New Europe College
Ştefan Odobleja Program
Yearbook 2011-2012

ELENA BEDREAG
ŞTEFAN BOSOMITU
ELENA FIREA
ANDREI IOAN LAZĂR
FLORIN LEONTE
ZAHARIA-SEBASTIAN MATEIESCU
CORNEL MICU
COSMIN UNGUREANU

New Europe College
Ștefan Odobleja Program
Yearbook 2011-2012

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

New Europe College
Ștefan Odobleja Program
Yearbook 2011-2012

ELENA BEDREAG
ȘTEFAN BOSOMITU
ELENA FIREA
ANDREI IOAN LAZĂR
FLORIN LEONTE
ZAHARIA-SEBASTIAN MATEIESCU
CORNEL MICU
COSMIN UNGUREANU

CONTENTS

NEW EUROPE FOUNDATION
NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

Institute for Advanced Study

New Europe College (NEC) is an independent Romanian institute for advanced study in the humanities and social sciences founded in 1994 by Professor Andrei Pleşu (philosopher, art historian, writer, Romanian Minister of Culture, 1990–1991, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1997-1999) within the framework of the *New Europe Foundation*, established in 1994 as a private foundation subject to Romanian law.

Its impetus was the *New Europe Prize for Higher Education and Research*, awarded in 1993 to Professor Pleşu by a group of six institutes for advanced study (the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, the National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in Humanities and Social Sciences, Wassenaar, the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences, Uppsala, and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin).

Since 1994, the NEC community of fellows and *alumni* has enlarged to over 500 members. In 1998 New Europe College was awarded the prestigious *Hannah Arendt Prize* for its achievements in setting new standards in research and higher education. New Europe College is officially recognized by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research as an institutional structure for postgraduate studies in the humanities and social sciences, at the level of advanced studies.

Focused primarily on individual research at an advanced level, NEC offers to young Romanian scholars and academics in the fields of humanities and social sciences, and to the foreign scholars invited as fellows appropriate working conditions, and provides an institutional framework with strong

As in the previous programs supported by the Getty Foundation at the NEC, this program also includes a number of invited guest lecturers, whose presence is meant to ensure a comparative dimension, and to strengthen the methodological underpinnings of the research conducted by the Fellows.

The Black Sea Link (since October 2010)

This Fellowship Program, sponsored by the VolkswagenStiftung, invites young researchers from Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, as well as from other countries within the Black Sea region, for a stay of one or two terms at the New Europe College, during which they have the opportunity to work on projects of their choice. The program welcomes a wide variety of disciplines in the fields of humanities and social sciences. Besides hosting a number of Fellows, the College organizes within this program workshops and symposia on topics relevant to the history, present, and prospects of the Black Sea region.

Other fellowship programs organized since the founding of New Europe College:

RELINK Fellowships (1996-2002)

The RELINK Program targeted highly qualified young Romanian scholars returning from studies or research stays abroad. Ten RELINK Fellows were selected each year through an open competition; in order to facilitate their reintegration in the local scholarly milieu and to improve their working conditions, a support lasting three years was offered, consisting of: funds for acquiring scholarly literature, an annual allowance enabling the recipients to make a one–month research trip to a foreign institute of their choice in order to sustain existing scholarly contacts and forge new ones, and the use of a laptop computer and printer. Besides their individual research projects, the RELINK fellows of the last series were also required to organize outreach actives involving their universities, for which they received a monthly stipend. NEC published several volumes comprising individual or group research works of the RELINK Fellows.

The NEC–LINK Program (2003 - 2009)

Drawing on the experience of its NEC and RELINK Programs in connecting with the Romanian academic milieu, NEC initiated in 2003, with support from HESP, a program that aimed to contribute more consistently to the advancement of higher education in major Romanian academic centers (Bucharest, Cluj–Napoca, Iași, Timișoara). Teams consisting of two academics from different universities in Romania, assisted by a PhD student, offered joint courses for the duration of one semester in a discipline within the fields of humanities and social sciences. The program supported innovative courses, conceived so as to meet the needs of the host universities. The grantees participating in the Program received monthly stipends, a substantial support for ordering literature relevant to their courses, as well as funding for inviting guest lecturers from abroad and for organizing local scientific events.

The GE–NEC I and II Programs (2000 - 2004, and 2004 - 2007)

New Europe College organized and coordinated two cycles in a program financially supported by the Getty Foundation. Its aim was to strengthen research and education in fields related to visual culture, by inviting leading specialists from all over the world to give lectures and hold seminars for the benefit of Romanian undergraduate and graduate students, young academics and researchers. This program also included 10–month fellowships for Romanian scholars, chosen through the same selection procedures as the NEC Fellows (see above). The GE–NEC Fellows were fully integrated in the life of the College, received a monthly stipend, and were given the opportunity of spending one month abroad on a research trip. At the end of the academic year the Fellows submitted papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the GE–NEC Yearbooks series.

NEC Regional Fellowships (2001 - 2006)

In 2001 New Europe College introduced a regional dimension to its programs (hitherto dedicated solely to Romanian scholars), by offering fellowships to academics and researchers from South–Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, The

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, and Turkey). This program aimed at integrating into the international academic network scholars from a region whose scientific resources are as yet insufficiently known, and to stimulate and strengthen the intellectual dialogue at a regional level. Regional Fellows received a monthly stipend and were given the opportunity of a one–month research trip abroad. At the end of the grant period, the Fellows were expected to submit papers representing the results of their research, published in the NEC Regional Program Yearbooks series.

The Britannia–NEC Fellowship (2004 - 2007)
This fellowship (1 opening per academic year) was offered by a private anonymous donor from the U.K. It was in all respects identical to a NEC Fellowship. The contributions of Fellows in this program were included in the NEC Yearbooks.

The Petre Ţuţea Fellowships (2006 - 2008, 2009 - 2010)
In 2006 NEC was offered the opportunity of opening a fellowships program financed the Romanian Government though its Department for Relations with the Romanians Living Abroad. Fellowships are granted to researchers of Romanian descent based abroad, as well as to Romanian researchers, to work on projects that address the cultural heritage of the Romanian *diaspora*. Fellows in this program are fully integrated in the College's community. At the end of the year they submit papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the bilingual series of the *Petre Ţuţea* Program publications.

Europa Fellowships (2006 - 2010)
This fellowship program, financed by the VolkswagenStiftung, proposes to respond, at a different level, to some of the concerns that had inspired our *Regional Program*. Under the general title *Traditions of the New Europe. A Prehistory of European Integration in South-Eastern Europe*, Fellows work on case studies that attempt to recapture the earlier history of the European integration, as it has been taking shape over the centuries in South–Eastern Europe, thus offering the communitarian Europe some valuable vestiges of its less known past.

11

Robert Bosch Fellowships (2007 - 2009)

This fellowship program, funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation, supported young scholars and academics from Western Balkan countries, offering them the opportunity to spend a term at the New Europe College and devote to their research work. Fellows in this program received a monthly stipend, and funds for a one-month study trip to a university/research center in Germany.

New Europe College has been hosting over the years an ongoing series of lectures given by prominent foreign and Romanian scholars, for the benefit of academics, researchers and students, as well as a wider public. The College also organizes international and national events (seminars, workshops, colloquia, symposia, book launches, etc.).

An important component of NEC is its library, consisting of reference works, books and periodicals in the humanities, social and economic sciences. The library holds, in addition, several thousands of books and documents resulting from private donations. It is first and foremost destined to service the fellows, but it is also open to students, academics and researchers from Bucharest and from outside it.

***

Beside the above–described programs, New Europe Foundation and the College expanded their activities over the last years by administering, or by being involved in the following major projects:

In the past:

The Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Religious Studies towards the EU Integration (2001-2005)

Funding from the Austrian Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft enabled us to select during this interval a number of associate researchers, whose work focused on the sensitive issue of religion related problems in the Balkans, approached from the viewpoint of the EU integration. Through its activities the institute fostered the dialogue between distinct religious cultures (Christianity, Islam, Judaism), and between different confessions

within the same religion, attempting to investigate the sources of antagonisms and to work towards a common ground of tolerance and cooperation. The institute hosted international scholarly events, issued a number of publications, and enlarged its library with publications meant to facilitate informed and up-to-date approaches in this field.

The Septuagint Translation Project (2002 - 2011)

This project aims at achieving a scientifically reliable translation of the Septuagint into Romanian by a group of very gifted, mostly young, Romanian scholars, attached to the NEC. The financial support is granted by the Romanian foundation *Anonimul.* Seven of the planned nine volumes have already been published by the Polirom Publishing House in Iași.

The Excellency Network Germany – South–Eastern Europe Program (2005 - 2008)

The aim of this program, financed by the Hertie Foundation, has been to establish and foster contacts between scholars and academics, as well as higher education entities from Germany and South–Eastern Europe, in view of developing a regional scholarly network; it focused preeminently on questions touching upon European integration, such as transnational governance and citizenship. The main activities of the program consisted of hosting at the New Europe College scholars coming from Germany, invited to give lectures at the College and at universities throughout Romania, and organizing international scientific events with German participation.

The ethnoArc Project–Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research

An European Research Project in the 6th Framework Programme: Information Society Technologies–Access to and Preservation of Cultural and Scientific Resources **(2006-2008)**

The goal of the *ethnoArc* project (which started in 2005 under the title *From Wax Cylinder to Digital Storage* with funding from the Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation and the Federal Ministry for Education and Research in Germany) was to contribute to the preservation, accessibility, connectedness and exploitation of some of the most prestigious ethno-musicological archives in Europe (Bucharest,

Budapest, Berlin, and Geneva), by providing a linked archive for field collections from different sources, thus enabling access to cultural content for various application and research purposes. The project was run by an international network, which included: the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest; Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire, Geneva; the Ethno-musicological Department of the Ethnologic Museum Berlin (Phonogramm Archiv), Berlin; the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Coordinator), Berlin; New Europe College, Bucharest; FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, Berlin.

DOCSOC, Excellency, Innovation and Interdisciplinarity in doctoral and postdoctoral studies in sociology (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the University of Bucharest (starting July 2010)

UEFISCCDI – CNCS (PD – Projects): Federalism or Intergovernmentalism? Normative Perspectives on the Democratic Model of the European Union (Dr. Dan LAZEA); The Political Radicalization of the Kantian Idea of Philosophy in a Cosmopolitan Sense (Dr. Áron TELEGDI-CSETRI), Timeframe: August 1, 2010 – July 31, 2012 (2 Years)

Ongoing projects:

The Medicine of the Mind and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England: A new Interpretation of Francis Bacon (A project under the aegis of the European Research Council (ERC) Starting Grants Scheme) – In cooperation with the Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, London (since December 2009)

Business Elites in Romania: Their Social and Educational Determinants and their Impact on Economic Performances. This is the Romanian contribution to a joint project with the University of Sankt Gallen, entitled ***Markets for Executives and Non-Executives in Western and eastern Europe***, and financed by the National Swiss Fund for the Development of Scientific Research (SCOPES) (since December 2009)

Civilization. Identity. Globalism. Social and Human Studies in the Context of European Development (A project in the Development of Human Resources, under the aegis of the National Council of Scientific Research) – in cooperation with the Romanian Academy (starting October 2010)

The EURIAS Fellowship Programme, a project initiated by NetIAS (Network of European Institutes for Advanced Study), coordinated by the RFIEA (Network of French Institutes for Advanced Study), and co-sponsored by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme - COFUND action. It is an international researcher mobility programme in collaboration with 14 participating Institutes of Advanced Study in Berlin, Bologna, Brussels, Bucharest, Budapest, Cambridge, Helsinki, Jerusalem, Lyons, Nantes, Paris, Uppsala, Vienna, Wassenaar. The College will host the second *EURIAS* Fellow in October 2012.

UEFISCDI – CNCS (TE – Project): Critical Foundations of Contemporary Cosmopolitanism (Dr. Tamara CĂRĂUŞ),
Timeframe: October 5, 2011 – October 5, 2014 (3 years)

UEFISCDI – CNCS (IDEI-Project): Models of Producing and Disseminating Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: The Cartesian Framework (Dr. Vlad ALEXANDRESCU),
Timeframe: January 1, 2012 – December 31, 2014 (3 years)

Other projects are in the making, often as a result of initiatives coming from fellows and *alumni* of the NEC.

Present Financial Support

The State Secretariat for Education and Research of Switzerland (Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, University of St. Gallen)

The Federal Ministry for Education and Research of Germany

The Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture of Austria

Le Ministère Français des Affaires Etrangères – Ambassade de France en Roumanie

The Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation – the Executive Agency for Higher Education and Research Funding, Romania

Landis & Gyr Stiftung, Zug, Switzerland

Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft (DaimlerChrysler–Fonds, Marga und Kurt Möllgaard–Stiftung), Essen, Germany

A Private Foundation based in the Netherlands

VolkswagenStiftung, Hanover, Germany

The Getty Foundation, Los Angeles, USA

The Swiss National Science Foundation, Bern, Switzerland

Seventh Framework Programme of the European Communities, ERC Executive Agency

Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Köln, Germany

Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences, Stockholm, Sweden

New Europe College -- Directorate

Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Andrei PLEŞU, Rector

Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Bucharest; former Minister of Culture and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania

Marina HASNAŞ, Executive Director

Dr. Anca OROVEANU, Academic Director

Professor of Art History, National University of Arts, Bucharest

Dr. Valentina SANDU-DEDIU, Deputy Rector

Professor of Musicology, National University of Music, Bucharest

Administrative Board

Dr. Katharina BIEGGER, Head of Admissions Office, Deputy Secretary, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin

Mag. Heribert BUCHBAUER, Director Department for International Research Cooperation, Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research, Vienna

Andrea FISCHER, Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft, Essen

Regula KOCH, Director, Landis & Gyr Stiftung, Zug; President, Wissenschafts- und Kulturzentrum NEC Bukarest-Zug

Dr. Dirk LEHMKUHL, Chair for European Politics, University of St. Gallen; Director of Programmes International Affairs & Governance; Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, University of St. Gallen

Dr. Florin POGONARU, President, Business People Association, Bucharest

Dr. Cristian POPA, Deputy Governor, Romanian National Bank, Bucharest

MinR'in Dr. Erika ROST, Federal Ministry of Education and Research, Bonn

Dr. Heinz–Rudi SPIEGEL, Formerly Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft, Essen

Academic Advisory Board

Dr. Horst BREDEKAMP, Professor of Art History, Humboldt University, Berlin

Dr. Edhem ELDEM, Professor of History, School of Arts and Sciences, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

Dr. Luca GIULIANI, Rector, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Professor of Archaeology, Humboldt University, Berlin

Dr. Dieter GRIMM, Professor (emer.) of Law, Humboldt University, Berlin

Dr. Ivan KRASTEV, Director, Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia

Dr. Vintilă MIHAILESCU, Professor of Anthropology, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest

Dr. Ioan PÂNZARU, Professor, Department of French Language and Literature; Former Rector of the University of Bucharest

Dr. Ulrich SCHMID, Professor for the Culture and Society of Russia, University of St. Gallen; Head of the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, University of St. Gallen

Dr. Victor I. STOICHIȚĂ, Professor of Art History, University of Fribourg

Dr. Alain SUPIOT, Director, Permanent Fellow, Institut d'Etudes Avancées de Nantes; Chair, Collège de France

17

ELENA BEDREAG

Born in 1979, in Iași

Ph.D candidate, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Iași
Dissertation: *Family and kinship. Parents and children in Seventeenth-Century Moldavia*

Scholarships:
Konstanz University (2011)
Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires en Sciences Humaines et Sociales,
Université « Paul Valéry » Montpellier III, France (2010)
Université d'Angers, France (2006)

Conferences in UK, Germany, Finland
Articles on social history and genealogy published in Romania

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, ATTITUDES AND COLLECTIVE SENSIBILITIES IN TESTAMENTARY DISCOURSE IN 17th AND 18th CENTURY MOLDAVIA

"Mankind is the only one which knows it has to die and knows this only due to its experience" (Voltaire)

Abstract: Credem că nici un document nu e mai revelator pentru a afla poveștile trecutelor vieți decît aruncînd un ochi asupra diatelor, documente prin care, mai amplu sau mai sărăcăcios, viața omului, cu bune și cu rele, cu regrete și împliniri, cu dedesubturi neștiute, și nebănuite în cele mai multe cazuri, ni se dezvăluie tocmai în clipa morții. Pornind de la învelișul acestor tipuri de acte și de la contextul în care ele încep să fie redactate, și mergînd mai departe spre o radiografie amănunțită a interiorului și, foarte important, spre consecințele asupra cadrului socio-cultural, intenționăm să creionăm tabloul în mișcare al „lumii pe care am pierdut-o".

Key words: *diată* (testament), last wills, kinship, inheritance, land, death

I believe that each of us has asked himself at least once during his life who were his ancestors, how they lived or what they thought during their last moments. Starting from this idea, we believe that no document is more revealing in order to find out the stories of past lives than casting a glance at the "diate", documents by which, more or less thoroughly, the man's life, with good and bad, with regrets and achievements, with unknown mysteries, perhaps mostly unsuspected, is revealed to us upon death. Starting from the cover of this kind of documents and from the context which they begin to be written in and going further towards a thorough radiography of the inside and, very important, of the consequences regarding the social and cultural framework, we intend to draw the moving picture of the "world which we have lost".

The interest for the research and the unveiling, from the dust of the archives or of some libraries, of this kind of sources has started to take

shape, following the European model,[1] in Romania as well, the last wills, published either alone or assessed as a group, leading to some important conclusions regarding the history of the family, the history of representations and collective behaviors.[2] To these works which we have noticed that most of them are from the new millennium it is worth to add those of Ştefan Lemny,[3] Simeon Florea Marian[4] and Ioana Andreesco and Michaela Bacou[5] whom are the first ones that dared to approach to death and to the attitudes upon and its representation through the eyes of history of mentalities or through ethnological and ethnographical research.

The socio-political context and the importance of documents

The inhabitants of both Walachia and Moldavia had passed hard times during most of the Middle Ages and pre-modern period (Tartars' attacks, Turkish greedy, the conflicts in order to get to the throne). That is why people did not have time to write everything down, but only the very important events, most of them referring to land ownership. In other words, they have mentioned only special situations and actions, special because of their nature and consequences.

The difficult events that people had to face are sometimes mentioned in the old documents as a reference. For example, Măguţa Mălăiasa, on January 1644, comes in front of the prince and complains "with great pains and many witnesses" that the privileges and the official documents she had for the Vepreuca village (in the county of Soroca), "are lost since the Kazaks' war, which had also destroyed the fortified castle of Soroca".[6] The prince's decision was to recognize the woman's possessions, sustained by the fact that her statement was supported by so many witnesses, "honest and old people". The consequences of such events affected the whole family, not only morally, but also materially. In the middle of the 17th century, Toader Căldăruşă must sell the village of Zudureni in order to pay the ransom of 500 Hungarian coins for his wife and children. They have been held captive by Tartars who "have attacked the whole country altogether with the Kazaks from Dniester (Nistru) to the mountains and have burnt the outskirts of Iassy and Suceava".[7]

Still, we can but notice the fact that, in Romania, the historian has to confront a kind of documentation which is quite dry if we think about the 16th and 17th centuries, being compelled to provide a very general description of realities and without managing to emphasize its

particularities. As such, the individual is seen as a character which shows up at trials, passes inheritances, manages the lands of the children, but the private sphere, with its specific feelings and actions, remains quite in the dark. This situation starts to undergo some changes through the diversification of discourse type during the period immediately following the emergence, both in Moldavia and Walachia, of the codes of law (mid 17th century) and afterwards. Even clearer is the situation during the 18th century when more and more persons, even those less rich, start to put on paper not only the decisions regarding the transfer of proprieties, but also true life stories.[8]

The nature and the content of the documents which our analysis starts from compels us to focus our attention, on one hand, towards two aspects, those of substance, important in order to catch sight of the evolution and changes at the level of legal practice and discourse, those which influence and alter the relationships inside the family, but also of the interaction between family and society, between the private sphere and the public one, and, on the other hand, those for form's sake which fill in, by careful observation of the structure, and the way information is displayed, the image of the individual and his moral and spiritual shape.

Before going further we have to clarify the terminology that it is been used and also we have to specify that for the analyzed period (mostly for the 17th century) we will not find only one term used for these kind of acts: besides *diată* (a derivation from a Greek word: *διαтα* (tiktin) [in Albanian language - djatï] we have: *zapis* [from Slavic], *scrisoare*, *carte* (letter) and late in 18th century it is used the Latin word *testament* . In his turn, the word testament had more than one meaning: besides the definition we have already known - juridical unilateral, personal and solemn act, through which a person expresses his/her wishes that would be carried out/ fulfilled after his/her death (mostly regarding the wealth) - it can also mean: *legiuire* (law), *așezămînt*,[9] arrangements regarding the clergy that are fixed by the prince in the concordance with the Bishop or a measure through which a tax is abolished or diminished -for example the prince in 1729 speared the Guild of grave digger for all the taxes, "as the testament they (the grave digger) had from others princes […]".[10]

The first testimonies regarding the manifestations of the exertion of the individual power as last act of will, which we cannot consider proper last wills, but which express clearly the individual's predisposition towards the written usage from later periods, are found in documents from as early as 15th century, under the form of bequests close to the moment of

death.[11] Lady Ana, the wife of voivode Alexandru, bequeathed, around the year 1419, "right before her death", some villages to the Bunavestire monastery[12]. From October 1440, it was preserved a strengthening document which reveals that Oană Porcu "has left, in good will, at his death, for the sake of his soul" a bequest, gifting "himself in his own voice" a village to the monastery from Bistriţa.[13] If until this very moment it can be clearly noticed that the bequests which we mentioned are exclusively gifted to monasteries, from the second half of the 15th century there are left some notes with a personal nature - we talk here about arrangements regarding family members or intimates of the deceased person: from 1464 we have in the documents a testimony regarding the denunciation (trial) between pan Mândre and his family and pan Misea, for a village called Tărnauca. Within this context, because "there had been many words between them" and to support his claims with evidence, Misea brought forth before the prince a "note of Bera" which clearly showed that this village was gifted to the defendant by his uncle Bera "of his own free will, together with all his other possessions, upon his own death".[14] From 1501 testimony we can find out that „Pan Dumşa postelnic, when death was upon him, he, at his death, passing away, bequeathed in his own voice, of his own will, to his servant Paşină, among his rightful lands, a village called Petricani, on Başeu[15] and on 26 February 1547 we find Iliaş voivode confirming to Ion what was bequeathed unto him by his brother Ivanco, „at his death, when he passed away". [16]

It is appropriate to make here two important comments. First and foremost, all these testimonies which have survived the passage of time are indirect mentionings, asserted by one person or another, before witnesses and noted in the acts of confirmation by which the prince was certifying the recounted deeds. Also, we do not believe to be an accident the fact that all the starting benefits of this exercise of personal will were aimed at monasteries.

We can ask ourselves then whether the concern for the soul and the noting of gifts with this purpose were not a priority in the conscience and the usage of the 15th century people, taking to a secondary level the concern for setting in order the inheritance of one's heirs? Or, just maybe, it's about the fact that the monasteries, having a direct and permanent interest, strove to obtain and preserve all these sorts of documents which guaranteed the ownership and unrestricted control of certain goods. Without doubt, a certain role was played by the fact that, as we mentioned already, being confirming acts, issued by the princely chancellery, it goes without saying that they had a longer life, more so it was one of the few

24

institution which possessed the tools to create these documents. Still, if we cast our gaze deeper at the custom practices, would we not be more entitled to consider these documents by which bequests were granted to monasteries as being exceptions to the rule? Taking into account the oral character of the manifestations of the legal tenets, we are of the opinion that the division of the inheritance occurred silently, without the need for a special act, the rights and legal tenets being naturally respected by the entire community, the necessity for writing them down arising only for those cases unforeseen by the custom law.

Going further with this reconstruction, starting from the 18th century, we can see the development, beside the sort of testimonies mentioned above, the last will written before a lot of people, „good and elder" and written down, usually by the father confessor of the testator. Still, we notice that the notings following oral last wills, the bequests under the form of "last words" [17] are encountered within the documents until late towards the middle of the 18th century. The fact that, even from the 18th century, a lot of indirect testimonies regarding this sort of documents reach us - if not in greater numbers, then at least in an equal number to that of last wills - entitles us to believe that the act which acknowledged an ownership and not the last will stays, until late towards the modern period, one of the most important documents. Only through the reforms from the 18th century and early 19th century[18] the last wills start to spread under their written form as independent documents, well shaped in regard to their form, their content and the consequences generated within the framework not only in the important social and legal changes which take place during this period, but also within the context of the generalization of writing, which becomes accessible to social groups other than the high aristocracy.[19]

We have, as such, at the border between medieval and modern, a manifestation of the custom simultaneously with that of the written laws, in a rather consistent process, and though orality. The natural question which arises within this context is to what extent this oral wills and the way in which this information reaches us - by means of a disputation (we have in mind here the trials disputing the ownership during which are mentioned or even brought forward as evidence, written wills) - can be credible?

In comparison with the western Europe, where the testaments have a written form even from the 13th, 14th century and they were composed at a notary office,[20] for the Romanian territory (Moldavia and Walachia) these solemn acts of will would be formulate, for the 16th and the first half

of 17th century, only in an oral form, as we already said, in the private sphere but in the presence of certain public (the witnesses). Starting with the second half of the 17th century all this kind of papers were written by a specialized person, a clerk or by priests or other person from clergy , these persons being one of the few categories to know how to write.

What kind of consequences had the fact that the document was written by dictation?

In 1739 Neculai *peveţ*,[21] a 70 years old man, living peacefully his life, is suddenly forced by circumstances to ask for prince's justice; the problem was his "fortune": he owns a house with a yard and basements but his nieces and nephews of his step sister think that they should have all these because those houses were inherited by their mother from their grandfather. This misunderstanding seems to occur as a consequence of the fact that the testament of Iane *peveţul* was lost during the ruling of prince Petriceico[22] when our character Neculai and his parents were hold captive by Tatars. But the priest Ursul that happened to be the (father) confessor of Iane (the grandfather) and the person in charge with drawing up the document wrote for Iane another document which replaced the testament, in which he told the story as he remembered it. Therefore, thanks to a second person appointed to write the testament our character received the blessing of the prince to own, as he had done before, the house on Uliţa Rusească. So, what we wanted to point out here is the fact that the information that reached us is of a third hand: from the testator and his confessor to the authors of the trial's paper.

A testimony which strengthens the idea of the "frailty" of the information reaching us through oral/dictated testaments dates from 18 February 1756, when it is noted the complaint of Ioniţă Chiriţoiu. He testifies that, upon
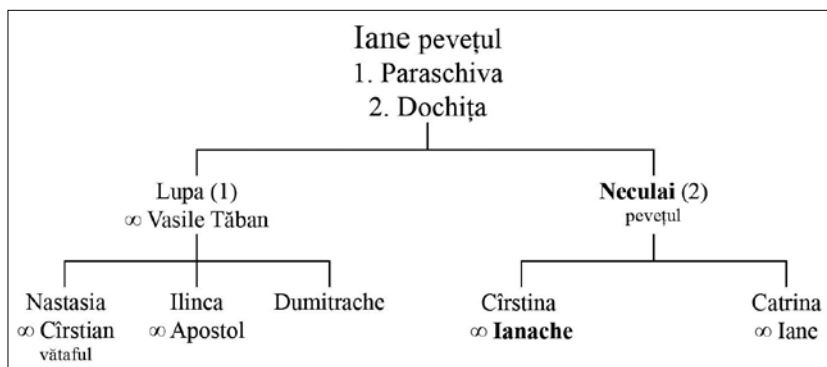
the death of his cousin Gheorghe Dedu from Voetin, "at the writing of his last will he did not say that his relatives must not sell his lands to other than the Sf. Ioan monastery from Focșani, but the monk who wrote the last will put this in the testament"[23].

What is the meaning of and what does this act of will symbolize?

The introductions' dimensions and the details of testaments are determined not only by the evolution of writing or mentality of those times (we have brief sentences for the end of the 16th century and for the first half of the 17th century) but also by the status of the testators: the great boyars or the clergy, wanting (wishing) to be an example for the society spent a considerable part of the letter to point out different principles of life or of Christian morality.

> "As our God the Creator made the man immortal, but for his disobedience he received death […] which is not possible to run away from and not knowing the day or the hour of each man's death. Because of this, myself as well, knowing my duty of death and paying attention to the words spoken by our Lord Christ in the Holy Gospel which says: "be on guard as you do not know at what hour the Lord comes"[24] (year 1749).

> "Being asked our God, Jesus Christ by his disciples when it would be the end of the world, His Holiness said that no one is allowed to know that, not even Angels but only God knows […]. So that, I, Cârstea, God's servant being old and weak I have decided and I arranged with all my knowledge and my competence how I want my belongings to be inherited and, before death comes, I wish everyone to know what my wills are."[25]

Another remark, pertaining to the way in which a testament is made, refers to the fact that, being composed at home it could tempt the author to postpone the date of writing until the last minute and, through this, to have not enough time to judge correctly, or to modify his/her dispositions. Aspra Paladi confesses in her will that "being ill for a considerable period of time and being afraid that death will come soon, I am writing without delay this letter of mine and I let it in the hands of my husband"[26]. Even if in front of death people should come with fear and forgiveness in their soul, sometimes the testator could show disagreement regarding the behavior of one of his/her relative and discriminate one in favor of

another. This is the case of Gligoraş de Sinehău who decided to punish his son-in-law - because he behaved with no respect - by modifying the first testament and changing his part of inheritance, - he gives his son-in-law a part from Sinehău village instead of a part from Zamostie village – the part received after the changing being probably not as good as the one he got in the first place.[27]

Because this kind of behavior was not an isolate case people felt the need (we are referring especially to the second half of the 18th century) to draw models containing pieces of advice about the spirit in which a testament should be done. Besides the fact that summarizing all the practices until that moment, we can use the pieces of information from this kind of documents, if we read them in mirror, to get clues about principles that were not respected. The testator is invited to make his last wishes with the fear of God and not to disadvantage the relatives just because they had an argument and not to let the patrimony to strangers because after their death the family will break the testament and all the damnation will be on them (on the testators).[28] This kind of prescriptions may lead us exactly to those principles that they were not used to be looked up.

