine au 19e siècle et leurs activités, établissements scolaires etc. à Salonique. Une analyse détaillée des relations interconfessionnelles projettera de la lumière sur la conduite des Bulgares-Unis et des lazaristes venant d'Occident.

Alexander A. Novik (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg State University)
Traditional Costume, Ethnic-Religious Affiliation and Common Memory of Slavic (Macedonian) Muslims of Golloborda in Albania: Adapting and Preserving the Identity

The paper is devoted to the questions of traditional clothes and ethnic affiliation of Slavic (Macedonian) Muslims in conditions of combined ethnical neighborhood. There are around ten settlements with Slavic (Macedonian) population in the Eastern part of the Republic of Albania (Mac. Golo Brdo, Alb.

Golloborda). Five scientific researchers from St. Petersburg: Andrej Sobolev, Alexander Novik, Denis Ermolin, Maria Morozova and Alexandra Dugushina (Institute of Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) and St. Petersburg State University) had organized fieldwork in the villages Trebisht, Klenje, Ostren etc. in 2008-2010. Alexander Novik has continued his fieldwork in Albania with Slavic (Macedonian) Muslim population during 2016-2017. The author puts into academic context a new description of the almost unexplored Macedonian community. The data have been obtained during the fieldworks in Eastern Albania. In conditions of long-term co-existence with other languages and religious denominations, the adapting mechanisms have worked out specific approaches to preserving ethnical identity and traditional culture including production of dresses and handcrafts, perceiving their value and necessity of translating to descendants. One of the aspects investigated in depth was the traditional costume, serving as a very important marker of ethnic and confessional identity. The paper concentrates on the socially most important clothing item, which is a woman's wedding costume. Fieldwork materials include data about identity, language, culture of Macedonian community in different periods of the state of Albania (Ottoman time, Royal Albania, Enver Hoxha monism period, post-communist transition, modern republic). The deposits of the Museum Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg have traditional clothes of Macedonian Muslims from Golo Brdo which are collected during the fieldworks 2008-2010 and 2016-2017.

Floresha Dado (Albanian Academy of Sciences, Tirana)
The Four Concordats Between the State and Religious Communities During the Royal Period in Albania (1928-1939)

This paper will present new evidence on the regulation of the power-trust relationship during the Royal Period in Albania, with reference to the determined reforms on the laicism and the secularization of the political and civic life, of the education and the institutions during the 1930s, as relating to the Albanian erudite intellectual Mirash Ivanaj, then minister of education. The evidence provided by distinguished scholars of the history of the Albanian state such as Berndt Fischer, Giovanni Cimbalo and others, will be enriched by new facts, actually referring to King Zog's four concordats with the four religious communities, which are considered nowadays as a model for regulating power-trust relationship in a multifaceted and heterogeneous society with regards to religious beliefs.

Olimpia Dragouni (Humbolt-Universität, Berlin, Philosophische Fakultät, Institut für Slawistik)
Sharing Sacred Space by Muslims and non-Muslims in Islamic Law and in the Islamic Religious Thought in the Balkans

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Balkan Muslims have become an (ethno-)religious minority not only in terms of numbers, but more importantly, in terms of their functional agency and political power. However, there are still regions in the Balkans (Bosnia-Hercegovina, Sandžak, Kosovo, parts of Macedonia) where they constitute an influential group, or even, local majority. Hence, the inter-balance and dynamics of minority-majority relations are more fluid, and context-dependent (local vs. national vs. wider-regional). It is not to forget as well, that – especially seen in a diachronic perspective – the everyday life of Muslims in the Balkans has always been set in a framework of constant and everyday inter-faith dialogue with non-Muslim majority of local population: Catholic and Orthodox Christians, Jews, (and later,) atheists. The reality of Balkan inter-communal relations includes rarely occurring phenomena such as sharing one sacred space by both Muslims and non-Muslims: churches, mosques, cemeteries, etc. (Bielenin-Lenczowska 2009, Bowman 2012, Hayden 2016). In the context of exclusivist and excluding character of monotheist religions, a shared place of cult is a particularly interesting research object, where majority-minority dynamics seem to be exposed and amplified. The aim of the proposed paper is to show the *site-sharing* from a perspective rarely approached in the scholarship: that of Islamic law and religious thought. The presentation would be based on textual analysis of works of Islamic scholars from the Balkans (i.e. Husein Đozo, Fikret Karčić, Enes Karić in the Bosnian case), and on fieldwork observations conducted in a project *Shared Places of Cult of Muslims and Christians in Macedonia in everyday praxis and as seen by Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh)* conducted between July 2018 and June 2019 at Humboldt University of Berlin.

Aikaterini Markou (Université Démocrite de Thrace, Xanthi)
La minorité musulmane en Thrace grecque et les questions qui l'accompagnent au cours des premières décennies du XXIe siècle

Le statut minoritaire des musulmans vivant dans la Thrace grecque est le produit du traité de Lausanne (1923). Ce texte régulateur a considéré la nature essentielle religieuse de la minorité de Thrace sans distinguer l'identité ethnique de chacun des trois groupes (Turcs, Pomaques, Tsiganes/Roma) qui

la constituent. Depuis que le problème minoritaire est devenu un thème des relations gréco-turques, dans les années 1950, la question de l'identité des trois groupes a permis la manipulation politique de la minorité tant par les acteurs politiques locaux (chrétiens et musulmans) que par les représentants de la politique extérieure des deux pays (Grèce, Turquie). La dernière décennie du XXème siècle se caractérise par la révision de la politique minoritaire en Thrace qui s'accompagnait d'une série d'abolition des lois qui freinaient l'amélioration de la vie des musulmans. Pourtant, l'axe central de cette politique correctrice était le système éducatif minoritaire qui a marqué les travaux scientifiques ainsi que le discours politique durant cette période. La communication proposée a pour objet de faire un court bilan sur les changements apportés par le gouvernement grec dans la décennie de 1990 et leur impact sur la minorité musulmane au cours des années qui ont suivi. On s'interrogera ensuite sur la situation socio-économique des musulmans dans le cadre de la crise économique qui a éclaté en 2010 en se focalisant surtout sur les courants migratoires musulmans vers l'Europe. On va aussi examiner les questions relatives à la religiosité ou bien aux nouvelles religiosités qui s'émergent au sein de la minorité avec référence aux réalités religieuses qui se forment en Turquie. Les données sont basées sur les enquêtes ethnologiques menées au cours des dernières années.

Marius Lazăr (Université ʻʻBabeș-Bolyaiʼʼ, Cluj-Napoca)
Les chiites en Roumanie : les dynamiques identitaires et sociales d'une nouvelle communauté religieuse

Notre présentation se propose de traiter la problématique de la communauté chiite en Roumanie, dans le contexte plus large de la sociologie religieuse et de l'histoire de l'Islam en Roumanie. Très peu connus, les chiites (duodécimains, ismaïliens, alévis, Ahmadiya, alaouites) en Roumanie sont une présence relative récente et ils proviennent des rangs de l'immigration musulmane qui arrive de l'Iran, l'Irak, le Liban, le Pakistan, l'Afghanistan, la Syrie. Mais, très important, il faut ajouter encore les convertis, très actifs et visibles. D'une manière concrète, la recherche suppose une approche interdisciplinaire, pour comprendre la construction de la communauté chiite en Roumanie, tant dans ses aspects sociologiques et religieux que du point de vue de ses relations et connexions avec le reste de l'espace chiite. On va privilégier une recherche directe, à partir d'enquêtes de terrain, de dialogues et d'interviews avec des fidèles et représentants des communautés chiites pour mettre en évidence la structuration ethnique et nationale, les tendances politiques et surtout les

appartenances aux réseaux des différents *maraji* – grands ayatollahs. Un aspect essentiel de la recherche est celui des modalités effectives de l'appropriation de l'identité et de l'ethos chiite par ses adeptes : le respect des normes de culte, la participation aux fêtes et aux commémorations traditionnelles chiites, la disponibilité d'effectuer le pèlerinage à Mecqueet surtout dans les centres chiites (Nadjaf, Karbala, Qom, Machhad), tout particulièrement à l'occasion des grandes commémorations d'*Ashura* ou d'*Arbaïn*, etc. La recherche présuppose aussi l'analyse des positions publiques de la communauté et de ses structures officielles, ainsi que de la littérature du chiisme en Roumanie, dans ses différentes formes (ouvrages, presse, média, internet, etc.).

Stathis Birtachas (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
Politics and religion in the Venetian Maritime State in the beginning of the 17th century: the case of the Greek Orthodox minority of Tinos

The paper examines some aspects of Venice's religious policy in its Maritime State and especially in its Hellenic territories, wherein extensive Greek Orthodox populations lived. The period under study coincides with the adoption of a comprehensive plan by the Post-Tridentine Roman Church in order to increase its influence in the area of the Eastern Church in the Venetian and Ottoman Levant. On the other hand, at the dawn of the 17th century, relations between Venice and the Holy See were marked by the Pope's Interdict against the Republic (1606-7) and the consequent Jesuit expulsion from the Venetian State. As for the place chosen for the study, the island of Tinos, it presents a peculiarity in comparison with all the rest of Venice's Hellenic territories, given the fact that the most extensive Catholic community in proportion to the number of the local population was situated there: more specifically, ¾ of the 18,000 inhabitants (13,500) were Catholics and only ¼ were Orthodox. This fact rendered the exercise of the conventional Venetian policy towards the Greek Orthodox subjects problematic most importantly in the case of Tinos. In fact, the appearance of a Latin bishop on the island during this period, a model of the Catholic Reformation, who tried to exercise his full jurisdiction over the Orthodox flock, provoked long-standing disputes not only between him and the latter, but also between him and the secular local authorities. The paper scrutinizes the point of view of Venice's *in jure* consultant Paolo Sarpi – mastermind at that time of the premature Venetian *jurisdictionalism* – on the issue of the Greek Orthodox minority of Tinos.

Cristina Codarcea (Institut d'Études Sud-Est européennes, Bucarest)
Les communautés catholiques en Albanie au XVIIᵉ et au XVIIIᵉ siècles, entre survie et épanouissement. Stratégies missionnaires dans la réorganisation religieuse des enclaves catholiques dans l'Empire Ottoman

Le XVIIe siècle est essentiel pour la réorganisation des provinces religieuses catholiques dans les Balkans, sous la direction centralisée de la Congrégation De Propaganda Fide, notamment les enclaves conservées au nord de l'Albanie actuelle. A partir des sources conservées dans les archives de Rome, le texte surprend en égale mesure, les modalités de réintégration des enclaves trouvées *in partibus Infidelium*, les ressources humaines et financières impliquées dans ce procès, les transformations et les résistances des communautés censées d'être reformées par l'Eglise catholique.

C'est une période historique dans laquelle la Congrégation cherche à améliorer la condition religieuse, politique et sociale de ses fidèles, mais c'est aussi une période de forte conversion à l'Islam des croyants catholiques et d'augmentation du phénomène connu sous le nom de « crypto-christianisme ». Ce sont des provocations qui obligent la curie romaine de poursuivre une politique souple et ouverte aux compromis au niveau local. C'est une réalité dynamique d'un monde surtout rural et structuré par la coutume, mal encadré du point de vue religieux, très jaloux de ses traditions où la réforme s'avère être un processus de longue durée, qui nécessite souvent des accommodations aux exigences locales.

Elmira Vassileva (Institute of Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
Protestant Bulgarians in Thessaloniki by the end of the 19ᵗʰ and beginning of the 20ᵗʰ centuries

The penetration of Protestantism among the Bulgarians was mainly due to the American missionary activities, which were predominantly performed in the second half of the 19ᵗʰ c. Because the American propaganda among Greeks, Jews and Armenians in the Ottoman European provinces was not very successful, the missionaries discovered the Bulgarians and gradually turned them into a major object of the so-called *European Turkey Mission* of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The missionary achievements among the Bulgarians were not huge but visible, since that by the end of the century they kept several prayer houses in service of the already existing Bulgarian Protestant community. Thus, in 1894, a missionary station was open in Thessaloniki (*Salonica station*), intending to provide pastoral care, education

and charity not only to the Protestant Bulgarians living in the city, but also to those in the neighbouring regions, which were still under the Ottoman rule. The Bulgarian Protestant community was not numerous, but it represented an interesting element of the motley society of Ottoman Thessaloniki, as its members brought in Protestant ideals of honesty and entrepreneurship, with the purpose to use any opportunity to give their compatriots good influence.

Marcoandrea Spinelli (University of Cyprus)
Religious minorities within ethnical minorities: Bunjevci, Rusyns and Vlachs in Serbia

There are ethnic minorities in Serbia who, according to Rogers Brubaker's theory on political fields, lack a proper national identity. Among those minorities, Bunjevci, Rusyns and Vlachs represent the most fitting example for my research aims. Bunjevci live in Vojvodina, near the border with Hungary. They are approximately seventeen thousand; the majority live in Subotica and Sombor, while the rest are scattered among a few villages around Subotica. Since Bunjevci are mainly Roman Catholic, they have to be considered a religious minority at the same time. Pannonian Rusyns amount to nearly seventeen thousand people. Their main centre is Ruski Krstur, a small village in Vojvodina, although a significant percentage of Rusyns can also be found in Brkić Do, Kucura and Đurđevo. Pannonian Rusyns are Greek Catholic, thus being a religious minority of Serbia. Vlachs are the largest of these three groups, amounting to more than thirty-three thousand people, in turn divided into three sub-groups: Tarani, Ungureni and Bufani. They live in the eastern part of Serbia, around the towns of Bor, Negotin, Homolje and Zaječar. They should be part of the Romanian Orthodox church, even though the Serbian Orthodox church is reluctant to accept it. Moreover, some groups of Vlachs are insisting for the creation of a Vlach Orthodox church. Each ethnic group is represented (in Serbia) by its own Parliament (*Nacionalni Savet Nacionalne Manjine*): these Parliaments will be the starting point of my project. I will then conduct my analysis especially through interviews and research in city archives and libraries.