Anyway, a total act of injustice, we refer mostly to the parent - child behavior, is not to be found in documents. Instead, what we find is a partial punishment by favoring one son or daughter against another. (Serafim) Tomiţă's letter, a codicil in fact, will support our affirmation. After writing the first testament in March through which he divides his patrimony into four parts (and just mentioning that he gives a larger part to Gligoraşco), he had doubts regarding the right understanding of his message and so, he decided to modify his testament at the mid of April "because [he is referring to his sons who did not help him] not a good word could be said about you"[29] and because "you behaved as you were not my sons"; more than that, "you were ashamed of me and you felt embarrassed about the place where I was a monk".[30] He had received comfort, as he testifies in his codicil, only from one of his sons, from Gligoraşco, who was taking care of him, looking after him so that he gives him "a part and a half more than to the others" and also with the possibility to choose any part he wants from the entire patrimony. My supposition here was, first, that the extra part that Serafim gave to his son, apart from the amount that he already received through the testament represents in fact the part of the soul (a delimited part from someone`s fortune destined to cover the costs of the funerals and commemorations), but the fact that Tomiţă Serafim was a monk and probably already paid for all his soul needs suggests the fact that this was the way in which a father rewarded his respectful child.

The consequences: the testaments implications. To make a will and to donate

It is known that, in both Wallachia and Moldavian societies there are two types of modalities of inheriting one person: *ab intestate* or through a document (usually through a testament - oral or written, as we have already seen). But the major problem appears when a person does not have legal successors and he or she is forced to find solutions to avoid breaking into pieces his/hers patrimony but also, very important, to avoid being left without a proper religious ceremony after passing away. Therefore, in this position we identify in documents three major behaviors. We have noticed that both great and small families of boyars often practice the raising of remote members on the hierarchy of kinship or the reinforcement of some already-established solidarity, through adoption ("taking into one's heart"), precisely to avoid the spread of the heritage. And with no less importance, our sources mention two other situations: the living husband/wife designated as the only heir through will or the whole fortune donated to a monastery.

What does the code of law tell us regarding the capacity to make a will?

The fact that a testator could give himself with all his belongings to a relative chosen from his large group of kinsmen and this would be in the spirit of Moldavian written law: *Cartea Românească de Învățătură* specifies that a person, at his death could give his belongings, no matter their value, to whom he wants and that person (the beneficiary) could take into possession those parts without any other approval or obstacles ["a man at his death, if he bequaethes with his last word much, few, what he had, to whom he wanted, that man could himself, by his own will, without a trial, to take that remnant without any obstacle and without any quarrel"].[31]

But the practice shows us the empty half of the glass[32]. As proof, I want to present here the case of Vârlan's testament which was contested by few of his collateral relatives. In March 1742, during a long trial we find the sons of Vasile Schin trying to obtain a house on Hagioaiei Bridge from Obretin, Safta's husband and Maria's son in law. They mention during the trial that the house was bought with the money obtained from their aunt's dowry, and their cousin, Vârlan, son of their aunt Sanda, did not have the right to transmit it to such a distant relative. Alexandra, Vasile Schin's mother-in-low, had two husbands: Cârstea (father of Nastasia, Vasile Schin's wife and Sanda, married with Arbănașul) and Sava (Enache's father of; see the annex). Being asked to show evidence for owning the house, Obretin shows Vârlan's will to the Prince Council (Divanul Domnesc) in

which it is written that Vârlan chose to give himself with all his belongings to Obretin and Safta but the house was sold to him for 180 lei. Because the property was not donated but sold during Vârlan's life (he received from this sum of money 30 lei) the prince decided that the close relatives like Vasile Schin and Nastasia's children should possess the house. "Even if Vârlan made a testament to their hand, for the selling of that house […] they (Safta and Obretin) could not be owners because they are not the real heirs/successors", belonging to somebody else's ancestry.

In conclusion, Obretin and Safta kept all Vârlan's belongings, except the house which had to be returned by the end of April on the day of Saint George commemoration (they were allowed to stay for another two month because it was winter).[33] As a consequence, Nastasia and Vasile Schin's sons had to return 180 lei in two weeks term which points out on one hand that the patrimony is more valuable than the money (they can have the money but they cannot have the house) and, on the other hand, that the juridical details play a very important role. Here we do not have an issue referring, in fact, to the testament but to an action that was committed before, which was not in the spirit of the common law. If a testament is built on a doubtful deed, it could be very easily contested.

In the end, we remark that the value of a testament rests upon the testator's whole life's deeds and, even if the will is valid from a juridical point of view, it could not be respected if the actions that preceded the writing of it were not valid from the point of view of laws' codes.

Somehow in contradiction with the case we just presented above, we have the situation of Safta Andonas who sells a house of her sister according to her last wish: "Ilinca decided "cu limbă de moarte" (in her last moments of life) to sell the house and with half the money to take
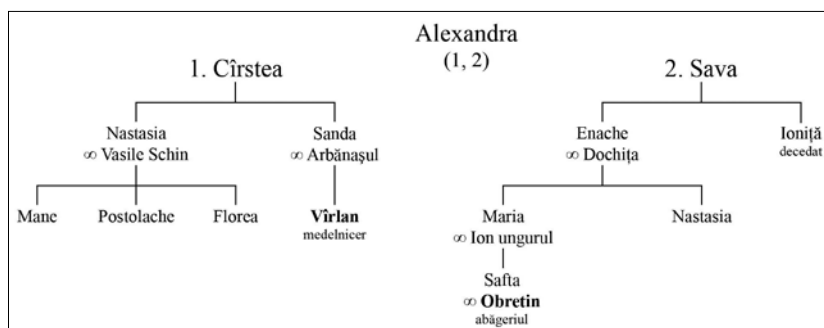
care of her and the other part to give it to her children as it is known also by her (father) confessor, to whom she confessed before death. And me, Safta, noticing her children's feud with Gheorghie (to whom Safta sold the house) I admonished them not to bother him".[34] Because we did not find any contestations of this paper signed by "good people" we tend to believe that Safta was allowed to act as she did and, in fact, her children had known and approved at that time their mother`s choice and their contestation was just an attempt to see if they could get more. In this spirit is made the donation of Măriuța Voiculeasca who "gives herself" with all her belongings to priest Ioan but, the document says, "cu învoința a tot neamul meu" (with the assent of all my family)[35].

Wife, widow, stepmother. The kin complexity and the intricate inheritance

First, we would like to point out some ideas about the donations and we briefly present what is happening when the living husband/wife is designated as the only heir through will, and, secondly, to emphasize that situation when the widow had to face the injustices produced by her relatives.

A considerable number of characters, in those moments of deep sorrow, prefer to abandon themselves in the arms of their spouses and at the same time to offer them all their entire life's acquirements. On one hand these documents show us the most beautiful and clear proof of affection.

Here is what Chiriac wrote on February 15th 1670: "I, Chiriac [...] write and testify through this deed of mine what kind of life I had with my wife, Alexandra [...]. By God's mercy, we have had children but now, as adults, God took them away from us. Our life was good since the day of our marriage; thus, we have decided: all we have, villages, possessions, vineyards and gypsies (serves) will belong to one another. And no one of my brothers or of my relatives must interfere in my decision and claim something, not even a piece of thread".[36] In the same direction, we find Enachie's confession, a last wish on his deathbed. He leaves everything (houses, stores and vineyards) to his wife, Despa, "because she has taken great care of me. And if one of my relatives does not let her in peace and looks for a fight, I curse that man".[37]

How can we explain otherwise Chiriac last deed than a proof of a lively and deep affection? The understanding and their calm living

31

together determine the two spouses to resign themselves to the death of their children and, as a last act of their strong feelings that have united them during their lives, they do not want to name a heir, but to share between them their belongings. If most of the examples of testaments show that the man desires his wife to inherit his fortune, more than the cases in which the woman wants her husband to inherit hers, we may analyse it as a form of protection. The woman was thus seen as "weak" and vulnerable in front of a society mostly masculine. The law mentions the fact that when a couple does not have any direct heirs, the fortune has to be shared between the widow and the deceased's relatives, but this clause was valid in both cases: the husband also had to give back his wife's dowry to her family. The studied cases show us that in fact, living together for a long time even without heirs, gives the moral right to the wife to inherit her husband's patrimony.

But the things were not so simple because, usually, the deceased's relatives demanded parts of the inheritance where there were no heirs. We have Mărica's case, Simion Gheuca's wife, whose brothers-in-law, Dumitru and Anghelina, pretend to have received two villages from their brother when he had separated for a while from his wife. But they reconciled and they lived together again until his death and her husband signed a testament for her by offering her villages and lands. Consequently, the prince considers that the widow has the right to keep the fortune, because the brothers-in-law's documents were signed "during their separation, so they are not valid anymore".[38]

Nevertheless, if we look on Grozava's case, Constantin Cucoranu's widow, who complains before the prince that her deceased husband's relatives want belongings from her, we can notice how random the justice was. She has a document from her husband who gives her the right to own everything "and that his brothers should have nothing". But the prince decides: she can own "everything they had, supplies and other belongings from the house, clothes and silverware", but decides to divide in two the lands even if she had bought them altogether with her husband[39]. In conclusion, even if the custom and the written law says that the wife should not be hindered to inherit what the husband disposed, the justice seems to prove subjective and, not in few cases, *unjust*.

The same complexity is pointed out also in those cases in which there is no explicit testament and after the death of the husband, the wife has to combat with all types of behaviors and demands from the part of her husband family. Widowhood was one of the most difficult periods for

women, but it also highlighted in a way their rights. The law considers the woman more vulnerable than the man,[40] and while they live together he manages her belongings. Yet, the woman's name is mentioned in the documents at the same time with her husband's, for having bought, sold, and donated. After the husband's death, the wife had to manage the whole house and take care of the children. Despite all these, she proved to be able (judicially speaking) to accomplish the same tasks as her husband did when he was alive. We can also observe the fact that the difficulties may come not only from the large kinship but from the close circle of relatives.

Alexandra, altogether with her husband Iane, request from her stepmother, Cîstina, Temelie's second wife, her father, some houses from Iassy and some vineyards, accusing her stepmother that she has some false documents for that[41]. She believes that the houses and other belongings have been bought with her father's money, so it belongs to her. The prince gives justice to Cîstina, since her documents are legal and wishes that the stepchild "would not do that anymore".[42] The lack of an appropriate behavior towards the stepmother is shown in the next trials, which have lasted eight years. The prince Gheorghe Duca itself, bored, mentions in 1679: "I replied to Iane [Alexandra's husband] that he has anything to do neither with the houses, nor with the vineyards, and that he attacked Cîstina in court for nothing, so I propose him to leave her alone, otherwise I will punish him".[43]

What would be the conclusions at the end of this concisesed investigation?

First of all we need to point out the mentality changes; if for the 17th century the custom law and the prince's justice are above the written law, for the 18th century the family is more interiorized, concentrated to the nuclear dimension and the individual's actions have more consistence. The long testaments that we have for the 18th century are detailed letters through which the testator offers us a vivid image of himself and his life and, more important than that, offers us *his* way of perception of the world.

The testaments gives us a good pretext for a journey through those times, pointing major events that affected the entire community by describing and relating some personal facts to those generals. We know that, from great boyars to common people, all lived intensely the hard times as the *moscals* (Russian soldiers) invasions, epidemics of plague or periods of famine. Therefore, the moment of writing the last wishes had two moments of reference, one related to the social time-the time of community, the other to the personal time, related to that of his /her

family. The same duality is noticed regarding the introduction. Beginning with the second half of the 17th century, then, during the 18th century, many categories of the testators used to write, as we exemplified above in our paper, complex motivations with religious or moralizing substrate through which a person whishes to show his/hers affiliation and his/her responsibility inside family`s destiny and the care for preserving the collective memory. These kinds of thoughts inserted in the beginnings emphasize the resignation of each testator and their inclination to a serenity acceptance of death and implacable destiny. We have no one single example through which we can notice even the slightest shadow of rage. Every discourse leads us to the same idea of reconciliation.

Passing from sensibilities and social aspects to those juridical, the documents themselves, the paper acts in their fragility, played a very important act into our characters' live. The trial of Rusets with lady Anastasia, prince's mother, was lost not only because she took advantage of the political context but for the Ruset family was not able to use as probation the only thing that would have matter in that circumstances: the testament.

It does not matter whether the claims or the disputations are right or no, but the manner in which they are argued. This argumentation reveals us the secrets from those times; trying to win a trial, the individual of that period, through the arguments he was bringing forward, was offering details regarding how the system of that society was functioning. Secondly, but not less important, the motivations proves to us something as well, the sentimental construct of the man from that time, his priorities within that context. We notice during the analysis we undertook within this text that the emphasis shifts from the land towards family and feeling.

The act of will, it is seen not as a last action or a terminus point but as a passage to another level mainly because of the religiosity of those times. Written with the idea of leaving in the soul but not until ordering all the things here, the testator will have the feeling that he will remain present and, as a consequence of this, he will be able to determine through this (i.e. the testament) a connection between him and the world he leaves. For us, it is an act of memory, a reflection of a particular image, real or not, an image that the testator endeavors to transmit to us. Subjective acts, the testaments can be considered as a common area between private and public, the place where society, morality, feelings, principles are mixed in proportions that would change depending on the socio-political transformations.

NOTES

[1] Roger Aubenas, *Le testament en Provence dans l'Ancien droit*, Aix-en-Provence, 1927 ; Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, « D`abord il dit et ordonna… » *Testaments et société en Lyonnais et Forez à la fin du Moyen Age*, Lyon, 2007 ; eadem, *Vivre et mourir en Lyonnais*, Lyon, 1981 ; eadem, "Un temps pour tester, un temps pour mourir: du testament oral au testament public dans les campagnes foréziennes de la fin du Moyen Age", in *Revue Historique*, 122e année, tome CCXCIX/3, 1998; Claire Judde de Larivière, "Procédures, enjeux et fonctions du testament à Venise aux confins du Moyen Age et des temps moderns. Le cas du patriciat marchand" in *Moyen Age*, tome CVIII, 2002/3 ; Jaques Chiffoleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (1320-1480)*, Editions Albin Michel, 2011 ; Philippe Haudrère, "Testaments angevins au XVIIIe siècle", in *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 116-2, 2009.

[2] Violeta Barbu, *De bono coniugali. O istorie a familiei din Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea*, București, 2003 (chapter VIII: *"Sic moriemur". Moartea și construcția identității individuale în interiorul grupului familial*); Gheorghe Lazăr, *Mărturie pentru posteritate: testamentul negustorului Ioan Băluță din Craiova*, Brăila, 2010; Idem, "Testamente negustorești din Țara Românească (secolele XVII-XVIII)", in *Revista de istorie socială*, VIII-IX (2003-2004), Iași, 2006, p. 413-435; Idem, „Familie și sentiment în Vechiul Regim românesc. Note pe marginea testamentului lui Radu Goran Olănescu", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXI, 2003; Mariana Lazăr, "*Gîndul mieu cătră moștenitorii miei cei aleși*. Diata Ilincăi Cantacuzino-Racoviță", in Valeriu Sîrbu, Crisitian Luca (coord.), *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Professoris Ionel Cândea*, Brăila, 2009, p. 477-479; Andreea Iancu, "Moștenirea prin testament: între voința individuală și solidaritatea de familie (București, sfîrșit de secol XVIII-început de secol XIX)", in *De la comunitate la societate. Studii de istoria familiei din Țara Românească sub Vechiul Regim*, Institutul Cultural Român, București, 2007, p. 245-294; Maria Magdalena Székely, „Testamentele: o abordare preliminară", in *Revista de Istorie Socială*, II-III (1997-1998), Iași, 1999; Nicolae Mihai, "Sensibilitatea față de moarte în testamentele din Oltenia premodernă și modernă (1700-1870)", in *Caiete de Antropologie istorică*, III, no. 1-2 (5-6), 2004; Tüdös S. Kinga, "*Trăiau după legi și reguli distincte*: datinile de moștenire ale secuilor", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XXVI, 2008, p. 249-270.

[3] Ștefan Lemny, *Sensibilitate și istorie în secolul al XVIII-lea românesc*, București, 1990.

[4] Simion Florea Marian, *Înmormîntarea la români,* critical edition by Iordan Datcu, Bucharest, 2008.

[5] Ioanna Andreesco et Mihaela Bacou, *Mourir à l'ombre des Carpathes,* editions Payot, 2011 (premier edition 1986).

[6] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, seria A, Moldova, vol. XXVII, doc. 235, p. 216; next it will be quoted as it follows: *DRH*.

[7] Ioan Caproşu, Petronel Zahariuc, *Documente privitoare la istoria oraşului Iaşi*, vol. I, 439; next it will be quoted as it follows: *Documente Iaşi*.

[8] Drawing a parallel between French and Romanian historiography regarding the discourse about death, the historian Andrei Pippidi remarks in 1994 the same aridity of ours sources and the difficulty of analyzing it for medieval and pre-modern period: "Les documents ne sont ni d'accès facile, ni de forte consistence. […] La grande majorité des actes conservés regarde la fortune accumulée par les monastères ou les boyards. Pour arriver à avoir des testaments pareils a ceux interrogés par Michel Vovelle, il faut attendre le XVIIIe siècle et à cause du petit nombre de ceux qui ont été publiés, il n'est pas (encore) possible de se lancer dans leur étude sérielle", Andrei Pippidi, "Vision de la mort et de l'au-dela dans les anciennes sources roumaines", in *Revue Roumaine d'histoire*, nos. 1-2, 1994.

[9] See *Mic dicţionar academic*, Bucharest, 2003.

[10] *Documente Iaşi*, vol. IV, doc. 81, p. 62; see also Ovid Sachelarie, Nicolae Stoicescu (coord.), *Instituţii feudale din Ţările Române. Dicţionar*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 469, voice: *testament*; *Dicţionarul Limbii Române*, tom XI, second part, "T" letter, Bucharest,1982, p. 2963-2964.

[11] This usage will continue until the 17th century, being also found in documents as „diată" and we emphasize the fact that, through these sorts of deeds, named as such, it is not bequeathed the entire fortune of the deceased person, but it has the purpose to pass certain assets. The *stolnic* Grama, through such a deed, named as such in the text, take care and rewards his servants (called „feciori") for the „service they have rendered unto me", with „şiftu, atlaz , şarvana neagră şi cai" (*DRH*, A, vol. XXVII, doc. 335, p. 325 - it is worth mentioning the fact that, having a close look at this character, we have not been able to identify among the old documents his last will, but we know he had one son who passed away unmarried, and two daughters. More than that, this practice can be encountered during the first years of the 19th century: in 1804, Şerban the Fur Merchant writes and testifies „with this true last will, as you must know" that he bequeathes to the princely church from Bârlad a house lot for the sake of his memory and all his family. He calls his last will a „diată", but he does not want to appoint a heir or to divide his assets among his descendants, but he only takes care of his soul - the respective last will being just a donation. The closing word strengthens the above-mentioned assertions by confirming the existence of direct heirs which were probably bequeathed his assets within another last will: „and nobody among my sons and my nephews and my grand-nephews should bother the

holy church […]". Ioan Antonovici, *Documente bîrlădene*, Bârlad, 1911, vol. I, p. 24-25; next it will be quoted as it follows: *Documente Bârlădene*.

[12] *DRH*, A, vol. I, doc. 46, p. 66.

[13] *Ibidem*, doc. 209, p. 294.

[14] *Ibidem*, vol. II, doc. 122, p. 175.

[15] *Documente privind istoria României*, seria A, Moldova, veac XVI, vol. I, doc. I, p. 1.

[16] *Ibidem,* doc. 490, p. 546.

[17] This type of practice is shortly presented by Emanoil Em. Săvoiu, *Contribuțiuni la studiul succesiunei testamentare în vechiul drept românesc*, Craiova, 1942, p. 39-40.

[18] *Codul Calimach*, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1958; *Manualul juridic al lui Andronachi Donici*, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1959; *Pravilniceasca Condică*, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1957.

[19] Alex Drace-Francis, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity*, Tauris Academic Studies, London, New York, 2006.

[20] Louis de Charin, *Les testaments dans la region de Montpellier au Moyen Age*, Les Presses de Savoie, 1961.

[21] A person who sings in a church chorus.

[22] Prince Petriceico ruled as it follows: 1672-1674; 1683-1684.

[23] Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Achiziții Noi, pachet MMDCCLVI, doc. 15.

[24] *Documente Iași*, vol. V, doc. 603, p. 376.

[25] *Ibidem*, vol. IV, doc. 345, p. 248.

[26] Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade,* vol. XXII, doc. 42, p. 37; next it will be quoted as it follows: *Surete și izvoade*.

[27] Teodor Balan, *Familia Onciul. Studiu și documente*, Cernăuți, 1927, doc. 48, p. 57.

[28] N. Iorga, „Cărți și scriitori români din veacurile XVII-XIX. (3.O formulă de testament)", in *Analele Academiei Române,* Memoriile secțiunii literare, tom XXIX, p. 185; Antim Ivireanul, *Opere*, critical edition by Gabriel Ștrempel, Bucharest, 1997, p. 352; Andreea Iancu, "Se préparer á la mort : le devoir de chaque chrétien. Le testament entre la rémission des péchés et la succesion (Bucharest, fin du XVIIIe-début du XIXe siècles)", in *New Europe College Yearbook 2004-2005*, 2009 (see her annex).

[29] "[…] nu sunteți nici unul cucon să vă laude oamenii".

[30] Gh. Ghibănescu, *Surete și izvoade*, VIII, doc. 7, p. 8-9.

[31] *Cartea românească de învățătură (1646)*, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1961, 15 :212, p. 77.

32   ANIC (Arhivele Naţionale Istorice Centrale), Achiziţii Noi, pachet
      CXLIII, doc. 1448.
33   *Documente Iaşi*, vol. V, doc. 197, p. 111-112.
34   *Ibidem*, vol. IV, doc. 214, p. 152.
35   *Ibidem*, vol. V, doc. 358, p. 188.
36   „ […] nime din fraţii sau din rudele mele să n-aibă nici o treabă la un cap
      de aţă din munca mea", *Documente Iaşi*, vol. II, p. 284-285.
37   *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 470
38   *DRH*, A, vol. XXIV, doc. 216, p. 197; vol. XXV, doc. 483, p. 473.
39   Teodor Balan, *Familia Onciul*, p. 52-53; *Ispisoace şi zapise*, vol. IV/1, p.
      40-42.
40   When it comes for inheritance and marriage, the woman will rebuke less
      than the man, since she is more narrow-minded and more vulnerable than
      the man (*CRÎ*, 41:6, 51: 2) and "if the person who had made a mistake is a
      child or a woman, it is not considered on purpose" (*ÎL*, 211:6).
41   *Documente Iaşi*, vol. II, p. 310-311.
42   *Ibidem*.
43   *Ibidem,* p. 450.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Sources

I.1. Manuscripts

Arhivele Naționale Iași, Colecția Documente, Mitropolia Moldovei, Episcopia Hușilor, Mănăstirea Neamț

Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, Achiziții Noi

Romanian Academy Library, Fond Manuscrise, Documente istorice

I.2. Published

Antonovici, I., *Documente bârlădene*, vol. I-V, Bârlad, 1911-1926.

Balan, T., *Documente bucovinene*, I-V, Cernăuți, 1933-1939; VI, București, 1942; VII, critical edition by I. Caproșu, Iași, 2005.

Idem, *Familia Onciul. Studii și documente*, Cernăuți, 1927.

Băleanu, Alex., "Documente și regeste moldovenești", in *Cercetări istorice. Revistă de istorie românească*, nr. 2, anul VIII-IX (1932-1933).

Boga, L. T., "Documente basarabene, testamente și danii (1672-1858)", in *Revista Societății Istorico-argeologice bisericești din Chișinău*, vol. XIX, 1929.

Caproșu, I., *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași*, vol. II-VIII, *Acte interne* (1661-1690, 1691-1725, 1726-1740, 1741-1755, 1756-1770, 1771-1780, 1781-1790), Iași, 2000-2006.

Idem, Zahariuc, P., *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași*, vol. I, *Acte interne* (1408-1661), Iași, 1999.

Cartea românească de învățătură (1646), critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1961.

Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhiva Istorică Centrală a Statului, Bucharest, I, 1957, II, 1959, III, 1968, IV, 1970, V, 1974.

Codul Calimach, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1958.

Cozianul, Mardarie, *Lexicon slavo-românesc și tîlcuirea numelor din 1649*, critical edition by Grigorie Crețu, Bucharest, 1900.

Crestomație de literatură română veche, vol. I, coord. I. C. Chițimia and Stela Toma, Cluj-Napoca, 1984.

Documente privind istoria României, seria A, Moldova, *Veac XVI*, vol. I -IV; *Veac XVII*, vol. I - V, Bucharest, 1951-1957.

Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria A, Moldova, Bucharest, vol. XVIII (1623-1625), 2006, vol. XIX (1626-1628), 1969, vol. XXI (1632-1633), 1971, vol. XXII (1634), 1974, vol. XXIII (1635-1636), 1996, vol. XXIV (1637-1638), 1998, vol. XXV (1639-1640), 2003, vol. XXVI (1641-1642), 2003, vol. XXVII (1643-1644), 2005.

Ghibănescu, Gh., *Ispisoace și zapise (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. I-VI, Iași-Huși, 1906-1933.

Idem, *Surete și izvoade*, I-XXV, Iași-Huși, 1906-1933.

Iorga, N., *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor*, I-III, Bucharest, 1895-1897.

Idem, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, Bucharest, V-VII, 1903-1904; X, 1905; XI, 1906; XVI, 1909, XIX, 1910; XX, 1911; XXI, 1911, XXII, 1913; XXIII, 1913.

Idem, "Documente botoșănene"*,* in *Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României*, vol. VIII, Bucharest, 1929.

Îndreptarea Legii, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1962.

Manualul juridic al lui Andronachi Donici, critical edition by Andrei Rădulescu, Bucharest, 1959.

Marinescu, I., "Acte moldovenești felurite" , in *Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României*, vol. VIII, Bucharest, 1929.

Pravila ritorului Lucaci, critical editon by I. Rizescu, Bucharest, 1971.

Sava, A. V., *Documente privitoare la târgul și ținutul Orheiului*, Bucharest, 1944.

Idem, *Documente privitoare la târgul și ținutul Lăpușna*, Bucharest, 1937.

Solomon, Const., Stoide, C. A., *Documente tecucene*, Bârlad, vol. I (secolele XVII-XIX), 1938, vol. II (secolele XVI-XIX), 1939, vol. III (secolele XVII-XIX), 1942.

II. Dictionaries

Dicționar de etnologie și antropologie, coord. Pierre Bonte și Michel Izard, second edition, Iași, 2007.

Dicționarul Limbii Române, tom XI, second part, "T" letter, Bucharest,1982,

Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească, enciclopedie istorică, genealogică și biografică, vol. I (Abaza-Bogdan), coord. Mihai Dim. Sturza, Simetria, 2004.

Instituții feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar, coord. Ovid Sachelarie și Nicolae Stoicescu, Bucharest, 1988.

Stoicescu, N. *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, Bucharest, 1971.

III. General and special papers

Barbu, Violeta, *De bono coniugali O istorie a familiei din Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea*, Bucharest, 2003.

Eadem, Constantin, Florina Manuela, Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Constanța, Iancu, Andreea-Roxana, Lazăr, Gheorghe, *De la comunitate la societate. Studii de istoria familiei din Țara Românescă sub Vechiul Regim*, Bucharest, 2007.

Chiffoleau, J., *La comptabilité de l'au-delà. Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (1320-1480)*, Editions Albin Michel, 2011.

Dan, D., "Documente relative la Maria Ruset, fata lui Evstratie Dabija Voevod", in *Arhiva Genealogică*, II, 1-12, 1913.

Delumeau, J., Roche, D. (coord.), *Histoire des pères et de la paternité*, Paris, 1990.

Djuvara, N., *Les Grand Boyards ont ils constitué dans les Principautés rumains une veritable oligarchie institutionnelle et heréditaire*, in „Stüdost Forschungen", XLVI, 1987.

Ghițulescu, Constanța, "Familie și societate în Țara Românească (secolul al XVII-lea)", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XX, 2002.

Eadem, "Transmettre la terre dans les communatés montagnardes roumaines (XVIIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles)", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire,* tome XLIV, no. 1-4, 2005.

Goody, J., *Familia europeană. O încercare de antropologie istorică*, translated by Silvana Doboș, Iași, 2003.

Gonța, Alex. I., "Femeia și drepturile ei la moștenire în Moldova după „obiceiul pămîntului", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A. D. Xenopol» Iași*, XVII, 1980.

Gorovei, Șt. S., "Clanuri, familii, autorități, puteri (Moldova, secolele XV-XVII)", *Arhiva Genealogică,* I(VI), 1994, nr. 1-2.

Idem, "Un „alt ev mediu" românesc", in *Xenopoliana*, I, 1993, 1-4.

Gros, Lidia, "Testamentul și funeraliile lui Thomas Jo, castelanul Cetății Ieciu (1531)", in *Itinerarii istoriografice. Studii în onoarea istoricului Costin Feșan*, coord. By Dumitru Țeicu and Rudolf Gräf, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.

Guerreau-Jalambert, Anita, *Sur le structures de parenté dans l'Europe médiévale*, in „Annales E.S.C.", 36 année, no. 6, 1981.

Haudrère, Ph., "Testaments angevins au XVIIIe siècle", in *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, 116-2, 2009.

Herlea, Alex., *Din istoria statutului juridic al copilului în România*, in *Studii de istorie a dreptului*, vol. III, Cluj-Napoca, 1997.

Iancu, Andreea, "Binecuvîntarea și blestemul părinților în discursul testamentar (București, sfîrșit de secol XVIII-început de secol XIX)", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXI, 2003.

Eadem, "Familie și patrimoniu. Dezmoștenire și adopție în cîteva testamente (Bucureștii anilor 1796-1805)", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Modernă*, vol. XIII, 1999.

Eadem, "Se préparer á la mort : le devoir de chaque chrétien. Le testament entre la rémission des péchés et la succesion (Bucharest, fin du XVIIIe-début du XIXe siècles)", in *New Europe College Yearbook 2004-2005*, 2009.

Kinga, Tüdös S., "*Trăiau după legi și reguli distincte*: datinile de moștenire ale secuilor", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XXVI, 2008.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, *La maison et le nom. Srategiés et rituels dans l'Italie de la renaissances*, Paris, 1990.