Anna Plotnikova (Institute for Slavic Studies, Moscow)
The specifics of the funeral rites at the Old believers of Dobruja in Romania (ethnolinguistic study)

The religious minority of the Old believers in Romania is also ethnic: the Russian Lipovans live in different confessional, ethnic and foreign-language environment. The ethnolinguistic study, performed in the framework of the Moscow ethnolinguistic school, is based on the language, folklore and ethnography of a certain region, the tradition of the residents of the villages belonging to the religious and ethnic minority in Romanian Dobrogea correspondingly. The study is based on the field materials from the villages of the old believers of Sarichioi, Carcaliu, Slava Cercheza, Slava Rusa, Ghindaresti, Jurilovca, Sulina, Svistofka, Periprava, Doi Mai, Navodari. The funeral rites consistent with the basic ideas of the Old believers'cult, being the most conservative part of the family rites of the Old believers (compared to the childbirth and wedding rituals that are strongly influenced by the neighbouring Romanian tradition). This report will present the key points of the ritual acts, as well as Russian Lexis and phraseology of the Lipovans maintaining this ritual text. In the field of funeral-rites of the Old believers, the archaic features of the folk culture are primarily linked with the transition to the other world, crossing the border between the world of the living and that of the dead. These traits do not fall within the accepted provisions and ceremonies of the Old believers related to the burial of the dead, particularly as regards "alien" objects placed in the coffin to be sent to the other world to the ancestors (unlike the ritual actions to give bread for the living, clothing to the poor, so that the dead were fed and clothed in the after-life, etc.). In this regard, there are numerous oral narratives that describe how family members get information about the need to transfer the desired items to that world (e.g. the deceased appears in a dream and informs about his desire or the hellish pain, expressing the request to save him), and this is analyzed in the report. We study some innovations of the last decades in the funeral rites of the Old believers of Dobrogea in Romania, related to the overall processes of globalization in the modern world (for example, the new design of a grave of an Old believer in the cemetery; the innovations in the dress of the deceased for the provisions in a coffin). The work is supported by the RSF No. 16-18-02080 "Russian language as the basis for the preservation of the identity of Old believers in Central and South-Eastern Europe".

Aleksandra Djurić Milovanović (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Migration of Religious Minority: the Nazarenes from South-Eastern Europe to North America during 20th Century

Different historical and socio-political circumstances often were the cause of migration, especially from Europe to North America. Migration was also triggered by religious persecution of particular religious groups by different political systems, one of them being the Nazarenes. The Nazarenes were founded by a former Reformed minister Samuel Fröhlich around 1830 in Switzerland, but they soon expanded to Central and Eastern Europe. Because of their pacifist beliefs and refusal to swear and to take an oath a large number of the Nazarenes were condemned to severe prison sentences. Defending their religious identity and escaping religious persecution, thousands of Nazarenes started to immigrate especially before the First World War and in the period after the Second World War to North America. In North America, they joined the Apostolic Christian Church (Nazarene), which was the official name of the Nazarene community in the United States and Canada. The Nazarenes were mostly persecuted during the communist era in Southeastern European countries (Romania, Yugoslavia) since they were considered disloyal citizens and a threat to the government. The Nazarene emigration on the other side of the Atlantic in the late 19th and during the entire 20th century was a complex and almost unexplored phenomenon until recently. The material collected for the purposes of this paper came to be the result of empirical research, conducted in Serbia and the United States, on the history of the Nazarene emigration to North America after the Second World War. The geographical focus of my research is the area of Akron and Mansfield (Ohio, U.S.) which received the most Nazarene immigrants from Yugoslavia. Displacement of this neo-Protestant religious minority led almost to their extinction in areas they left. Based on qualitative interviews with community members and archival research (Virginia Historical Society Archives), this paper addresses several questions: what were the migration waves of the Nazarenes, what was the role of the Church World Service in their migration, how did the Nazarenes integrate into the new society, how this religious community transformed in the English- speaking world, what were the differences in religious life comparing to their homeland Nazarene communities.

Luan Starova (Skopje)
La tolérance des Albanais dans l'histoire

L'auteur part de l'idée que dans les Balkans souvent l'identité nationale et l'appartenance confessionnelles sont liées, et le monde albanais en fait exception, partagée entre islam, catholicisme et orthodoxie. Estimant majoritairement transcender les divisions religieuses, les Albanais n'ont pas connu dans le passé et le présent des conflits religieux. La coexistence religieuse est présentée comme un modèle comment pratiquer la tolérance. Un des cas significatifs en est le remarquable soutient quand le peuple albanais s'opposa dans un acte de courage extraordinaire aux ordres des occupants, en refusant de dresser une liste des Juifs vivant parmi eux. Ce rare geste était fondé, sur *le code d'honneur Bessa*, propre aux Albanais, restant vivant de nos jours. Une personne qui agit en accord avec Bessa (*bessa* signifie littéralement, « tenir sa promesse ») tient sa parole, on peut lui confier sa propre vie et celle de sa famille. L'aide n'était pas accordée uniquement aux Juifs, mais aussi aux autres fugitifs en danger de mort, à tous ceux qui frappaient aux portes des Albanais. En dépit des différences religieuses et ethniques, les familles albanaises firent preuve de courage civique, de tolérance et humanité dans une période sombre de l'histoire. L'auteur dans ce travail est à la recherche des raisons de la tolérance des Albanais et ses manifestations dans l'histoire.

Jews in Yugoslavia in the 20th Century
Les Juifs en Yougoslavie au 20e siècle
Convenor: Aleksandra Twardowska

Krinka Vidaković-Petrov (Institute for Literature and Art, Belgrade)
Jewish Identity from Yugoslavia to Post-Yugoslavia

The existence of the state of Yugoslavia (1918-1992) is a key chronotope in the history of the Jews in 20thcentury South-Eastern Europe. The research seeks to identify the most important factors – historical, political, social, religious and cultural – and analyze their dynamic interaction throughout the three distinct periods of Yugoslav history – The Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1918-1941, the disruption of discontinuity in the period of World War Two and the Holocaust 1941-1945, and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1945-1992 – and the beginning of the current period of post-Yugoslavia. Our aim is to study the changes in the self-perception of Yugoslav Jews, the impact of the above-mentioned factors, and the cultural repercussions of these transformations.

Aleksandra Twardowska (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń)
The Role of the Jewish Press in Shaping of Identity of Bosnian Jews in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

The period between the world wars in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is a very interesting period in terms of the quality of Jewish life in Bosnia: the intensive cultural, social and political activity. On the one hand, it meant close contacts with the Gentile community and acculturation within a new state, on the other hand, an interest in general Jewish matters (i.e. the Zionist movement, the cooperation and contacts between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews), as well as in Sephardi matters only. In that kind of complex situation, the issue of the Jewish minority's identity is very absorbing. Moreover, between the two world wars, several Jewish periodicals appeared in Bosnia (*Židovskasvijest* [Jewish Awareness], between 1918-1924 (*Narodnažidowskasvijest* [National Jewish Awareness] – 1924-1927, *Jevrejskiživot* [Jewish Life] – 1924-1927 and *Jevrejskiglas* [Jewish Voice] – 1928-194), with their own policies and images of the Jewish identity. How did they present their ideologies and create the self-awareness of Bosnian Jews? The lecture will show the press discourse elaborating the issue of the local Jewish identity in various levels: the Sephardic identity and its autonomy (influence of the Sephardi Movement, ideology of so-called Sephardi circle), Jewish unity in Bosnia and broadly – in the Kingdom (i.e. the Zionist movement, the cooperation and contacts between

Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews), Jews as the citizens of the Kingdom. It will be an introductory, structured description of attitudes and social, political, cultural choices of the Bosnian Jewish intelligentsia playing leading role in the local Jewish community.

Magdalena Koch (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)
Acculturation or Separateness? Two Identity Formation Models of Jewish Women Authors in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia

In my presentation I will focus on two different models applied by two Jewish authors active in Interwar Yugoslavia: Laura Papo Bohoreta (1891-1942) from Bosnia and Paulina Lebl Albala (1891-1967) from Serbia. Born in the same year, both were very active in the public and cultural life of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941), both were involved in feminist activities but each of them chose a different way to shape her identity. Lebl Albala's choice was assimilation and contributing to Serbian culture, whereas Papo Bohoreta first of all struggled to cultivate Sephardic culture and the Judeo-Spanish language. The paper will consider consequences of the politics of Serbian-Jewish and Bosnian-Jewish cultural relationships.

Katarzyna Taczyńska (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)
Women and War in the Dramas by Đorđe Lebović

Đorđe Lebović (1928–2004) occupies a specific and special position in the (post)Yugoslavian history of literature, dramaturgy and cinematography. His work had a significant impact, primarily on the development of the dramatic genre in Yugoslavia, which became the basic form of the author's works. As Predrag Palavestra points out, the dramatic piece *Nebeskiodred* (*The Heavenly Squad*) from 1956, written in cooperation with Aleksandar Obrenović, is considered a breakthrough or borderline text in modern Serbian drama focused around the problems of dehumanization, existential moral choices, immersed in the helplessness of anti-heroes and their feeling of alienation. Lebović reconstructs in this piece his own experiences from Auschwitz, where he arrived as a fifteen-year-old boy in a transport of Jews from Vojvodina on June 1, 1944. However, from today's perspective he is – as Teofil Pančić observes – a writer somewhat forgotten, and his achievements have not yet become the subject of wider, comprehensive and in-depth reflection. The aim of my paper is to analyse the image of a woman that emerges from Lebovic's dramas as an image opposed to post-war heroic collective memory in Yugoslavia.

The Border in the Balkans: Opening and Closing the Territories
La frontière dans les Balkans : ouverture et fermeture des territoires
Convenor: Guy Burgel

Guy Burgel (Université Paris Nanterre)
Occident-Orient, Orient-Occident. Permanences des itinéraires terrestres et maritimes à travers l'Europe

Du début des années soixante à la fin des années quatre-vingt-dix du XXᵉ siècle, j'ai rallié en voiture, avec ma famille, au moins une fois par an, chaque année l'été, la France à la Grèce. La Suisse et l'Italie du Nord traversées, j'avais le choix, selon les périodes et le temps disponible, entre deux itinéraires : le terrestre, en descendant toute la péninsule balkanique, le maritime, à travers la mer Adriatique. Le second varia d'ailleurs rapidement, en fonction de l'amélioration et de la densification considérables des flux maritimes engendrées par la massification des échanges touristiques et commerciaux : de Brindisi ou Bari, au Sud, dans les Pouilles italiennes, au port d'Igouménitsa, dans l'Epire grecque, on passa rapidement, au bénéfice d'une économie appréciable de conduite, de l'embarquement à Ancône, capitale des Marches, beaucoup plus au Nord, pour Patras, sur la côte occidentale du Péloponnèse, à trois heures de route d'Athènes. Le trajet terrestre était plus long et plus simple, consistant du temps de la Yougoslavie de Tito, à descendre aussi rapidement que possible, les gradations historiques et techniques de ce puzzle politique, de la Slovénie (Ljubljana), à la Croatie (Zagreb), la Serbie (Belgrade), la Macédoine (Skopje), pour enfin atteindre le frontière grecque d'Evzoni, la bien nommée, qui nous semblait toujours la rentrée dans le monde connu.

Je me suis rendu compte assez vite que, ce faisant, nous remettions nos pas, ou plutôt nos roues, dans des itinéraires parcourus par les hommes depuis l'Antiquité ! L'objectif de cette courte recherche est de croiser cette chronique personnelle et la mémoire historique collective, en choisissant quelques moments caractéristiques de ces liaisons entre Occident et Orient : l'unification méditerranéenne et balkanique sous la *pax romana* de l'Empire, les croisades au Moyen Age, à la reconquête de Jérusalem, les intellectuels orientalistes, qui à partir du XVIIIᵉ siècle, redécouvrent la Grèce, les flux de migrants du début du XXIᵉ siècle, qui cherchent à gagner l'Europe occidentale. A travers ces permanences et ces variantes, il s'agira d'éclairer brièvement ce qui tient aux contraintes de la géographie (disposition des grands ensembles maritimes et continentaux, couloirs de circulation des vallées), aux équipements techniques des infrastructures (routes notamment, gites d'étapes), et aux constructions

politiques des pouvoirs (sécurité, guerres et paix), dans lesquelles les frontières, fermées ou perméables, jouent un rôle essentiel.

Andrei Feraru (Ecole Nationale d'Architecture de Paris-Versailles)
Les capitales frontalières en Europe centrale et orientale

L'Europe « centrale et orientale» traverse depuis une dizaine d'années une phase de *rebordering*, de reconstruction de frontières qui avaient plus ou moins disparu ou sont au moins devenues plus poreuses après 1990, à la chute du rideau de Fer (Régis Darques 2016 : *Les Balkans après 1989, une ouverture frontalière en trompe-l'œil. Le cas de Bucarest,* communication AIESEE Sofia). En dépit de la multitude et de la diversité des situations locales on pourrait identifier trois cas de figure.

Le premier est celui des frontières de l'Union Européenne avec des pays tels que la Serbie, la Turquie, l'Ukraine, etc. Le second cas concerne les frontières des Etats européens anciennement des deux côtés du rideau de fer, typiquement Pologne/ Allemagne, Slovénie/ Italie... Le troisième cas enfin concerne les frontières entre les Etats anciennement du bloc de l'Est dont les frontières légales ont été plus ou moins abolies après leur adhésion à l'Union Européenne. C'est le cas des frontières entre la Pologne, la Hongrie, La Roumanie, la Bulgarie etc.

Si, comme réponse aux tensions géopolitiques internationales et à la crise migratoire, il semble sensé que les frontières du pourtour de l'Union Européenne se renforcent, on pouvait en revanche s'attendre à ce que les frontières « internes » s'estompent progressivement jusqu'à leur disparition. Si c'est bien le cas de certaines (Slovaquie/ Autriche et plus particulièrement le secteur Bratislava/ Vienne), ce sont plutôt des exceptions par rapport aux frontières qui ont été conservées voire renforcées. Quelles sont les incidences spatiales, économiques, sociales, culturelles de ce mouvement de « repli sur soi » sur la dynamique des capitales et des autres grandes villes proches des frontières ? C'est la question à laquelle on essaie brièvement de répondre par notre petite enquête.

Régis Darques (CNRS, UMR 5281 ART-Dev, Montpellier)
Transgressions frontalières. Crises et mutations du commerce international grec

Dans les relations internationales contemporaines, l'affaiblissement du paradigme frontalier (*debordering*) est un phénomène largement reconnu et étudié. Le développement exponentiel des échanges de biens et de la mobilité

des personnes au cours des dernières décennies a été présenté simultanément comme le symptôme et l'origine d'une remise en cause de la territorialité des États (-nations). Un monde « ouvert », dé-territorialisé et pour ainsi dire a-topique, aurait succédé à un monde fermé, bloqué dans ses perspectives de développement par des capacités d'intégration limitées.

À maints égards, les Balkans n'ont cessé de déroger au cours des dernières décennies au schéma général ainsi établi, manifestant une défiance paradoxale envers les avancées de l'Histoire. La fragmentation post-communiste yougoslave et la multiplication des barrières douanières avaient déjà démontré le statut particulier de la péninsule au regard des dynamiques internationales. Les Balkans sont apparus comme le contre-exemple par excellence de la mondialisation dé-territorialisée.

L'étude de l'évolution du commerce international de la Grèce sur le temps long (1900-2018) nous permettra de nuancer les modèles globaux en introduisant des éléments de complexité inattendus. Les échanges régionaux de biens ont en effet résisté à toutes les crises, conflits et guerres qui ont émaillé l'histoire des Balkans au XXe siècle. La crise de 2008 a entraîné une réorientation historique des échanges qui n'est pas étrangère à certains développements politiques récents. L'intervention tirera profit d'une vaste base de données statistique qui a permis l'élaboration d'un corpus cartographique. Nous démontrerons que l'« affaiblissement » frontalier s'est accompagné d'une puissante re-territorialisation et réorientation différentielle des flux commerciaux internationaux.

Enika Abazi (Institut de recherche pour la paix, Paris), Albert Doja (Université de Lille)
Récits de guerres balkaniques dans l'industrie médiatique et les politiques internationales

Le but de cette communication est de révéler une politique d'information sur les guerres balkaniques depuis les années 1912-1913 aux années 1990. Dès l'aube de l'ère des médias aux opinions plus récentes sur le modèle d'information pour la fabrication publique du consentement, les commentateurs ont souligné la manière dont les médias peuvent être manipulés pour créer un soutien à la fois pour les régimes génocidaires et pour les politiques étrangères discutables. Cependant, notre analyse va au-delà des discours dominants et se concentre sur la construction sociale d'un savoir objectif et la distorsion hégémonique des représentations internationales. Nous soutenons que la relation complexe entre les médias et les conflits violents peut

conduire à une certaine construction de représentations internationales hégémoniques. En problématisant différents récits de guerres dans les Balkans qui exagèrent les faits au moyen de discours anachroniques, nous visons à montrer comment les croyances collectivement portées par les acteurs de la société internationale sont construites en tant que manifestations médiatiques et représentations publiques. Nous soutenons en outre que certains types de savoirs sur les guerres balkaniques avaient une influence déterminante à la fois sur l'issue des conflits en ex-Yougoslavie et sur les représentations internationales de l'Europe du Sud-Est. En s'inspirant de certains thèmes et de certaines images, les événements médiatiques sont conçus comme des actions collectives qui traduisent de manière cyclique un sentiment d'identité collective, d'appartenance partagée et de croyances morales. Les récits et informations de guerre célèbrent périodiquement la solidarité de chacun avec des personnes vulnérables en relatant leur souffrance dans les médias, de même qu'on se distancie par rapport à l'autre violent en interprétant les faits relatés. Des liens sont ainsi rétablis entre des individus par ailleurs isolés et des groupes fragmentés de personnes brièvement intégrées à une communauté internationale imaginée. En particulier dans le cas des guerres dans les Balkans, nous devrions examiner comment et pourquoi les récits et informations se sont développées pour devenir des événements médiatiques à part entière. La distinction entre imaginaire et savoir est importante pour comprendre la distorsion des représentations, car elle pourrait révéler en dernier ressort une puissance douce contribuant à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle doctrine de la communauté internationale, transformant les acteurs internationaux en spectateurs ironiques de la guerre des autres.

Stoyan Nikov (Université de Lille)
Les passages quotidiens des frontières symboliques ethniques, nationales et européennes. Le cas de la ville multiethnique d'Elena

La problématique de cette recherche a pour finalité de découvrir une série d'indicateurs aptes à expliquer les situations où l'appartenance européenne est préférée – et légitimée comme telle – à des appartenances ethniques ou nationales, et vice versa. Le terrain empirique se trouve dans la ville bulgare d'Elena, composée de trois groupes ethniques : de citoyens bulgares et européens à auto-conscience turque, rom oubulgare.

Pour éclaircir le situationnisme de ces identifications au niveau local, nous allons d'abord recenser les indicateurs de la « bulgarité », de la « turcité », de la « romité » et de l'« européanité » dans l'imaginaire national bulgare depuis

la fin du XIXᵉ siècle. Nous allons ainsi passer en revue les « textes » de deux formes de dominations symboliques véhiculées via la stéréotypisation culturelle : d'une part, la variante bulgare du discours de l'*orientalisme* (Said 2005), qui refuse aux Turcs et aux Roms l'accès à l'« européanité » et à la « bulgarité » culturellement légitimée ; d'autre part, le discours du *balkanisme* (Todorova, 2009), ou la domination symbolique « occidentale » refusant aux Balkaniques l'accès à l'« européanité » légitime. Nous nous pencherons ensuite sur les emplois qui en sont faits à Elena, afin de questionner les passages quotidiens des frontières ethniques, nationales et européennes, et recenser les situations et les variables qui élargissent ou restreignent les choix pratiques des acteurs ethnicisés en la matière.

De plus, en mobilisant le débat entre J. C. Scott et P. Bourdieu quant à la domination symbolique et la résistance, nous ferons cristalliser les formes de « résistance cachée » (Scott 1990) des habitants de la ville – en particulier des Roms et des Turcs – et la place des « jonglages » identitaires dans le « texte » de cette résistance.

Exit from the Great War: South-East European Societies
from 1918 to 1923 / Sortir de la Grande Guerre : les sociétés sud-est
européennes de 1918 à 1923
Convenors: Florin Țurcanu, Vojislav Pavlović, Daniel Vatchkov

Claudiu-Lucian Topor („Al.I. Cuza" University of Iasi, Faculty of History)
Repudiated biographies and controversial "stories": Romanian
"collaborationists" and "traitors" at the end of the war (1918)

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 homogenous 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. The paper we propose 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.

Daniel Cain (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest)
Citizenship, ethnicity and political rights in Greater Romania. The Dobruja case (1919)

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 Dobruja 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.

Florin Țurcanu (Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes / Université de Bucarest)
Expérience du rapatriement et témoignage sur la captivité : la sortie de guerre des prisonniers roumains en Bulgarie (1918-1919)

L'expérience de la captivité des militaires roumains dans les camps de prisonniers de Bulgarie pendant la Grande Guerre a profondément marqué aussi bien les prisonniers eux-mêmes que l'opinion publique roumaine. Elle a laissé de nombreuses traces dans les archives militaires roumaines mais aussi dans les textes à caractère mémoriel, la littérature et l'art d'après-guerre. Une expérience collective et individuelle traumatisante qui accroît le sentiment de la défaite, accentue les préjugés ethniques et nourrit, chez certains, le besoin de témoigner. Pour ces prisonniers, capturés dans leur immense majorité à l'automne 1916, l'expérience de la guerre a coïncidé surtout avec celle de la captivité et leur sortie de guerre est assimilable à la sortie de la captivité. Leur retour en Roumanie les place dans un rapport inédit aussi bien avec l'institution militaire qu'avec l'opinion en venant compléter l'image de ce qu'est l'expérience de la guerre. L'armée roumaine qui les a accueillis lors de ce retour devient le réceptacle principal des témoignages de ces anciens prisonniers en permettant une véritable libération de la parole notamment dans les rangs des officiers.

Irina Achim (Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan », Bucarest)
L'archéologie roumaine à l'épreuve de l'histoire : le cas de Dobroudja pendant et après la Grande Guerre

Depuis l'automne de 1916, quand la Roumanie rejoint le camp de l'Entente dans la Grande Guerre et devient l'un des pays combattant dans ce conflit, le territoire de la Dobroudja, redessiné à la fin de la seconde guerre balkanique, se trouve sous occupation bulgare-allemande. Durant toute la période de l'occupation, un inestimable patrimoine archéologique, réparti sur plusieurs sites (à savoir Tomis, Istros, Tropaeum Traiani, Ulmetum, Callatis), se trouve ainsi entre les mains de troupes ennemies.

Cette contribution se propose de présenter, en s'appuyant sur des documents provenant des archives du Musée National d'Antiquités (précurseur de l'Institut d'Archéologie « Vasile Pârvan » de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest) la situation des sites archéologiques énumérés plus haut et la destinée ultérieure des collections d'antiquités qui ont fait l'objet des pillages de la part des troupes bulgares-allemandes. La documentation s'appuie également sur la

mémorialistique de l'époque, domaine où les témoignages du Monseigneur R. Netzhammer, archevêque catholique à Bucarest, infatigable voyageur partout en Dobroudja nouvelle et insatiable admirateur de ses antiquités classiques, offrent des informations précieuses sur les fouilles non autorisées entreprises par l'armée d'occupation à différents endroits, jusqu'en 1918. Enfin, la présentation va prendre en discussion les efforts entrepris par Vasile Pârvan, entre 1918 et 1923, pour la récupération des antiquités de Dobroudja pillées et transportées au-delà des frontières roumaines.

Daniel Vatchkov (Institut d'Études historiques, Sofia)
Les idées paneuropéennes dans la société bulgare durant la période entre les deux guerres dans le contexte du statu quo de Versailles

Juste après la fin de la Première guerre mondiale, en novembre 1918 est fondée à Sofia une organisation nommée « Pax per foederationem ». Elle réunit un grand nombre d'intellectuels bulgares – des professeurs de l'Université, des financiers, journalistes, avocats, hommes politiques. L'organisation déclare qu'elle va propager l'idée de la formation d'une grande fédération d'Etats en Europe qui assurera la paix internationale. Mais les Traités de paix signés à Paris en 1919 et 1920 instaurent des frontières, considérées par la société bulgare comme totalement injustes. Les membres de l'organisation « Pax per foederationem » déçus du statu quo de Versailles arrêtent leur activité publique. Les efforts des gouvernements bulgares de l'entre-deux-guerres se concentrent sur la révision par des moyens pacifiques des clauses territoriales du Traité de Neuilly sur Seine. C'est dans cette perspective que l'on doit comprendre la réception en Bulgarie des idées paneuropéennes lancées par Coudenhove-Kalergi ou le Plan Briand sur les Etats Unis d'Europe annoncé en octobre 1929. La société bulgare accepte les projets de la construction d'une Union européenne, mais demande que cela se réalise après un changement juste des frontières et après l'instauration d'un système effectif de la protection des minorités en Europe. Pour la plus grande partie de la société bulgare la situation politique créée après la Grande guerre ne permet pas de construire une fédération européenne fondée sur une base stable.

Moritz A. Sorg (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Historisches Seminar, Lehrstuhl für Neuere und Neueste Geschichte Westeuropas)
Remains of an old order? Monarchy, Internationality and the Legacies of the First World War

The First World War brought a fundamental change to modern monarchies. Not only did the fall of the great continental empires and the rise of new nation-states transform the political system of the European continent from a mainly monarchic to a republican order; the events of the war also modified the role and the perception of the remaining European monarchies. The transnational self-understanding of monarchy in the pre-war era had been increasingly problematized during the war. Between 1914 and 1918, the foreign birth or origin of kings and queens had led to various suspicions and accusations and forced the European royalty to re-define its relationship to the nation and find new compelling languages of legitimacy. In Romania, the German-born king Ferdinand of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen had proved his loyalty to his 'adopted' country by leading Romania into war against the Central Powers in 1916. However, before this, Ferdinand had faced massive nationalist attacks, accusing him of being a German. The proposed paper aims to explore the legacies of these wartime experiences by analysing problems, representations and self-conceptions of the Romanian monarchy in the years after the war. The paper focuses on the complex of nationality, transnationality and foreignness in this period and tries to draw comparative lines to other cases of South-Eastern and European monarchy. Thereby, the analysis will question notions of a nationalisation of monarchy and provide new aspects on its survival and function in post-1918 Europe.

Victor Rizescu (University of Bucharest)
Departures of Syndical Politics and Legacies of Guild Organization: Intermingling Venues of Social Policy in Romania after the Great War

Alongside the strengthening of worker trade-unionism enlisted by the politics of the Left and relying on the conception of syndical activism as an instrument for the advancement of overall socialist goals—developments set in connection with the wave of revolutionary politics raised by the Russian revolution and having as turning-points the aborted general strike of October 1920 and the separation of communism from the body of social-democracy, in May 1921—, the period following the First World War was marked, in Romania, by the legislative entrenchment of the liberal vision of professional representation.

Promoted by the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization, this one was patterned on French paradigmatic legal documents adopted in 1884 and 1901, being laid down in the 1921 law for the creation of professional syndicates (whose provisions were later to receive qualifications through the law for the creation of legal persons, of 1924). Meant at upholding the principle of syndical freedom against the tendencies of politicization in the field, the legislative structure of which the act mentioned was a part—comprising the very establishment of the Ministry of Labor and Social Care in March 1920 and the adoption of a law for the administration of labor conflicts, in September of the same year—was issued within the fold of a larger vision, underscored by the 1923 constitutional safeguards regarding the principle of state intervention in the sphere of the relations between capital and labor—inscribed in article 21—and manifested through unfulfilled attempts at the adoption of unified labor codes, in 1924 and 1925. The liberal and the socialist departures of syndical politics were confronted, however, with the legacy of guild organization, surviving the official abolition of the traditional bodies of professional representation in 1873 in order to be successively reinforced by the law for the organization of professions of 1902 and by the one for the organization of professions, credit and social insurance of 1912 (both of them relying on the model of semi-mandatory institutions of a corporative nature taking inspiration from Central European arrangements of the sort). Accordingly, the period stretching to 1933 witnessed the coexistence of organizations functioning in the framework of the 1921 law of syndicates— itself subjected to the socialist critique—and of others staying in continuation to the 1912 law of guilds and corporations (eventually acting as a springboard of the modern corporatist advocacy with a clear right-wing orientation). The predicament was further compounded by the prevalence of legislative and institutional disparities in the relevant domain among the various provinces of Greater Romania, with specific structures exhibiting a semi-corporatist character maintained in Transylvania and Bukovina, and with vacillating strategies of legal homogenization—combining the syndical and the corporatist traditions—pursued by Romanian governments in Bessarabia. The paper is intended to describe the intermingling of the competing conceptions of professional representation in correlation with the process of the shaping of social policies.

Valentin Kitanov (South-West University "Neofit Rilski", Blagoevgrad)
Tobacco, legislation, politics in Bulgaria after the First World War

After the First World War, the Kingdom of Bulgaria is in a radically changed international, political and social situation. There are serious changes in the political orientation and the economic characteristics of society. The tobacco is very important for the economy. The development of the tobacco industry marks the most successful period in the history of the country until the Second World War. This is due to the favorable situation in the Balkans related to the conflict between Greece and Turkey when Bulgaria emerges as the most secure producer of oriental tobacco and a preferred trading partner. Domestic consumption also grows sharply. Demand on the international markets of Bulgarian tobacco reaches high levels. Tobacco production and trade in tobacco products is becoming a major item of the national budget. A significant part of the productive population is involved in the tobacco industry. This affects the legislative and social policy of the official authorities.