Lazăr, Gh., "Familie şi sentiment în Vechiul Regim românesc. Note pe marginea testamentului lui Radu Goran Olănescu", in *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XXI, 2003.

Idem, *Mărturie pentru posteritate: testamentul negustorului Ioan Băluţă din Craiova*, Brăila, 2010.

Idem, "Testamente negustoreşti din Ţara Românească (secolele XVII-XVIII)", in *Revista de istorie socială*, VIII-IX (2003-2004), Iaşi, 2006.

Lazăr, Mariana, "*Gîndul mieu cătră moştenitorii miei cei aleşi*. Diata Ilincăi Cantacuzino-Racoviţă", in Valeriu Sîrbu, Crisitian Luca (coord.), *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Professoris Ionel Cândea*, Brăila, 2009.

Lorcin, Marie-Thérèse, « *D`abord il dit et ordonna… » Testaments et société en Lyonnais et Forez à la fin du Moyen Age*, Lyon, 2007.

Mihai, N., "Sensibilitatea faţă de moarte în testamentele din Oltenia premodernă şi modernă (1700-1870)", in *Caiete de Antropologie istorică*, III, no. 1-2 (5-6), 2004.

Idem, "Pro memoria mortuis. Practica testamentară şi practice commemorative în Oltenia modern (1700-1860)", in *Xenopoliana*, XI, 3-4, 2003.

Nedelcu, G. P., *Puterea părintească în vechiul drept românesc*, Ploieşti, 1933.

Petot, P., *La famille. Histoire du droit privé français*, préface de Jean Gaudemet, Paris, 1992.

Popescu, Anicuţa, "Instituţia căsătoriei şi condiţia juridică a femeii din Ţara Românească şi Moldova în secolul al XVII-lea", in *Studii*, 23, no. 1, 1970.

Social Behaviour and Family Strategies in the Balkans (16th-20th Centuries). Comportements sociaux et stratégies familiales dans les Balkans (XVIe-XXe siècles). Actes du colloque international 9-10, juin 2006 New Europe College Bucarest, volume coordonné par Ionela Băluţă, Constanţa Vinitlă-Ghiţulescu, Mihai-Răzvan Ungureanu.

Săvoiu, E. Em., *Contribuţiuni la studiul influenţei religioase în vechiul drept românesc*, Tipografia Sfintei Mitropolii a Olteniei, Craiova, 1941, extras from Renaşterea review, no. 7-8, 1941.

Idem, *Contribuţiuni la studiul succesiunei testamentare în vechiul drept românesc*, Ramuri, Craiova, 1942.

Székely, Maria Magdalena, "Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească", in *Arhiva Genealogică*, IV (IX), nr. 1-2, 1997.

Zahariuc, P., *De la Iaşi la muntele Athos. Studii şi documente de istorie a Bisericii*, Iaşi, 2008.

Idem, *Ţara Moldovei în vremea lui Gheorghe Ştefan 1653-1658*, Iaşi, 2003.

Idem, "Două catastife ale Cantacuzinilor moldoveni din veacul al XVII-lea", in *Revista de Istorie Socială*, IV-VII, 1999-2002.

ȘTEFAN BOSOMITU

Born in 1982, in Vaslui

PhD in History at "Al. I. Cuza" University of Iași
Dissertation: *Miron Constantinescu. The Destiny of an Intellectual Submitted to the Party*

Researcher, The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile (since 2007)
Associate Researcher, The Romanian Institute for Recent History (since 2010)

POSDRU (European Union Program) Fellow (2008-2011)
PhD Scholarship, University of Angers, France (2010)
Erasmus-Socrates Fellow, University of Angers, France (2004-2005)

Participation in numerous conferences in Vilnius, Budapest, Prague, Nantes, New York

Author of several scholarly studies about the history of the Romanian Communist Party, the biographies of the underground communist militants, the Communist propaganda, the *Securitate*

IN THE AGE OF "MISERY".
THE ROMANIAN SOCIOLOGY DURING
THE COMMUNIST REGIME (1948-1977)

Resumé: L'article a comme principale objectif l'évaluation de la place que la sociologie roumaine a occupé pendant le régime communiste, en reconstruisant le contexte politique interne et international qui a conduit a une (re) institutionnalisation de la discipline. Après une très riche activité entre les deux guerres, la sociologie roumaine a été bannie comme discipline après la seconde Guerre Mondiale et la montée au pouvoir du régime communiste. Après deux décades de « misère », la sociologie a été institutionnalisée de nouveau dans les années 1960 dans le contexte d'une « libéralisation » intellectuelle et politique. L'article essaye d'expliquer le développement institutionnel de la sociologie roumaine pendant le régime communiste, à travers l'analyse du rôle joué par divers facteurs (la tradition d'avant la guerre, le régime politique).

Key-words: Romanian sociology, Est-European sociologies, communist regime, institutionalization

I. Introduction

The history of the Romanian sociology in the twentieth century was closely connected to the political history of the country. Experiencing a fertile period during the two interwar decades, as a result of a modernization process that followed the creation of the national state in 1918, the discipline would be "banned" thirty years later, once with the instauration of the "people's democracy" regime. A new education reform (1948), that aimed a deep "restructuring" of the Romanian educational system, virtually abolished the sociology – considered to be a "bourgeois" and "reactionary" science, by removing it from the university curricula. The revival of the sociology was possible in the context of an intellectual "opening" in the mid 60s. The sociology regained its place among the academic disciplines and departments of sociology were re-established

within the universities. The subsequent history of sociology would be an equally difficult one, punctuated by moments that will lead to a new "dissolution" of the discipline (1977).

My paper aims an analysis of the history of sociology in this particular chronological framework (1948-1977). I will approach several aspects. Firstly, I intend to undertake a regional comparative analysis. What was the fate of the Hungarian, Bulgarian or Polish sociology after 1948? The marginalization of the discipline in the context of the instauration of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe can be regarded as a regional phenomenon, or we can speak about a Romanian exception? Can we speak about a "reinvention" of the sociology in the countries of the "Soviet bloc" in the 60s, or, once again, we are talking about a Romanian singularity? Only such an approach will allow us to clarify the different aspects of the history of the Romanian sociology as a discipline within its two decades of "illegality", and the avatars of its revival in the 60s.

Regarding the history of the Romanian sociology, it is essential to try to follow and reconstruct the personal, professional and the intellectual destiny of the preeminent figures of the interwar Romanian school of sociology after 1948. Which were the professional retraining possibilities of the interwar sociologist? What happened with their professional and intellectual careers?

Another issue that I will approach is that of the revival of the sociology in the context of an intellectual "opening" in the 1960s. Which were the avatars of the revival of the sociology? In what type of paradigm one may include this restoration of the discipline? Can we speak about some kind of continuity of the interwar Romanian school of sociology? Or is it just about an institutionalization of the rupture?

II. East-European Sociologies. A Regional Context

The Central and East European area, which was to fall under the influence of the Soviet Union after the Second World War, is characterized by an ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. Politically dependent until the middle of the 19th century, the area has known a late modernization of the indigenous political structures and could be characterized by economic underdevelopment and by a predominance of agrarian economy and rural population. To the general characteristics of the area, one might add

the absence of an urban middle class, the partial absence of a national identity, a late coding of the indigenous languages and a high religiosity.[1]

After the Second World War, the entire region came under the influence of the Soviet Union, which imposed regimes of popular democracy in all the states.[2] Subsequently, all these states experienced significant political, economic, social and cultural changes. All these changes produced ruptures and discontinuities within the intellectual tradition of the Central and East European states. The interwar democratic values and the opening towards Western Europe were replaced by a propaganda that praised the Soviet Union and the Soviet economic, political and cultural achievements. The Marxism-Leninism became the dominant ideology and the dialectical and historical materialism became the two disciplines which underlay the new social order.[3]

Regarding the history of sociologies of the Central and Eastern Europe post-World War II, there are at least two types of discourse. On the one hand, there is a quite detailed internal discourse, which highlights the most important moments in the evolution of the discipline in a particular state. More often than not, this type of discourse can be characterized as being distorted and lacking in critical spirit, due to the fact that it tries to ignore or, at best, reduce the influence that communist ideology had on the discipline. There is also a second type of discourse, external, which seems to lack the same critical spirit, as it chooses to ignore the sociological production in former communist countries in its entirety, considering that it would not have departed from the canons of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.[4] For this reason, it is assumed that East European sociology has no scientific value and would not make a significant contribution from a theoretical perspective.[5] Moreover, there are views according to which even this type of external speech presents several directions. For example, some researchers consider Central and East European sociologies as *antagonistic* to Western sociologies. This type of discourse is based on the idea that Marxism would be based on an ontological and epistemological conception, completely different from that of the main Western sociological currents.[6] Others believe that the issue is not *antagonism*, but *deviation*, since East European sociologies have not been an alternative to Western sociology.[7]

The postwar history of social sciences in Central and Eastern Europe is marked by the forced establishment of communist regimes in the states which entered the Soviet sphere of influence. The first post-war years correspond to a phase in which the political power imposed a strict control

over the social sciences. The purpose of this offensive stance was the desire to institute Marxism-Leninism as the only ideology accepted. Everything that existed outside the accepted canons of dialectical and historical materialism was labeled as being bourgeois and reactionary.[8] Repressive measures were taken against those who held different, uncanonical, views: elimination from higher education or from specialized research institutes, social marginalization or, in the worst cases, arrest and imprisonment. Of all the social sciences, sociology was the most affected. Regarded as a "bourgeois pseudo-science" or even a "reactionary science", sociology was marginalized or even eliminated from the academic disciplines, but also from the departments of new multidisciplinary research institutes established under the subordination of the new Academies of Sciences.[9] This offensive position against interwar intellectual traditions had profound implications on the history of sociology in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. The natural development of the discipline was slowed or even stopped. In some cases, the re-institutionalization of sociology, which was to take place two decades later, did not take account of those interwar traditions, and they were lost as a consequence.

The period of ideological dogmatism and immobilism relaxed a bit after Stalin's death (1953) and with the process of liberalization imposed by the new leader from Kremlin, Nikita Khrushchev.[10] In this period, several important changes occurred in what concerns sociology.

Firstly, the term of sociology itself was to disappear from the dictionary of taboo words, being accepted in academic discussion and political discourse. Sociology became one of the fronts of ideological disputes between the states of the Soviet bloc and the West. The bourgeois *pseudo-science* of society became the *bourgeois sociology*, to which the Soviet Union and the satellite states responded through *Marxist sociology*, as historical materialism began to be perceived. The Marxist sociology had the mission of carrying an *ideological war* with the Western sociology, the goal being that of discovering the latter's *bourgeois and reactionary* roots.

Liberalization also meant resuming academic contacts with the West, although they were strictly monitored by the political power. Nonetheless, the resumption of academic contacts was an important step in the development of sociology in Eastern Europe. The most significant examples in this sense are the cases of Poland and of the Soviet Union. Poland was the state with the most important sociological tradition in the area. Even after the coming to power of the communist regime, Polish sociology continued its activity for a while.[11] Furthermore, Polish sociologists tried

to maintain permanent contact with international intellectual circles. After 1956, the relations of institutional cooperation and collaboration with various institutions from the United States were facilitated. Last but not least, Polish sociologists were always present at the I.S.A. (*International Sociological Association*) Congresses, and some of them were part of the I.S.A. management.[12] Similarly, in the 1950s, the Soviet Union resumed the contacts with the West in what concerns academic relations. The thaw imposed by Khrushchev did not only initiate a process of liberalization, but also marked the beginning of an "*ideological war between the socialist pro-Soviet camp and the capitalist pro-American camp*".[13] Sociology thus complied with the political agenda of the Soviet state, but the changes that took place are worth to be mentioned. First, in 1955, a delegation of the Soviet Union participated for the first time at an international congress organized by the I.S.A. The mission of the Soviet delegates was simple – to come into contact with the ideological "enemies", but also with the Western sociologists who maintained *progressive* views.[14] Also in 1955, several leading scholars from the West made work visits to Moscow. It is the case of a group of French sociologists, led by Jean Piaget, none other than the President of the ISA (April), of Adam Schaff (September), or of Jorgen Jorgensen (October). Not least, it is worth mentioning that in 1958, Moscow organized the *International Conference of Sociologists*, an occasion for Everett Hughes, Raymond Aron, Georges Friedmann, T.H. Marshall, Helmut Schelsky and Tom Bottomore to visit the capital of the Soviet Union.[15]

However, the most important consequence of this liberalization was the reestablishment of departments of sociology in East European universities and of research laboratories within these universities. Once more, Poland was the first of the East European states to take such action after the Second World War. In 1956, programs of specialization in the discipline of sociology, with a duration of five years, were introduced in the universities of Krakow, Lodz, Warsaw and in the Catholic University of Lublin.[16] In the Soviet Union, the development from this point of view was a little slower. The first sociological research laboratory appeared in 1960 in Novosibirsk, within the *Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Enterprise.*[17] Subsequently, a *Laboratory of Social Research* was established at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Leningrad.[18]

It should also be noted that both in Poland and in the Soviet Union, at the time of these developments, national professional associations of sociologists were established: in 1957 in Poland - *the Polish Association*

of Sociology,[19] and in 1958 in the Soviet Union - *the Soviet Sociological Association.*[20]

The favorable developments from Poland, but especially those from the Soviet Union influenced the development of sociology in the other countries of the Soviet bloc as well. The only difference was the delay and the difficulty with which they made the steps that Poland, for example, made in a very short time, during 1956-1958. The gap between countries such as Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic on the one hand and Poland on the other hand, was not bridged even ten years later. This reality was caused by the fact that the evolution of the discipline was slower in these states. Undoubtedly, the absence of a tradition of sociology in some of these states also had consequences in this regard.

There are enough similarities in what concerns the national developments of the institutionalization of sociology in the other socialist states. A first common feature is the interference of the political power in the process of restoring sociology. This was the case of the German Democratic Republic, where, only after the decision of the VI Congress of the Party (1963), the first steps toward institutionalizing the discipline were taken.[21] The same held true in Hungary (1963), Czechoslovakia (1964) or Bulgaria (1967).[22] Thenceforth, the developments of sociology in these states followed a specific pattern: the emergence of a national professional organization, the establishment of the first university departments or research centers, and the appearance of specialized periodicals.

In Hungary, an important sociological tradition did not exist until the beginning of World War II.[23] An attempt to institutionalize sociology took place immediately after the end of the war. Sándor Szalai, a Marxist-oriented intellectual, managed to establish a department of sociology at the University of Budapest.[24] The experiment failed, his department being disbanded in 1948.[25] The discussions as regards sociology broke out again in the early 1960s, in a publicist "debate"[26] between the same Sándor Szalai and Andras Hegedus.[27] The first suggested that the development of Hungarian sociology had to be based on Western models, given the substantial gap that it had to overcome, while Hegedus believed that Marxist philosophy provided a sufficient theoretical framework. As for the ideological imports, he deemed them to be too dangerous.[28] The latter was to come off victorious; he was the one who was to lead the *Committee on Sociology* established within the Department of Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1963.[29] The institutional

evolution of Hungarian sociology was going to be very slow, since the first publication in the field and the first department of sociology (which became operational only in 1978) was established as late as 1972.[30] Subsequently, the first professional association of Hungarian sociologists was established in 1978.[31]

Not having had an institutional profile before World War II, Bulgarian sociology made a first attempt at institutionalization at the end the war, when Todor Pavlov[32] set up an *Institute of Sociology* within the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. The coming to power of the communist party and the imposition of the Stalinist ideological dogmatism led to the abolition of this institution in the late 1940s.[33] After 1960, there were several attempts to lay the basis of sociology in Bulgaria, the representative figure being Zhivko Oshavkov, a Bulgarian Marxist philosopher who had studied in Paris before the war, at that time leader of the Department of historical materialism within the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences. However, it also took an external impulse for Bulgarian sociology to be placed on institutional basis. At the *VI Congress of the ISA*, (1966, Evian, France), Bulgaria was granted the privilege to organize the next congress, scheduled to take place in 1970. The Bulgarian political authorities embraced this opportunity, reason for which, a year later, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party took the decision of institutionally empowering the emerging Bulgarian sociology.[34] The establishment of the *Institute of Sociology* within the Academy of Sciences followed a year later, as well as the appearance of the first magazine in the field - *Sotsiologcheski Izsledvanyia* (Sociological Research). Later, in 1975, the first department of sociology at the University of Sofia was established.[35]

The history of sociology in Czechoslovakia followed a similar route, despite the important tradition of inter-war Czechoslovak sociology. The revival of the discipline occurred in the 1960s, when an *Institute of Sociology* was established within the Academy of Sciences in Prague, specialized periodicals appeared and departments of sociology were introduced in Charles and Masaryk Universities.[36] The history of Czechoslovak sociology was also marked by less favorable moments, such as the direct repressive campaigns against sociologists after the events of 1968.[37]

The examples above, briefly presented as they are, allow us to draw some general conclusions concerning the Eastern Europe sociologies. First of all, the absence of sociology from the academic landscape of all these

states in the first years following the establishment of communism must be remarked upon. Stalin's death and policy shift promoted by Moscow produced the gap that allowed the first changes in the status of sociology. The process of revival of the discipline after 1956 was confronted with various initiatives and actors, but the political power was the one that, each and every time, admitted and "validated" the (re)institutionalization.[38] It is interesting to observe that despite the differences between East European countries, despite their distinct historical past, despite the heterogeneous traditions as regards sociological research, and despite differences related to intellectual trends, the revival of sociology seems to have been a common phenomenon.[39] Nonetheless, the process was neither unitary, nor simultaneous. There were different stages in the evolution of sociology, the causes behind these differences being related either to certain previous intellectual traditions, or to the inconsistency and reluctance of the political regimes. Instead, it was a similar process, since a pattern of development specific to sociology can be easily observed.

Still, a large number of uncertainties remains. First, we should ask ourselves whether this common and similar phenomenon, even in the conditions in which it was not simultaneous, led to the appearance of a single East European sociology or of more sociologies, particular to each nation. Furthermore, the issues regarding the particularities of East European sociologies should also be put under analysis. What will have been their traditions? How important will have been the influence of Western sociology? Last but not least, we should also ask ourselves to what extent sociology managed to individualize itself in relation to the official ideology, and especially in relation to historical materialism.

From these perspectives, the dimension of our analysis could take an entirely different turn, as all these issues indicate differences much rather than similarities. Since the main purpose of this study differs, however, we shall not dwell on these issues, even though we believe them to be of the highest importance. We shall merely say that in what concerns the tradition of East European sociologies, there are different opinions. The trend in the specialized literature from each and every state is to find the intellectual roots of sociology in the autochthonous intellectual traditions. External influence was very rarely accepted as preponderant. However, we believe that M.F. Keen and J. Mucha are right to indicate Soviet sociology as being the most important tradition of East European sociologies, having had an important influence over all East European sociologies. Their arguments are perfectly valid – a great part of the specialized literature and of the

theoretical essays on historical materialism and Marxist sociology have been translated from Russian in almost all East European languages. These translations aimed at establishing a common standard regarding what was right or wrong, acceptable or unacceptable.[40] With regard to the influence of Western sociology and the degree of autonomy of sociology, it is obvious that there are significant differences between the socialist countries, caused first and foremost by the flexibility and leniency of the deciders from the ideological apparatus or even from the political regimes.[41]

Finally, there are many points of view regarding the issue of the degree of "independence" of sociology in relation with the Marxist-Leninist ideology in general and with historical materialism in particular. A first hypothesis suggests that there were no differences between East European sociology and historical materialism, the two terms being synonymous, both referring to the same science about society.[42] In this case, the only difficulty lay in defining more exactly the two terms - either the term historical materialism was used to indicate the Marxist social science, case in which the term sociology should refer only to bourgeois sociology, or the term was accepted, under the formula "Marxist sociology", synonymous with historical materialism.[43] Another hypothesis maintained that historical materialism and sociology are two different concepts. The first concept refers to the theoretical and philosophical analysis of society, while the second to the empirical investigation and generalizations based on this type of investigation. There are also authors who, having accepted this difference, emphasized the need of unifying the two into a new and integrated science about society. Neither sociology taken separately as a non-philosophical science, nor historical materialism, as philosophical theory that analyses the relationships between social beings and social consciousness was not able to develop into a complete, logical and fully developed social science. The solution would have been the unification of the two.[44] There were also those who suggested that sociology was an empirical science with a high degree of generalization that studied social phenomena from the perspective of the structure of the group to which they belonged, while historical materialism was defined as a metascientific philosophical reflection of the utmost importance for all social sciences. Thus, the need for a closer link between philosophical metasociology (historical materialism) and sociology itself wash touched upon.[45] Finally, *a third way* would be defined by the idea that historical materialism overlapped with sociology in the sense that it absorbed the results of the empirical sociological research. In this case, it was admitted

53

that historical materialism was more general than sociology because it dominated and included sociology in the sense of using the facts and conclusions set forth by sociological investigations. But historical materialism goes beyond sociology, as it tries to establish the most general laws of social development. This hypothesis also implies a converse, as sociology includes historical materialism when it uses basic methods to discover the particular laws of social institutions. On the other hand, sociology is outside the realms of historical materialism when it studies the specific issues of general or particular branches through their own methods and techniques of investigation.[46] The issue of the relationship between sociology and historical materialism was one of the current debates in all Central and East European countries. It is worth mentioning that common ground has not been reached regarding this analysis, due to the lack of accurate geographical or national crystallizations.

III. Continuity or rupture in post-war Romanian sociology (1948-1965)?

In the first issue from 2005, the magazine *Sociologie românească* held a debate on the status and condition of Romanian sociology.[47] Among those who accepted the invitation of the editorial team to comment on some controversial matters were important names in Romanian sociology. Under the heading *"Rupture and / or theoretical-methodological continuity between pre-war sociology and sociology in the communist period: the status of the Marxist-Leninist paradigm; defensive strategies of sociology"*, some expressed opinions that summarized the manner in which current professionals in the discipline perceive the post-war period of the history of Romanian sociology.

Virgil Măgureanu was of the opinion that there had been a clear rupture, particularly visible in the first decade after the coming to power of the communist regime, when sociology had been "creatively denied". He also believed that there had been continuity between interwar sociology and that from the communist period, exemplified through the destinies of Henri H. Stahl or Traian Herseni, who resumed their activity in the communist period. Moreover, Măgureanu stated that another phenomenon that would indicate continuity was represented by the field research carried out in the times when sociology was banned. Despite being subsumed to other purposes, they sought the verification of scientific hypotheses. He further mentioned

that there had been no Marxist-Leninist paradigm in sociology in Romania, nobody seriously appropriating such a prospect to themselves.[48] Maria Larionescu believed that the establishment of communism led to an obvious rupture in the path of sociology as a science with a critical vocation, since historical materialism, conceived as a dogmatic and simplistic version of Marxism, substituted sociological analysis. She also suggested, however, that the influence of the sociological school of Bucharest on post-war sociology was evident, particularly so after 1965.[49]

The other views expressed under this heading seemed to suggest the same perspective as regards the destiny of Romanian sociology in the aftermath of World War II. 1948 was the year of an obvious *rupture* which was marked by the dissolution of university departments, and of the specialized institutions. Nonetheless, the existence of a connection labeled as *continuity* between interwar and post-war Romanian sociology was also suggested. The durability of the discipline would have been ensured by the tradition of monographic research which would be preserved and perpetuated, even if it was under the "scientific umbrella" of other disciplines: philosophy, statistics, economics, geography.

1944-1948 – an *intermezzo*

The period 1944-1948 is seen as a revival of inter-war sociology.[50] Sociology tried to survive the war. In Bucharest, Cluj and Iași, sociology was still an academic discipline within the Faculties of Letters and Philosophy. Nothing seemed to announce the dark times that lay ahead. In the summer of 1945, old students and collaborators celebrated Professor Dimitrie Gusti, by organising the 20th anniversary from the first monographic campaign.[51] The old and newer professionals in the discipline predicted the resumption of sociological research and investigations, both in rural and urban areas. The first initiative of this kind after the war took place in August 1945 when a team of ten researchers,[52] led by Anton Golopenția, was to undertake research in Hodac (Mureș County).[53] Another occasion of such an undertaking was to come in the summer of 1946, when Henri H. Stahl decided to resume research in Runcu village in Gorj County, a research begun in 1930.[54] Another campaign was carried out in 1946 in Drăguș (Făgăraș County), while sociological investigations on forest workers in Vâlcea and Argeș Counties were also carried on.[55]

During this period, one may also observe an increase in the number of sociological publications, as many results of the research carried out

during the war would only now meet the print.[56] Those who signed these publications are still renowned sociologists of the interwar period: D. Gusti,[57] H. H. Stahl,[58] Traian Herseni,[59] Vasile V. Caramelea,[60] Lucia Apolzan,[61] Anton Golopenția, and others. The sociologists felt, however, that there was /would be need to adapt their research to the new post-war realities, as what seemed to be a revival of pre-war sociology actually turned out to be only a brief *intermezzo*, cut short by the coming to power of the communist regime. The scenario, as we have seen, is similar to that from other countries from Central and Eastern Europe, where attempts to recover the discipline after the war were annulled by political intervention in 1947-1948.

Breakdown of the institutional framework of sociology

Sociology has always been regarded with suspicion, skepticism and even hostility by the communist regimes.[62] In these conditions, the *assault* on the discipline followed a series of fixed steps. The *Decree no. 175/ August 3, 1948* (the new Law on Education) ratified the removal of sociology from among academic disciplines.[63] In a gesture of free mimesis caused by a desire to align to the "light" model of the Soviet homeland, where sociology was considered to be a bourgeois pseudo-science, Romania ended an important pre-war intellectual tradition. The short, medium and long-term consequences of this decision were entirely unfavorable to professional sociologists. University departments and specialized institutes were dissolved. The periodical publications disappeared as well. Sociology was eliminated among academic disciplines. Anything that had any relation to sociology was subsumed to the new ideology – Marxism-Leninism; sociology was going to *melt* in other disciplines: philosophy, political economy, and most often, historical materialism.[64]

This process certainly met with opposition and resistance. Not a direct opposition, but rather a passive resistance. An illustrative example is that of Anton Golopenția, who tried to continue his projects, despite all the troubles and misfortunes that befell him. He refused to get involved in politics and chose to remain loyal to his preoccupations.[65] The others did not passively witness the foreseen disaster either. In 1947, Dimitrie Gusti tried to reestablish the *Romanian Social Institute*, compiling a comprehensive plan of research for the coming years. Knowing that in order to carry out his initiative, he would need support from the state institutions, Gusti would have sketched a collaboration agreement

between the *Romanian Social Institute*, the *Central Institute of Statistics*, and the *Superior Economic Council*.[66] He sought political support as well, turning to his former student Miron Constantinescu. When Gusti wrote to him insistently asking for support in approving the collaboration agreement, Miron Constantinescu had just been appointed Secretary of the *Ministerial Commission for Economic Recovery and Monetary Stabilization*.[67] Constantinescu's answer made Gusti understand that times had changed and the needs and priorities were different. Constantinescu basically approved of Gusti's initiative, which he found to be "*fair and positive*", but he also drew his attention to the fact that both the *Romanian Social Institute* and the *Central Institute of Statistics* would have to "work" under the authority and "*in agreement with the directives of the Ministerial Commission and the Supreme Economic Council*".[68]Moreover, Constantinescu mentioned to Gusti that the *Romanian Social Institute* would have to adopt, in the research that they had to carry out, "*the materialist dialectics of Marxism-Leninism, the only one that could lead to a fair interpretation of the results obtained through monographic research and statistics of reality*".[69] Finally, the same Constantinescu informed Gusti that Romanian sociology, "*former unilaterally rural sociology, must become primarily an urban sociology of the industrial centers and of the working population*".[70] An option that would soon become an illusion.

Both sociology and the entire intellectual and cultural system built by Dimitrie Gusti were subjected to public disapproval after 1948. The new political power qualified in rough terms the period 1944-1948. Later, by means of detached and objective historical analysis, this was considered to be *"revival of inter-war sociology"* or *"a period of rebirth of sociology"*. But in those times it was seen as manifestations of an attack on Marxist-Leninist ideology. The picture depicted by communist propaganda incriminated practices, ruled judgments on trends and pointed at the real or imaginary enemies of the new political and social order:

> In the years 1944-1947, the exploiting classes and their ideologies used the opportunities they still had to publish and disseminate idealistic, mystical and deeply reactionary [...] sociological works, to print newspapers and magazines that continued to spread bourgeois ideology. They used these opportunities to focus their attack on Marxist sociology and philosophy. The ideological representatives of the exploiting classes sought to demonstrate that the Marxist-Leninist conception would not be appropriate for the Romanian realities.[71]

The imaginary dispute between inter-war sociology and Marxist-Leninist ideology was not going to end with the coming to power of the communist regime in 1948. The *enemy*, whether collective or impersonal, with invisible social features, represented a constant threat, existing everywhere, waiting for the right moment to strike the finishing blow to the newly established political regime:

> With the military defeat of fascism and the establishment of popular democracy, the ideological struggle in our country has not ended [...] This is why one of the major tasks repeatedly outlined in the party documents to our ideological front was [...] that of liquidating the ideological remnants of the past from the people's consciousness, by exposing the reactionary character of their class and by confuting them through scientific means. A brake in the normal development of new life in our socialist state [...] this lumber of the past had to be removed without a trace (underline. - Ş.B.).[72]

Such logic had the advantage of justifying and legitimizing the policies and practices that communists imposed on the cultural field. The intellectuality was going to be subordinated and the purging campaigns of authors and works, as well as the physical repression against those who did not line up to the model imposed by the party, had their own precise purpose, carried out in the service the people, for its good and interest:

> Against all these unscientific theories of bourgeois sociology and philosophy, against these reactionary ideological attacks and maneuvers, a merciless fight was organized and conducted under the leadership of the party. The class basis and social function of these idealistic doctrines and theories, with their deeply anti-scientific content, was exposed. The ideological front, led by the party, conducted a systematic offensive in all domains, opposing these reactionary theories to the bright ideas of the Marxist-Leninist conception, scientifically proving that the only way to social progress, to solving the vital problems of the Romanian people is that indicated by the Marxist -Leninist doctrine.[73]

In this war against what was considered to be the *"remnant of bourgeois ideology"*, a special role was given to sociology, a science that was viewed as reactionary, anti-scientific, obscurantist and subjected to capitalism. The purging process was not going to end anytime soon, as the influence of bourgeois sociological ideologies and theories remained a danger against which a continuous fight had to be carried out:

The disclosure of the anti-scientific, obscurantist nature of all sorts of idealistic, mystical and reactionary philosophical and sociological <systems> which circulated in our country in the past, constitute an important task assigned by our party to the Marxist-Leninist researches from the fields of philosophy and sociology.[74]

Post-war destinies

Beyond the institutional disaster, marked by the dissolution of all the research centers and university departments, there was also a collective drama of the professional body of the discipline, though, as we have seen, the communist acerbic discourse seldom marked its enemies accurately. The abolition of sociology was not enough, as the discipline had not existed independent of certain people who made themselves *responsible* for its propagation. The regime had forged a plan to hold everyone responsible, depending on the seriousness of the acts committed:

In fighting against the reactionary conceptions of the past, the precise determination of the role played by its supporters was rigorously taken into account. It is self-understood that ideas have not asserted themselves, but were put into circulation by people who are responsible for them. In determining the degree of responsibility which lies with everyone who has supported outdated ideas in the culture of our country of the time, the Leninist difference between the different ways of asserting reactionarism were taken into account.[75]

Sociologists thus reached little anticipated situations, many of them being removed from the positions they were holding. Their professional training and educational qualifications were not worth very much in the new social and political context. Some of them chose exile, trying to continue their activities abroad. Others sought opportunities for professional reorientation. Finally, the most unfortunate of the lot had to withstand the rigors of communist repression. Few were those who did not suffer, one way or another.

Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958) was characterized by Henri H. Stahl as the "*precursor and first doctrinaire of popular art sociology*".[76] Invited by Gusti, Brăiloiu participated in several monographic campaigns starting with 1927, in which he carried out folkloric investigations.[77] Constantin Brăiloiu remained abroad ever since the beginning of the war, occupying

the position of technical consultant for the Romanian Embassy in Bern. He continued his work in France and Switzerland.[78]

Another such example would be that of the spouses Sabin Manuilă (1894-1964) and Veturia Manuilă (1896 -1986) who, in their turn, chose the path of exile, settling in the United States after 1947.[79] A physician by profession, with studies at the University of Budapest, Sabin Manuilă was concerned with domains such as social hygiene and medicine, and later statistics, sociology and demography.[80] From 1929 he participated in several monographic campaigns led by Dimitrie Gusti.[81] From 1936 he was the director of the Central Institute of Statistics.[82]

Dumitru Amzăr (1906-1999) was a close collaborator of Dimitrie Gusti, but in the late 1930s, he had an intellectual dispute with Dimitrie Gusti, which produced a rupture between the two.[83] From 1940 he served as press secretary and cultural *attaché* of the Romanian embassy in Berlin.[84] After the end of the war, he refused to return to Romania and ended his career as a sociologist, dedicating himself to a career in education in Berlin and later in Wiesbaden.

Mircea Vulcănescu was considered to be one of the most illustrious minds of Dimitrie Gusti's sociological school.[85] Vulcănescu was one of Dimitrie Gusti's closest collaborators, participating in most annual monographic campaigns.[86] During World War II he was appointed Undersecretary in the Ministry of Finance, position which he held until 23 August 1944.[87] On August 30, 1948 he was arrested and tried as a former member of the Ion Antonescu government, accused of being a "war criminal".[88] In October 1946, he was sentenced to eight years in prison. He served his sentence in the prisons of Jilava and Aiud. He died in prison on 28 October 1952, in Aiud.[89]

Anton Golopenția was another victim of the regime. One of Dimitrie Gusti's assistants, Golopenția had an exemplary intellectual training, obtaining a PhD in Germany (1936).[90] After 23 August 1944, Anton Golopenția refused to get involved in political battles, remaining loyal to his intellectual concerns.[91] He held the position of Director General Delegate of the Central Institute of Statistics, but was released from his job in 1948.[92] He later worked as a collaborator on various projects of the State Planning Committee, without a doubt with the help of the President of the State Planning Committee of that time, Miron Constantinescu, a former student of his.[93] In January 1950, he was arrested and incriminated in the Pătrășcanu lawsuit.[94] Golopenția did not resist the harsh conditions

of detention and the exhausting investigations and died of galloping consumption on 9 September 1951 in Văcărești Hospital.[95]

Traian Herseni, another important member of the inter-war sociological school, was also faced with the torture of the Romanian Gulag. The indictment act against him was his political work and orientation in the inter-war period, Herseni being an overt supporter of the Legionary Movement.[96] Traian Herseni was arrested and imprisoned between 1952-1956.[97] After being released from prison, Traian Herseni continued to be intellectually marginalized, not having the right to sign for a while.[98]

To all this drama was added that of Dimitrie Gusti's – "the Professor", who had patronized and animated Romanian sociology for over two decades. His post-war drama was little anticipated, but seemed to coincide with that of the discipline to which he had devoted himself. From the summer of 1944, Dimitrie Gusti became the President of the Romanian Academy, the highest intellectual dignity that came to confirm his status and role in the Romanian culture.[99] In this capacity, he left for Moscow one year later to participate at the 220th years anniversary of the Academy of Sciences of Moscow.[100] In the summer of 1945, his old students and collaborators celebrated him by organizing the anniversary of two decades from the first monographic campaign.[101] One year later (1946), the same Gusti travelled to the United States of America, where he had meetings with the most important sociologists across the Atlantic and held several conferences at the University of Wisconsin and at Harvard and Yale Universities.[102]

These details might mislead us, since we might think that Dimitrie Gusti got safely over the war and over the changes imposed by the new geopolitical order. However, the truth seems to be somewhat tinted. Gusti himself must have seen the dangers entailed by Romania's entrance into the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. Otherwise, we would not be able to explain some of his acts – as, for instance, his presence in the committee of intellectuals who decided to found ARLUS (Romanian Society for Friendship with the Soviet Union) in the autumn of 1944.[103] Another example would be the laudatory remarks regarding the Soviet homeland published in the articles of the Romanian informal publications of the Red Army – *Graiul nou.*[104] The complete change of perspective to Marxism-Leninism, easily discernable in Dimitrie Gusti's courses after 1945, would be equally difficult to explain.[105] All this makes sense, however, if we admit that Gusti had understood, better and faster than others, the destiny of post-war Romania.

Dimitrie Gusti was going to feel the full shock of the disintegration of sociology, falling into the disgrace of the regime.[106] Gusti's drama continued and might have amplified if some of his old disciples had not done everything in their power to help him. For five years, Dimitrie Gusti lived in completely inappropriate conditions, in the house of one of his former students and monographist team workers. He was rehabilitated no sooner than 1955, when he was granted a special pension and a comfortable home in the center of the Capital.[107] The burden of old age and the bitterness of the five years of being disgraced had their say, and Gusti could not take advantage of this late rehabilitation. He died just two months after being rehabilitated.[108]

What kind of sociology between 1948-1965?

In 1948, the last series of students of Dimitrie Gusti and Henri H. Stahl's finished sociology at the University of Bucharest.[109] It was the moment in which a circle was closed, for in the autumn of the same year, a department and a course of sociology disappeared from the curricula of the university from Bucharest. The entire intellectual edifice built by Dimitrie Gusti over the past decades no longer existed.

Sociologists were forced to hide their identity behind other professions, trying to survive the changes of the time. The most common option was the migration to ethnography – professional opportunities were available in institutions such as the Village Museum and the Folklore Institute. This was the case of Gheorghe Focșa,[110] Ernest Bernea,[111] Lucia Apolzan[112] or Mihail Pop.[113] Others worked for the Institute for Anthropological Research of the Academy – Vasile V. Caramelea; or for the Institute of Psychology – Traian Herseni. Last but not least, the Central Institute of Statistics was another option. After Anton Golopenția's resignation from the post of Director in 1948, the mathematician Gheorghe Mihoc was appointed leader, and the Institute was subordinated to the State Planning Commission.[114] Gheroghe Retegan, Roman Cresin, Vladimir Trebici, and others worked for the Central Institute of Statistics.

Under these circumstances, is it necessary to ask ourselves to what extent sociology still existed in Romania between 1948-1965? This particular issue was discussed and debated only at the surface level and without great interest. Most scholars recognize the rupture that occurred in sociology in 1948, but they try to suggest that it was not absolute.[115] There were also opinions that went further, suggesting that sociology

would have survived "in illegality", not in *institutionalized* forms, but as a *cultural infrastructure.*[116] Not least, there has been talk of the existence of a revival of sociology, or at least an attempt in this direction since 1953, when Paul H. Stahl, Florea Stănculescu and Adrian Gheorghiu started a project concerning the ensemble of peasant architecture, which had in view the publication of sixteen volumes.[117]

The strongest argument in favor of continuity was nonetheless represented by the monographic research, the tradition of which was not lost after 1948. These initiatives of monographic research were undertaken by institutions such as the Central Department of Statistics,[118] the Institute of Economic Research of the P.R.R. (People's Republic of Romania) Academy,[119] the Institute of Geology and Geography of the P.R.R. Academy, the Department of Social Welfare of the Institute of Hygiene and Labor Protection and the Institute of Philosophy of the P.R.R. Academy.[120] It is true that these activities were additional, and most often than not subordinated to other aims and interests, reason for which their scientific value is not significant. All the more so as this empirical research was limited to information and data collection which has never been analyzed from a theoretical perspective, in a scientific, sociological manner.[121]

What mattered, however, was to continue the tradition of inter-war sociology, despite its having survived underground, in illegality.[122] It nonetheless survived through Dimitri Gusti's disciples, who conducted studies and programs of empirical research on the model of pre-war tradition. This way, new specialists in sociology were formed, even though they were not sociologists *per se.*[123]

IV. A *Controlled* Re-institutionalization of Sociology (1965-1977)

On 29 May 1959, several representatives of various sectors dealing with research in social sciences established the *National Sociological Committee*, which was affiliated, the same year, to the I.S.A. (*International Sociological Association*).[124] The first meeting of the Committee established a number of priorities, adopted a statute and voted a ruling committee which included: Athanase Joja (as Chairman), Mihail Ralea, Vasile Malinschi, Petre Constantinescu-Iași (vice-Presidents), Manea Mănescu (general-secretary), Andrei Oțetea, Constantin Ionescu-Gulian and Tudor Bugnariu (members).[125] The establishment of this committee

and the affiliation to the International Sociological Association were followed by the participation, for the first time by a Romanian delegation, to the *IV International Congress of Sociology* which took place from 8 to 15 September 1959 to Stressa, Milano, and at the *V International Congress of Sociology*, which took place in the United States at Washington, from 2 to 8 September 1962.[126] In 1962, it was issued, after almost fifteen years of absence, a new specialized periodical – *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, publication of the National Committee of Sociology. The magazine's periodicity would not be yearly, as between 1962-1970, only six numbers were issued grouped in four volumes.[127]

How should we understand and analyze these events? A brief look at those who were part of the ruling committee of the N.S.C., on those two delegations who attended the Congresses of the I.S.A., but also at those who signed the articles of the first issues of *R.J.S.*, reveals a paradox. No one subject to the above enumeration were professional sociologists. In these circumstances, one should ask himself to what extent these initiatives have contributed to the revival of the Romanian sociology? The answer to this question is quite simple. It is obvious that the establishment of N.S.C. in 1959 was a political and propagandistic act, which didn't took into account the tradition of Romanian sociology. The purposes of these initiatives were different. Those who were charged to represent Romanian sociology abroad were merely "diplomats" appointed with an ideological mission rather than a scientific one. Their aim was not to bring to the attention of the academics the stage of development of the Romanian sociology – a discipline sidelined for over a decade, but to record the trends in Western sociology and to respond to these trends from a Marxist perspective. At least until 1965, the existence of N.S.C. and its periodical have brought almost no benefits for the Romanian sociology. The sole positive aspect of the two initiatives could have been a cautious and controlled openness towards sociology. However, the fact that professionals as Henri H. Stahl, Traian Herseni or Ovidiu Neamţu, were ignored and not asked to be a part of these initiatives, is a detail showing rather political and ideological intentions, but also reserves towards the old Romanian sociological school.

The history of the Romanian sociology between 1959-1965 is difficult define. Sociology was still regarded with mistrust and suspicion, as it was still a marginalized discipline, but its place among the other social sciences was to de discussed. Dimitrie Gusti, though rehabilitated in 1955, was still judged for his errors and mistakes – the most serious of which

was his or his school's political involvement.[128] But, as a consequence of the Soviet Union's ideological thaw, a liberalization current was also perceived in Romania,[129] and the first steps towards a recovery of the interwar Romanian sociology's heritage were made.[130]

1965 represents a milestone in the history of Romanian sociology. After many years in which the discipline tried to define its identity and find a place of its own among the other social sciences, the political regime, through the voice of the R.C.P. leader, gave a signal in terms of reconsidering the role of sociology in Romania.[131] The consent given by N. Ceaușescu apparently guaranteed the re-institutionalization of sociology after nearly two decades of marginalization. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that the "legalization" of sociology occurred at a time when the internal and the international context favored making such a decision. First of all, it was a pressure from other socialist countries, which were making progresses in this field. Second of all, the institutionalization of sociology and the timid recovery of the interwar Romanian sociology tradition – by republishing the works of Dimitrie Gusti or Petre Andrei, represented an ideological remoteness from the monopoly imposed by Moscow.

The first steps towards a re-institutionalization of the Romanian sociology were exceeded. Accepted and promoted even by the regime – essential detail in a ultra-centralized communist system, sociology could have hoped to regain the status and importance it had in interwar. But the gap caused by the nearly two decades of marginalization would not be so easy to recover. Firstly, the institutional framework of the discipline was to be restore.

In 1965, a first important step towards the institutionalization of sociology is implemented by the setting up of a *Centre for Sociological Research* at the Romanian Academy of Science and by the re-establishment of departments of sociology, first at the University of Bucharest, and later within the University of Iași and Cluj-Napoca.[132]

On the "*ins and outs*" of these undertakings and on the struggles that were given from those who could claim the paternity of these departments, Henri H. Stahl remembers some interesting details. As reported by Stahl, Tudor Bugnariu was the one who had a practical and coherent initiative for the recovery of sociology as an academic discipline.[133] Trying to materialize his intention in a manner as professional as possible T. Bugnariu sought feedback on this issue through lengthy discussions with Traian Herseni and Gh. Vlădescu-Răcoasa. Later, they discussed the subject through a series of articles on the relationships between sociology

and socialism/communism which were published in the "Contemporanul" magazine.[134] Of the new climate around the discipline benefited C-tin Nicuţă, a former diplomat and a Philosophy PhD, who reinterpreted the theses launched by Bugnariu, radicalizing them in a Stalinist manner.[135] Thus, it seems that he was the one to reestablish a Department of Sociology at the University of Bucharest's Faculty of Philosophy. But C-tin Nicuţă was soon to be intruded in his project by Miron Constantinescu, a former student of Dimitrie Gusti and a former important member of the communist nomenclature. Removed from the Politburo and the Central Committee after a putsch attempt in 1957, Constantinescu was to regain his high position in the management structures of the communist system within less than a decade. The new balance of power determined a compromise. Thus, they were created two departments: one of sociology, led by Miron Constantinescu, and another one in the sphere of sociological doctrine and methodology, which was assigned to C-tin Nicuţă.[136] Subsequent the agreement between the two, C-tin Nicuta experienced a period of professional decline, which allowed Miron Constantinescu to take charge and become the only "patron" of the discipline.

It is intresting the fact that the presence of these three characters at the top of the discussion on the restoration of sociology in Romania was not coincidental. Curiously, the destinies of the three show similarities that are worth be brought into attention. All three were students in the 30s and had sympathies for the Left. All three graduated the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, but each one in another important Romanian academic center: Miron Constantinescu in Bucharest, Tudor Bugnariu in Cluj and Constantin Nicuţă in Iaşi. All of them had a major in sociology, working each with a different important sociologist of interwar Romanian: Miron Constantinescu with Dimitrie Gusti, Tudor Bugnariu with Virgil I. Bărbat and Constantin Nicuţă alongside Petre Andrei. After 1945, all of them were professors of dialectical and historical materialism in Iasi (Constantin NIcuţă), Cluj (Tudor Bugnariu) and Bucharest (Miron Constantinescu).

Moreover, after 1945 the careers of the three experienced similar ascending trends. During the postwar years, they occupied similar positions and offices. Miron Constantinescu was Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education in 1947. Tudor Bugnariu occupied a similar position from 1950 until 1956. Meanwhile Constantin Nicuţă was a professor, head of department and vice-chancellor at the "A. A. Zhdanov" Superior School in Social Sciences during 1951-1956. Afterwards he was replaced in all these functions by Tudor Bugnariu, while Constantin Nicuţă took his

place as Deputy of the Minister of Education. During this period, Miron Constantinescu experienced an impressive political career, occupying high positions in the party and state structures. After Constantinescu's "fall" of 1957, the careers of the other two took a turn for the best. Bugnariu was appointed professor of dialectical and historical materialism and head of department at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Bucharest, occupying an academic office which belonged to Miron Constantinescu prior to his political decline. Constantin Nicuță made a career in diplomacy – becoming ambassador of Romania in Vienna and Paris.

In 1965 the balance of power between the three seemed to favor Bugnariu who had the most important academic background. Nicuță was the one who left the academic field for nearly a decade, opting for a career in diplomacy, while Constantinescu was politically and also academically marginalized also for nearly a decade. But Nicuță probably took advantage of his political capital acquired during his diplomatic experiences and easily surpassed Bugnariu, obtaining a primacy in the re-institutionalization of the Romanian sociology. Also, Miron Constantinescu's gradual rehabilitation after 1965 changed again the balance of power, since Constantinescu had the most impressive political background, know acting as a "new old star".

By assuming the success in terms of "ruling" the new academic discipline, Miron Constantinescu saw a huge potential in this opportunity. He brought by his side the retired Henri H. Stahl, one of the most valuable exponents Bucharest Sociological School, seeking to obtain a primacy in the discipline, which would could satisfied Constantinescu's pride and thirst for power after a decade of political and social marginalization. His pride and perhaps a dose of significant resentment made him take some bizarre decisions too. Thus, Constantinescu did everything in his power to "marginalize" Traian Herseni or just keep him away from sociology. Constantinescu probably believed that the latter could weaken, through his intellectual background and his prestige, his privileged position in the Romanian sociology.

After 1965 the number of the Romanian sociological research units has expanded and diversified. In addition to the departments of sociology established within the Romanian universities, other departments have emerged within institutions subordinated to the S.R.R. Academy of Science. Distinct sociological research units were also established. Moreover, a 1970 "general survey" of the sociological research projects carried on in

Romania revealed that there were many other academic research institutes with preoccupation in the field of sociology.[137]

Within the University of Bucharest there were two separate units of sociological investigation. Firstly, it was the *Department of Sociology* of the Faculty of Philosophy, whose main objective lied in teaching. The other unit was the *Sociological Laboratory* which had its one administrative status, even if it was working under the authority of the *Department of Sociology*. The *Department* was established in 1966 through the efforts of Miron Constantinescu and Ion Drăgan.[138] The *Sociological Laboratory* was established by Order no. 739/5.12.1968 of the Minister of Education. It was functioning as a branch of the Department of Sociology of the University and had different tasks: to undertake field investigations, to grant methodological assistance and to co-ordinate as far as methodology is concerned the investigations made by other educational units.[139]

At the "Babes-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca it was established a *Department of Philosophy – Sociology* and a *Sociological Laboratory*. The Department was founded in 1967, while the *Laboratory* a year later.[140] In the "Al. I. Cuza" University of Iaşi was founded a *Department of Psychology – Sociology* in 1967.[141] Sociological research was also undertaken by the *Department of Economic of Agriculture and Statistics* of the Faculty of Economics.[142] The *Department of Sociology* of the "Ştefan Gheorghiu" Academy of Social and Political Education was established in 1966. Operating within the Faculty of Philosophy and Political Science it also served the Faculty of Economics and the Faculty of History of the Academy.[143] It is also worth mentioning the fact that the Popular University of Bucharest has approved a series of lectures "*Introduction to sociology*" since 1967.[144]

Beside these centers which mission was primarily didactic, there were also established sociology departments within the institutes subordinated to the Academy of Sciences, or even distinct specialized institutes. An example of this kind is the *Department of Sociology* of the Institute of Philosophy of the R.S.R. Academy of Science.[145] Another example is the *Research Centre for Youth Affairs*, established in 1968 under the coordination of the Ministry for Youth Affairs. The *Centre* was coordinated by Ovidiu Bădina and had a structure similar to a research institute of the Academy of science.[146]

Investigations with sociological character were also undertaken by other institutions, despite the fact that within their structure there were not distinct departments of sociology: the *Institute of Psychology* of the

R.S.R. Academy,[147] the *Center for Anthropological Research*,[148] the *Institute of Economic Research*,[149] the *Institute of Hygiene and Public Health*,[150] the *Institute of South-East European Studies*,[151] the *Institute of Pedagogical Sciences* of the Ministry of Education[152] or the *Research Institute for Agrarian Economy and the Organizing of Socialist Agricultural Enterprises.*[153]

Towards a New Marginalization (1970-1977)

The history of the Romanian sociology after 1965 was marked by several events that lead to a further marginalization of the discipline. At first moment was the establishment of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. On November 13, 1969 a work meeting that gathered scientists, researchers and professors of social sciences was held. During this meeting it was decided to form a commission which was to draw up the drafts of what would become the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.[154] On February 19, 1970 the first General Assembly of the A.S.P.S. was held. The institution was going to be submitted to the authority of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee. With this meeting the Statute of A.S.P.S. was adopted, and the full members, the correspondents and the managing offices of the Academy were elected. The decisions adopted by the General Assembly of February 19, 1970 were enacted by the S.R.R.'s State Council Decree no. 121/ March 18, 1970.[155] The Decree scrupulously established the duties of the institution that was to control the social sciences in Romania.[156] Also, the third article of the Decree stipulated that: "*The Academy of Social and Political Sciences promotes the dialectical and the historical materialism as methods of research and provides theoretical and ideological orientation of the scientific research on Marxism-Leninism grounds*".[157]

The Academy was organized in specialized departments, which were subordinated to the General Assembly and the Presidium. A.S.P.S. had eight sections,[158] and it was composed of 125 full members and 95 correspondents,[159] The impact of the A.S.P.S. establishment on the Romanian sociology was mainly a negative one. Although the appointment of Henri H. Stahl as head of the Section of sociology could have been considered as a guarantee of an improving of the work and of research methods, Miron Constantinescu remained the "master" of discipline.

Another turning-point occurs in 1973-1974, when Romania's cultural policy is subject to an ideological reorientation, with the launch of the

famous "theses of June". In this context, the death Miron Constantinescu also occurs (July 1974). Miron Constantinescu's influence on all the social sciences increased with his appointment as president of the A.S.P.S. (1970). Constantinescu, who was still one of the most zealous "Stalinist", as far as his attitude towards his subordinates, had powers allowing him to control the entire scientific activity in the social sciences. He was the one who approved research internships abroad or any travel to international convention or conferences. And during those times, such privileges were the ultimate benefit that a researcher could have. But Miron Constantinescu's political position could have had a positive influence over the discipline, mainly in terms of the possibilities that he was able to provide to the research units. Thus, his death in 1974 produced a little "earthquake" in the Romanian sociology as the discipline lost an important support and its influence among the party officials and the decision-making bodies. After his sudden death in 1974, the history of Romanian sociology took an unexpected turn. Subsequently, the Sociological Laboratory of the University of Bucharest was to be abolished. A few years later, in 1977, Romanian sociology would receive another blow. The Central Committee Plenum in June was to impose a set of measures that led to a further marginalization of the discipline: the study of sociology was restricted to post-graduate studies, the graduating specialization being abolished.

Conclusions

The postwar history of the Romanian sociology could be divided into several, distinct periods, each and every one influenced by some dramatic changes due to social, economic, and political causes, but also to the international context. If the 1944-8 chronological framework was a period of revival marked by a "re-launch" of the discipline, this short *intermezzo* was nothing but a late echo of the prewar and the war time scientific accumulations. Although in this period the contributions in the field were valuable and numerous, these works were written by well-known prewar sociologists and it were based on their previous activities and researches. The establishment of the communist regime in Romania was the first major breakpoint in the history of the discipline. The new political regime developed a hostile attitude towards sociology, considering it as a "bourgeois pseudo-science of society". The university departments and the specialized institutes were disbanded, and the

sociologists were to find possibilities for professional retraining. However, the sociological researches continued during these years of "misery", but at an "underground" level, conducted by some of the prewar sociologist who worked in different research institutes.

A significant political, ideological and intellectual breakthrough could be detected during the first half of the 60s, doubled by a paradigm shift of the communist regime's attitude towards sociology. This change was detectible even within the discourse, as the "bourgeois pseudo-science of society" became the "bourgeois sociology". The re-institutionalization of the discipline in the 60s led to an explosion of empirical studies, which was followed by a significantly increase of the sociological literature. But a new decline of the discipline occurred in the second half of the 70s. Although the number of sociological contributions does not decrease dramatically, most of these were not valuable, but rather profound ideological contributions.

To conclude, we must say that the establishment of the Soviet-type communist regime in Romania led to the abolition of sociology and then delayed its re-institutionalization for almost two decades. The natural and normal development of the discipline was thus delayed by the political repression and the ideological inflexibility of the communist regime. Thus, with the rehabilitation of the discipline in the 60s, the efforts to recover the advances made by the Western sociologies were to be doubled. But the need to fill the scientific gap had at least a positive aspect, as the (re) emerging Romanian sociology's attitude towards the Western sociologies was both receptive and critical. This tortuous process during which the Romanian sociology sought to regain its position among the other social sciences could be explained by several hypotheses. Firstly, sociology was again institutionalized only when the regime was capable to accept it as a legitimate and useful discipline.[160] Moreover, a re-launch of sociology was only possible when the discipline was able to individualize itself within the theoretical and ideological complex consisted of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism.[161]

NOTES

[1] Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA, *Eastern Europe and Its Sociology*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *Eastern Europe in Transformation. The Impact on Sociology*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1994, pp. 1-10.

[2] Robin OKEY, *Eastern Europe, 1740-1985. Feudalism to Communism*, Second Edition, Routledge, London, New York, 2004, pp. 188-198.

[3] Martine MESPOULET, "Quelle sociologie derrière le « rideau de fer » ?", In: *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 2007/1 n° 16, p. 3-10.

[4] Victor LEON, "Les sciences sociales en Europe de l'Est", In: *Revue de l'Est*, vol. 2, No. 3 (1971), pp. 155-171.

[5] Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 1-10.

[6] Michael VOŘIŠEK, "<Antagonist, Type, or Deviation?>. A Comparative View on Sociology in Post-War Soviet Europe", In: *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, 2008/1, no. 18, p. 85-113.

[7] *Ibidem.*

[8] Jacek SZMATKA, Kinga WYSIENSKA, "Polish and Eastern European Sociology", In: Edgar F. BORGATTA, Rhonda F. J. MONTGOMERY, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Second Edition, vol. 3, Macmillan, New York, 2000, pp. 2116-2123.

[9] Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 1-10.

[10] Ilya ZEMTSOV, *Soviet Sociology. A Study of Lost Illusion in Russia under Soviet Control of Society*, Hero Books, Fairfax, 1986, pp. 3-4; Elizabeth A WEINBERG, *Sociology in the Soviet Union and Beyond. Social Enquiry and Social Change*, Ashgate, Burlington, 2004, p. 11.

[11] Edmund MOKRZYCKI, "From Social Knowledge to Social Research: the Case of Polish Sociology", In: *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1974), pp. 48-54.

[12] Jennifer PLATT, *History of ISA: 1948-1997*, The International Sociological Association, Quebec, 1998, pp. 65-66.

[13] Gennady S. BATYGIN, Inna F. DEVIATKO, *The Metamorphoses of Russian Sociology*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *Eastern Europe in Transformation. The Impact on Sociology*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1994, pp. 11-23.

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] *Ibidem.*

[16] Wladyslaw KWASNIEWICZ, *Dialectics of Systemic Constraint and Academic Freedom: Polish Sociology under Socialist Regime*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *Eastern Europe in Transformation. The Impact on Sociology*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1994, pp. 25-38.

[17] George FISCHER, "Current Soviet Work in Sociology: A Note in the Sociology of Knowledge", In: *The American Sociologist*, vol. 1, nr. 3 (May, 1966), pp. 127-132.

18 *Ibidem.*

19 Janusz MUCHA, Paweł ZALECKI, *Sociology – Poland*, text available on-line at the following address: http://www.gesis.org/knowledgebase/archive/sociology/poland/report1.html

20 Edward BELIAEV, Pavel BURTORIN, "The Institutionalization of Soviet Sociology: Its Social and Political Context", In: *Social Forces*, vol. 61, nr. 2 (December, 1982), pp. 418-435.

21 François BAFOIL, "A quoi servait la sociologie en RDA", In: *Revue française de sociologie*, vol. 32, nr. 2 (1991), pp. 263-284.

22 Michael VOŘIŠEK, *op.cit.*, p. 85-113.

23 The Hungarian sociology didn't have a significant tradition before 1945. Sociological studies and sociographic investigations were conducted in the interwar period, but sociology has never been institutionalized. The tendency to analyze social facts appeared in provincial universities, when groups of young students began to undertake sociographic investigations on disadvantaged social groups, see: Gabor KISS, "History of the Development of Sociology in Hungary from 1945", In: *The American Sociologist*, vol. 2, nr. 3 (August, 1967), pp. 141-144.

24 Tamás KOLOSI, Istvan SZELÉNYI, *Social Change and Research on Social Structure in Hungary*, In: Brigitta NEDELMANN, Piotr SZTOMPKA, *Sociology in Europe. In Search of Identity*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York, 1993, pp. 141-163.

25 Dénes NÉMEDI, Péter RÓBERT, *Sociology – Hungary*, text available on-line at the following address: http://www.gesis.org/knowledgebase/archive/sociology/hungary/report1.html#jump13.

26 In 1961, S. Szalai raised the issue of the „*Magyar sociology*" in an article entitled "State of Sociology in Hungary"; to this trend, András Hegedus signed an article which postulated bases for a special sociological discipline within the framework of Marxist social sciences. See: András HEGEDUS, "A Marxista Szociológia Tárgyáról" (About the Object of Marxist-Sociology), In: *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle*, 1961, nr. 2, pp. 166-183 *apud* Gabor KISS, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 141-144.