Silvana Rachieru (University of Bucharest, Faculty of History)
From Imperial Residence to a Republican City: Constantinople and its Cosmopolitan Society after the Great War

End of the First World War found Southeastern European societies in different phases. Among other important consequences, the war had an unpredicted impact on the status of women who, during the years of conflagration, became active economic members of the society – working in industries to replace men, enrolled as nurses in military hospitals and main providers of the family. The impact of the war was without any doubt perceived at different levels of the societies and it was, at the same time, a multicultural reality. No exception from this image was to be found in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, as one memoir emphasizes: "1919. The war was over, and the town was crowded with the commanders of the Allied Forces and officers in their dull khaki uniforms (…) my family was again on its own feet and Mother was the bread provider in the house" (Irfan Orga, *Portretul unei familii turceşti. O poveste din Istanbulul de altă dată,* Iaşi, 2014, p. 271-272). From the social point of view, the imperial capital faced a deep transformation in the following years: among the historical ethnic and religious communities (Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Levantines, etc.) new comers became a vivid presence in the town, from the White Russians to the above mentioned foreign militaries, which provided a different dynamic to the city. More, the loss of the role of the capital

after November 1923 and the diminution for several months to that of a religious centre for the new republic changed the historical path of city. This image of transition from the imperial capital to a Republican city is the main topic of the presentation. Different sources, from diplomatic reports to memoirs, visual materials and press articles will be used in order to better portrait these years of transition in the history of an old imperial town. Special attention will be given to the observations left by different Romanian witnesses as well.

Dobrinka Parusheva (University of Plovdiv / Institute of Balkan Studies, Sofia)
In the Mirror of the Satire: The End of the WW I in caricatures

This paper will seek to present the way in which Bulgarian caricaturists presented the end and the outcomes of the WW I in their work. The image of the Other is in the focus of attention, and by 'Other' the author implies the neighboring people. The question is asked if the war and its results matter and to what extent, and an analysis is offered of the shift in attitudes which is observed as changes have become visible in the political context.

Roumiana L. Stantcheva (Université « St. Kliment Ohridski », Sofia)
Le sentiment religieux et le scepticisme dans le roman sud-est européen des années d'après-guerre

La communication analyse deux romans sud-est européens, *Sans route* [*Без път*, 1919] de l'écrivain bulgare Anton Strachimirov (1872-1937) et *La forêt des pendus* [*Pădurea spânzuraților*, 1922] de l'écrivain roumain Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944). Chacun des deux auteurs cherche une voie à montrer la déroute des intellectuels pendant et après la Grande guerre. C'est une époque où le sentiment religieux commence à être de plus en plus mis en doute. Dans chacun des deux romans les personnages montrent les hésitations de personnalités éduquées, intellectuelles devant l'ébranlement des valeurs humaines dans les conditions de pression pendant la guerre et les années d'après-guerre. Notre lecture va chercher la présence du symbolisme biblique, du sentiment religieux ou du scepticisme. Avec les ressources de la sociologie littéraire, nous allons nous rapprocher de l'image littéraire des deux sociétés du Sud-Est européen.

Christina Vamvouri (State School Advisor for the region of Drama), **Vassilis Messis** (Teacher of the Greek language and History to the Secondary Education)
The influence of the crisis of values during the years 1918-1923 to the poetic language of the Mid-War Greek generation

Among the consequences of the Great War for Europe were the millions of victims and the serious crisis of values for the citizens, with the main features of the refusal of traditional ideology and the dispute of the social status quo.

The end of the Great War meant for Greece the end of a long decade that had started with the two Balkan Wars and the annexation of the "New Countries" to the Greek territory and it continued with the "National Division", the participation of the country in the Great War.

That decade ended with the start of the Minor Asia expedition that led after the Treaty of Sevres and the festivities for the formation of Greece of the "five Seas and the Two Continents", to the catastrophe of 1922 and the influx and settlement of hundreds of millions of refugees from Asia Minor and the Black Sea in a country that had already been exhausted by the war and political conflicts.

Our research will focus on how and to what extent the dramatic national and international political and social developments in the years of 1918-1923 influenced the poetic language and writing of the Mid-War Greek generation, which virtually reflected the feelings, the worries and the expectations of the Greek people.

Maria Zoubouli (Université de Ioannina)
Un peintre à la guerre : Paolo Rodocanachi entre 1918 et 1923

Le peintre Paolo Rodocanachi, descendant d'une riche famille de commerçants grecs de Chio, naît et meurt dans la région de Genova en Italie, mais s'engage par deux fois dans l'armée grecque. En 1916, il se trouve dans l'Est de la Macédoine grecque, alors en conflit avec la Bulgarie, sur fond de crise politique qui conduit au Schisme national, la rupture définitive entre les partisans du roi Constantin Ier et ceux du Premier ministre E. Venizélos. Rodocanachi est engagé au IVe Corps de l'Armée, qui s'implique dans un imbroglio politique et militaire qui se résout par un paradoxe ; la "déportation" de quelque 7000 hommes en Allemagne, dans un camp abrité par la petite ville de Görlitz. Là, le bâtiment de la Mairie accueille la première exposition personnelle du peintre, en 1918. Quand cette captivité inédite prend fin en 1919, Paolo Rodocanachi

retourne en Italie, mais en 1922 il est mobilisé de nouveau pour une mission de peintre aux armées grecques, cette fois en Asie Mineure. Ses dessins se perdent dans la "Grande catastrophe" qui s'ensuit.

Après ces deux aventures peu héroïques mais fort exceptionnelles, Rodocanachi se retire en Italie jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, se consacrant essentiellement à la peinture de paysages, avec une attitude naturaliste et lyrique, qui tourne le dos aux avant-gardes modernistes.

En retraçant le destin exceptionnel de ce personnage original, nous nous proposons de conjuguer son esthétique à ses engagements patriotiques et aux enjeux politiques et idéologiques de son temps.

Georges Kokkonis (Université de Ioannina)
Musique populaire et nationalisme à Smyrne à la veille du désastre

Après la Première Guerre Mondiale et jusqu'à sa destruction (1918-1922), dans la ville de Smyrne, qui est le théâtre d'un essor exceptionnel des musiques populaires de tout genre, apparaît un répertoire particulier. Il s'agit de chansons de langue grecque et de contenu patriotique, qui exalte les protagonistes politiques du camp grec, et promeut l'intégration de Smyrne dans l'état néohellénique. Ils sont les témoins de l'enthousiasme généré par le traité de Sèvres, qui avait été conclu le 10 août 1920.

Notre communication propose une présentation et une analyse de l'esthétique de ce répertoire, tel qu'il nous est parvenu dans les enregistrements de disques de 78 tours. Nous recensons à ce jour deux dizaines de morceaux, qui sont interprétés essentiellement par des « estudiantines », i.e. un type d'orchestre qui se compose de mandolines, guitares et voix masculines et qui apparaît à la fin du XIXe siècle connaissant aussitôt une diffusion internationale.

Les estudiantines smyrniotes ont la particularité de faire preuve d'une européanisation musicale, en même temps que d'une allure orientale. Elles sont la voix des couches sociales supérieures, imprégnées de cosmopolitisme qui les pousse à aligner leurs mœurs aux tendances en vogue dans les grands centres urbains de l'Europe. Mais elles cultivent aussi sans complexe l'accent local et le goût élevé de musiciens de talent, qui sont à l'aise dans la fusion des styles. Elles sont très populaires, ce qui explique le fait qu'elles deviennent le vaisseau de ce courant succinct de nationalisme musical, dont la musicologie révèle le schème de tous les élans, mais aussi de toutes les contradictions du moment historique.

The Balkans in the Age of New Imperialism and Beyond
Les Balkans dans l'Âge du nouvel impérialisme et au-delà
Convenor: Vojislav Pavlović

Konstantin Dragaš (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Mazzini between national democracies, imperialism and anti-imperialism: a review of contradictory interpretations of Giuseppe Mazzini's political thought and question of Balkans

The paper deals with the contradictory interpretation and different understandings related to Mazzini's views on the mission of Italy in assisting the national liberation of other nations, especially Balkan ones. It also raises the question of the extent to which Mazzini's thinking was originally anti-imperial, and to what extent they were perceived with "Messianism" and "leadership role of Italy", and how this reflected on the Balkans issue in his writings and later politics of Italy until 1914. The goal is to widen the answers to the question why it was a potential source from which the theoreticians of imperialism extracted their political convictions.

Slobodan G. Markovich (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science)
The Discourse of Balkanism in Britain, in the Age of Imperialism (1870-1918)

The paper first attempts to sketch what the auto-image of Britain in the analysed period was, and then outlines British perceptions of the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire and Austria-Hungary in the same period in order to understand the wider context in which images of particular Balkan Christian states developed in Britain.

The main body of the paper deals with British views of Balkan Christian countries (Greece, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria) in the period from 1870 till 1918. It endeavours to answer the question to which degree the set of binaries that was developed about these countries in the period corresponded to the usual definition of Balkanism as border discourse. British perceptions are analysed in three ways: 1. through press with particular emphasis on *The Times* and *The Punch*, 2. through British travelogues of that age, and 3. through the debates in British Parliament.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are employed. Quantitative methods are used to identify what events and persons got the highest possible coverage in Britain and produced particular emotional reactions of Victorians and Edwardians. Qualitative methods are used to clarify what narratives were

employed in outlining binaries separating Balkan Christian States from how Victorians understood "us", but also which narratives led to the gradual and partial acceptance of Balkan Christian States within a loosely defined "us".

In the conclusion, Balkanism is analysed within an overall picture that the centre of the British Empire produced about various states and cultures. An attempt has been made to identify where Balkanism of that age was in terms of British definitions of the familiar and close and of the alien and "other".

Anja Nikolic (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Austro-Hungarian Cultural "Imperialism" in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Case of Kosta Hörmann and Provincial Museum

This work aims to illustrate Austro-Hungarian cultural imperialism in Bosnia and Herzegovina by analysing work of Kosta Hörmann in Provincial Museum (Landes museum für Bosnien und die Herzegovina). Hörmann was an important part of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 1886 when he became an official advisor to the Ministry of Finance, that had controlled Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was an integral part of Austro-Hungarian cultural politics in occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hörmann had significant role in formation of the Provincial Museum and in 1888 became its first director. He was close associate of Benjamin von Kállay, Austro-Hungarian minister of finance and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hörmann was also appointed as editor of the *Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina* and was a co-editor of literary magazine *Nada*. Both periodicals, during Kállay period, had a role in formation of Bosnian nation. Kállay's death changed little for Hörmann who continued to work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was focused on cultural integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Austria-Hungary. Even though he officially retired in 1907, he remained on his position in Provincial Museum until the end of Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1918.

Dušan Fundić (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Austro-Hungarian Imperial Project in Albania and its Rivals (1912-1914)

The aim of the presentation is to point out the most important aspects of the Austro-Hungarian imperial project in Albania during the first years of its independence. Since the mid-1890s the Double Monarchy has made extensive efforts to secure the conditions for the emergence of an Albanian state, whether autonomous or independent, simultaneously imagined as its protectorate.

After the independence in November 1912, during the Balkan Wars, Austria-Hungary faced several rivals in struggle to exercise its own control over the new state. In this endeavour, the most important adversary was the Monarchy's official ally, Kingdom of Italy but also the Albanian neighbouring countries: Montenegro, Serbia and Greece. Furthermore, the presentation will point out the most important milestones of this conflict that had important consequences for the Great Power System in Europe as well as for the precarious balance of power in the Southeastern Europe.

Dragan Bakić (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
"Less of Two Evils": Milan Stojadinović, Albania and Yugoslav-Italian Relations, 1935-1939

Much of hostility in Yugoslav-Italian relations in interwar period is centred on the precarious independence of Albania. After mid-1920s Albanian president and then king Ahmed-Zogu turned that country into a virtual protectorate of Italy. Such situation presented grave dangers to Yugoslav policy-makers: it not only accentuated the Albanian irredentism given a large number of Albanians who populated Kosovo and western Macedonia, but also entrenched Italian presence in the Balkans and exposed Yugoslavia to strategic encirclement. This paper seeks to scrutinize the policy of Milan Stojadinović, Yugoslav premier and foreign minister (1935-1939) towards the Albanian problem in the context of relations with Italy. Stojadinović pursued the policy of appeasement towards Rome and, in order to facilitate it, restrained from subversive activities against the Zogu regime, unlike previous Yugoslav governments. With the conclusion of the Italo-Yugoslav pact of friendship in March 1937, he managed to have Italy agree to refrain from seeking special economic and political position in Albania. This obligation, and cordial relations with Rome in general, served to uphold the Albanian independence and keep in check Albanian irredentism. Stojadinović's policy was effective despite the doubts and warnings that emanated from the office of a military attaché in Tirana. But the situation changed when Mussolini and Ciano decided to proceed with the annexation of Albania; they intended to secure Yugoslavia's approval and were willing to partition the country with Belgrade. The Yugoslav government thus faced a difficult dilemma during Ciano's visit in January 1939: it wanted neither partition of Albania nor spoiling of relations with Italy. Prince Paul, Regent of Yugoslavia, suspected Stojadinović of making his own deals with Ciano and this certainly played a part in the premier's downfall. The paper examines to what

extent the Albanian affair was responsible for Regent's decision and the consequences that followed.

Rastko Lompar (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Drangnach (Süd-)Osten: Reassessing the German Efforts to Establish a Foothold in Yugoslavia 1935-1941.

After the National socialists seized power in 1933, the foreign policy of Germany took a sharp expansionist turn. Although the prime foreign political goals lay in the neighbouring lands, Germany was by no means disinterested in South East Europe. After the murder of King Alexander and Milan Stojadinović's ascend to power in 1935 Yugoslavia adopted a foreign political orientation more favourable to the Axis. In addition to fostering bilateral relations, Germany attempted to penetrate all levels of Yugoslav society (military, government, church). In communist historiography the scope of German infiltration in Yugoslavia was over-emphasized and portrayed as complete. Almost all enemies of the communists during the Civil war were portrayed as German agents from the interwar period. The aim of this paper is to reassess, based on German and Yugoslav documents, how far reaching this infiltration really was. It will be an attempt at reconstructing the German intelligence apparatus in Yugoslavia as well as the scope of the pro-German sentiments amongst the populace.

Boris Milosavljević (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
Balkan "Propaganda Wars". Participant and Interpreter: Historian Slobodan Jovanović

Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958) was a renowned Serbian scholar and statesman, political philosopher, lawyer, historian, literary critic and writer, professor of public and constitutional law. He was president of the Royal Serbian Academy, rector of Belgrade University, dean of The Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade, and president of the Serbian Cultural Club, a leading Serbian political and cultural organization in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the eve of the Second World War. He died in 1958 in London, where he had served as prime minister of the Yugoslav government-in-exile during the Second World War. Slobodan Jovanović was the son of Vladimir Jovanović (1833–1922), minister of finance, senator, the leading ideologist of Serbia's Liberal, Party and of the United Serbian Youth, a patriotic youth organization, inspired

by similar European organizations of the time such as, for example, Giuseppe Mazzini's Young Italy.

Both Vladimir and Slobodan Jovanović were highly critical of the "Bismarckian" type of imperialist nationalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Vladimir Jovanović put forth a caveat against imperialism in his The Near-Eastern Problem and the Pan-German Peril (London 1909), especially in the chapter "The 'Drangnach Osten', or the Pan-German Peril". Having received a law degree from the University of Geneva, Slobodan Jovanović continued his studies in Paris, at the prestigious École libre des sciences politiques, today popularly known as "Science Po". His early carrier was in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Kingdom of Serbia (1892–1897). At that time, Balkan states were involved in ruthless propaganda war among themselves. Jovanović was appointed attaché to the Serbian Legation at Constantinople (1893) and, in 1894, promoted to the Chief of the Educational Section of the Political division of the Ministry, the so called "Propaganda" (1894–1897). Propaganda was a division similar to Eastern departments in other foreign ministries. In July 1894, Jovanović visited Serbian Consulate in the Ottoman Empire and delivered a confidential report to the foreign minister. In government lead by Stojan Novaković (1842–1915), prominent Serbian scholar and statesmen, the leading expert on Macedonian Question, Jovanović was his secretary (1895–1896). Both, Novaković and Jovanović, were participants of historic events, and later history writers. Having personal experience, knowledge of documents, and broader insight into the issues, Slobodan Jovanović, as a historian deals with issues he personally witnessed or participated in. His historiographical work on Balkan issues before the Balkan wars and World War I, are of the greatest importance for understanding the policies of the Balkan states and Great powers while dealing with the "Macedonian question" as a part of "Eastern question".

Vojislav Pavlović (Institute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade)
US decisive influence on the issue of the Second World War in the Balkans

The Roosevelt administration gradually, from December 1941 onwards, took over from the British the overall conduct of the war. The economic and human potential of the US enabled the Roosevelt administration to impose its views on the strategic issues, such as the Second front in Europe or the post-war reorganisation of the Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Whereas the Churchill's government involvement in the affairs of the Balkans and especially in Yugoslavia and Greece gave the impression of its decisive influence, US strategic

decision making more than limited the impact and the importance of Britain's diplomatic initiatives. In the summer of 1943, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff decided that there will be no other landings in Europe but the one in Normandy, making thus obsolete the British Mediterranean strategy. The Teheran Conference only confirmed the strategic choice of the US military command, leaving Churchill to wage the diplomatic battle for the Balkans without means to oppose the advance of the Soviet Army and the series of the communist led revolution it instigated. The US diplomacy, behind the scene, focused on preventing the crispation of the relations between the members of the Allied alliance on the issue of the Balkans.

*Empires' Legacy in the Balkans: Romania and Bulgaria
in the XX**th Century / L'héritage des empires dans les Balkans:
Roumanie et Bulgarie au XX**e siècle*
Convenors: Alexandre Kostov, Cristina Diac

Dobrinka Parusheva (University of Plovdiv/ Institute for Balkan Studies &
Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
*From Imperial to National Elite. Dynamics of the Romanian and Bulgarian
Political Elite in the Late Nineteenth Century*

The disintegration of each empire leaves its inheritor states with social and
economic structures, institutions, elites and political culture of certain type.
Except in cases when the empire ceases to exist as a result of a revolution, most
of its social structure and dynamics reproduce in the post-imperial context.
Hence the analysis of the relation of the new-emerging national political elites
to the resources inherited from the empire and the use of experience gathered
during the imperial time is of crucial importance.

      The presentation will present and analyse the existing overlap
between the high-level administrative elites of Walachia and Moldova, and
Eastern Rumelia, on the one hand, and the new Romanian and Bulgarian
national governmental elites in the late 19th century, on the other hand.
Focusing on the continuity/discontinuity of the elites the topic will be
addressed by using a prosopographical approach: group/s of the Romanian and
Bulgarian ministers belonging to the first generation of the newly established
national political elite will be presented through the lens of their routes to
political carrier with an emphasis on the influence of the accumulated imperial
experience. The proposed comparison bases on the similarity in the status of
the provinces in question although the difference from the point of view of the
time they existed is also taken into account.

Cristina Diac (The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism,
Bucharest)
*A linguistic Babylon or competing linguistic imperialisms? Foreign languages
spoken by the first Romanian communists*

In the 20's, the Romanian communist milieus looked similar to "walked into a
bar" jokes. Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Hungarian Jews, Jews
from the Old Kingdom, Germans, Romanians were elected members of the first
Central Committees. Obviously, all these people, coming from different

backgrounds, but with a common goal ahead, needed a tool to understand each other, in the proper sense of the word. Moreover, the Communist Party of Romania, as the other European parties, was part of a bigger structure – the Third International, whose working languages were German, French, and Russian.

This paper aims to discuss the foreign languages spoken by the Romanian communists in the 20's. We state that in Romania, the Marxism, later the Leninism were brought thought German channels, as most of the communist leaders from the first generation were German language speakers.

We intend two layers of analyse: first – to present the foreign languages spoken by the first Romanian communists and to explain how they got them – from family, through school, by their own endeavours etc. Secondly, starting from the remark that a language is a cultural vector, in a broader sense, able to convey not only political ideas, doctrines, ideologies, but a way to understand the world, we aim to discuss if the linguistic background through which the first Romanian communists got certain political knowledge influenced their further political behaviour.

Aneta Mihaylova (Institute for Balkan Studies & Centre of Tracology, Sofia)
Crossing the Borders of Former Empires: Patrick Leigh Fermor and His Journey Through the Balkans in the 1930s

In the winter of 1933, eighteen-year-old Patrick Leigh Fermor set out on an adventurous walk across Europe, starting in Holland and ending in Constantinople. Decades later he would tell the story of that journey in his books "A Time of Gifts" and "Between the Woods and the Water" that would immediately grasp the public attention and ultimately make him the most acclaimed British travel writer of the twentieth century. The final volume of his conceived trilogy "The Broken Road: From the Iron Gates to Mount Athos" appeared posthumously in 2013, two years after his death. Fermor's works are distinguished by the vivid descriptions of places and personalities he encountered on the road and also by his exquisite style. In the course of that journey, Fermor not only crossed the borders of several countries, but also the borders of two former empires – the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian one, the presence of which could still be felt decades after they had ceased their existence. An intelligent and curious observer, Fermor offers interesting examples of this ineffaceable presence. This is most evident in his description of Transylvania, which he considers a part of central Europe and something quite different from the rest of Romania, and also in his description of Bulgaria,

where he finds clear traces of the Ottoman legacy, the crossing of the Danube seen as entering into the Orient. This paper will present and analyze those examples of imperial legacies in the Balkans in the 1930s.

Carmen Stratone (The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest)
Between the French legacy and the Soviet Imperialism. The Romanian culture in the 50s and its instrument – The National Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad

This paper aims to discuss the National Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad (hereinafter IRRCS – the Romanian abbreviation) situation in the 50's, institution in charge with promoting cultural diplomacy, and its lack of power due to the fact that IRRCS had no control over the cultural and propaganda field.
     Starting with 1948, I.R.R.C.S., an institute created after VOKS model (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries/The General Association for USSR Cultural Relations with the Exterior), centralized the cultural propaganda actions in Bucharest according to the policies elaborated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but especially taking into account the trends set by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party to which it was formally and informally subject. The former Institute of Universal Culture (a newly emergent institution, consisting of men of culture, mostly left-wing sympathisers, managed by the mathematician Dimitrie Pompeiu) would be taken over and urgently transformed at the end of 1947 into I.R.R.C.S. What I.R.R.C.S. provided, beyond the projects, most of which remained on paper or imagined in an oversized manner, was this break with the inter-war traditions. In addition, IRRCS offered the needed infrastructure for disseminating the pro-soviet propaganda material.

Ana Maria Cătănuş (The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest)
"The light comes always from the East". Patterns of Soviet cultural influences in Communist Romania

Following the establishment of the Communist regime in Romania culture became a mass vector for implementing the new political order into the deeper layers of people's conscience with the purpose of edifying a new man, the

Communist one, fit to ideological requirements The written word conveyed through newspaper articles, literature or poetry became one of the main instruments in portraying the long praised egalitarian society in the making. Our paper focuses on how Soviet cultural patterns influenced Romanian literature during Communism both at official and unofficial levels. At the *official level*, we will discuss how Soviet-inspired socialist realism reflected in the works of Romanian writers. In addition, we will analyse how the Soviet gulag literature inspired Romanian novelist and former political prisoners in sharing their prison stories even if that drove some of them into the *unofficial* and condemned them to see their works published only in *tamizdat*.

Vasile Buga (The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest)
Soviet obstructions to the Romanian proposal for extending the Balkan cooperation in the 70

This paper aims to analyse the Soviet's reactions to the Romanian proposals for extending the Balkan cooperation in the early 70's of the XXth century. Traditionally considered a strategic zone for the Tsarist Russia and for the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership received coldly Ceaușescu's ideas regarding the Balkan cooperation and labelled them as opposed to the interests of the other communist states. This paper will closely analyse the Soviet leadership reactions and his attempts to deter Romania's endeavours to strengthen the Balkan cooperation.

Alexandru Murad Mironov (The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest)
Elaborating on a limit of the Socialist model. Pensions, retirees, retirement systems in post-war Romania

The Romanian pension system was firstly unified in the 50s, and although it did not recognize pension rights to the all social classes, it introduced a general age limit. Initially, the Romanian pension system closely followed the Soviet model, where all the pensions were directly funded by the State. However, during the time, the optic in this respect changed and the principle of contribution became dominant in 1977, when a new pension law was adopted. It seemed that the new approach was fairer, but in time, it led to controversial results. For instance, a visible decrease of the cooperative farmers revenues', whose contributions were relatively recent, occurred.

*Doctrines, Movements and Totalitarian Regimes in South-Eastern Europe
in the 20th Century / Doctrines, mouvements et régimes totalitaires
dans le Sud-Est européen au XXe siècle*
Convenors: Mioara Anton, Georgi Engelhardt

Hervé Georgelin (National and Capodistrian University, Athens)
An Armenian Young Man Trying to Face the Turkish State in WW II: from Bulgarian Temptations to "Conscription" in Turkey: Zaven Biberyan's case.

The agile policy of neutrality adopted by Inönü's government spared Turkey as a whole from the catastrophic conflict taking place on the European continent, while this was no guarantee of serenity for all Turkish citizens. Adult men belonging to the three official ethnoreligious minorities in Turkey were especially targeted by the nationalist State which was supposed to be their home. This paper will focus on the case of Istanbul born-and-bred Zaven Biberyan (Զաւէն Պիպէռեան) 1 (1921-1984) who came of age right in these menacing times, and especially on Biberyan's agency which took several forms during the conflict, even when he was conscripted in special units working for the Ministry of Public Works (Nafıa). Much later than the period under scrutiny, Biberyan wrote The Sunset of the Ants, 2 his major novel in Armenian, which takes place after the return of the main character from the labour battalions. Moreover, he authored in French a vast though fragmentary autobiographical text, mostly centered on this period of his life, which is about to be published.3 In this paper, I will contextualise Biberyan's texts in a comparative approach with Greek-Orthodox narratives about the same period. Already in his late teens, Biberyan was thinking about what could happen to him and he was not willing to be Turkey's soldier if that implied harming other Armenians or being directly harmed by the Turkish State. He then planned to escape to Bulgaria which he however could not do longer than six months. What was he looking for in Plovdiv? What made his temporary escape possible and even enjoyable? Compelled to return to Turkey, he joined all non-Muslim conscripts in the major test of disarmed conscription in labour battalions. Even in the most adverse conditions he often managed to escape the harshest treatments by the system. What made this time particularly harsh? How did he achieve to remain safe? What was feasible? How did the authorities react to Biberyan's adaptations? What personal inner assets explained Biberyan's relative efficiency in the unfavourable setting? What was covetable to him? Did these discreet, short-termed successes smooth this young man's soul or did it prepare him for political radicalization?

Settimio Stallone (Università di Napoli Federico II)
An Extraordinary Case of Realpolitik: the Relations Between Maoist Albania and the Greek Regime of Colonels (the Junta). A Study on Albanian and Italian Diplomatic Documents

The history of relations between Communist Albania and capitalist Greece in the Cold War is quite complex. International historiography, starting from that two ideologically opposed countries – belonging to hostile alliance systems, divided by the unresolved question of Northern Epirus – has concluded that Athens and Tirana could not develop any kind of bilateral relationship in those years.

This is certainly true for the period when Albania was part of the Soviet bloc, when it started representing the rears from where communist rebels attacked the Hellenic Government in a civil war that had a regional dimension but was also functional to the establishment of the bipolar system (although never considered by the two superpowers as an option of subversion of balances already established in the Balkan area), then finished opposing to any form of integration in the area, as the Balkan Pact of 1953.

The Jugo-Soviet rapprochement following the death of Stalin and, in 1961 the schism with Moscow forced the Albanian regime to consider the possibility of a normalization of relations with Greece. But, in the first half of the Sixties, the irredentism in Northern Epirus and the Hoxha will to demonstrate to the Communist world that Albania, now a friend of Maoist China, constituted a bulwark of the Marxist Leninist orthodoxy, prevented the regime to evaluate contaminations with the West that were beyond a purely functionalist strategy, such as establishment of commercial relations (as, after, 1954, had happened with Italy).

The changes within China and even more the end of the tension between Moscow and Beijing followed by the Sino-American normalization led the Albanian Regime to believe that Athens could contribute to its security. Paradoxically, it was when a military and nationalist regime (the Junta) established in Greece that relations between the two countries improved: a series of initiatives in the economic field paved the way for the establishment of regular diplomatic relations, the 6th May 1971.