27 András HEGEDÜS (31 October 1922, Szilsárkány–23 October 1999, Budapest), Hungarian Communist activist, philosopher, sociologist, Wojciech ROSZKOWSKI, Jan KOFMAN (editors), *Biographical Dictionary of Central and Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, New York, London: M. E. Sharp, 2008, p. 337-338.

28 Dénes NÉMEDI, *Traditions and Ruptures in Hungarian Sociology*, In: Sujata PATEL (ed.), *The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions*, Sage Publications Ltd., London, 2010, pp. 152-162.

29 Dénes NÉMEDI, Péter RÓBERT, *Sociology – Hungary*, text available on-line at the following address: http://www.gesis.org/knowledgebase/archive/sociology/hungary/report1.html#jump13.

[30]   Louis PINTO, "Un regard sur la sociologie en Hongrie", In: *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*. Vol. 61, mars 1986, pp. 48-51.

[31]   Káláman KULCSÁR, *Tradition, Modernization and Sociology: the Case of Hungary*, In: Nikolai GENOV (ed.), *National Traditions in Sociology*, Sage Publications Ltd., London, 1989, pp. 118-134.

[32]   Todor PAVLOV (14 February 1890 – 8 May 1977), Bulgarian Communist activist and Marxist philosopher, Wojciech ROSZKOWSKI, Jan KOFMAN (editors), *op. cit.*, p. 760.

[33]   Nikolai GENOV, *Sociology as Promise and Reality: The Bulgarian Experience*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 53-67.

[34]   On the 18th of July 1967, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bugarian Communist Party published the decision "*On the Organization of Sociological Research in Our Country*", Svetla KOLEVA, "La sociologie en Bulgarie des années 1945 à 2010 : une trajectoire disciplinaire à l'épreuve de l'histoire", In: *Sociologies pratiques*, 2011/2, n° 23, p. 127-141.

[35]   Pepka BOYADJIEVA, *Shooting at a Moving Target: Rediscovering Sociology in Bulgaria*, In: Sujata PATEL (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 163-174; Nikolai GENOV, *op. cit., loc. cit.*, pp. 53-67.

[36]   Eduard URBANEK, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 79-87; Michal ILNER, *Sociology – Czech Republic*, text available on-line at the following address: http://www.gesis.org/knowledgebase/archive/sociology/czech/report1.html.

[37]   Michael VOŘIŠEK, *op. cit.*, p. 85-113.

[38]   *Ibidem.*

[39]   Jerzy J. WIATR, *Status and Prospects of Sociology in Eastern Europe: A Trend Report*, In: Jerzy J. WIATR (ed.), *The State of Sociology in Eastern Europe Today*, Foreword by Herman R. Lantz, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1971, pp. 1-19.

[40]   Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 1-10.

[41]   Piotr SZTOMPKA, *La condition de la sociologie en Europe centrale et orientale*, In: Maxime FOREST, Georges MINK (eds.), *Post-communisme: les sciences sociales à l'épreuve*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2004, pp. 159-174.

[42]   Jerzy J. WIATR, *op. cit, loc. cit.*, pp. 1-19.

[43]   *Ibidem.*

[44]   Ljubomir ZIVKOVIC, "The Structure of Marxist Sociology", In: *Social Research. An International Quarterly*, 34, No. 3 (1967), pp. 479-480, *apud.* Jerzy J. WIATR, *Status and Prospects of Sociology in Eastern Europe ...*, In: *loc. cit.*, p. 1-19.

[45]   J. HOCHFELD, *Studia o marksowskiej teorii spoleczenstwa (Studies in Marx's teory of society)*, Warsaw, 1963, pp. 68-75, *apud.* Jerzy J. WIATR, *Status and Prospects of Sociology in Eastern Europe ...*, In: *loc. cit.*, p. 1-19.

[46]   O. MANDIC, "The Marxist School of Sociology: What is Sociology in a Marxist Sense?", In: *Social Research. An International Quarterly*, 34, No. 3

(1967), p. 445, *apud.* Jerzy J. WIATR, *Status and Prospects of Sociology in Eastern Europe ...*, In: *loc. cit.*, p. 1-19.

47 Ștefan BUZĂRNESCU, Septimiu CHELCEA, Dan DUNGACIU, Maria LARIONESCU, Virgil MĂGUREANU, Zoltan ROSTAȘ, Constantin SCHIFIRNEȚ, "Sociologia în România: trecut, prezent, perspective", In: *Sociologie românească*, vol. III, nr. 1/2005, pp. 5-37.

48 *Ibidem.*

49 *Ibidem.*

50 Cătălin ZAMFIR, "9 ipoteze pentru o analiză sociologic-epistemologică a sociologiei românești în perioada comunistă: 1944-1989", In: *Sociologie românească*, vol. III, Nr. 1, 2005, pp. 53-71.

51 Ovidiu BĂDINA, *Dimitrie Gusti. Contribuții la cunoașterea operei și activității sale*, Editura Științifică, București, 1965, p. 173.

52 Sanda GOLOPENȚIA, "Cronologia unei vieți: Anton Golopenția", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, VI, nr. 5-6/1995, pp. 481-527.

53 *bidem.* Also see: Lucia APOLZAN, "O viață dedicată cercetării tezaurului istoric al satului românesc", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, II, nr. 5-6/1991, pp. 337-343.

54 On the Runcu village monographic campaign, see: Henri H. STAHL, *Amintiri și gânduri ...*, mainly pp. 152-159.

55 Ovidiu BĂDINA, *Sociology in Romania*, In: Jiri Thomas KOLAJA, Man Singh DAS (eds.), *Glimpses of Sociology in Eastern Europe ...*, pp. 253-300.

56 Cătălin ZAMFIR, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71.

57 Dimitrie Gusti publishes, amoung other works, a new wdition of his *Sociologia militans*: Dimitrie GUSTI, *Sociologia militans. Cunoaștere și acțiune în serviciul națiunii*, Fundația Regele Mihai I, București, 1946.

58 Henri H. STAHL, *Sociologia satului devălmaș românesc*, Fundația Regele Mihai I, București, 1946; Henri H. STAHL, Șerban VOINEA, *Introducere în sociologie*, Editura Partidului Social-Democrat, București, 1947.

59 Traian HERSENI, *Drăguș, un sat din țara Oltului, Făgăraș. Unități sociale*, Institutul de Științe Sociale al României, București, 1944.

60 Vasile V. CARAMELEA, *Satul Berevoiești (Muscel). Obștea moșnenilor*, Câmpulung Muscel, 1946.

61 Lucia APOLZAN, *Sate, orașe și regiuni studiate de Institutul Social Român. 1925-1945*, Institutul social român, București, 1945.

62 Ilya ZEMTSOV, *Soviet Sociology. A Study of Lost Illusion in Russia under Soviet Control of Society*, Hero Books, Fairfax, 1986, p. 2.

63 The new education law – the Decree no. 175/August 3, 1948, aimed a radical change of the Romanian educational system. The main objectives of the law were: the training of the young people in a communist spirit, the strict control over elementary and secondary schools and also over higher education, by the suppression of the university autonomy, the providing of staff for Romania's

industrialization plan, and the development of middle and higher technical education, Vladimir TISMĂNEANU, Cristian VASILE, Dorin DOBRINCU (eds.), *Raport final. Comisia Prezidenţială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România*, Editura Humanitas, Bucureşti, 2007, p. 354.

64   Leopold LABEDZ, *The Soviet Attitude to Sociology*, In: Alex SIMIRENKO (ed.), *Soviet Sociology. Historical Antecedents and Current Appraisals*, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1966, p. 210.

65   Sanda GOLOPENŢIA, *Viaţa noastră cea de toate zilele*, Editura Curtea Veche, Bucureşti, 2009, p. 14-15.

66   See the letter of Miron Constantinescu addressed to Dimitrie Gusti, from November 5,1947: Dimitrie GUSTI, *Opere*, vol. V, *Fragmente autobiografice. Autosociologia unei vieţi, 1880-1955*, Texte stabilite, comentarii, note, documente de Ovidiu BĂDINA şi Mihail NEAMŢU, Editura Academiei RSR, Bucureşti, 1971, pp. 418-419.

67   Florica DOBRE (coord.), Liviu Marius BEJENARU, Clara COSMINEANU-MAREŞ, Monica GRIGORE, Alina ILINCA, Oana IONEL, Nicoleta IONESCU-GURĂ, Elisabeta NEAGOE-PLEŞA, Liviu PLEŞA, *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R., 1945 – 1989. Dicţionar*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 2004, p. 176.

68   Dimitrie GUSTI, *Opere*, vol. V, *Fragmente autobiografice. ...*, pp. 418-419.

69   *Ibidem.*

70   Miron Constantinescu specified him that it was not about a substantial change of the Romanian sociology, but about a change of priorities: "It doesn't mean that we will put a stop on the research of different villages. However, the order of study must comply with the order of importance", *Ibidem.*

71   C. I. GULIAN (redactor responsabil), S. GHIŢĂ, N. GOGONEAŢĂ, C. JOJA, R. PANTAZI, Al. POSESCU, *Istoria gândirii sociale şi filosofice în România*, Editura Academiei RPR, 1964, p. 506.

72   Al. POSESCU, *Critica în anii puterii populare a curentelor filosofice şi sociologice din România de dinainte de 1944*, In: ***, *Marxism-leninismul şi gândirea ştiinţifică românească*, Editura Academiei RPR, Bucureşti, 1964, pp. 301-312.

73   C. I. GULIAN (redactor responsabil), *et alli*, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

74   Gall ERNO, *Sociologia burgheză din România. Studii critice*, Ediţia a II-a, Editura Politică, Bucureşti, 1963, p. 3-4.

75   Al. POSESCU, *op. cit*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 301-312.

76   Henri H. STAHL, *Amintiri şi gânduri din vechea şcoală ...*, p. 132.

77   He participated at the following monographic campaings: Nerej (1927 and 1938), Fundu Moldovei (1928), Drăguş (1929), Runcu (1930) and Şanţ (1935), Ştefan COSTEA (coord.), *Sociologi români. Mică enciclopedie*, Editura Expert, Bucureşti, 2005, pp. 73-76.

78   Zoltan ROSTAŞ, *Sala luminoasă. Primii monografişti ai Şcolii gustiene*, Bucureşti, Editura Paideia, 2003, p. 62.

79   Dan DUNGACIU, *Elita interbelică. Sociologia românească în context european*, Editura Mica Valahie, București, 2002, p. 232.

80   Vladimir TREBICI, „Dr. Sabin Manuilă: Omul și epoca sa", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, V, nr. 4/1994, pp. 387-392.

81   Zoltan ROSTAȘ, *Sala luminoasă ...*, *passim*.

82   Sabin MANUILĂ (editor), *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930*, 10 volume, Institutul Central de Statistică, București, 1938-1940.

83   Ștefan COSTEA (coord.), *Sociologi români ...*, pp. 19-20.

84   Sorin LAVRIC, "Cărturarul din exil", In: *România literară*, nr. 9/2009 (4-13 martie).

85   O relatare despre Mircea Vulcănescu: Ștefan J. FAY, *Sokrateion sau mărturie pentru om*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1991, *passim*.

86   Mircea DIACONU, "Mircea Vulcănescu – filosoful Școlii Sociologice a lui Dimitrie Gusti", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, III, nr. 4/1992, pp. 357-379.

87   Ștefan COSTEA (coord.), *Sociologi români ...*, pp. 468-473.

88   *Ibidem*.

89   Virgil ȚÂRĂU, Ioan CIUPEA, "Morții Penitenciarului Aiud, 1945-1965", In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca*, tom XLIX, 2010, pp. 143-188.

90   Zigu ORNEA, "Cazul Anton Golopenția", In: *România literară*, nr. 43/2001 (31 octombrie-6 noiembrie).

91   Sanda GOLOPENȚIA, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

92   Lavinia BETEA, "Un sociolog, decedat în ancheta Securității", In: *Jurnalul național*, 11 septembrie 2007.

93   Anton GOLOPENȚIA, *Ultima carte ...*, p. 60.

94   Lavinia BETEA, *Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu. Moartea unui lider comunist*, Ediția a III-a, Editura Curtea Veche, București, 2011, *passim*.

95   Sanda GOLOPENȚIA, "Cronologia unei vieți: Anton Golopenția", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, VI, nr. 5-6/1995, pp. 481-527.

96   Antonio MOMOC, *Capcanele politice ale sociologiei interbelice. Școala gustiană între carlism și legionarism*, Editura Curtea Veche, București, 2012, pp. 270-282.

97   Cicerone IONIȚOIU, *Victimele terorii comuniste. Arestați, torturați, întemnițați, uciși. Dicționar H, I, J, K, L*, Editura Mașina de scris, București, 2003, p. 49.

98   For this reason, he had to sign with a pseudonym his book on the sociology of success: M. RALEA, T. HARITON, *Sociologia succesului*, Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1962.

99   Ovidiu BĂDINA, Octavian NEAMȚU, *Dimitrie Gusti. Viață și personalitate*, Editura Tineretului, București, 1967, p. 193.

[100]   Constantin MARINESCU, *Dimitrie Gusti şi şcoala sa. Însemnări, evocări*, Editura Felix-Film, Bucureşti, 1995, p. 33

[101]   Ovidiu BĂDINA, *Dimitrie Gusti. Contribuţii ...*, p. 173.

[102]   Then, he met Becker, T. Parsons, P. Sorockin, R. Linton sau pe H. W. Obit, *Ibidem*, pp. 176-177, n. 2.

[103]   Adrian CIOROIANU, *Pe umerii lui Marx. O introducere în istoria comunismului românesc*, Editura Curtea Veche, Bucureşti, 2007, pp. 123-125.

[104]   Dimitrie GUSTI, "Câteva impresii din Moscova şi Leningrad", In: *Graiul nou*, 9 iunie 1945, *apud* Ovidiu BĂDINA, *Dimitrie Gusti. Contribuţii ...*, p. 184.

[105]   Dimitrie GUSTI, *Opere*, vol. V, *Fragmente autobiografice ...*, pp. 353-417.

[106]   "*In early August 1950, called by Octavian Neamtu, I found incredible news: Gusti was banished from his house, his library and his books. We visited him both. I found him in a room with ground below, in an unfinished house, with newspapers that were caught in some pins instead of windows, in the former slum Caţelu, weeping on a suitcase*", Constantin MARINESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[107]   *Ibidem*, p. 38 and 47.

[108]   Despite the rehabilitation of 1955, within the later monographs on the life and work of Gusti there are no reference to his tragic destiny during the firts years of communist regime, see: O. BĂDINA, *Dimitrie Gusti. Contribuţii ...*, 1966; şi: O. BĂDINA, O. NEAMŢU, *Dimitrie Gusti ...*, 1967.

[109]   Marin CONSTANTIN, "Paul H. Stahl despre Şcoala sociologică de la Bucureşti", In: *Sociologie românească*, vol. II, nr. 2/2004, pp. 42-57; Ilie BĂDESCU, „Şcoala Gusti: perenitatea unei paradigme", In: *Sociologie românească*, III, nr. 2/2005, pp. 5-10.

[110]   Vezi interviul lui Zoltan Rostaş cu Gheorghe Focşa: Zoltan ROSTAŞ, *Strada Latină, nr. 8. Monografişti şi echipieri gustieni la Fundaţia Culturală Regală „Principele Carol"*, Editura Curtea Veche, Bucureşti, 2005, pp. 24-57.

[111]   On the life and the activity of Ernest Bernea, see: Antonio MOMOC, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-270; and Zoltan ROSTAŞ, *Sala luminoasă ...*, pp. 15-69.

[112]   Lucia APOLZAN, "O viaţă dedicată cercetării ...", In: *loc.cit*, pp. 337-343.

[113]   Zoltan ROSTAŞ, *Sala luminoasă ...*, pp. 261-360.

[114]   Vladimir TREBICI, "O istorie impresionistă a demografiei româneşti", In: *Sociologie românească*, nr. I, 1999, pp. 9-31.

[115]   Ştefan BUZĂRNESCU, Septimiu CHELCEA, Dan DUNGACIU, Maria LARIONESCU, Virgil MĂGUREANU, Zoltan ROSTAŞ, Constantin SCHIFIRNEŢ, *op. cit, loc. cit.*; Ilie BĂDESCU, "Şcoala Gusti: perenitatea unei paradigme", In: *Sociologie românească*, III, nr. 2/2005, pp. 5-10; Cătălin ZAMFIR, "Ce a lăsat Dimitri Gusti sociologie postbelice?", In: *Sociologie românească*, III, nr. 2/2005, pp. 11-14; Idem, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71; Marin CONSTANTIN, "Paul H. Stahl despre Şcoala sociologică ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 42-57; Ştefan COSTEA, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Romanian Sociology*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *op.*

cit., pp. 69-78; Mihail CERNEA, Ion MATEI, *Rumania*, In: Jerzy J. WIATR (ed.), *The State of Sociology in Eastern Europe Today*, Foreword by Herman R. Lantz, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1971, pp. 139-176.

116   Cătălin ZAMFIR, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71.

117   Ilie BĂDESCU, "Şcoala Gusti: perenitatea unei paradigme", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 5-10.

118   Roman MOLDOVAN, "La sociologie, science du présent et de l'avenir", In: *Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales*, serie *Sociologie*, tom 10-11, 1966-1967, pp. 49-54; Miron CONSTANTINESCU, *Direcţii actuale ale cercetării sociologice în ţara noastră*, In: Miron CONSTANTINESCU, *Cercetări sociologice, 1938-1971*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1971, pp. 211-222; Idem, "A General Survey of Romanian Sociology", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 7-13; Lucia APOLZAN, "Ţăranii şi setea de pământ. Cercetările monografice din anul 1955 în satul Toporu, jud. Teleorman", In: *Sociologie românească*, Serie nouă, III, nr. 3/1992, pp. 297-301.

119   Costin MURGESCU, "Field Research Work as Conducted by the Economic Research Institute of the Academy of the Rumanian's People Republic", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. I, 1962, pp. 239-247; V. TREBICI, L. TOVISSI, "Aspects of Sociological Research. At the Statistical Chair for Various Branches of the National Economy at the <V. I. Lenin> Institute of Economic Science, Bucharest, and at the Statistical Chair in the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. I, 1962, pp. 231-238; M. STĂNESCU, Al. PUIU, "Aspects of the Activity of Sociological Research of the Economic Research Institute Between 1963-1964", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. II-III, 1964, pp. 201-206; P. GRIGORESCU, "Concrete Sociological Investigation Performed at the Institute of Economic Research", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. IV-V, 1966, pp. 319-321.

120   See: ***, "From the Activity of Sociological Research of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. II-III, 1964, pp. 207-210; H. ENE, "Concrete Sociological Investigation at the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. IV-V, 1966, pp. 321-322; H. CULEA, "The Session of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania Concerning Sociological Problems", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. IV-V, 1966, p. 327.

121   Ştefan COSTEA, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Romanian Sociology*, In: Mike Forrest KEEN, Janusz MUCHA (eds.), *Eastern Europe in Transformation. The Impact on Sociology*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, London, 1994, pp. 69-78.

122   Cătălin ZAMFIR, "Ce a lăsat Dimitri Gusti sociologie postbelice?", In: *loc. cit.*; Idem, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71.

123   *Ibidem.*

124   „Activities of the National Sociological Committee", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. I, 1962, pp. 225-229.

125   *Ibidem.*

126   *Ibidem.*

127   *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. I, 1962; vol. II-III, 1964; vol. IV-V, 1966; și vol. VI, 1969.

128   Gall ERNO, *Sociologia burgheză din România. Studii critice*, Ediția a II-a, Editura Politică, București, 1963, p. 173.

129   Cătălin ZAMFIR, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71.

130   Gall ERNO, *Sociologia burgheză ...*, p. 173.

131   Nicolae CEAUȘESCU, *Expunere cu privire la îmbunătățirea organizării și îndrumării activității de cercetare științifică*, In: Nicolae CEAUȘESCU, *Știința, învățământul, cultura în procesul formării societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, București, 1976, p. 31.

132   After the establishment of the first Department of Sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy within the University of Bucharest (1966), similar Departments were founded at the University of Cluj-Napoca and the University of Iași – a Philosophy-Sociology Department at the University of Cluj-Napoca and Psychology-Sociology Department at the University of Iași. In the period 1968-1970, sociology courses were introduced in all branches of higher education (technical, economic, agricultural, medical, architectural, pedagogical), Ștefan COSTEA *et alii, op. cit.*, p. 367.

133   **Tudor Bugnariu** (b. June 30, 1909, Budapest – d. June 25, 1988, Bucharest). He was a student of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Cluj and, after graduating, he was offered a job as an assistant professor at the Department of Romanian language. He was soon released because of his political options, becoming a secondary school teacher. After August 23, 1944 Tudor Bugnariu became the Mayor of Cluj and after the 1948 Education Law he was reinstated as a professor at the University of Cluj and then at the University of Bucharest [Corneliu CRĂCIUN, *Dicționarul comunizanților din noaptea de 23 spre 24 august 1944*, Oradea: Editura Primus, 2009, p. 121]. In October 1958 he was transferred at the University of Bucharest, where he became a professor of dialectical and historical materialism and the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Arhiva Universității București / The University of Bucharest Archive, Direcția *Resurse Umane - Dosare de cadre* / Department of *Human Resources – Personal Files*, file B 516 (Tudor Bugnariu).

134   *Ibidem.*

135   *Ibidem.*

136   **Constantin (Costache) Nicuță** (September 8, 1906, Pașcani – 1991, Bucharest). Student of the University of Iași – the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy and the Faculty of Law (1928-1932). He was later offered a job as an assistant professor at the Department of sociology and ethics of the University of Iași, thus working with Petre Andrei (1936-7). Afterwards, he

was eliminated from the University due to his political option for the left. He became a PhD of the University of Iași with a thesis on the theory of social knowledge in the work of Max Weber (1945). Soon after, he was a professor of dialectical and historical materialism at the University of Iași. After 1948 he settled in Bucharest After 1965 he was the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (1965-8), head of the Department of sociological and political doctrines (1966-1972), and head of the Department of sociology (1972-4). In 1970 he becomes a member of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and the vice-president of the Section of sociology (1970-1990), Ștefan COSTEA (coord.), *Sociologi români ...*, pp. 342-343.

137 For further details, see: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970.

138 Virgil CONSTANTINESCU, Pompiliu GRIGORESCU, „The Bucharest University's Sociological Activity in the Realm of Education and Scientific Research", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 25-31.

139 *Ibidem.*

140 Nicolae KALLOS, Andrei ROTH, „Achievements and Prospects in the Activity of the Sociological Laboratory of <Babeș-Bolyai> University, Cluj", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 123-125.

141 Ștefan COSTEA *et alii, op. cit.*, p. 367.

142 Al. BĂRBAT, „Sociological Activity Carried On by the Department of Economy of Agricultureand Statistics at the <Al. I. Cuza> University, Iași", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 127-129.

143 Ion IORDĂCHEL, „The Activity of the Departmnet of Sociology of the Academy of Social and Political Education <Ștefan Gheorghiu> under the C. C. of the Romanian Communist Party", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 33-36.

144 ANIC, Fund *Miron Constantinescu*, file no. 26, ff. 1-5.

145 Mihail CERNEA, „Sociological Investigation Carried Out by the Institute of Philosophy", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 45-62.

146 Ovidiu BĂDINA, "Research Centre for Youth Problems – Bucharest", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 63-71; Idem, "Le cadre institutionnel de l'étude scientifique de la jeunesse en Roumanie. Centre de recherches sur les problèmes de la Jeunesse, attributions, structure, actions", In: *Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales*, serie *Sociologie*, tom 14, 1970, pp. 97-108.

147 C. BOTEZ, "Activities of Sociological Interest carried out by the Psychology Institute of the Academy of Social and Political Studies", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 73-76.

148 Vasile V. CARAMELEA, "Sociological Research in Social Anthropology carried out by the Centre of Anthropological Research", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 77-84.

149   C. GRIGORESCU, "Research of Sociological Character in the Institute of Economics Research of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 85-88.

150   Gh. PĂTRU, "Sociological Research at the Hygiene and Public Health Institute", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 109-114.

151   L. MARCU, "Sociological Research at the Institute of South-East European Studies", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 105-108.

152   Leon ȚOPA, "Sociological Research at the Pedagogic Sciences Institute of the Ministry of Education", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 119-122.

153   D. DUMITRU, "Sociological Activity at the Research Institute for Agrarian Economy and the Organizing of Socialist Agricultural Enterprizes", In: *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, vol. VI, 1970, pp. 89-92.

154   "Stenograma consfătuirii de lucru cu oamenii de știință, cercetătorii și cadrele didactice din domeniul științelor sociale (13 noiembrie 1969)", ANIC, fund *The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – Agitprop Section*, file no. 29/1969, f. 49.

155   Vezi: „Decret 121/1970 privind înființarea Academiei de Științe Sociale și Politice a RSR", In: *Buletinul Oficial al RSR*, Year VI, No. 22, March 18, 1970, Part I, p. 130.

156   *Ibidem.*

157   *Ibidem.*

158   Mihai Dinu GHEORGHIU, *Intelectualii în câmpul puterii. Morfologii și traiectorii sociale*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 2007, p 95.

159   ANIC, fund *The Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party – Agitprop Section*, file no 31/1971, ff.1-13.

160   Cătălin ZAMFIR, "9 ipoteze ...", In: *loc. cit.*, pp. 53-71.

161   *Ibidem.*

ELENA FIREA

Born in 1979, in Rădăuți

Ph.D. Candidate at "Babeș-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca, Faculty of History
Dissertation: *Religion and Politics in the Ecclesiastical Discourse in Moldavia
(fifteenth to sixteenth centuries)*

Editorial assistant of *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*,
published by Babeș-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca and
The Institute of Central European Studies

Research mobility to Central European University, Budapest (2007, 2006)
and Università degli Studi di Pisa (2007)
Participation in a High Educational Support Program (2005-2008)

Papers delivered at several colloquia and conferences in Romania and Croatia

Published articles on various aspects of Moldavian medieval history:
cult of saints, religious and cultural history, post-Byzantine religious art and
spirituality, representations of power in the Middle Ages

HAGIOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES OF ST. JOHN THE NEW IN 15th-16th CENTURY MOLDAVIA. THE ILLUSTRATED CYCLE FROM THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ROMAN

Abstract: An indicator of the strengthening veneration St. John the New enjoyed in sixteenth century Moldavia was the inclusion of extensive iconographical cycles illustrating his martyrdom in the pictorial decoration of several churches patronized either by the local dynasty or the high clergy. One of them was the Episcopal Church in Roman, which received its fresco decoration shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century, presumably under the direct supervision of bishop Macarie – an outstanding learned cleric and most intriguing figure of his time.

The present study focuses on the comparative analysis of the iconographical cycle dedicated to St. John the New there, in relation to other textual and visual narratives created in his honor, with the purpose to investigate the reception of his cult, two centuries after its adoption in Moldavia. The selection of the scenes from Roman, the particular details of their illustration, as well as the ideological implications they were invested with are discussed mostly in comparison with St. John's fifteenth century hagiographical construct of sanctity, transmitted through the text of the *Passio* and the decoration of the silver reliquary which hosts his relics in Suceava. The study starts from the assumption that a comparative analysis of these hagiographical narratives, in their chronological succession and within the specific context of their production, may be able to highlight, almost like archeological layers, the subsequent phases in the promotion and reception of the cult of St. John the New.

The preliminary outcomes of such an investigation suggest that, alike its textual and visual prototypes, the discussed pictorial cycle share the same primary concern for revealing and promoting St. John's status as a martyr for the Orthodox faith. Strongly outlining his unambiguous affiliation to this typology of sanctity conferred the best confirmation of St. John's saintliness and implicitly of the holiness of his relics preserved in Suceava. However, while the fifteenth century hagiographical narratives, both textual and pictorial, focus rather on constructing an authenticated profile of sanctity, the sixteenth century illustrated cycle seems much more receptive for conveying local implications and additional messages when accounting the same story, which are suggestive

for the evolution of St. John's cult. Enlarged selections of scenes and specific iconographical details or variations in displaying them were the main visual strategies employed in order to attach new meanings to the promotion and reception of the cult. Such innovations distinguish the narrative cycle from Roman from other elaborations of the theme, at least from two points of view.

The first one refers to an obvious clerical touch in reinterpreting the written *Passio*, by emphasizing the prominent role of the Church in the institutionalization and administration of the cult. Explainable in part through the episcopal commission and audience of these frescoes, this feature could also point out to an increased ecclesiastical appropriation of the cult towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

The second specific characteristic of the same pictorial cycle concerns a pronounced polemical tone in referring to other religious denomination and especially to the Catholic one. In visual terms, St. John's martyrdom is obviously constructed in explicit opposition not only to paganism, but also to Catholicism, thus alluding to contemporary realities of the time and showing Macarie's intransigent attitude toward confessional others. Invested with such polemic overtones, the saint's ultimate triumphal sacrifice symbolically corresponds to the victory of the Orthodox faith against its oppressors and internal competitors. In the complicated context of mid sixteenth century, St. John the New was thus promoted not only as an Orthodox neo-martyr, but also as a saint of the Moldavian Church, while the story of his martyrdom was loaded with local implications reflecting the specific confessional challenges this Church was facing at the time.

Key words: St. John the New, cult of saints, hagiographical narratives, iconographical cycles, Episcopal Church from Roman.

In the year 1415, the principality of Moldavia 'imported' from Crimea an Orthodox neo-martyr, St. John the New, whose relics were translated to the capital of Suceava and solemnly deposited in the metropolitan church. Shortly after the event and in close connection to it, a hagiographical narration of St. John's martyrdom,[1] including also the account of the relics' arrival at Suceava, was written in the local clerical milieu.[2] According to the text, during the relics' ceremonial reception, the prince Alexander the Good (1400-1432) – the instigator of their translation – prostrated before the chest, publicly venerated the holy body and proclaimed the saint as divine protector of his country.[3] Meant to symbolically authenticate the holiness of the newly acquired relics, in order to foster their veneration

at the new destination, the solemn *adventus* and the writing of the *Passio* marked the starting point for the local cult dedicated to St. John the New - the one eventually responsible for his inclusion in the Orthodox pantheon of saints[4].