The contribution, based on unpublished diplomatic documentation held in the Italian, Greek and Albanian archives, wants to show how even in the Balkans the Realpolitik that characterized the action of the Powers in that phase of the History of international relations allowed the definition of new levels of relations unimaginable until a few years before.

Alexandru Barnea (Université de Bucarest / Institut d'Archéologie « V. Pârvan »)
L'introduction de l'idéologie marxiste dans l'historiographie roumaine par le régime communiste

Après la deuxième guerre mondiale, le nouveau pouvoir soutenu par l'occupation soviétique forçait, en même temps avec la terreur politique, l'introduction de l'idéologie marxiste-léniniste dans le domaine des sciences humaines, dont l'historiographie était la première visée. Pratiquement, en même temps avec les changements dictés par la réforme de l'enseignement de 1948, on a commandé une nouvelle forme de l'histoire de la Roumanie ; qui devait devenir la source unique pour enseigner et apprendre l'histoire du pays. Précédé par quelques publications plus brèves mais surchargées du point de vue idéologique, le premier volume de l'histoire de la Roumanie (*Istoria Romîniei*) apparaissait en 1960 sous la rédaction de l'idéologue chef M. Roller dans la maison d'édition de l'Académie Roumaine, devenue de la République Populaire Roumaine.

Takuya Momma (University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences)
Searching for the National Education in the Independent State of Croatia

This paper examines on the educational policy and its practice in the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), which was constructed as a Nazi puppet after Axis invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941. The aim of the radical Croatian political group Ustasha, which obtained power over this country, was the achievement of national unity and a flowering of the "Ustasha spirit" throughout the nation. The regime placed particular emphasis on the role of the Ustasha Youth, fascistic institution for the enlightenment and cultivation of youth, with the objective of building a new generation that embodied the ideology of the Ustasha.

In contrast to the radical discourse employed in the process of mobilization, it could be seen that the Ustasha adopted gentle persuasion for obtaining support from intellectuals and ordinary citizens. Furthermore, analysing the problem with the reaction of Croatian teachers' associations to the fascistisation of the educational policy, this paper shows that the totalitarian system in the NDH contained a complicated state of nationalism from below. In other words, the political stance of Croatian teachers, who bore the responsibility for implementing the educational policy in the NDH, did not exclusively take the form of subordination or resistance to the regime.

There is no doubt that they did not align themselves with the totalitarian policy on education. This tendency within the teachers' associations began to surface when the school system was thrown into disorder at wartime. Although some Croatian teachers refused to cooperate with the regime, this did not mean that they inclined to evaluate the Communist power. Searching the preservation of "autonomy" inside educational system, they had the possibility to cooperate as nationalists with the Ustasha to the extent that conditions permitted. That is, my research on the educational policy in NDH demonstrates how the popular opinion served a function to construct the internal dynamics of nationalization in the totalitarian regime.

Georgi Engelhardt (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Observing the collapse from the collapsing platform: Soviet/Russian diplomatic sources on the Yugoslavia's break-up

Early 1990-s witnessed the quasi simultaneous collapse of two Eastern European Socialist federations. The USSR was dissolved in last days of 1991 and SFR Yugoslavia shrinked to rump FRY (Serbia & Montenegro) in April 1992.

Soviet (since 1992 – Russian Federation) Embassy's in Belgrade papers from Foreign Policy Archive of Russian Federation (AVP RF) shows the evolution of Moscow's perception of the Yugocrisis as well as attempts to formulate and review the approaches to its resolution at the early stages. Since mid-1991 this process was increasingly influenced by the disintegration trend within the USSR itself that was digging the ground under the feet of Soviet diplomatic professionals themselves, giving additional bitterness to their observations of Yugoslav escalation.

Everyday life in Communist Romania
La vie quotidienne dans la Roumanie communiste
Convenor: Mioara Anton

Mioara Anton ("N. Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest)
Leisure and Pleasure in Socialist Romania. The Official Campaigns for Education in Good Taste

At the beginning of the 1970s, the social mobility resulting from a massive process of industrialization changed the living conditions for a great part of population. The abundance of consumer goods, the emergences of a new technologies, the increasing of domestic comfort marked the entry into the age of socialist consumer society. Also, the years of liberalization from the middle of the 1960s facilitated the population's access to the Western cultural and consumer products. This evolution was stopped alongside with the imposing of a new ideological program (July 1971). In order to discipline society, the efforts of the regimes were concentrated on two directions: the restrictive legislation and ideological indoctrination.

It is important to illustrate the components of everyday existence during the Ceausescu regime: leisure in opposition to the official time characterized by the obligation to attend the official events, discontinuity of supply and the development of the informal economy networks, the policies for the rationalization of consumption, the atheistic campaigns, the education of tastes, the campaigns against social parasites etc. The predominance of the informal economy in structuring everyday life was a direct result of the generalization of corruption in the system. Leisure became a milieu in which the second economy flourished during in the 80s. Informal networks were a profitable alternative especially for those who managed them, but also for those who were forced to appeal to them. In these networks we can identify all social categories according to their political or economic interests or needs. They were made up of survivors and resourceful people ready at any moment to find a solution for the problems of everyday existence. The aim of this paper is to explore the challenges of everyday life from the perspective of leisure and pleasure during the "medium-developed socialism", as Ceausescu generically named his own regime.

Cristian Vasile ("N. Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest)
Romanian Artists and their Reflections on Private Life during Communism

Using open historical sources and archival documents issued by secret police, censorship, and communist party *agitprop* structures, this paper aims at providing essential information on how some Romanian artists approached in their works either books or paintings the essential elements of personal life during the communist system. After 1948 Romanian communist authorities imposed a bashful way of perceiving the nudity and eroticism. On the other hand, the same regime through the agency of its political police (*Securitate*) viciously used private life elements of undesirable intellectuals and artists that contradicted the extremely restrictive normative framework stipulated by the penal code (that is punishment for homosexuality). On a large scale the *Securitate* exploited such information for blackmail and consequently recruited informers among important artistic milieus.

Our analysis is based especially on two case studies: Miliţa Petraşcu (the most important Romanian female sculptor) and Margareta Sterian (painter, novelist, translator, and decorator). Miliţa Petraşcu was victim of an ideological unmasking in 1959. She lost her social and artistic status and after 1964 she tried to regain previous positions through various ways, including articles in newspapers or books. In 1988 when her long interview with journalist Victor Crăciun was finally published, Romanian readers could discover also her opinions about private life in general. On the other hand, Margareta Sterian's first book (*Travel Writings*, 1970) could be regarded as a plea for another type of society, with other morals, somewhat similar to the bourgeois one. The human beauty evoked in this volume is rather bourgeois, and the artist is seen as a freelancer who creates from his own impulse.

Alexandra Bardan (University of Bucharest)
Alternative Cultural Practices in Communist Romania: Developments, Impact and Limits

The opposition movements that emerged in the East European communist regimes during the 1980s have been approached by several scholars as specific strategies aiming at the liberation of the public sphere (Semelin, 1997; Mattelart, 1995; Downing, 1996). Whether the authors explored the transnational flow of information or the informal networks through which imported pirated audio-visual products circulated, they also focused on their subversive potential in favour of the right to free expression and free

information, thus undermining the ideological homogeneity of the *Party-state*, as well as its monopoly on local media.

Strategies of liberating the public sphere in communist Romania have been rarely discussed, or rather diverted towards topics related to the totalitarian nature of Ceausescu's regime, the limited forms of resistance and dissidence and the virtual absence of organized opposition political movements (Cătănuş, 2014; Petrescu and Petrescu, 2005). From this point of view, studies that consider alternative media and alternative cultural practices provide a complementary perspective where different forms of expressing discontent with the communist regime may be identified. Our contribution analyses how transnational media, and local publics appear as key players contributing to the emergence, during the 1980s, of a dynamic market for media and cultural products in communist Romania. Engaging in various alternative cultural practices, local publics exchanged a broad range of cultural and informational products through networks that bypassed the official market via informal channels of production, import and distribution. Their strategies, in addition to strategies developed by other actors of the local cultural industries, by actors of both local and international media, inform about the creation of autonomous social spaces beyond the influence of the *Party-state*. This presentation attempts to clarify the impact of alternative cultural practices, but also shows the limits of the "subversive" use of transnational media as articulated strategies in the liberation of the Romanian public sphere.

The European Union and the South-East European States
L'Union Européenne et les États sud-est européens
Convenors: Francesco Guida, Daniel Cain

Mirella Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska (Institute of Political Science and International Relations, Jagiellonian University)
The course and dynamics of the accession process to the European Union of the Republic of Serbia in the second decade of the 21st century – basic obstacles and challenges

After the fall of Slobodan Milošević's regime, the new Serbian authorities declared the change of direction to the pro-Western and to enter the path of applying for admission to the European Union as soon as possible. Despite the pro-Western and pro-democratic declarations made by politicians and authorities in Belgrade, in the first decade of the 21st century, no effective reform process was undertaken. The takeover of power by the Serbian Progressive Party in 2012 could be seen as a course to strengthen the conservative political line and distance from Western Europe. However, the new authorities of the Republic of Serbia have accelerated the process of change and began accession talks. The policy of Belgrade has been promoting since 2012 an image of dynamic changes implemented by the SPP. The aim of this text will be to analyze and evaluate whether these changes are profound and whether the Progressive Party's policies have actually managed to push Serbia towards dynamic and favorable transformation.

Hristina Slavova, Kalin Kalinov ("St. Kliment Ohridski" University, Sofia)
Public Diplomacy Aspects of Tourism: The Case of Bulgaria and the EU

Our globalized, fast-paced, interconnected and attention-driven world has given prominence to the concept of "public diplomacy" in international relations within the EU and abroad. Broadly speaking, the term refers to the promotion of a particular political agenda to a wider public abroad. One of the neglected aspects of this phenomenon is its intricate relationship with the tourist flows. The present research aims to fill this gap in the academic literature.

It uses the case of Bulgarian tourism and its policy framework. The article investigates the role which tourism has in the Bulgarian international positioning, image and promotion. All of these are part of the long-term public diplomacy goals as classified by Nye. The case is particularly interesting due to

the entangled relationship between Bulgaria and its Balkan neighbour states (both partners and competitors for tourism market share), as well as its EU partners. Additionally, Bulgaria has a long-standing tradition in tourism but its management has undergone significant changes over the years, establishing the Ministry of Tourism as late as 2014. The article is trying to outline the connections and common goals between tourism and public diplomacy while drafting possible co-operation techniques which can be employed in the future.

Methodologically, the piece starts with a wide theoretical review of the researched phenomena, followed by a semi-chronological case study investigation. The techniques employed for data gathering include but are not limited to documentary analysis, secondary quantitative data and statistical inferences. The article is just a starting point for a more in-depth investigation of the subject in the future.

Blagovest Njagulov (Institut d'Études historiques, Sofia)
Intégration européenne et droits des minorités : valeurs et réalités en Europe du Sud-Est

Depuis la fin de la Guerre froide la problématique des droits des minorités ethniques, religieuses ou nationales constitue une préoccupation majeure pour le Conseil de l'Europe et pour l'Organisation sur la sécurité et coopération en Europe. Le « respect des minorités et leur protection » reste un des critères de Copenhague (1993) pour l'accession à l'Union européenne de pays candidats ; le « respect des droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités » est une des valeurs sur lesquelles est fondée l'Union (Traité sur l'Union européenne, 2009). Dans ce contexte l'objectif de ce rapport sera de présenter et d'analyser dans une perspective comparative les principales répercussions de la pression normative des institutions européennes en faveur des droits des minorités sur les politiques intérieures et internationales des États sud-est européens lors de leur intégration européenne. On cherchera à mettre en évidence les coïncidences et les décalages entre les valeurs européennes et les réalités politiques dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe.

Marica Antovska-Mitev (Skopje)
Entrepreneurial Culture and Innovations – State and Perspectives in the South-East European Countries

National entrepreneurial culture is a complex category that points to a system of shared values, beliefs and social norms among individuals in terms of accepting the essential characteristics of entrepreneurship (creativity, innovation, risk and rational use of available resources), i.e. the entrepreneurial approach of resolving problems at all levels of the organization of society – in small, medium-sized and large companies, in the public administration (at central and local level) and in the social activities.

In the former socialist countries, and in this context in the Republic of Macedonia, due to the dominance of the state and social ownership, the absence of a developed market of the factors of production (labour, land and capital) and the prevalence of the phenomenon of soft budget constraints, there was lack of entrepreneurial behaviour of the economic entities.

The entrepreneurial culture has strong implications on the innovation activity in the companies and on the quality of their economic and financial performance, and hence, on the performance of the overall economy.

In this paper, the assessment of the entrepreneurial culture and the innovation activity in the Republic of Macedonia will be based on the perception of the indicators for entrepreneurial culture in several key segments: the attitude of the policymakers and the management of the companies towards encouraging creativity and innovation, towards risk taking and towards individual – private initiative and independence of the economic entities.

The indicators for the mentioned segments are obtained from own research (surveys in selected companies) and from the surveys of GEM for the Republic of Macedonia. The obtained indicators will be compared with the indicators in the countries of the region and with the average indicators of the EU-28.

The paper will also offer measures for building a favourable entrepreneurial environment and entrepreneurial culture.

Anna Aleksandrova (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
The Issue of German Reparations in Greece: Rabble-rousing or a Quest for Justice?

During WWII Greece was devastated by the German occupation. In addition to that, Germany had also taken an occupation loan, to be returned when the war was over – this, however, did not happen. After the war Greece had received part of the war reparations, and some individual Greek citizens had received compensation from the German government. But the final settlement of both the reparations issue and the occupational loan was postponed until the re-unification of Germany and the signing of a peace treaty. Under the "2+4" treaty, signed in 1990, Greece no longer had the right to demand any compensations. The efforts by the Greek diplomats to renegotiate also proved to be futile. The German answer to any such demands was clear – the issue of reparations was long since settled both politically and legally. Besides, such demands from a partner, a member of both EU and NATO, were altogether inappropriate.

A decades-long simmering conflict exploded suddenly in late 2009, after the initial stages of a deep financial crisis in Greece, which eventually drove the country to the edge of bankruptcy. Germany was a key player in developing the international financial assistance program which required Greece to institute severe austerity measures in exchange for multibillion credits. The old image of Germany as an enemy, one from 70 years ago, re-emerged in Greek public consciousness. Greek politicians were quick to use that image to promote the idea of Germany as a scapegoat, a convenient source of the problems the country was facing. During the financial crisis, the issue of reparations became a truly, massively public issue, attracting widespread attention in Greece, and the old demands for reparations and justice were now accompanied by the desire of Greek politicians to blame Germany for current economic and financial issues.