Since no reliable evidence regarding his veneration prior to the emblematical moment from 1415 has survived,[5] one can argue that the whole hagiographical construct around this quasi-anonymous neo-martyr brought from the fringes of the Empire was a Moldavian development, centered on the presence of the saint's mortal remains / *moschi*[6] at Suceava. Its subsequent evolution suggests the deliberate establishment of an official cult, promoted from top to down, through the combined efforts of the local political and ecclesiastical authorities. Among the common indicators of a cult, the ensuing circulation of the hagiographical text in monastic manuscripts,[7] the existence of a liturgical office in the saint's honor,[8] the commissioning of decorated reliquaries to host the relics,[9] as well as the few church dedications in his name[10] point out to the gradual development of the new veneration in the liturgical and devotional practices of the Moldavians, throughout the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. Roughly from the same period date the first iconographical representations of St. John in monumental painting, either as intercessory saint[11] or in iconic full-length portraits, associated with military saints.[12]

Corresponding to the progressive strengthening of the cult in the second half of the sixteenth century, elaborate narrative cycles illustrating his martyrdom were included in the decoration of several churches patronized either by the ruling dynasty or the high clergy.[13] Visual expression of his complete assimilation among the traditional saints, the extensive monumental narratives dedicated to St. John might be considered as a final phase in the formation and public promotion of his cult.[14] Albeit heavily relying on the fifteenth century hagiographical text, the mural cycles do not merely illustrate but rather reinterpret it, thus creating relatively independent variants of the story, invested with new meanings in accordance to the contemporary expectations of their audience.[15] Together with the *Passio* and the decoration of the silver reliquary which hosts St. John's relics at Suceava,[16] the latter constitute the hagiographical narratives[17] referring to St. John the New in the epoch under scrutiny - the subject matter of the present study. However, while both the written account and the monumental cycles contributed decisively to the promotion of the saint, they are chronologically separated by more than

a century. Consequently, text and frescoes reflect different stages in the development of the cult and, presumably, different ideological implications attached to it.

Concerned with the emergence, promotion and subsequent reception of St. John's veneration, the purpose of this research is to comparatively scrutinize these hagiographic narratives in order to investigate whether and to what extent did the initial construct of sanctity change during the first two centuries of its existence. Given its inherent limits, the analysis will nevertheless concentrate mostly on a somehow privileged case-study, namely the frescoes illustrating St. John's martyrdom in the outer narthex of the Episcopal Church in Roman. Why privileged? Besides the fact that they form the most elaborated such pictorial cycle that has survived (in quite good condition, one might add) in Moldavian medieval art, they are better documented than others. The specific circumstances under which took place the construction and decoration of the edifice render very plausible the identification of the iconographer with bishop Macarie, who was running the episcopal seat from Roman since 1531.[18] Outstanding learned cleric and an intriguing figure of his time,[19] Macarie was also an experienced creator of church iconographical programs at the time when these frescoes were painted, [20] which further supports the hypothesis of his direct implication in the endeavor. Finally, the cycle from Roman seems particularly suited for a comparative analysis, since besides the common literary prototype, it was preceded by other iconographical accounts of St. John's martyrdom[21] which could have counted as possible visual sources or analogies.

Therefore, by juxtaposing the analysis of the written source to the exploration of the visual evidence, within the particular contexts of their production, the present study will examine which traits from the original hagiographical construct were preferred in the second half of the sixteenth century. Which episodes from the earlier narratives were included in the pictorial sequence from Roman and which were, in turn, its iconographical innovations? What does such a selection suggest concerning the evolution of St. John's cult? Finally, are there any indicators of a different promotion or reception of the saint a hundred years after his adoption in Moldavia?

In the attempt to offer at least tentative answers to these research questions, the available evidence will be examined through a comparative approach, which will combine the hermeneutics of the text with the

analysis of the visual material within the framework of the iconographical method.[22] Nevertheless, special attention will be given to the pictorial narratives dedicated to St. John the New. Examined in previous historiography almost exclusively from a perspective confined to art history, more often than not rather descriptive[23] or concerned mostly to establish chronologies and identify iconographical models,[24] the cycles illustrating St. John's martyrdom were only obliquely considered in connection with the evolution of his cult.[25] When their political[26] or religious[27] implications were discussed, the visual narratives were treated *in corpore* and not separately, in their sequential production. Trusting their potential in reflecting the evolution of St. John's cult, the present study will focus on the analysis of the illustrated cycles as main source in exploring the process of inventing (intended in medieval terms)[28] and promoting the new saint. Since the investigation will concentrate mostly on the one from Roman, references to the text or to earlier such representations will be made in order to correlate the respective narratives, to identify the mechanisms of rendering in visual terms a rather stereotypical hagiographical account, but most importantly to offer a better insight into the question of selection, of inclusion or exclusion of scenes and their meaning.

In order to highlight the specificity of these frescoes and the messages they were invested with, one should first scrutinize the available evidence for such a comparative approach. Which were the hagiographical narratives referring to St. John the New before the interval 1552-1562, when the cycle from Roman was painted,[29] and what image of sanctity did they transmit? In a chronological sequence, the first would be the fifteenth century text of the *Passio*. Written by a cleric affiliated to the Moldavian metropolitan seat, probably shortly after the relics' translation to Suceava, the text belongs to the hagiographical genre of late martyrdom accounts.[30] Therefore, it typically narrates only the passion and not St. John's life, ending with the account of his relics' arrival to the Moldavian capital – the key moment in the inauguration of their veneration here. The almost complete absence of biographical or historical details is not unusual, given that a saint's live is not a biography in the modern sense of the word, but a narration primarily meant to record and to transmit the idea of holiness.[31] In other words, it is a constructed image of sanctity, meant to generate among the faithful the honor due to the saint and an emotional response, by making use of certain familiar narrative paths or *topoi*.[32] To better outline which was the profile of holiness it promoted, the textual account will be discussed here in parallel to another early narrative referring to St.

John' martyrdom, namely the decoration of the silver reliquary from St. George church in Suceava. Although the controversial artifact was very differently dated by art historians,[33] the most influential opinion attributes it to the reign of Alexander the Good[34] - the commissioner and organizer of the *translatio* from 1415. If the hypothesis is correct, then the passion cycle engraved on these silver panels becomes the earliest visual narrative referring to St. John the New's martyrdom and possible prototype for the later elaborations of the theme.[35] Moreover, since it would mean that they are more or less contemporaneous, both the written *Passio* and the iconography of the reliquary may be thus considered as components of the same, initial hagiographical effort promoting St. John the New and his veneration in Moldavia. The succinct presentation of their narrative core will be accompanied by comparative references to the illustrated cycle from the Episcopal Church from Roman, for better highlighting the latter's selection of scenes.

Already from its title, the *Passio* refers to St. John as a great martyr, the most direct and uncontested category of sanctity throughout the history of the church.[36] The scarce information alluding to his social status before the martyrdom vaguely individualize him as a Christian merchant from Trebizond, who sailed on business on the Black Sea and found his death in the name of the Orthodox faith at Cetatea Albă/Belgorod (most probablyVospro-Kertch, in Crimea), around the year 1330.[37] On the ship, he distinguished himself as a role model of Christian virtues and behavior, which brought unto him the hatred of the envious "Latin" (i.e. Catholic) captain. The latter cunningly plotted St. John's death, by telling the pagan ruler of Cetatea Albă that he intended to abjure Christianity and convert to his pagan faith. This brings forth a first formal interrogation of the saint - the starting point of his ensuing martyrdom and also the opening scene of the pictorial narrative from the silver reliquary[38] and of the majority of the monumental cycles. The idea of the Latin's deceitful instigation is conveyed in iconographical terms by his inclusion in the composition. In accordance with the hagiographic scenario of late medieval and modern neo-martyrdoms, the text dwells at length on the following disputations between John the New and the pagan inquisitor, the perfect opportunity for the saint to refuse conversion, to publicly confess his credo and to assert the superiority of his faith, despite typical threats of torture and ultimate death. The passage is visually rendered by a repetitive succession of interrogatory scenes, when the saint is first undressed[39] - a symbolic detail announcing the ensuing passion and alluding to the Christological

model – and then threatened by the raising of the staffs.[40] The partial suppression of the eastern wall of the outer narthex led to the loss of the opening scenes from the narrative cycle dedicated to St. John the New at Roman. Nevertheless, two fragmentarily preserved compositions that precede the one where the saint is brought in front of the pagan ruler, in the presence of the Latin instigator and a menacing crowd (Fig. 1) indicates a strong concern of the visual narrative for rendering the formal interrogation theme – a crucial hagiographical *topos* in all martyrdom accounts. After a first round of flagellation,[41] (Fig. 2) the text mentions the imprisonment of the saint, represented as an independent episode on the silver reliquary[42] and in all monumental cycles, except the one from Roman. Here the scene was replaced by an unprecedented one, namely *St. John's prayer* (Fig. 3), which shall be discussed later. A consecutive formal interrogation,[43] when a renewed offer to convert is accompanied by enticements of healing the wounded body, is refused again by John, who accepts death as a promise of eternal salvation – another necessary *topos* in all martyrs' lives. A second round of cruel flagellation,[44] visually emphasized and dramatized by the active participation of the enraged pagan ruler, precedes the humiliating torture of carrying the saint's body on the streets, tied to a horse's tail.[45] The hagiographer assigns to the Jews the final torments of the martyr – another transparent reference to Christ's passion, but also a possible allusion to local urban realities in fifteenth century Moldavia. On the silver reliquary, as well as in the frescoes from Roman (Fig. 4), the incrimination of the Jews is clearly expressed by their active participation in the final torture scene, where they are individualized from the previous tormentors of the saint through a distinct costume. Finally, the death moment is explicitly referred to in both textual and pictorial narratives: a Jew decapitates St. John – typical death by sword for the vast majority of martyrs.[46] The text also mentions an ultimate sign of contempt, when the dead body is abandoned on the street, under the interdiction of being touched. Absent from other illustrated hagiographies dedicated to St. John, the last passage might be the source for one of the most intriguing scenes in the cycle from Roman - *St. John's ascension to heaven* (Fig. 5) - an *unicum* in the iconography dedicated to the saint, which shall be discussed at length later on.

Albeit it is a necessary element in all pictorial accounts of martyrdoms, the death scene never concludes them, but is usually followed by miracles or other episodes connected to the relics.[47] In John the New's case, closely following the hagiographical text, the silver reliquary[48] and all the visual

narratives (including the one from Roman) depict next the miraculous mourning of the dead body, carried through by three angels holding candles and censing the earthly remains of the saint (Fig. 6). The *topos* of the fiery column symbolically connecting them to the heaven is one of the most common indicators that certify the sanctity of the holy body[49] and, hence of the *moschi* kept in the metropolitan church in Suceava. This first miracle connected to the relics has also a punitive dimension, when a Jew who witnesses the whole scene attempts to launch an arrow against the divine creatures and is immediately petrified in the gesture of bending the bow. He will be freed only after he relates the miraculous happening, thus publicly affirming the martyr's holiness. In the narrative sequence from Roman (Fig. 7), the episode is represented in an almost identical composition to the one from the silver reliquary,[50] which most probably functioned as its visual prototype. Frightened, the pagan ruler orders the disposal of the body, permitting the proper burial of the saint in a Christian cemetery. Obviously inspired from the iconography of the reliquary,[51] the image from Roman schematically illustrates a funerary ceremony (Fig. 8), which takes place nearby a central planned architectural structure - perhaps a visual allusion to an *Anastasis* rotonda typically associated with martyrs' tombs.

The second miracle related by the hagiographical text is also connected to the relics, this time conferring them an active role in the story. It refers to their refusal to be taken away, when the Catholic who denounced St. John in the first place attempts to steal the holy body. Consequently, the saint shows himself in a vision to the Orthodox priest of the city, warns him about the thief's intentions and finally hinders the misappropriation of the relics. Defying logic, the pictorial narrative from the silver reliquary interrupts at this point[52], which clearly indicates that it is only fragmentarily preserved. However, the cycle from Roman continues the illustration of the hagiographical account, conflating into three distinct episodes the stealing of the relics motif: *The attempt to steal the relics and the warning of the priest* (Fig. 9), *The sending of priests to save the relics* and, respectively, *The finding of the body untouched.*[53] (Fig. 10) The innovative iconographical formula clearly puts an additional emphasis on the role of the Orthodox clergy in protecting and administrating St. John's relics. The text indicates that, in order to receive the proper honor, the latter were then solemnly reburied behind the altar of the Christian church in Belgorod, where they remained for more than seventy years, working miracles and emanating sweet odor – frequent hagiographical *topoi* referring to the most visible

signs of holiness at a saint's tomb. The moment is illustrated at Roman in another funerary scene (Fig. 11), in which the topographical detail is clearly distinguishable by the presence of an altar table with a Gospel book on top of it, depicted inside an architectural structure.

Finally, the *Passio* ends with the account of the *translatio reliquarum* to Suceava, which is also the last and most elaborate composition of the discussed monumental cycle. (Fig. 12) Abundant in conventional *topoi*, the hagiographical text confines to the political authority the initiative and the active role in the institutionalization of the new cult,[54] describing the pious veneration of the holy body by the prince himself and the public invocation of the saint as divine protector of the country. However, the involvement of metropolitan Joseph in the endeavor is also mentioned. The scarce historical references concerning St. John's local reception consist only in mentioning a ceremonial greeting of the relics by the political and ecclesiastical hierarchy and the key information about their solemn deposition in the metropolitan church from Suceava. With one notable exception,[55] all Moldavian visual representations of the theme reiterate the same conventional iconographic formula that depicts the official reception of the relics outside the city walls.[56] The visual focus lies on holy body and the priests who carry it, who form a stationary frieze situated in the center of the image, while the lay and clerical corteges are symmetrically placed on the sides. At Roman, Alexander the Good, accompanied by members of his family and numerous dignitaries, is not represented while venerating the relics (as described in the text), but in the gesture of welcoming them to his capital. Although the *Passio* specifies that the prince and the hierarchs greeted together the procession carrying the relics, the frescoes represent separately the political and ecclesiastic authorities, confining to the clerics the leading role in bringing them to and fostering their veneration at the new destination.

At the end of this compressed comparative survey, a first remark concerns the uncontested authority of the text and of the iconography of the silver reliquary on the pictorial cycle dedicated to St. John the New in the episcopal church from Roman. For better deciphering the larger implications of these initial hagiographic narratives and their impact on later visual representations of the theme, a brief overview of the political and religious context of their production becomes necessary.[57] In the first decades of the fifteenth century, when both the *Passio* and the silver reliquary were produced, the relatively young principality of Moldavia reached the peak of its state consolidation so far. By this time it had

already achieved a certain political autonomy in relation to the powerful neighboring kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, as well as a stronger territorial and institutional consolidation. The official recognition of the Moldavian Orthodox metropolitan seat by the Patriarchy of Constantinople [58] concluded the state foundation process, conferring higher political prestige to the principality and, finally, assimilating it to the Byzantine Commonwealth. However, one should keep in mind that St. John's *translatio* to Suceava occurred after the canonical reconciliation with the Ecumenical Patriarchy, which had ended a long conflict concerning the right to denominate the metropolitan,[59] by temporarily accepting a local hierarch on the seat and thus strengthening the position of the Moldavian Church. Under such circumstances, the transfer and the installation at Suceava of the first holy relics purchased by the principality, in collaboration with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy and possibly in spite of the Patriarchy's control over relics, were rich in political and ideological implications. It consolidated the spiritual and political prestige of the princely institution[60], but at the same time it also legitimized the autonomous claims of the Moldavian Church. Playing the role of a local canonization,[61] the event from 1415 and its reflection in the ensuing text of the *Passio* became a symbol of the strength of the metropolitan seat of Suceava and by extension of the Moldavian Orthodox Church at the time. Non-coincidentally, the relics were deposited in the metropolitan church, which became their exclusive caretaker and main beneficiary.

Coming back to the exploration of the early hagiographic narratives dedicated to St. John and the profile of sanctity they promoted, one notices their nucleus is centered on the standard scheme of interrogations - tortures - death, basic elements of all martyrdom accounts, without which they would loose credibility and fail to reveal the character's saintliness.[62] A very effective strategy in this respect was precisely to adjust the individual case according to authenticated hagiographical types and patterns, which explains the accentuated conformation of St. John's story to neo-martyrial typology. Even the preference for a martyr, when it came to officially acquire the first relics for the Moldavian capital becomes suggestive from this perspective, given that martyrial ultimate sacrifice conferred unambiguous sanctity that need not be further demonstrated. The fact might have proven especially suitable in John's case, since he was a barely known saint at the time, and his relics lacked a prestigious, validating provenance. From this point of view, one remarks that the conventional and repetitive iconography of the silver reliquary, deprived of any local

nuances or ideological implications,[63] eloquently emphasizes exactly St. John's affiliation to the category of holy martyrs.[64] Typically for the medieval world, the decoration of the reliquary proclaimed St. John's sanctity and thus worked as an authentication of the relics kept inside, in order to foster their veneration at the new destination.[65]

While the interrupted visual narrative from the silver reliquary does not allow further interpretations in this direction, the written account clearly manifests a strong interest for the relics. The fact should not be surprising, given that St. John's Moldavian cult was centered precisely on their presence and veneration at Suceava. Although miracles connected to saints' earthly remains are quite common in hagiographical texts, it is significant that the only two miraculous events extendedly described in St. John's *Passio* refer exclusively to his relics. If the first one typically proclaims the holiness of the body immediately after death, proving that John had indeed died as a martyr,[66] the second miracle reveals the relics' active power, in their refusal to be taken away by the unworthy. By contrast, their final transfer to Moldavia and their deposition in the metropolitan church seems to have pleased the saint, thus receiving a symbolical divine sanction, meant to consolidate the prestige of the institution that hosted them. Moreover, the meaningful juxtaposition of the Orthodox priest, as privileged beneficiary of the vision, to the Catholic captain who unsuccessfully attempts to steal the body (a juxtaposition very eloquently displayed in visual terms, see Fig. 9) implies that the saint chooses the rightful beneficiaries of his relics, equating with an indirect statement of faith in favor of the Orthodoxy. It has already been argued that the text refers from the very beginning to religious alterity and competition,[67] by introducing the premises of St. John's martyrdom and its initial instigator in the person of an envious Catholic opposing a righteous Orthodox. Furthermore, all the negative characters in the story are confessional others.[68] The detail is not without significance when related to the multi-confessional society of fifteenth century Moldavia[69] and to the special circumstances of the writing, dominated by Orthodox responses to the council of Ferrara-Florence.[70] The promotion of a martyrdom in the name of Orthodoxy, constructed in explicit opposition to Catholic faith, takes the role of an official statement for the position of the local Moldavian Church in the question of religious competition.

Such implications of the initial hagiographical construct are not only present, but heavily emphasized in the pictorial narrative from Roman. While the authoritative iconography of the silver reliquary might have

functioned as its visual prototype,[71] both the selection and the special treatment of scenes suggest an independent and slightly different reading of the hagiographical text by the iconographer from Roman. That the later worked as its main literary source and reservoir of themes is proven by the Slavonic inscriptions which accompany the seventeen episodes and which are obviously inspired from the *Passio*.[72] Compared to other visual explorations of the text, the Roman cycle displays several innovative compositions, besides the core iconographical scheme present on the silver reliquary. Together with other secondary iconographical details, the selection is suggestive for tracing down the specific features of this pictorial narrative and the messages it was invested with.

As it has already been pointed out, the first of these innovations refers to the theme of *St. John's prayer* (Fig. 3), introduced immediately after the first flagellation scene, instead of the typical imprisonment one. Depicted standing, in a rather iconic posture, the saint raises his eyes and hands in a praying gesture, while Jesus Christ blesses him from a heavenly mandorla. Unprecedented among the discussed pictorial cycles, the composition illustrates almost *ad litteram* a short passage from the hagiographical account, which mentions the acceptance of the martyrdom by St. John, who "raising the soul's eyes to the sky" praises God after the first torments of the flesh. Having a strong devotional character, the representation suggests more a vision than a simple prayer, while its separate setting in between two narrative episodes confers it visual importance. Prayer and divine contemplation are thus emphasized in the hagiographic narrative from Roman, which should not be surprising given Macarie's well-known monastic and hesychast preferences.[73] The collateral detail of John stepping over the feet of the soldiers who had just beaten him implies that, through faith and prayer, the saint rises above his torturers and the sufferings of the flesh.

Another innovative choice in the discussed selection of scenes consists of introducing the theme of the saints' ascension to heaven, after the death episode. It has been argued that although strictly necessary in all illustrations of martyrs' lives, the representation of the ultimate sacrifice - the consummation of the martyrdom - is usually a quiet, almost anticlimactic episode of these narratives.[74] It is the same in most of the cycles dedicated to St. John the New, where the decapitation itself is just a secondary episode within a more elaborate torture scene. On the contrary, the ascension theme from Roman (Fig. 5) puts an additional emphasis on the death motif, showing saint's immediate ascension to

the celestial home and thus offering the most explicit visual confirmation of his holiness. While the decapitated body occupies the fore ground, the upper part of the composition shows two angels carrying the saints' soul to heaven. In contrast to the sympathetic crowd from the high left corner, the right middle part displays a very interesting selection of characters. (Fig. 13) The white horse from the last torment scene and the Jewish executioner are clearly discernable next to a building which seems to resemble a church, but definitely not a typical Moldavian one. Most surprisingly, two Franciscan monks are witnessing and apparently discussing the whole scene from inside the edifice. Who are they and why their presence there? Their association with the *arma mortis*, that is with the main agents of the saint's death (the horse and the Jew with the sword), suggests their implication in the undertaking. The hagiographic text does not mention such an implication, but a recent contribution to the understanding of the historical context of St. John's martyrdom in Crimea has pointed out the existence of a strong Catholic community in Vospro-Kertch at that time.[75] If this could partly explain the inclusion of the negative Latin character in the text of the *Passio*, it certainly does not imply that the Catholics from Kertch actually played any role in the historical event. Why are they represented at Roman then? Could the learned Macarie have been so well-informed concerning the historical circumstances of St. John's martyrdom as to include such specific details, or is it rather a reflection of contemporary realities of his epoch? It is known that the middle of the sixteenth century was marked by confessional challenges and religious conflicts in Moldavia[76] and that Macarie was directly involved in the persecutions against confessional minorities which took place during the reign of Iliaș Rareș (1551-1552) and the first reign of Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552-1561).[77] Moreover, recent historiography has shown that these persecutions were aimed also against the Catholics from Moldavia[78]. Since they coincide roughly with the period when the frescoes from Roman were painted, one can argue that the inclusion of the Franciscans among St. John's executioners, meant to cast a bad light on the local Catholic hierarchy,[79] is another indicator for Macarie's intransigent opposition towards confessional others in the complicated context of mid-sixteenth century Moldavia. While the idea of religious confrontation (and even the damnation of the Jews, following the Christological model) is a necessary *topos* in all martyrdom accounts, the explicit opposition toward the Catholic faith seems to be a specific feature of St. John's *Passio*. It was already present in his earlier hagiographical narratives under the

form of the repeated negative apparitions of the Latin contra-hero, but in the pictorial cycle from Roman the explicit incrimination of the Catholics is additionally emphasized through the discussed iconographical detail. In the outer narthex of his cathedral, Macarie wanted to make sure that the religious message of the original story, namely the superiority of the Orthodox faith when confronted to other confessions, and mostly to the Catholic one, was transmitted in a more polemical tone. It was part of a larger effort to strengthen the position of Orthodoxy, even at the price of open conflict with local religious others, in a time of increasing political and confessional pressure for the Moldavian principality.[80]

A representation of this triumphant Moldavian Church was finally comprised in *The translation of St. John the New's relics to Suceava* scene, the last and most elaborate sequence of the pictorial cycle from Roman. (Fig. 12) Paradigmatic image of the inauguration of St. John's cult in Moldavia, the composition illustrates not only the historical event from 1415, but also an ongoing liturgical ceremonial[81], as indicated by the ritual objects and gestures depicted, including also the suggestion of bells ringing – a necessary prerequisite in such occasions. Leaded by metropolitan Joseph and the local hierarchs, the clerics are confined the leading role in the procession, since they are the ones who ritually manipulate the relics, bring them to the city gates and symbolically hand them to the prince. As an anecdotic detail, one notices that among the priests and deacons actually carrying the coffin, a highly individualized hierarch is depicted in a close, privileged proximity to the holy body. Given that the old figure behind him, wearing the episcopal liturgical vestment, is most probably archbishop Joseph, it is not excluded that the central character carrying the bier is bishop Macarie himself, the iconographer and commissioner of the frescoes from Roman.

It has already been mentioned that, compared to the hagiographical text, the representation of the *Bringing of the relics* episode switches the accent from emphasizing the monarch's implication in the officialization of the new cult, to a more conventional iconographic formula, which in turn balances, in visual terms, the role of the Church in the undertaking. That it was indeed an emblematical image of the official institutionalization of St. John's veneration in Moldova is suggested not only by the liturgical character of the represented moment, but also by the strong concern for topographical and architectural details, meant to geographically localize the saint's earthly remains - the core of his local devotion. Especially the rendering of the city of Suceava (in the right part of the image), with its

houses outside the city walls, its fortified citadel and its Moldavian church steeples, was remarked in previous historiography for its unexpected realism.[82] Such accuracy does not reflect only a particular artistic preference, but has deeper implications once related to other topographical suggestions of the composition. The less elaborate architectural setting from the left corner (undoubtedly Belgorod, now deprived of the saint's holy body), the empty space in between and finally the joyous city receiving the relics convey the idea of their journey to Moldova and implicitly of the inherent sacralization of their new destination, through their miraculous power[83]. Suggestively, the first city, where the martyrdom took place and which now lost the relics, is depicted without any churches. On the contrary, Moldavia's capital becomes the worthy depository and beneficiary of the holy body, whose presence legitimizes the city and its political and ecclesiastical authorities.[84] Moreover, if St. John's *translatio* to Suceava was indeed acknowledged as the equivalent of a local canonization and since the right to canonize saints was an attribute of ecclesiastical autocephaly,[85] its elaborate visual representation could indicate the intention of portraying a powerful and autonomous Moldavian Church.

At the end of this comparative survey, several preliminary conclusions can be tentatively formulated. Confronted to its textual and visual prototypes, the pictorial cycle dedicated to St. John the New in the episcopal church from Roman share the same primary concern for revealing and promoting his status as a martyr for the Orthodox faith. Outlining his unambiguous affiliation to the martyrial typology conferred the best confirmation of St. John's sanctity and implicitly of the holiness of his relics from Suceava. However, while the fifteenth century hagiographical narratives, both textual and pictorial, focus rather on constructing an authenticated profile of sanctity, the sixteenth century illustrated cycle seems much more receptive for conveying local implications and additional messages when accounting the same story, which are suggestive for the evolution of St. John's cult. Enlarged selections of scenes and specific iconographical details or variations in displaying them were the main visual strategies employed in order to attach new meanings to the promotion and reception of the cult. In the particular case from Roman, these innovations distinguish it from the established formula of St. John's pictorial narratives from at least two points of view. The first one refers to an obvious clerical touch in reinterpreting the written *Passio*, by emphasizing the prominent role of the Church in the institutionalization and administration of the cult.

Explainable in part through the episcopal commission and audience of these frescoes, it was only natural that the local high clergy be represented as main promoter of St. John's veneration in Moldavia, but at the same time it could also suggest an increased ecclesiastical appropriation of the cult towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

The second specific feature of the same pictorial cycle concerns a pronounced polemical tone in referring to other religious denomination and especially to the Catholic one. St. John's martyrdom in the name of the Orthodox faith, is constructed in explicit opposition not only to paganism, but also to Catholicism, thus alluding to contemporary realities of the time and showing Macarie's intransigent attitude toward confessional others. Invested with such polemic overtones, the saint's ultimate triumphal sacrifice symbolically corresponds to the victory of the Orthodoxy against its oppressors and its superiority over internal competitors. In the complicated context of mid sixteenth century, St. John the New was thus promoted not only as an Orthodox neo-martyr, but also as a saint of the Moldavian Church, while the story of his martyrdom was loaded with local implications reflecting the specific confessional challenges this Church was facing at the time.