Mariyana Stamova (Institute of Balkan Studies & Centre of Thracology, Sofia)
Political dilemmas and inter-ethnic problems on the road to European integration of the Republic of Macedonia

In the process of the disintegration of federal Yugoslavia only the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia managed to achieve its independence peacefully. In parallel with the process of proclamation of its independence in the early 90s, Macedonia faces serious problems in their own country. Internally – the definitive independence of the country and the release of JNA

and externally – its international recognition. While the last decade of the XXth century is primarily related to international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia, the first decade of the XXIth century the country faces as before serious inter-ethnic and national problems and contradictions mainly between the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups in the country and the dilemma of furthering the steps for membership in Euro-Atlantic structures – the EU and NATO. Inter-ethnic and national relations, especially relations between the Macedonian and Albanian communities throughout the twenty years period of existence of the Republic of Macedonia as an independent state, were never at the right level and often political tension was there. So in 2001 the political and ethno-national situation in Macedonia is entering a qualitatively new phase. After nearly ten years, outlining the contours of the "Macedonian model of ethnic coexistence" in which Macedonians and Albanians are trying to find a common language of communication and apply European standards in minority policy, led to a sharp reversal. The threat of widening conflict and its transformation into civil war thwarted by the international community. The Ohrid Agreement of 2001 did not allow to realize the idea of internal borders between ethnic Macedonians and Albanians in the state. With the adoption of amendments to the Macedonian constitution, progress was made with the adoption of laws regulating local government, education and use of language, the introduction of quota representation based on ethnic lines in various state structures, including the army and security forces. Albanians are becoming a key institutional factor. The Ohrid Agreement establishes a new constitutional concept of a multiethnic society.

Conserving the Cultural and Artistic Heritage in South-Eastern Europe
La sauvegarde de l'héritage culturel et artistique dans le Sud-Est européen
Convenors: Sabina Ispas, Tereza Sinigalia

Shaban Sinani (Albanian Academy of Sciences, Tirana)
"Codex Purpureus Beratinus" in UNESCO's "Memory of the World" Programme

Albania is the shelter for two out of the seven purple parchemint codices of the world's Christian heritage: *Codex Purpureus Beratinus* (no later than the middle of the 6th century) and *Codex Aureus Anthimi* (9th century). *Codex Purpureus Beratinus* is considered as a representative manuscript of the middle school of evangelical literature. This manuscript saw a difficult survival: it was endangered by the invading armies in the Albanian territory over a thousand years: from the Charles d'Anjou's army, from the *Neapolitan units*, during the reign of Tsar Uroš, during the Ottoman invasion, through World War I and World War II. The manuscript survived with great difficulty during the period of constitutional atheism (1945-1990). Since 2005 it has been proclaimed, together with *Codex Aureus Anthimi*, part of the UNESCO's *Memory of the World* Programme, which has provided great investment to it for long-term technological and physical protection.

Katica Kulavkova (Macedonian Academy of Sciences, Skopje)
Prolegomena to an Inclusive Interpretation of the Shared Sites of Memory on the Balkans

Shared social, political and human conditions generate collective memory, that is a part of the intangible cultural heritage (oral traditions, performing arts, traditional skills). This heritage doesn't know of strong state borders, that is why it is a shared heritage and should not be an object of exclusive strategies of interpretation.

Balkan memory is immanently transethnic/transnational and, in that sense, it is a shared memory marked by many *sites of memory* (Pierre Nora's notion of "lieux de mémoire"). The cultural memory is related to art and artefacts, to religious, cultural and political history (places, events, figures), as well to ritual, oral and popular culture.

The Balkan shared sites of memory can be devided into three types: (1) the first one is *spatial*, related to urban and sacral places, to micro spaces, monuments and artefacts, (2) the second one is *temporal*, projected to the historical figures and events, and (3) the third one is *spiritual*, related to mythic,

religious, cultural and art heritage (myths, cults, dances, scripts, music, literature).

It is time to introduce a new scientific approach in regard to the Balkan intangible cultural heritage. It is time to establish an inclusive interpretation of the *shared sites of memory*, and to adopt a *Balkan Consensus and Charter on Shared Memory*.

Christina Merkouri (Ephorate of Antiquities of West Attica), **Athina Chroni** (Ministry of Culture & Sports)
Integrated Documentation, Management and Highlighting of Archaeological Sites and Finds. The Mycenaean Cemetery at Kambi, Zakynthos, Greece. A Case Study

The deployment of new methodologies and digital technologies in the field of cultural heritage, render possible nowadays the integrated documentation, management and highlighting of archaeological sites and finds: documentation modelling by making use of *metadata standards* and *controlled vocabulary schemes* for the description of works of culture as well as of the images that document them, subsequently creating and enriching digital databases and respectively digital collections, further integrating the data into Geographic Information Systems and digital online platforms, also digitally visualizing the documented contents of the digital collection, all the aforementioned always in line with the legal framework of the European Union, are the innovative prospects in this direction.

Typical case study of a relevant pilot application: the Mycenaean cemetery at Kambi, Zakynthos (Greece), the only organized cemetery of this period located on the island hitherto, a fact that renders it unique since it documents the existence of a Mycenaean site from which we draw a lot of data on the topography of the island, the organization and the use of space. It is the case of 15 slab pit graves carved in the natural limestone rock, dating back to the late Mycenaean period (1400-1190 BC): this particular cemetery gives a provincial character to the site as this type of graves appear, in the main Mycenaean centres, during the early Mycenaean period (1600-1500 BC). Given the fact that the Mycenaean cemeteries were usually a short distance from the respective settlement, it is interesting to note also, that until today, at Kampi, the corresponding settlement to which the graves belonged has not been located.

The intention of this paper is the indicative and selective documentation of archaeological material by applying the proposed

methodology afore-mentioned. The ultimate goal is the future exploitation of the total digital product on an online platform to make it accessible to the greater public interested in getting to know the island.

Zakynthos, the southernmost island of the Ionian Sea, was a significant sea passage and channel of communication between East and West during the prehistoric period, integrated in the sea routes of communication and transfer of ideas and material goods from the South and East, to and from lower Italy and Sicily.

Goran Đurđević (Capital Normal University Beijing, China)
Secret Message: Asians from Far East and Bulgarians in Early 19th Century

Church dedicated to Saint Constantine and Helen was built in small village Dolno Lukovo (near Ivaylovgrad) in southern Bulgaria. Orthodox Christians from village built it in 1806 for just seven nights. In this time building new churches in Ottoman empire was forbidden (unless, you have special permit from government). Villagers took stone from river and started building a barn without doors or windows. After finishing, they presented it as church because Ottoman laws protected existing objects. Interior of the church is divided on two areas (men and women) and altar is on a spring with water (locals said holy water). Also, there are frescoes of the Last judgement with representation of heaven and hell. In the hell are represented different sins and punishments (stone on the neck, broken tongue, boil some sinners) and sinners look like Asians from Far East (Mongolians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese). What did happen in the village and why did they put Asian people in the hell? Local painters and builders created a local knowledge for prayers in their own small community. Symbols on the frescoes were strongly connected with local beliefs, knowledge and attitudes. Also, sinners were used as tool for stronger unity of village and villagers. Furthermore, in the early 19th century Ottomans were represented as Asians, so representation of Asian people in the hell could be a hidden or secret message to locals (as Christians who are going to heaven) and Ottomans (as Asians who are sinners and going to hell).

Laura Jiga Iliescu (Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest)
Narratives of Religiosity Created around the Healing Cross at Dervent Monastery, Romania

On the Romanian Danube shore, close to the Bulgarian Silistra, the nowadays Dervent monastery has been set up around two stone crosses, assigned as owners of healing power: one of humans and the other for animals. According to the local legendary files, these stones grew by themselves from the earth and were discovered *by chance,* when a deaf shepherd slept on one of them and woke up cured. This event took place around the beginning of the XXth century, and opened a series, still active, of ritual performances and miracles which gather believers coming from different Christian and Muslim religious confessions. A special oratory has been attached to the church in order to shelter the *for human* cross and the pilgrims resting by it. There is to be noted that believers are allowed to sleep, during the night, in the very vicinity of the stone, namely under the same roof of the oratory.

The short prospective fieldwork I conducted few years ago revealed an interesting repertoire of gestures (including touching the cross, collecting holly chrism, etc.), prayers and testimony narratives that mediate the believers' contacts with the healing stones. We deal with a particular (but not unique) situation relevant for how the contemporary religiosity combines (lay and clerical) traditional and postmodern beliefs and attitudes toward sacredness.

I already published an introductory article dedicated to the narrative Christian and Muslim files attached to this shared place. This time I intend to go forward, for catching an inner dimension of this phenomenon and to investigate the visitors' opinion regarding the stones' source of power, together with the formalized expressions (gestures, words, possible dream narratives, etc.) of the feelings they experience during the contact with the stone. They all have a strong personal touch which goes beyond the canonic prescriptions of a certain religious confession.

Andreea Pascaru (University of Jena)
Singing rumca and Dancing horon on the Mountains of Karadeniz. Language Preservation Through Music among the Romeyka Speakers of Trebizond and Tonya

The area of Trebizond (tr. *Trabzon*, gr. *Τραπεζούντα*), in the past mostly populated by Greek speaking population, intersects, from the point of musical ethnography, within the North Turkish (Pontic) region and it is closely related

to the musical repertoire of the Turkish, Laz and Hemshin neighbours with whom they are sharing much of the cultural environment and human values. Not only far from the centers of Greek life, but also thanks to the geographical isolation, the Pontic speakers of the Of and Tonya valleys developed not only a separate dialect of the Greek language but also preserved some of the regional characteristics within their cultural and aesthetic values in their world views and thinking structures. Not only that the "culture-environment" relationship is reflected in their musical repertoires, but this also seems to be a crucial key in the interdependency between language and music and therefore between creators of music and everyday life in the Pontic geographical area. The examination of cultural and regional determinants in the musical tradition that is kept alive brings to life synchronically dispersed and for a long time preserved elements (among them the *lira* or *kemence*) that are to be found also in the repertoires of other language groups and can lead to a better understanding of regional features of the Black Sea area and its musical environment, a small part of the yet heterogeneous cultural landscape of Eurasia.

Alexandra Chivarzina (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow)
Colour Symbolism in Funeral Rites (On the Material of the Balkan Slavonic tradition in Comparison with the Albanian and Romanian Traditions)

Traditional cultures do not ignore death, dying is treated as a given. The purpose of the posthumous rites is a successful "seeing-off" to the afterlife, through that the belief in eternal life is reinforced: the confirmation of continuity, cyclicity, the natural energy cycle.

        Studying the funeral ritual on the material of the Balkan peoples, one should keep in mind the long formation process of the folk tradition, which represents the numerous old beliefs intertwining, the influences of the Balkan substratum and neighboring cultures, the Christian ecclesiastical tradition.

        The colour spectrum associated with dying and found in funeral rites is rather poor, but each of the presented colours is saturated with meanings. Black colour, being the embodiment of grief and death, occurs most often, it is opposed by white, symbolizing the life and sunlight of this world. The relics of white mourning are associated with the protective, apotropaic function of this colour and do not interfere with its positive perception. Yellow and red are used as synonyms of white, and green and blue are used predominantly as black. The last moments of one's earthly path – funerals, being as full of archaic, do not need a developed and rich colour system. All the spectrum diversity is folded to

the first, rarely to the second stage of the colour evolution: when all colors are divided into dark and light, cold and warm, when the posthumous darkness is opposed to the sunlight and when red-yellow-white is opposed to black-green-blue, and their replacement within the group is not relevant.

Cristina Bogdan (Université de Bucarest, Faculté des Lettres)
Saint Sisoès se lamentant sur la tombe d'Alexandre le Grand. Un motif iconographique connu dans tout le monde balkanique

L'apparition du motif iconographique de *Saint Sisoès se lamentant sur la tombe d'Alexandre le Grand* dans le monde orthodoxe *après* la prise de Constantinople, vers la fin du XVe siècle, est liée à l'existence d'un poème, écrit avant 1484 (Miloš Živković, *Saint Sisoes above the grave of Alexander the Great. A monastic theme of post-byzantine art and its examples from the 17th century serbian painting*, in *Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog instituta*, janvier 2013, p. 938), dont les vers sont repris (à diverses variations) dans les structures de texte qui accompagnent les images.

Les réféctoires ou les églises centrales des monastères athonites ont accueilli cette scène à partir du XVIe siècle, Téophane le Crétois et les peintres de son école créant un modèle iconographique, qui a été ensuite disséminé vers d'autres zones grecques (il se retrouve dans la décoration de certaines églises faisant partie des monastères situés sur les rochers des Météores ou des établissements religieux post-byzantins de Kastoria). Saint Sisoès, âgé, à la barbe longue et blanche, est représenté de manière semi-frontale, debout, vêtu en habit de moine, un manteau ample porté au-dessus du rason monacal. Les mains levées et largement ouvertes, un geste qui combine l'étonnement et l'épouvante, il apparait penché au-dessus du cercueil où l'on peut distinguer les restes de celui qui avait régné, quelques siècles avant, sur une grande partie du monde connu à ce moment-là. On peut deviner dans la tombe ouverte le corps, jadis plein de force, du commandant d'armées, le plus souvent sous la forme d'un *squelette* complètement décharné (le catholicon du monastère Dionysiou, l'église du monastère Varlaam-Météora, l'église « Saint Jean le Baptiste » du quartier Apozari de Kastoria). Il existe également une variante intermédiaire entre *cadavre et squelette* (visible à l'église « Saint Nicolas » Archontissas Theologinas de Kastoria ou à l'église du monastère Slimnica de la Macédoine actuelle) et, plus rarement, des représentations sous forme de *transi*, rappelant l'art des pierres tombales de l'Occident des XIVe-XVIe siècles.

Nous retrouvons le motif dans divers espaces culturels de la Péninsule balkanique, grâce aux artistes peintres grecs qui ont exercé leur métier au XVIIe

siècle et l'ont transféré, par exemple, dans les zones trouvées sous la juridiction du Patriarcat de Peć. Pour chaque espace existe pourtant une série de motivations spécifiques, dues à des éléments culturels locaux qui concourent à l'apparition ou à la conservation de certaines représentations le long du temps.

L'étude va proposer une analyse comparative des représentations de ce motif iconographique, à partir d'un *corpus* de plus de 50 images, découvertes pendant des recherches sur le terrain en Roumanie et dans plusieurs pays de la Péninsule balkanique.