Fig. 1. *St. John the New in front of the pagan ruler*

Fig. 2. *The flagellation of St. John*

Fig. 3. *St. John's prayer*

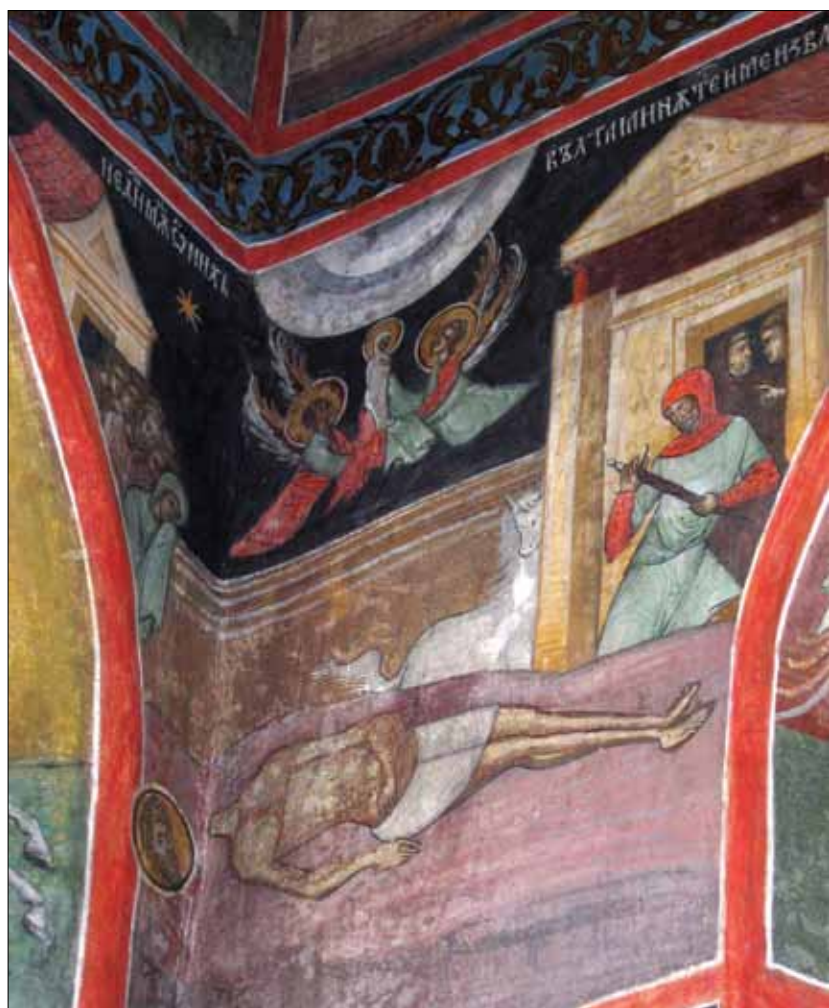Fig. 4. *The torment and beheading of St. John the New*

Fig. 5. *St. John's ascension to heaven*

Fig. 6. *Angels censing the St. John's remains and the petrified Jew*

Fig. 7. *The confession of the petrified Jew*

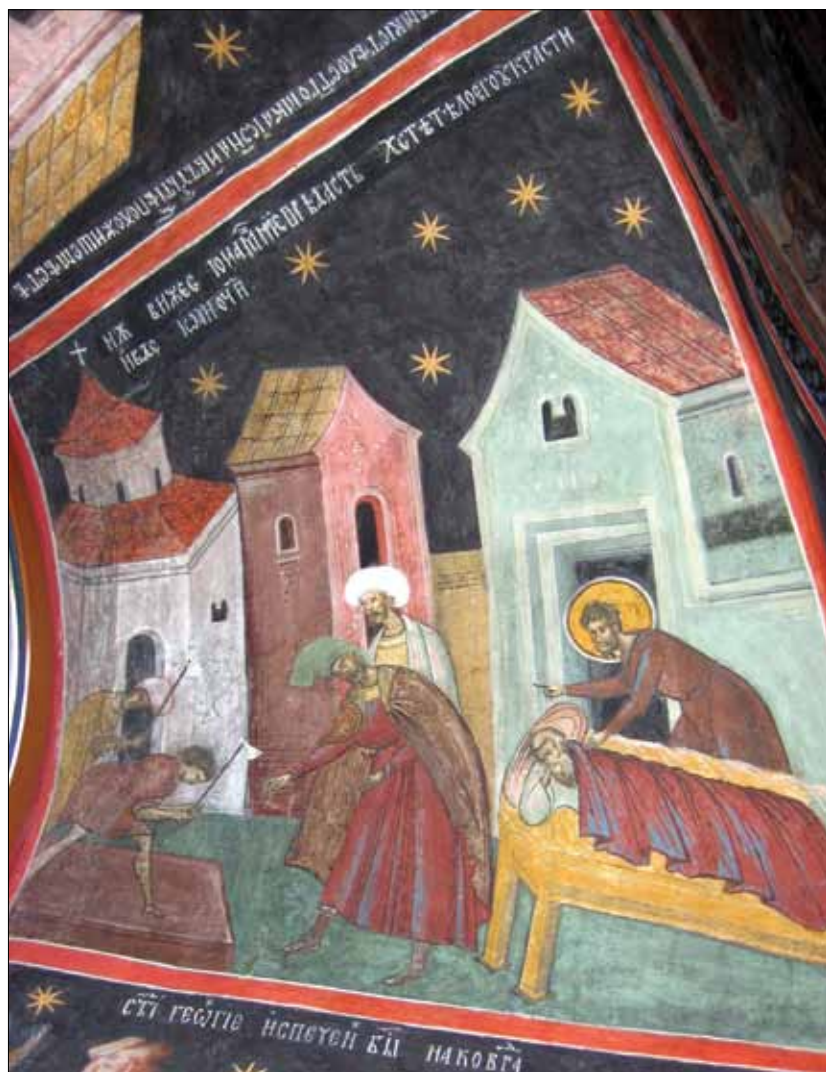Fig. 8. *The burial of St John the New in the cemetery*

Fig. 9. *The attempt to steal the relics and the warning of the priest*

Fig. 10. *The sending of priests to save the relics* and *The finding of the body untouched*

Fig. 11. *The second burial of the Saint John the New*

Fig. 12. *The translation of St. John the New's relics to Suceava*

Fig. 13. *St. John's ascension to heaven*, detail

NOTES

[1]   „Pătimirea sfântului şi slăvitului mucenic Ioan cel Nou, care a fost chinuit la Cetatea Albă, scrisă de Grigore călugărul şi prezviterul din marea biserică a Moldovlahiei", translated and edited by Bishop Melchisedec, in *Revista pentru Istorie, Arheologie şi Filologie*, II, Bucharest, 1884, vol. III, p. 165-174.

[2]   For a critical overview of the historiographic debate concerning the year of this *translatio* and the paternity of the hagiographical text, see Ştefan S. Gorovei, „Mucenicia Sfântului Ioan cel Nou. Noi puncte de vedere", in Ionel Cândea, P. Cernovodeanu, Gh. Lazăr (eds.), *Închinare lui Petre Ş. Năsturel la 80 ani*, Brăila, 2003, p. 555-572.

[3]   *"Svoeia drăjavî"* in the hagiographical text, translated with 'protector saint of the country' by Ştefan S. Gorovei; Idem, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

[4]   Albeit venerated in Moldavia since the fifteenth century, St. John the New was officially canonized by the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church only in the year 1950.

[5]   As intriguing as they might be, the two scattered pieces of information mentioned by Matei Cazacu in relation to the veneration of an unspecified St. John in Crimea are far from enough to prove the existence of a cult dedicated to St. John the New there, prior to the relics' transfer to Moldavia. See Matei Cazacu, "Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava", in Petre Guran, Bernard Flusin (eds.), *L'Empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, New Europe College, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 138-139 and note 6 on page 139.

[6]   For a discussion of terminological aspects pertaining the mortal remains of the saints in the Orthodox tradition, Elka Bakalova, "Relics and the roots of the cult of saints", in A.M. Lidov (ed.), *Eastern Christian Relics*, Progress-Tradition, Moscow, 2003, p. 19-39 (in Russian language, with an English abstract at p. 38-39)

[7]   The earliest copy was preserved in a *Sbornik* writen in 1439 by the famous calligrapher Gavril Uric, at Neamţ monastery; see Petre P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, Ed. Academiei, Bucureşti, 1959, ms. 146, p. 245-247. A later version, included in a *Sbornik* copied in 1474 at Putna monastery attests the circulation of the hagiographical text; see Paulin Popescu, "Manuscrise slavone din Mînăstirea Putna (II)", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 80, 1962, nr. 7-8, p. 696-697.

[8]   Emil Turdeanu, "Manuscrisele slave din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare", in Idem, *Oameni şi cărţi de altădată*, edited by Ştefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székély, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 40-41. Although the earliest preserved local version of a liturgical office dedicated to the saint is no earlier than 1534 , there are strong reasons to believe that such a text was written much earlier, probably contemporaneous with the hagiographical text; see A.A. Turilov, at www.praven.ru/text/471404.html, under the voice *St. John*

the New (I am very grateful to my colleague Ilya Kharin for indicating and translating to me this material); the same hypothesis at R. Pava, "Cartea de cântece a lui Eustatie de la Putna", in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 5, 1962, p. 345. A liturgical hymn dedicated to St. John the New was later included in a manuscript from 1511; see Ibidem, p. 342-345.

9   Two decorated reliquaries have been fragmentarily preserved, namely the silver one – still visible nowadays in St. George church from Suceava – and respectively two panels depicting St. John's martyrdom, from a wooden reliquary. Albeit art historians do not concord in dating the two artifacts, the most influential opinions attribute both pieces to the fifteenth century; see Teodora Voinescu, "Cea mai veche operă de argintărie medievală din Moldova", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică* 11, 1964, no. 2, p. 265-289; V. Drăghiceanu, "O icoană din sicriul sfântului Ion cel Nou din Suceava", in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 8, 1916, fasc. 3, p. 21-24; Corina Nicolescu, "Un nou fragment din racla pictată a Sf. Ioan cel Nou de la Suceava", in *Mitroplia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 44, 1970, no. 7-8, p. 377-390 and, more recently, Constanța Costea, „Despre reprezentările Sf. Ioan cel Nou în arta medievală", in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 67, 1998, no. 1-2, p. 19-24.

10   The pareklesion from Bistrița monastery (1498) and the church from Șipote (1507).

11   In the external votive image (1529) of the Bistrița pareklesion or in the (hardly visible nowadays) procession of saints in the *Deesis* composition from Arbore; see Marina Ileana Sabados, "Considerații în legătură cu tabloul votiv de pe fațada turnului-clopotniță de la Mănăstirea Bistrița (Neamț). Inscripția originală", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 39, 1992, p. 110-114; Sorin Ulea, „Originea și semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldovenești (I)", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 1, 1963, p. 86.

12   At Dobrovăț (1529), Humor (1535), Moldovița (1537), Voroneț (1547); see Ibidem, p. 84-85; Vasile Drăguț, „De nouveau sur les peintures murales extérieures de Moldavie. Considérations historiques et iconografiques", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 26, 1987, no. 1-2, p. 71-73; Tereza Sinigalia, Ovidiu Boldura, *Monumente medievale din Bucovina*, Art Conservation Support, s.l., 2010, p.190.

13   In a chronological sequence, the pictorial cycles dedicated to St. John's martyrdom are: the one from the south-eastern façade of St. George church in Suceava (1534), from the nave of the la Bistrița pareklesion (post 1541), from the southern façade of Voroneț (1547), from the outer-narthex of the episcopal church in Roman (1552-1561) and, finally, the one from the outer-narthex of Sucevița (1596). See Elka Bakalova, „Tzamblakovoto *Machenie na sveti Ioan Novi* v rumanskata monumentalna zhivopis ot XVI-XVII vek" [Țamblak's *Passio of St. John the New* in Monumental Romanian Paintings

of the 16th-17th Centuries], in *Paleobulgarica,* 15, 1991, no. 4, p. 56-77 and Constanţa Costea, *op. cit.*, p. 18-35.

[14] For the role played by illustrated cycles of Byzantine saints' lives in monumental art, in connection to the evolution of their cults, see Elka Bakalova, "La Vie de Sainte Parasceve de Tîrnovo dans l'art balkanique du bas moyen age", in *Byzantinobulgarica*, 5, 1978, p. 208-209.

[15] The question of the relation between St. John the New's hagiographical text and the monumental cycles illustrating his martyrdom has been addressed by Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 60-67 and only obliquely by Constanţa Costea, *op. cit.*, p. 24-31. In general, for the relative independence of illustrated saints' *vitae* in relation to written hagiographical texts, see Barabara Abou-el-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 33- 34; Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53, 1999, p. 150; Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkley - Los Angeles - London, 2001, p. 45.

[16] See note 9.

[17] I make use of the term "hagiographical narratives" as defined by Cynthia Hahn, referring to both textual and pictorial accounts of saint's lives, which create successive and partially independent versions of an original hagiographical story and locate its reception and interpretation in different media; see Eadem, *Portrayed on the Heart…*, p. 29-58.

[18] This identification was made by Marina Ileana Sabados, *Catedrala Episcopiei Romanului*, Ed. Episcopia Romanului şi Huşilor, 1990, p. 100-101.

[19] See Sorin Ulea, "O surprinzătoare personalitate a evului mediu românesc: cronicarul Macarie", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 32, 1985, p. 14-48.

[20] Besides Roman, bishop Macarie is considered to be the author of the iconographical programs from Dobrovăţ (1529), from Râşca monastery and from the pronaos and outer narthex of Neamţ monastery (1555-1557); see Ibidem, p. 14; Marina Ileana Sabados, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Constanţa Costea, „Narthexul Dobrovăţului. «Dosar arheologic»", in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 60, 1991, no. 1, p. 10-22; Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, „Menologul de la Dobrovăţ", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 39, 1992, p. 7-27.

[21] See note 13. Among the illustrated cycles that precede the one from Roman, one should also add the already mentioned decoration of the silver reliquary from Suceava.

[22] The iconographical method was theorized by Erwin Panofsky in 1955 and successively redefined by its followers or contesters; see Erwin Panofsky, "Iconografia şi iconologia: introducere la studiul artei în Renaştere, in Idem, *Artă şi semnificaţie*, translated by Ştefan Stoenescu, Ed. Meridiane,

București, 1980, p. 57-90; Jan Bialostocki, *O istorie a teoriilor despre artă*, Ed. Meridiane, București, 1977, p. 363-400; Brendan Cassidy, "Introduction: Iconography, Texts and Audiences", in Idem (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, p. 3-16; Peter Burke, "Iconography and Iconology", in Idem, *Eyewitnessing. The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*, Reaktion Books Ldt, London, 2001, p. 34-45.

23 Oreste Luția, "Legenda Sf. Ioan cel Nou dela Suceava in frescurile din Voroneț", in *Codrii Cosminului*, 1, 1924, p. 281-354; for the description of St. John the New's cycle from Roman, see Marina Ileana Sabados, *Catedrala...*, p. 65-67 și fig. 158, p. 307 și 160-168, p. 310-315.

24 Teodora Voinescu, op. cit., p. 265-289; Constanța Costea, *Despre reprezentările Sf. Ioan cel Nou…*, p. 18-35.

25 Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 59-60; Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, especially the part concerning the interpretation of the *Bringing of the relics to Suceava* scene, at p. 283-288.

26 Sorin Ulea, *Originea și semnificația ideologică…*, p. 86-87.

27 Maria Crăciun, "Tolerance and Persecution. Political Authority and Religious Difference in late medieval Moldavia", in *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*, 10-11, 2003-2004, nr. 1-2, p. 26-28.

28 For the medieval concept of hagiographical *inventio*, see Thomas E. A. Dale, "Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000-1300", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 48, 1994, p. 53.

29 Marina Ileana Sabados proposed the interval 1551-1562 for the painting of the original frescoes from Roman; Eadem, *Catedrala...*, p. 99-103.

30 Ioannis Theocharides and Dimitris Loules, "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)", in *Études Balkaniques*, 25, 1989, nr. 3, p. 78-86; F.W. Hasluck, "Neo-Martyrs of the Orthodox Church", in Idem, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. by Margaret M. Hasluck, vol. II, The Isis Press, Istambul, 2000, p. 371-376.

31 Cynthia Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

32 Ibidem, p. 31-32.

33 The different attributions of the piece cover a large chronological interval, ranging from the first half of the fifteenth to the late sixteenth century, or even later. A recent overview of the most important opinions on the subject, with the related bibliography, at Constanța Costea, *Despre reprezentările...*, p. 19-24.

34 Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 287-288.

35 Ibidem, p. 265-289 and illustrations 5-16 for the most detailed description of the silver reliquary and of its iconography, with good reproductions of all the twelve scenes.

36 Liviu Stan, "Despre canonizarea sfinților în Biserica Ortodoxă. Note introductive", in *Ortodoxia*, 2, 1950, p. 264.

37 A tentative reconstruction of the historical context of St. John's martyrdom in Crimea, at Matei Cazacu, *op. cit.*, p. 152-158. As for the identification of Cetatea Albă with Kertch, see the most recent discussion of the historiographical debate at Ștefan S. Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 560, 564.
38 Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 272, fig. 5.
39 Ibidem, p. 272, fig. 6.
40 Ibidem, p. 273, fig. 7.
41 Ibidem, p. 273, fig. 8.
42 Ibidem, p. 274, fig. 9.
43 Ibidem, p. 274, fig. 10.
44 Ibidem, p. 275, fig. 11.
45 Ibidem, p. 275, fig. 12.
46 Cynthia Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
47 Ibidem, p. 60-61; Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 66.
48 Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 276, fig. 13.
49 F. W. Hasluck, *op. cit.*, p. 374-375.
50 Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 277, fig. 14.
51 Ibidem, p. 278, fig. 15.
52 Ibidem, p. 279, fig. 16.
53 Constanța Costea, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
54 In general, hagiographical texts referring to *inventio* and *translatio reliquarum* for saints enjoying a central cult in Slavic-Byzantine countries confer to the monarchic power the merit of initializing their official veneration; see Petre Guran, "Invention et translation des reliques – un cérémonial monarchique?", in *Révue des études sud-est européennes*, 36, 1998, nr. 1-4, p. 196-197, 222.
55 The *Bringing of relics…* scene from the of Bistrița monastery – a real *unicum* in the Moldavian representations of the theme – comprises three different episodes in the same narrative sequence: the welcoming of the relics, the princely veneration of the holy body and its ceremonial procession through the city; see Constanța Costea, *op. cit.*, p. 31, with a reconstruction of the scene at p. 35.
56 In a typology of Byzantine ceremonies of relics' *adventus*, this is the first phase of such public rituals; see Gary Vikan, Kenneth G. Holum „The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen", în Idem, *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium*, Ashgate, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 2003, p. 116-120.
57 See also Elena Firea, "An Official Patron Saint of Moldavia? St. John the New and the Dynastic Significance of His Cult in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", în *Studia Universitatis "Babeș-Bolyai"*, Historia, 56, 2001, nr. 1, p. 111-134.
58 The creation of the Moldavian metropolitan seat has been at length dealt with in Romanian historiography. For the most influential opinions on the subject, see Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 2nd

edition, București, 1991, p. 273-282; Ștefan S. Gorovei, "La începutul relațiilor moldo-bizantine: contextul întemeierii Mitropoliei Moldovei", in I. Agrigoroaiei, Gh. Buzatu, V. Cristian (eds.), *Românii în istoria universală*, III, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza", Iași, 1988, p. 853-880; Șerban Papacostea, "Întemeierea Mitropoliei Moldovei: implicații central și sud-est europene", in Ibidem, p. 525-542; Răzvan Theodorescu, "Implicații balcanice ale începuturilor Mitropoliei Moldovei: o ipoteză", in Ibidem, p. 543-566.

[59] For the conflict with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, see also Vitalien Laurent, "Aux origins de l'Eglise de Moldavie. Le métropolite Jérémie et l'évêque Joseph", in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 5, 1947, p. 158-170; Scarlat Porcescu, "Iosif, cel dintâi mitropolit cunoscut al Moldovei", in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 40, 1964, nr. 3-4, p. 128-138 and, recently, a more nuanced interpretation at Liviu Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț. Societate și Putere în Moldova (secolele XIV-XVI)*, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 2008, p. 275-293.

[60] Petre Guran, *op. cit.*, p. 212, 216; Idem, "Aspects et rôle du saint dans les nouveaux états du «Commonweath Byzantin» (XIe-XVe siècles)", in Laurențiu Vlad (ed.), *Pouvoirs et mentalités. À la mémoire du Proffeseur Alexandru Duțu*, București, Ed. Babel [Studia Politica], 1999, p. 66-67.

[61] C-tin Cojocaru, "Grigorie monahul și prezviterul Marii Biserici a Moldovlahiei", in Idem, *Pași prin secole de istorie bisericească*, Iași, 2005, p. 82; Constanța Costea, *Despre reprezentările…*, p. 33.

[62] Cynthia Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[63] Teodora Voinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[64] Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 65.

[65] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les reliques et les images", in Edina Bozoky, Anne-Marie Helvetius (eds.), *Les reliques. Objects, cultes, symbols*, Turnhout, Ed. Brepols, 1999, p. 151

[66] Such miracles were common in all neo-martyrs' lives; see F.W. Hasluck, *op. cit.*, p. 373-374.

[67] Maria Crăciun, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[68] Ibidem, p. 27.

[69] Ibidem, p. 7-8.

[70] C-tin Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[71] Constanța Costea, *Despre reprezentările…*, p. 30.

[72] A transcription of the inscriptions from Roman, with references to the hagiographical text, at Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 76-77. My deepest gratitude goes to my colleague Ilya Kharin, who translated, verified and sometimes completed the fragmentary text of these inscriptions for me.

[73] Sorin Ulea, *O surprinzătoare personalitate…*, passim and especially p. 15, 40, 43.

[74] Cynthia Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[75] Matei Cazacu, *op. cit.*, p. 152-156.

[76] Șerban Papacostea, "Moldova în epoca Reformei, contribuții la istoria societății moldovene în veacul al XVI-lea", in *Studii*, 11, 1958, nr. 4, p. 55-76; Maria Crăciun, *Protestantism și ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*, Presa Universitară Clujană, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 56-88; Eadem, *Tolerance and persecution…*, p. 10-14, 20-36.

[77] Sorin Ulea, *O surprinzătoare personalitate…*, 41-45; Maria Crăciun, *Tolerance and persecution…*, p. 15-18.

[78] Eadem, *Protestantism…*, p. 60-61; Ștefan Andreescu, "Presiune otomană și reacție ortodoxă în Moldova urmașilor lui Petru vodă Rareș", in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 27, 2009, p. 45-48.

[79] One should keep in mind that when the Catholics were represented as a group among the dammed in the *Last Judgment* scene from Humor (1535) they were visually individualized as Franciscan monks; see Maria Crăciun, *Tolerance and persecution…*, p. 22.

[80] See Șt. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, passim.

[81] The idea was suggested also by Elka Bakalova, *Tzamblakovoto...*, p. 69.

[82] Paraschiva-Victoria Batariuc, "Imagini ale cetății Sucevei în pictura murală din Moldova", in Marius Porumb, Aurel Chiriac (eds.), *Sub zodia Vătășianu. Studii de istoria artei*, Ed. Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 60-62.

[83] Ivan Billiarsky, "The Cult of Saint Petka and the Constantinopolitan Marial Cult", in Ivan Biliarsky, Radu G. Păun (eds.), *Le cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, New Europe College, București, 2007, p. 86-89.

[84] Ibidem, p. 87.

[85] C-tin Cojocaru, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABOU-EL-HAJ, B., *The Medieval Cult of Saints. Formations and Transformations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.

ANDREESCU, Şt., "Presiune otomană şi reacţie ortodoxă în Moldova urmaşilor lui Petru vodă Rareş", in *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie*, 27, 2009, p. 25-59.

BAKALOVA, E., "La Vie de Sainte Parasceve de Tîrnovo dans l'art balkanique du bas moyen age", in *Byzantinobulgarica*, 5, 1978, p. 175-209.

BAKALOVA, E., "Relics and the roots of the cult of saints", in A.M. Lidov (ed.), *Eastern Christian Relics*, Progress-Tradition, Moscow, 2003, p. 19-44.

BAKALOVA, E., "Tzamblakovoto *Machenie na sveti Ioan Novi* v rumanskata monumentalna zhivopis ot XVI-XVII vek", in *Paleobulgarica,* 15, 1991, no. 4, p. 56-77.

BATARIUC, P. V., "Imagini ale cetăţii Sucevei în pictura murală din Moldova", in Marius Porumb, Aurel Chiriac (eds.), *Sub zodia Vătăşianu. Studii de istoria artei*, Ed. Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 59-65.

BILIARSKY, I., "The Cult of Saint Petka and the Constantinopolitan Marial Cult", in Ivan Biliarsky, Radu G. Păun (eds.), *Le cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, New Europe College, Bucureşti, 2007, p. 81-104.

BURKE, P., *Eyewitnessing. The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*, Reaktion Books Ldt, London, 2001.

CASSIDY, B. (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993.

CAZACU, M., "Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava", in Petre Guran, Bernard Flusin (eds.), *L'Empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, New Europe College, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 137-158.

CINCHEZA-BUCULEI, E., "Menologul de la Dobrovăţ", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 39, 1992, p. 7-27.

COJOCARU, C., "Grigorie monahul şi prezviterul Marii Biserici a Moldovlahiei", in Idem, *Paşi prin secole de istorie bisericească*, Iaşi, 2005, p. 66- 83.

COSTEA, C., "Despre reprezentările Sf. Ioan cel Nou în arta medievală", in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 67, 1998, no. 1-2, p. 19-24.

COSTEA, C., "Narthexul Dobrovăţului. «Dosar arheologic»", in *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 60, 1991, no. 1, p. 10-22.

CRĂCIUN, M., "Tolerance and Persecution. Political Authority and Religious Difference in late medieval Moldavia", in *Colloquia. Journal of Central European Studies*, 10-11, 2003-2004, nr. 1-2, 5-58.

CRĂCIUN, M., *Protestantism şi ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*, Presa Universitară Clujană, Cluj-Napoca, 1996.

DALE, T. E. A., "Inventing a Sacred Past: Pictorial Narratives of St. Mark the Evangelist in Aquileia and Venice, ca. 1000-1300", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 48, 1994, 53-104.

DRĂGHICEANU, V., "O icoană din sicriul sfântului Ion cel Nou din Suceava", in *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 8, 1916, fasc. 3, p. 21-24.

DRĂGUŢ, V., "De nouveau sur les peintures murales extérieures de Moldavie. Considérations historiques et iconografiques", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 26, 1987, no. 1-2, p. 49-84.

FIREA, E., "An Official Patron Saint of Moldavia? St. John the New and the Dynastic Significance of His Cult in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", în *Studia Universitatis "Babeș-Bolyai"*, Historia, 56, 2001, nr. 1, p. 111-134.

GOROVEI, Şt. S., "La începutul relaţiilor moldo-bizantine: contextul întemeierii Mitropoliei Moldovei", in I. Agrigoroaiei, Gh. Buzatu, V. Cristian (eds.), *Românii în istoria universală*, III, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza", Iaşi, 1988, p. 853-880.

GOROVEI, Şt. S., "Mucenicia Sfântului Ioan cel Nou. Noi puncte de vedere", in Ionel Cândea, P. Cernovodeanu, Gh. Lazăr (eds.), *Închinare lui Petre Ş. Năsturel la 80 ani*, Brăila, 2003, p. 555-572.

GOUMA-PETERSON, T., "Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century", in *Greek Orthodox Theological Rewiev*, 30, 1985, p. 31-44.

GURAN, P., "Aspects et rôle du saint dans les nouveaux états du «Commonweath Byzantin» (XIe-XVe siècles)", in Laurenţiu Vlad (ed.), *Pouvoirs et mentalités. À la mémoire du Proffeseur Alexandru Duţu*, Bucureşti, Ed. Babel [Studia Politica], 1999, p. 45-69.

GURAN, P., "Invention et translation des reliques – un cérémonial monarchique?", in *Révue des études sud-est européennes*, 36, 1998, nr. 1-4, p. 195-229.

HAHN, C., *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkley - Los Angeles - London, 2001.

HASLUCK, F. W., "Neo-Martyrs of the Orthodox Church", in Idem, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. by Margaret M. Hasluck, vol. II, The Isis Press, Istambul, 2000, p. 371-376.

LAURENT, V., "Aux origines de l'Eglise de Moldavie. Le métropolite Jérémie et l'évêque Joseph", in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 5, 1947, p. 158-170.

LUŢIA, O., "Legenda Sf. Ioan cel Nou dela Suceava in frescurile din Voroneţ", in *Codrii Cosminului*, 1, 1924, p. 281-354.

MELCHISEDEC, Episcop, "Pătimirea sfântului și slăvitului mucenic Ioan cel Nou, care a fost chinuit la Cetatea Albă, scrisă de Grigore călugărul și prezviterul din marea biserică a Moldovlahiei", in *Revista pentru Istorie, Arheologie și Filologie*, II, Bucharest, 1884, vol. III, p. 165-174.

MOURIKI, D., "The Cult of Saints in Medieval Cyprus as Attested by Church Decoration and Icon Painting", in „*Sweet Land of Cyprus*". Papers Given

at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March, 1991, Nicosia, 1993, p. 238-277.

NĂSTUREL, P. Șt., "Une prétendue oeuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: «Le martyre de saint Jean le Nouveau»", in *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia, 1971, p. 345-351.

NICOLESCU, C., "Un nou fragment din racla pictată a Sf. Ioan cel Nou de la Suceava", in *Mitroplia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 44, 1970, no. 7-8, p. 377-390.

PĂCURARIU, M., *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, 2nd edition, București, 1991.

PANAITESCU, P. P., *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, Ed. Academiei, București, 1959.

PANOFSKY, E., "Iconografia și iconologia: introducere la studiul artei în Renaștere, in Idem, *Artă și semnificație*, (translated by Șt. Stoenescu), Ed. Meridiane, București, 1980, p. 57-90.

PAPACOSTEA, Ș., "Întemeierea Mitropoliei Moldovei: implicații central și sud-est europene", in I. Agrigoroaiei, Gh. Buzatu, V. Cristian (eds.), *Românii în istoria universală*, III, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza", Iași, 1988, p. 525-542.

PAPACOSTEA, Ș., "Moldova în epoca Reformei, contribuții la istoria societății moldovene în veacul al XVI-lea", in *Studii*, 11, 1958, nr. 4, p. 55-76.

PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, N., *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Centro Studi Bizantini, Monografie, 1, Torino, 1983.

PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, N., "The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53, 1999, p. 149-165.

PAVA, R., "Cartea de cântece a lui Eustatie de la Putna", in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, 5, 1962, p. 335-347.

PILAT, L., *Între Roma și Bizanț. Societate și Putere în Moldova (secolele XIV-XVI)*, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 2008.

POPESCU, P., "Manuscrise slavone din Mînăstirea Putna (II)", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 80, 1962, nr. 7-8, p. 688-711.

PORCESCU, S., "Iosif, cel dintâi mitropolit cunoscut al Moldovei", in *Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei*, 40, 1964, nr. 3-4, p. 128-138.

SABADOS, M. I., "Considerații în legătură cu tabloul votiv de pe fațada turnului-clopotniță de la Mănăstirea Bistrița (Neamț). Inscripția originală", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 39, 1992, p. 110-114.

SABADOS, M. I., *Catedrala Episcopiei Romanului*, Ed. Episcopia Romanului și Hușilor, 1990.

SCHMITT, J.-C., "Les reliques et les images", in Edina Bozoky, Anne-Marie Helvetius (eds.), *Les reliques. Objects, cultes, symbols*, Turnhout, Ed. Brepols, 1999, p. 145-168.

SINIGALIA T., BOLDURA O., *Monumente medievale din Bucovina*, Art Conservation Support, s.l., 2010.

STAN, L., "Despre canonizarea sfinților în Biserica Ortodoxă. Note introductive", in *Ortodoxia*, 2, 1950, p. 261-278.

THEOCHARIDES I., LOULES D., "The Neomartyrs in Greek History (1453-1821)", in *Études Balkaniques*, 25, 1989, nr. 3, p. 78-86.

THEODORESCU, R., "Implicaţii balcanice ale începuturilor Mitropoliei Moldovei: o ipoteză", in I. Agrigoroaiei, Gh. Buzatu, V. Cristian (eds.), *Românii în istoria universală*, III, Universitatea "Al.I. Cuza", Iaşi, 1988, p. 543-566.

TURDEANU, E., "Manuscrisele slave din timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare", in Idem, *Oameni şi cărţi de altădată*, edited by Ştefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székély, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1997.