Elena Ene Vasilescu (Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity)
Churches and Schools in Byzantine Cappadocia

This article has two distinct sections: one refers to churches (i) and one to schools (ii) in Byzantine Cappadocia. Between the fifth and the eleventh centuries the churches in this province of the Empire were not only the places where the Liturgy was performed, but also the social and spiritual centres of villages, towns, army garrisons, monastic complexes, etc. They fulfilled the same specific functions regardless of the purpose and scale concerning the settlements in which they were located. The paper provides evidence to illustrate what these functions were and, to some extent, by which means they were accomplished.

It also presents some suggestions with respect to the physical appearance of schools in the area. By doing so it allows plausible generalizations regarding the layout of other educational establishments throughout the Empire. As known, there has not been substantial material published on this subject in the field of Byzantine Studies and any contribution made on this topic should be welcome.

Vitalii Tkachuk (City Museum "Spiritual Treasures of Ukraine", Ukraine)
Eastern Christian Relics and Icons in Ukraine in the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century

This paper will present peculiarities of spreading and venerating of Eastern Christian relics and icons on the territory of Ukraine in the second half of the XVIII century on the basis of archival materials from Kyiv and St. Petersburg. We will focus on three key areas: 1) the relics of the saints, the relics associated with the life and death of Christ and the Virgin, the icons brought by the Greek clergy to the Kievan Metropolitanate exposed for veneration and adoration by the faithful; 2) the repertoire of icons donated by the eastern hierarchs to the

Metropolitans of Kyiv; 3) Eastern Christian relics owned by Ukrainian Orthodox monasteries.

Fotiny Christakoudy ("St Kliment Ohridski" University, Sofia)
Greek Modernism – on the Border of Tradition and Innovation

Greek modernism and its definition prove to be a difficult task. It can be said that trying to outline its boundaries raises more questions than provides us with answers, it somehow resists homogeneous and pure categorizations. Still, this remains one of the most interesting, debated and controversially interpreted fields of the Greek culture in the 20th c. The questions of cultural identity, the literary canon and the concept of continuity, the place of Greece in relation to Europe and the European models (adopted and creatively interpreted in Greek literature in modern times) usually go out in the foreground where its position as a recipient inevitably gets connected to its status of a cultural dominant over several historical eras (the Antiquity, Byzantium, the period of the Balkan Enlightenment). The issue of Greece's cultural hegemony in Pax Mediterranea, its role as a political and cultural regulator during the Middle Ages and the époque of the Byzantine Empire, its leading position at the time of the Enlightenment on the Balkans, quite naturally intertwine with the aporias about what place it is assigned to take in the New History, how to master and channel the conquests of tradition and how to respond to the modern, the eccentric, the new, so that in the process of cultural reinvention in modern times it becomes possible for the Greek literature to define itself (and not to lose itself either) in this conundrum (reminiscent of Alice's wonderings in the Wonderland).

Evangelia Georgitsoyanni (Harokopio University, Athens)
Greeks in Romania: Historical and Artistic Testimonies from the Bellu Cemetery, Bucharest

The Bellu Cemetery in Bucharest is the oldest and the most important of the cemeteries of Romania, containing the tombs of many significant personalities. It is also worthwhile for the artistic value of its monuments. Among them, there are included the tombs of many Greeks or people of Greek origin, who lived in Romania during the 19th and 20th centuries. Between them are included the tombs of important members of the Greek community of Bucharest, as George Kyriazis, doctor and benefactor, the Christofis Zerlendis, banker and benefactor, the Xenocratis family and the Haitas, merchants, the opera singers

Haricleia Darclee and Margareta Metaxa, the Ioannidi brothers, painters, and others. These monuments give plenty of information about these people (dates of birth and death, places of origin, occupations, portraits, etc.) that enrich the history of the Greek diaspora in Romania and, more particularly, of the Greek community of Bucharest. They also give evidence about the Greek sculptors that have created many monuments in the cemetery, as the Halepas family, important Greek artists. The present paper, based on field researches in the cemetery, aims to give a presentation of the valuable material that is collected, as a contribution to the preservation and promotion of these monuments, that consist an important aspect of the cultural heritage of SE Europe.

Perspectives on the Digitization of Documents in the South-East European Archives/ Perspectives sur la numérisation des documents des archives sud-est européennes
Convenor: Şerban Marin

Bogdan-Florin Popovici (National Archives of Romania, Braşov)
"The Image of a Document is Not Enough". Some Considerations on Archival Documents Digitization for Online Access

Required by public, supported by UE and national governments, conversion of analogic documents into digital is a true trend of past decade, that very likely will continue. This paper will try to emphasize the fact that simple online displaying of image of one document does not mean transferring into digital world the complete experience the user has in reading rooms. Moreover, some other contextual aspects about archival documents, often unconsciously considered in reading rooms, may be missing from online presentation of documents. However, the paper will not build a case against digitization, but aims to highlight the new transformations and challenges our profession faces in describing and making the digitized archives intelligible to the public.

Mădălina-Diana Ruşanu-Radu (National Archives of Romania, Bucharest)
The Rights of the National Archives of Romania over the Documents in Preservation and their Impact over the Digitization Projects

Previous to the beginning of any project of digitizing documents, it is strongly recommended for the National Archives of Romania to verify the rights that they have over the archivalia to be included in the digital collection. Considering the various manners in which the documents come to be preserved by the National Archives (achievement, acquisition, custody, donation), the institution could be owner or holder and could have rights over the documents or not. Each of these cases is associated with rights and obligations that are different when referring to the setting up of the digital collection and its use by the public.

Our paper would become more specific and exemplify the conditions in which the various categories of documents could be digitalized, in each of the above cases and the manners in which the digital copies would be used again by the researchers interested in the digital collection.

We consider that the topic is of present interest under the circumstances in which more and more archival institutions take into consideration the involvement in digitalizing projects, the National Archives of

Romania included. Meanwhile, the ensuring of the legitimacy of such an approach depends first and foremost on the correctitude of establishing the rights over the preserved documents.

Arcadie Bodale (National Archives of Romania, Jassy)
Les problèmes d'archives électroniques et archivage des documents électroniques en Roumanie

Bien que, conformément à la loi, les Archives Nationales de Roumanie élaborent des normes et des méthodes de travail pour l'organisation et le développement de toutes activités archivistes et contrôlent l'application des dispositions de la législation en vigueur dans le domaine des archives, établissent les mesures nécessaires, l'activité dans le domaine des archives électroniques en Roumanie est sérieusement affectée par l'absence de réglementation légale sur les archives électroniques et l'archivage des documents en format électronique.

　　　Ainsi, parmi les nombreux problèmes rencontrés par l'archiviste roumain, il n'y a pas de terminologie spécialisée en ce domaine d'activité, les institutions publiques font des procédures médiocres dans le domaine des archives électroniques, les entreprises commerciales promettent des services d'archivage électronique sans aucune couverture et, pire, pendant environ 20 ans, nous assistons à la perte de nombreux documents du patrimoine archivistique, bien qu'ils ne posent pas de problèmes d'espace.

Concetta Damiani (Archivio del Real Conservatorio di Santa Maria della Solitaria)
The Digitization Projects under Way in the Neapolitan Institutions. The Case Study of the Archive of the Reale Conservatorio di Santa Maria della Solitaria

Some projects of digitization of documentary sources have been under way in Campania's region for some years.Thanks to the contribution of European funds, non-state institutions have started, alongside state conservation institutions, rearrangement and digitalization campaigns aimed at managing and enhancing archival and book assets; in the meantime Campania's region is preparing to set up the Regional Digital Archive and Library.The paper aims to provide an overview of the state of the art of the interventions implemented by Campania's institutions and to account for an experience under way at the Foundation of the Reale Conservatorio di Santa Maria della Solitaria.

　　　In the articulated panorama of the assistance and charitable institutions of the city of Naples in the modern age, the Reale Conservatorio of

Nuestra Señora de la Soledad occupies a non-secondary space. The institution, founded in 1589, is among the numerous private bodies – pawn shops, family mounts, hospitals, conservatories, corporations – which took charge, in various ways and in different ways, the care of people in need or in difficulty. Specifically, the Conservatory of the Solitaria was born with the vocation to welcome and educate the orphans of the Spanish soldiers stationed in Naples.

The Foundation preserves the archive of the institution that has been the subject of a widespread work of rearrangement and inventory by the archival and bibliographic Superintendency of Campania; the documentary fond has a total of 523 archival units with detailed descriptions (up to the sub-units) for a total of about 1,700 cards and covers a chronological period from 1580 to the present day.

Alongside the traditional inventory activities, the Foundation has also carried out a digitization campaign which has produced, as of today, about 70,000 metadata images and linked to the archival units of reference. The report illustrates aims, developments and critical aspects of the project.

It would also be interesting to verify the state of the documentation on the relations between the Neapolitan institutions and the Balkans during the XVIII-XIX centuries – investigating the papers of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of the State Archives of Naples – and provide for the filing and digitization. I hope to bring good news about the results of this research, during the conference.

Anna Adashinskaya (CEU, Budapest / Al Quds Bard College)
Monumentalized Endowment Documents: How to Process Data Preserved in Form of Inscriptions and Mural Paintings?

The present paper is going to discuss the ways of digitalization of those medieval documents (donation and property delineation acts issued by rulers or noblemen to ecclesiastic institutions), whose full-length or slightly-abbreviated texts are preserved being frescoed on the walls or carved on the columns of the endowed monasteries. These documents being simultaneously the texts and images became parts of spatial and iconographic programs of churches where they are placed. Appearing in a new type of discourse (monumental iconographic programs), these legal texts received additional meaning or strengthened and visualized the ideas already presented in them.

A series of problems posed by such placement starts with a question concerning the ways of editing and publishing of the documents which can be

regarded as epigraphic, diplomatic and art historical material at the same time. Therefore, the paper is going to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of every mentioned method which had been applied for the discussed documents. However, with the advancement of technologies, an opportunity appears to publish the monumentalized documents combining methods of epigraphy, diplomatic studies, and art history. The paper will be concluded with some observations concerning possible improvements to be introduced to the digital diplomataria in preparation.

Nebojša Porčić (University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy)
Diplomatarium Serbicum Digitale: A Virtual Archive of Serbian Medieval Documents

Although relatively modest in size, the corpus of Serbian medieval documents has not yet been published in a single, comprehensive scholarly edition. The *Diplomatarium Serbicum Digitale* is a project aimed at providing such an edition – including document texts, descriptions, commentaries and additional content – in the form of a digital database that provides the user with the means to quickly find and process various types of information contained in these first-rate historical sources.

Monica Negru (National Archives of Romania, Bucharest)
The Relevance of Digitization of Documents for Saving the Historical Information. A Case Study

The Archives are the repositories of the collective and individual memory. They contain the documents that are indispensable tools in writing of a more objective history, through a faithful reconstruction of actions and thoughts of those that saved them by writings.

The *National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women* records keeping contains a great variety of documents grouped in 1,665 archivist units (notes, programs, wills, letters, telegrams, calls, essays, poetry, albums, photos). All these provide information about tens of members of this association, its congresses, general assemblies and meetings in Bucharest and county branches, the initiatives, problems, and results in the field of education and culture, in the context of the two world wars and economic crises.

During the last years, a number of documents was digitized, in order to have some volumes of written sources and studies written, but they represent

only a percentage of 10% of this specific archivist records keeping, a detail that indicates the huge potential of the archives as sources for writing of history.

Neja Blaj Hribar (Institute of Contemporary History, Ljubljana)
The Slovenian Population Censuses 1830–1935 Project

The substantial demographic changes pose increasing social challenges. Research which places demographic changes in a broader historical context and thus illuminates potential future development trends is becoming more and more important. In the last decade, the conditions for researching long-term historical demographic trends are rapidly improving as more and more historical microdata is available. Within the framework of IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) project, the majority of world's national statistics agencies started to publish microdata from modern population censuses for the purposes of research. This trend was soon followed by genealogical organisations and various publicly financed programs and projects, which established, for research purposes, extensive collections of openly accessible historical microdata, e.g. NAPP – North Atlantic Population Project, which includes historical censuses of the population in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and partly Germany; and I-CeM – the Integrated Census Microdata Project, which includes most censuses of the UK population between 1851 and 1911.

These projects include microdata acquired from population censuses that are preserved for the entire country, but in most European countries only fragments of original microdata are preserved. Within the framework of Mosaic project, the existing machine-readable microdata was harmonised in accordance with the IPUMS and NAPP standards. Currently, various databases for Germany, France, Serbia, Turkey, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, Spain and Switzerland are accessible. The harmonised censuses currently comprise data for almost one million people.

In the last years, Slovenia has also followed this trend. In implementing such activities, the Institute of Contemporary History has been cooperating with the Historical Archives Ljubljana, which holds a large number of population censuses. The censuses of the Ljubljana population are completely preserved for the following years: 1830/57, 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1928 and 1931. Censuses for Idrija (1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1931 and 1936), Škofja Loka (1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1931), Vrhnika (1870, 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910), the city and District administration of Novo

mesto (1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 and 1931) are relatively well preserved, and partly preserved censuses for different rural municipalities.

All mentioned population censuses are digitalised, and some of them are already available and transcribed at the History of Slovenia portal – SIstory (www.sistory.si) which is managed by the Research Infrastructure at the Institute of Contemporary History. For this purpose, the tool for the transcription of historical demographic information is being used. By 11 December 2017, data for 185,351 people had already been transcribed.

When transcribing data, the principle of word-for-word copying of data is generally applied, with the sole exception of data that was initially adequately classified (gender, religion, family status, nationality, language etc.). Such data is left to the interpretation of each respective user, since they can classify it differently according to their research questions and needs. Based on experience with similar projects abroad, the cleaning and standardisation of originally transcribed data seem a very complex process. Furthermore, in case of large volumes, it is necessary to use the automatic classification of the transcribed data. This is why we have established reference databases that will help us with the standardisation of the transcribed data. During this process, we mostly rely on the existing, already mentioned international projects, primarily on Mosaic, and in establishing the longitudinal database for Ljubljana, we rely on the European Historical Population Samples Network (EHPS-Net).

In addition to all these censuses, we have also managed to obtain digitised images of other demographic microdata, primarily of various documents proving homeland rights and lists of the Ljubljana population, which will allow us to establish a longitudinal database of the Ljubljana inhabitants for the period of 50 years preceding the World War II.

The paper would represent the entire process – from digitisation to the establishment of transcription tool and data processing methods, as well a practical example of their use for research purposes.

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