ULEA, S., "O surprinzătoare personalitate a evului mediu românesc: cronicarul Macarie", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 32, 1985, p. 14-48.

ULEA, S., „Originea şi semnificaţia ideologică a picturii exterioare moldoveneşti (I)", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 1, 1963, p. 57-93.

VIKAN G., HOLUM K. G., "The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen", în Vikan, G., *Sacred Images and Sacred Power in Byzantium*, Ashgate, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 2003, p. 116-120.

VOINESCU, T., "Cea mai veche operă de argintărie medievală din Moldova", in *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă Plastică*, 11, 1964, no. 2, p. 265-289.

WORTLEY, J., *Studies on the Cults of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Ashgate, 2009.

ANDREI IOAN LAZĂR

Born in 1982, in Turda

Doctorant à l'Université Babeș–Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca
Thèse: *L'Autobiographie entre le texte et l'image*

Doctorant, allocataire de recherche à la Faculté des Lettres, Université Babeș–Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca, dans le domaine d'études littéraires

Bourse de DEA octroyée par la Faculté des Lettres, Département de langue et de littérature françaises modernes de l'Université de Genève (2005 – 2006)
Bourse de l'Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie
(stages de recherche et documentation à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles entre septembre 2008-avril 2009 et février – juin 2010)
Bourse de recherche de la Communauté Française de Belgique.
Stage à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles (juin 2011)

Participation aux conférences internationales en Albanie, Belgique, France et Roumanie

Publication des articles sur le rapport entre littérature, photographie et cinéma, comptes rendus, traductions des articles sur la littérature francophone

Participation aux projets de recherche en réseau sur l'intergénérationnel, les artistes-écrivains francophones et roumains et la présence de la littérature belge francophone dans la presse culturelle de Transylvanie entre 1990 et 2010

L'AUTEUR DEVANT LA CAMERA. AUTOBIOGRAPHIE ET INTERMÉDIALITÉ

Summary: The literature standing behind the concept of autobiography, as it was consecrated in France by Philippe Lejeune at the beginning of the 70's, slightly becomes dysfunctional if we take into account the paradigmatic switch triggered by non-literary, filmic or photographical autobiographies. The retrospective autodiegetic discourse of Jean-Paul Sartre, Hervé Guibert or Jacques Derrida places itself at the confluence of several artistic practices that disqualify the structure and limits of a genre that can only be apprehended in terms of intermediality and transgressivity.

Mots-clés: autobiographie, photographie, récit filmique, Auteur, intermédialité, hybridation, figuration de soi, posture littéraire, je, spéctralisation, pacte autobiographique.

Les techniques littéraires du 20ème siècle nous ont habitués à l'incessante transgression des limites génériques et ont changé indéniablement les habitudes de lecture. Avec l'essor des avant-gardes, la littérature n'est plus concevable comme un système clos et impénétrable, mais comme champ d'expérimentation où les arts plastiques, la photographie, la musique ou le cinéma fusionnent ou constituent le support même de l'œuvre. Pendant les années 60 le concept de « texte » défini et développé par les membres de *Tel Quel* touche à la démarcation définitive des genres et montre comment une structure peut faire sens à la confluence de plusieurs techniques artistiques sans se situer nécessairement à l'intérieur d'une seule formule artistique[1]. Finalement, ce qu'on appelle la postmodernité efface les hiérarchies entre les arts et permet l'hybridation générique et l'apparition des œuvres « pluri-médiales ».

Si des genres consacrés comme le roman ou le poème rendent possible la participation des autres arts et forment des genres hybrides, l'autobiographie a toujours été conçue à l'intérieur de la littérature. Cette perspective est légitimée par la publication du *Pacte Autobiographique*[2]

de Philippe Lejeune et malgré les tentatives ultérieures du critique de s'approcher des formes médias, il a été impossible de dresser une formule théorique englobant plusieurs formes d'expression et plusieurs supports.

On se propose ainsi d'examiner ce passage du discours autobiographique de la littérature vers les médias, passage qui s'accompagne d'une série de mutations au niveau du support de l'œuvre, des formules de diffusion et de réception, des mutations au niveau des modalités de production d'ou dérive un changement radical du statut de l'Auteur, du narrateur, du sujet et des mécanismes de figuration de soi. Face à une théorie de l'autobiographie plutôt limitative qui s'impose dès les années 70, notre propos est d'élargir ce cadre de manière à concevoir autobiographie non seulement comme œuvre unique, monolithique et auto-suffisante dont les limites seraient celles du texte littéraire, mais comme « corpus » dont les parties s'articulent à travers plusieurs formules artistiques, comme genre intermédial situé au carrefour du texte et de l'image.

Jean-Paul Sartre, Jacques Derrida et Hervé Guibert participent ainsi à ce mouvement d'élargissement des limites du genre par la prise en compte de plusieurs formules artistiques. Après la parution d'un récit autobiographique - Sartre publie *Les Mots*[3] 1964, Hervé Guibert lance *Mes Parents*[4] en 1986 et entre 1990 et 1992 une trilogie qui réunit *A l'ami qui ne m'a pas sauvé la vie, Le protocole compassionnel* et *l'Homme au chapeau rouge*[5] et Derrida écrit *Circonfession*[6] en 1991 – les trois ont continué de faire « acte autobiographique » dans un film où ils poursuivent ce travail de dévoilement de soi au-delà les limites du récit textuel. En 1971 Sartre apparaît dans *Sartre par lui-même*[7] réalisé par Alexandre Astruc et Michel Contat, Jacques Derrida répond à la demande de deux jeunes réalisateurs Amy Ziering Koffman et Kirby Dick et se laisse filmé pendant 5 ans, le résultat étant le film *Derrida*[8], tandis que Hervé Guibert prend lui-même la caméra pour filmer les derniers mois de sa vie et assembler avant de mourir *La Pudeur et l'impudeur*[9], en 1991.

La question qui se devine derrière la multiplication des formules autobiographiques est en somme la question centrale de l'écriture du moi depuis quelques siècles « qui suis-je ? » avec le corollaire « comment l'Autre peut-il me voir ? ». De l'adieu à la littérature fait par Sartre, en passant par le « devenir spectre » du moi derridien et la découverte ultime et définitive de soi chez Hervé Guibert, les réponses offertes, parfois uniquement suggérées, sont symptomatiques pour les changements culturels produits pendant le 20e siècle suite à l'apparition du cinéma et de la télévision.

Après un survol théorique consacré au terme-clé, l'autobiographie (et surtout aux limites de sa définition), à l'état des lieux des théories de l'intermédialité, le regard posé sur le contexte théorique et culturel en évolution me permettra de mieux saisir les raisons de la présence des auteurs à l'écran, voire d'y déceler une certaine « politique » ou stratégie des auteurs. J'examinerai ensuite dans une démarche à la fois comparatiste et synthétisante les échos, les conflits, les correspondances ou les diffractions entre écriture et parole, livre et film afin de déceler comment la nouvelle forme d'autobiographie est rattachée à la formule livresque, s'il y a une mise à distance ou au contraire, une appropriation du texte dans le film. Dans ce dernier cas, la nécessité de penser l'autobiographie en termes d'intermédialité s'impose.

1. Un genre problématique

1.1. L'autobiographie littéraire

À l'intérieur de la littérature, l'autobiographie fait partie des genres qui ne cessent de susciter l'intérêt du public, des chercheurs et théoriciens autant par la promesse d'un dévoilement édificateur (ultime) sur l'auteur qui s'y expose, que par sa nature protéiforme et la pluralité des styles et formules narratives qu'elle peut emprunter. Toutefois, par rapport aux autres formes littéraires, l'autobiographie suppose des contraintes qui la définissent et limitent implicitement les interprétations possibles. Philippe Lejeune donne une définition qui fait date :

> Récit rétrospectif en prose qu'une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence, lorsqu'elle met l'accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l'histoire de sa personnalité. [10]

Le théoricien insiste sur la composante référentielle du genre jusqu'à faire de celle-ci la condition *sine qua non* du récit autobiographique. Plusieurs contraintes s'y ajoutent: la triple identité auteur – narrateur – personnage, le pacte fiduciaire et le contrat de lecture. Leur rôle c'est de tenir à l'écart autant que possible, le récit autobiographique des formes littéraires consacrées à la fiction (le roman, la nouvelle, le poème en prose, etc.) ou de le distinguer clairement des autres formules de l'écriture du moi (le journal, les mémoires, l'autoportrait, la correspondance) ou de récit

de vie (la biographie). Dans ce sens, l'autobiographie se situerait dans la proximité des textes scientifiques. Ainsi, Lejeune n'hésite pas à proposer le terme de « pacte référentiel » pour marquer le rapport avec le réel et rendre par là le texte transparent et vérifiable.

Devant des formes narratives protéiques qui s'écartent de plus en plus de l'ordre rousseauiste de la confession, comme celles employées par Serge Doubrovsky, J.-P. Sartre, Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes ou Annie Ernaux les questions si aujourd'hui l'autobiographie peut être encore envisagée telle qu'elle l'a été, si l'évolution du genre ne rend pas inopérantes les contraintes formelles de Philippe Lejeune, s'imposent[11]. Les auteurs mentionnés écrivent d'une manière programmatique, leur œuvre est presque toujours doublée d'un discours critique et philosophique focalisé sur la dissolution du moi et de l'identité, sur l'incapacité du langage de circonscrire le monde et de dénoter l'objet. Derrida affirme ainsi par la nouvelle forme d'autobiographie *Circonfession* l'hybridation du discours autoréférentiel et de celui critique, à la suite de Barthes disloquant le « je » dans toutes les personnes grammaticales[12]. Quant à Sartre, même si *Les Mots* sont consacrés par Lejeune comme texte par excellence autobiographique, les auteurs J.F. Louette Jacques Lecarme prouveront que l'usage de l'intertextualité contredit le pacte référentiel[13].

1.2. L'autobiographie devant la caméra

Aussi importante soit-elle dans le champ littéraire et malgré les nombreux auteurs ou artistes qui n'ont pas hésité à s'exposer autrement, par les arts de l'image, peu de critiques ont abordé la question du genre autobiographique dans le cinéma et dans la photographie. Si une convention littéraire formelle et quasi extérieure au texte, le pacte, fait la distinction entre autobiographie et roman, vérité et fiction, en ce qui concerne le cinéma et la photographie, les limites sont moins nettes.

En 1980 Elizabeth W. Bruss se demande si l'enthousiasme des auteurs, cinéastes et du public pour l'autobiographie au cinéma ne serait pas le signe de sa disparition dans la littérature, sous la pression des transformations culturelles et de l'extraordinaire force d'expression du cinéma :

> La disparition d'un genre littéraire est quelque chose à la fois de plus subtil et de plus progressif ; ce n'est pas la transformation de ce genre seul, mais la transformation de tout un environnement, en particulier pour ce qui est de la force relative des modes d'expression nouveaux. [14]

Philippe Lejeune à son tour n'a pas manqué l'occasion de s'exprimer sur *Sartre par lui-même.* D'abord, il lui concède les désignations « d'autobiographie parlée »[16], « média-biographie » ou « hagiographie »[18], vue l'impossibilité de Sartre d'être à la fois l'auteur du film et du discours sur lui-même. Quelques années plus tard *Sartre par lui-même* devient un « film biographique » ou un « film-entretien »[19] difficile à intégrer dans le rang des formes autobiographiques. C'est maintenant que Lejeune essaie d'ouvrir une brèche théorique à l'intérieur de laquelle on pourrait définir l'autobiographie au cinéma. S'il n'est pas impossible de transposer dans le cinéma le vocabulaire de la critique littéraire, il faut tenir compte des moyens techniques spécifiques. Lejeune commence ainsi par la recherche des contraintes autobiographiques et se rend compte que dans ce film, Sartre n'a aucune intervention de nature technique : il n'est ni opérateur, ni réalisateur. Autrement dit, l'auteur peut jouer son propre personnage mais ne pourra que rarement assumer les tâches du réalisateur. C'est pour cela que Lejeune refuse d'assigner à tout film qui ignore l'identité auteur-narrateur-personnage-réalisateur le statut d'autobiographie. Ces idées nous amènent à conclure que si formellement des films comme *Sartre par lui-même* ou *Derrida* ne sont pas entièrement des autobiographies filmique, ils le sont au niveau du contenu car le pacte est bien visible, le référent du « je » est immédiatement accessible, exposé au regard de la caméra et des spectateurs. Autant l'identité que la véridicité des faits exposés sont prouvés par des documents tels que photos, certificats officiels, témoignages, images d'archive qui trouvent leur juste place dans le récit.

Dès lors, la contradiction entre forme et contenu de l'autobiographie au cinéma restera un des problèmes majeurs des approches actuelles mais il ne faut pas oublier que ces formes filmiques ne peuvent jamais exister en l'absence du texte littéraire. Pour les auteurs qui nous intéressent, le film est ultérieur à l'écriture, il vient compléter par un supplément de réel le texte écrit.

1.3. Indermédialités

Si du côté des études cinématographiques on retrouve ainsi quelque véritables autobiographies[20], il nous semble qu'entre littérature et cinéma il y a un chaînon qui manque, qui fait précisément l'objet de notre étude – la métamorphose d'une forme écrite vers une formule télévisuelle. Un des concepts avancés dernièrement, assez faiblement défini pourtant, peut

servir - l'intermédialité. Crée sur le modèle de l'intertextualité, l'intermedia suppose que:

> Un produit médiatique devient intermédiatique quand il transpose la côte à côte multimédiatique […]. Notre notion d'intermédialité ne considère pas les médias comme des phénomènes isolés, mais comme des processus où il y a des interactions constantes.[23]

L'intermédialité fonctionne sur le principe de la greffe, de la présence d'un média à l'intérieur d'un autre ou bien d'une « fusion conceptuelle des éléments »[24] selon Dick Higgins. André Gaudreault à son tour voit ce phénomène ainsi: « L'intermédialité est ce concept qui permet de désigner le procès de transfèrement et de migration de formes et de contenus, entre les médias »[25], ce qui produit selon Edmond Couchot des identités nouvelles :

> Les frontières qui séparent et unissent dans l'univers réel l'objet, le sujet et l'image, se dissolvent […]. L'image n'existe que dans la mesure où du sujet entre en elle. Mais aussi de l'objet. […] L'objet n'est plus ce qui est placé devant le sujet, ce qui lui fait obstacle. De nouveaux acteurs apparaissent : des entités hybrides, mi-image/mi-objet, mi-image/mi-sujet, désalignés, déhiérarchisés, dérivant les uns par rapport aux autres, brouillant leur identité, s'interpénétrant, se contaminant mutuellement. [26]

Ces nouvelles entités qui feront l'objet de notre recherche n'apparaissent pas indépendamment des conditions spécifiques de la littérature ou plus précisément de l'institution littéraire après la deuxième moitié du 20e siècle. Une question centrale vise avant tout les raisons du passage du papier à l'écran. Sans vouloir donner une réponse exhaustive il est possible d'esquisser quelques pistes qui relèvent à la fois de la sociologie et de la critique littéraire et qui serviront à l'appréhension du phénomène.

1.4. Du papier à l'écran. Mutations d'un paradigme

Les raisons qui tiennent du changement du paradigme culturel ont été mises en lumière dès les années 60 par Marshall McLuhan qui annonçait déjà que la société occidentale est en train de quitter la galaxie Gutenberg pour entrer dans l'ère média[27]. Selon lui, nous nous dirigerions vers une domination de l'audiovisuel sur toutes les formes classiques de transmission du savoir et de la culture. L'apparition de la télévision

a changé radicalement les habitudes de consommation culturelle des générations d'après 1945. Des études comme celle d'Olivier Donnat intitulée « Pratiques culturelles, 1973-2008 », possibles dans le cadre d'un programme gouvernemental français financé par le Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, démontre de surcroît, en s'appuyant sur des statistiques réalisées pendant plus de trois décennies, le fait que dans le domaine culturel, la consommation de productions télévisuelles a connu une augmentation régulière en défaveur de la lecture des imprimés et des sorties culturelles [28].

Pour la première fois, la littérature entre en concurrence avec les produits médias. Cela implique évidemment une dimension économique. Editeurs, maisons d'éditions et les auteurs mêmes doivent assurer la visibilité de leurs publications et gagner une partie plus grande du public. A tout cela s'ajoute également les raisons qui tiennent de la dynamique culturelle et de l'institution littéraire. Maintenant, les écrivains doivent non seulement justifier, mais consolider la position acquise à l'intérieur du champ culturel ou bien essayer de la modifier non par une action menée à l'intérieur du champ (publications, consécration par des Prix ou par l'Académie) mais à l'extérieur – par des apparitions médias. Dans l'espace média, l'auteur se trouve en quête de légitimité. Lorsque l'œuvre littéraire ne peut pas être représentée, contenue, montrée à l'écran, l'auteur est obligé de devenir une sorte d'incarnation, de porte-parole ou d'ambassadeur de son propre texte[29]. Il doit répondre à quelques questions assez simples : qui suis-je (question proprement autobiographique), qu'est-ce que je fais et pourquoi est-ce que cela est important ? Le paradoxe inhérent à cette situation émane du fait qu'il se voit dans la posture de (re)justifier la civilisation de l'écriture, du mot, de se revendiquer d'une formule artistique à l'intérieur de ce que constitue la civilisation de l'image.

La tâche n'est pas simple d'autant plus que Roland Barthes et Michel Foucault n'ont pas hésité de mettre à mort l'Auteur dans deux textes qui ont fait histoire, considérés définitoires pour tout ce brouillement des catégories fortes de la réflexion occidentale. Dans « La Mort de l'Auteur »[30], Barthes affirme en 68 qu'avec Mallarmé on assiste à une disparition de l'Auteur faisant place au langage qui le parle. Si toute écriture est en effet un collage intertextuel et qu'après la mort de Dieu il n'il y a plus de sens téléologique attaché au texte, au delà la réduplication à l'infini des mots, l'Auteur n'a plus d'autre existence que celle de copiste ou scripteur. Ni Foucault, dans « Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur », paru une année plus tard, ne manifeste plus de clémence. Le philosophe remplace, par

133

un même mouvement de destitution, l'Auteur par la « fonction-auteur » qui ne renvoie plus à la personne réelle mais à sa figure dans le texte, co-construite par l'écriture et la lecture[27]. Il est fort possible que la médiation acharnée des figures des auteurs vient en réaction aux funérailles faites par Barthes et Foucault.

En fin de compte, chacun des autobiographes mentionnés agit en fonction des raisons personnelles, esthétiques et philosophiques qui lui sont propres et qui peuvent prendre la forme de l'implication politique, comme dans le cas de Sartre qui trouve dans les médias une autre tribune de diffusion de ses idées, plus directe et plus ciblée que celle que lui fournissait l'écriture, ou bien du désinvestissement de soi, comme chez Derrida, dont le moi perd de sa substance vitale sous l'œil de la caméra. Dans ce cas de figure les écrivains mettent à profit une légitimité acquise dans le champ littéraire pour faire son entrée dans celui publique et politique[28].

2. Jean-Paul Sartre : *Les Mots* et les images

Le premier cas d'autobiographie transgressive est celui de l'écrivain et philosophe français Jean-Paul Sartre. Après la parution de *La Nausée* en 1938, de *l'Etre et le Néant* en 1943, *Huis Clos* en 1944 et *Qu'es-ce que la littérature* en 1948, d'une biographie de Baudelaire et une de Jean Genet entre 1947 et 1952, confirmé déjà comme pape de l'existentialisme, compagnon de route du Parti Communiste Français[29] et fréquent voyageur en Union Soviétique, contestataire infatigable de la société bourgeoise, Sartre publie en 1964, après plus de dix ans de travail une autobiographie intitulée *Les Mots*. Il avait cinquante huit ans à ce moment-là.

2.1. Histoire d'une névrose

Le récit rétrospectif est organisé en deux parties qui couvrent la période 1905-1917 et confirment, de concert avec le titre, la perspective choisie pour Sartre afin de saisir son passé et: la relation de l'enfant à la littérature. Dans « Lire » il décrit sa première rencontre avec les lettres, des histoires pour les enfants aux romans d'aventure tandis que « Ecrire », la deuxième partie, est centrée sur prise d'une nouvelle posture, celle de l'écrivain comme copiste. Cette posture lui est imposée de l'extérieur par son grand-père, figure par excellence du petit-bourgeois. Le jeu de la culture

et la fréquentation des grands auteurs (« enterrés » dans les volumes de la bibliothèque familiale) fait naitre en lui une conviction bizarre : il ne serait pas l'enfant de famille mais un enfant divin prédestiné à la littérature. Sa vraie nature serait celle d'un écrivain. Le petit Sartre reconstruit dans son imaginaire le mythe d'une gloire posthume, associée à une pulsion de mort, qui va jusqu'à la sublimation du corps et la métamorphose de l'écrivain qu'il s'imagine être, en livre :

> Moi : vingt-cinq tomes, dix-huit mille pages de texte, trois cents gravures dont le portrait de l'auteur. Mes os sont de cuir et de carton, ma chair parcheminée sent la colle et le champignon, à travers soixante kilos de papier je me carre, tout à l'aise. […] On me prend, on m'ouvre, on m'étale sur la table, on me lisse du plat de la main et parfois on me fait craquer. [...] On *me* lit, je saute aux yeux ; on *me* parle, je suis dans toutes les bouches, langue universelle et singulière […].[30]

L'ironie est évidente. A travers la stylisation littéraire d'un rêve d'enfance, ce qu'il appelle sa névrose, dont il a mis 30 ans à se défaire, Sartre fait une critique du mythe romantique de l'auteur compris uniquement après sa mort et ignoré de son vivant, du refus de l'engagement, du structuralisme qui voit dans l'œuvre uniquement la prolifération de la structure et d'un langage qui se suffit à lui seul. Finalement c'est une critique de la littérature même.

Si la parution lui valut l'attribution du Prix Nobel, refusé en vertu de sa position anti-bourgeoise et de sa conception de l'universel singulier, Sartre affirme dans une interview qu'il a renoncé à l'idée que la littérature pourrait sauver quoique ce soit : « Je voulais que ce soit un adieu à la littérature qui se fasse en bel écrit, j'ai voulu que ce livre soit plus littéraire que les autres »[31]. Il a fait « un lent apprentissage du réel »[32] et cette conversion va de pair avec le soutien déclaré des communistes et l'implication de plus en plus marquée dans la « lutte de classes ».

Impuissance de la littérature et impuissance du récit autobiographique semblent se compléter réciproquement. Si Lejeune place *Les Mots* parmi les autobiographies classiques, le découpage du récit structuré comme « une dialectique déguisée en suite narrative »[33] en cinq actes, n'a pas manqué de susciter des débats. Dans *Sartre : autobiographie / autofiction* Serge Doubrovsky montre en quoi cette perspective et fausse et place *Les Mots* dans la proximité de l'autofiction[34]. Quant à l'auteur même, il nomme le livre « roman » et « autobiographie » sans trop se soucier

de l'incompatibilité des deux notions et alimente involontairement les hésitations des exégètes. Le couplet typologique est pourtant légitime et justifié par le texte, car presque chaque fragment contient des éléments qui se rattachent aux deux formes littéraires, dans une parfaite symbiose.

Cette indécision générique est alimentée par sa conception sur l'acte autobiographique vu comme un projet qui n'est pas entravé par les limites d'une « prise de parole » particulière, par la recherche d'une posture différente de celle de philosophe ou d'écrivain engagé. S'il renonce à écrire des œuvres littéraires, cela ne veut pas dire que Sartre renonce à l'autobiographie, d'autant plus qu'il avait promis une continuation. Autrement dit, pour lui l'acte autobiographique n'est en rien inextricablement lié à l'écriture.

2.2. L'histoire de vie d'un intellectuel

Le passage du discours autobiographique vers les médias se produira dix ans plus tard. En 1972 deux réalisateurs, Alexandre Astruc et Michel Contat lui proposent de tourner un fils sur la vie et de continuer ainsi *Les Mots.*

Le passage du « discours » dans le registre cinématographique s'accompagne implicitement de changement de méthode et de moyens aussi bien que d'une mutation dans la manière sartrienne de se rapporter à soi. Le titre du film, au delà de la promesse suggérée du dévoilement ultime de l'intellectuel, de l'élucidation de ses intentions, reste ironique. Même si c'est bien « lui-même » qui parle, Sartre ne résiste en rien à la tentation de se présenter autrement: ce changement se produit autant d'une manière directe par le changement de perspective sur sa vie que d'une manière indirecte, en se laissant pris et manié dans une vision qui n'est pas la sienne mais qui appartient aux réalisateurs[35].

Philippe Lejeune se montrait cependant sceptique quant à cette hypothèse : « Mais Sartre pouvait-il pour accomplir ce second "acte autobiographique", se servir du récit parodique et critique tel qu'il l'a mis au point dans *Les Mots* ? On peut en douter»[36]. C'est vrai qu'il ne le fait pas mais ce sont les deux réalisateurs qui s'en chargent, inconsciemment. Ils commettent, selon Lejeune, deux séries d'erreurs, au moment du tournage et au niveau du montage, en prenant trop au sérieux un contenu que Sartre avait déjà tourné en dérision dans *Les Mots.*

Le sujet du film est en apparence simple : chez soi, entouré par des amis et collaborateurs, Sartre raconte sa vie. Dans une première partie

intitulée « Le temps de la réflexion » il évoque la rupture avec sa mère et les rapports tendus avec son beau-père, l'apprentissage et l'intériorisation de la violence. Le retour à Paris au Lycée Henry IV et la rencontre de Nizan l'acheminent vers la littérature contemporaine et vers la philosophie. C'est pendant la guerre qu'il découvre les rapports d'individu à individu et l'inutilité de l'idée d'élite ce qui marque le début de son engagement. Dans une deuxième partie, « Le temps de l'engagement », Sartre pose un regard rétrospectif sur ses écrits et explique la notoriété dont il jouit par le contexte d'après la guerre et la résistance. Lorsqu'il écrit, il ne perd jamais de vue son public ou l'évolution des médias. Pour lui, « tout écrit est politique ». C'est ainsi qu'il définit la situation d'un intellectuel classique : par la fidélité envers un groupe politique et par sa capacité de se distancier par rapport à celui-ci. Vu au départ comme quelqu'un qui détient un savoir technique ou pratique universel, l'intellectuel doit saisir en lui la contradiction entre ce savoir et son utilité particulière. Après mai 68 il redéfinit le terme. Désormais l'intellectuel n'existera que dans et par les masses. Il peut s'en dissocier uniquement si la situation le lui demande. Le dernier cadre du film présente le bureau vide de l'écrivain.

Contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait imaginer, l'exposé sartrien n'est pas un monologue mais prend la forme mobile du dialogue. Ses amis posent des questions et orientent la direction, interviennent librement pour clarifier tel ou tel aspect de son œuvre. Pourtant, ce style fragmentaire n'est pas du tout représentatif pour Sartre, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de réexaminer son existence. Pourtant, c'est lui qui propose le qualificatif d'autobiographie pour ce film-entretien, en contrepartie aux *Mots* qui l'intéressent moins: « Ce qui m'intéresse c'est plutôt l'autobiographie telle qu'on la présente dans ce film, c'est-à-dire le trajet d'un intellectuel qui est né en 1905, jusqu'en 72 »[37].

2.3. L'autobiographie sans (l')auteur

Du corps, cette totalité apparente, on retrouve des nombreuses représentations. Les postures de Sartre se multiplient au fur et à mesure que l'on avance dans le récit de son passé : à Bruxelles, avec les travailleurs, dans la rue, à l'École Normale avec ses camarades, enfant, avec sa mère, etc. Dans son appartement de Montparnasse Sartre reste assis sur une chaise au centre du cercle formé par ses amis. Son corps est entièrement visible, accessible depuis tous les points de vue, pour tous les regards.

La caméra devient un œil parmi d'autres, elle n'occupe apparemment aucune place privilégiée.

Toute cette série d'images corporelles est redevable au traitement de la *durée* dans le cinéma. Le collage et la superposition des temps et des postures du sujet évoquent l'énorme travail de brouillage temporel mené par Sartre dans *Les Mots* et mis à jour par Lejeune ou Geneviève Idt par la confrontation des versions successives avec la variante finale[38]. Respectant les règles classiques de l'autobiographie qui accorde une place importante au moment de la naissance, le film, qui se veut l'autobiographie d'un intellectuel commence avec le moment de prise de conscience sur sa propre condition, or ce moment-là se situe exactement à la fin des *Mots* – le remariage de sa mère et la découverte de la violence à la Rochelle. Malgré le sujet différent, au niveau de la stratégie, le film et *Les Mots* se rapprochent. Si dans le livre le narrateur maniait les voix des autres et les textes pour les inclure dans un récit qui se voulait personnel et référentiel, dans le film c'est bien la parole de Sartre même le matériau pour un œuvre qui appartient à un autre – les réalisateurs – et qui le propose comme « autobiographie ». Si l'on peut dire, Sartre, avec son langage, ses idées, son corps, devient un « intertexte », une altérité dans le film d'Astruc. L'idée d'intellectuel, telle qu'elle est développée dans le discours de Bruxelles n'est plus compatible avec le concept classique d'auteur. D'ailleurs, Sartre n'emploie même plus le mot et il lui substitue définitivement celui « d'intellectuel classique » auquel s'oppose l'intellectuel d'après mai 68, celui qui ne fait qu'un avec les masses. Si le mot d'ordre était dans la culture de ces années-là la « disparition » de l'auteur, chez Sartre celle-ci s'intègre par un parfait écart des structuralismes, dans sa vision de la lutte des classes. Pour lui aussi l'auteur doit disparaître en tant qu'autorité ou source du pouvoir pour mieux se dissoudre dans un « universel singulier ».

Par conséquent, malgré l'intention, le résultat nous plonge dans la filiation de l'écriture et crée à l'écran un effet d'écho et de correspondances entre les deux versants de l'autobiographie. L'impression d'ensemble est plutôt d'adaptation, de transposition plus ou moins fidèle, de superposition parfaite entre deux visages successifs de Sartre. Malgré son suicide, l'auteur est ressuscité. Si intermédialité existe, celle-ci est possible dans *Sartre par lui-même* grâce à une stratégie erronée par rapport à la visée du philosophe. Se produit ainsi une impression bizarre de manque d'adhérence du discours à l'image, de diffraction. L'image de Sartre est retravaillée, transfigurée, mise dans un contexte artificiel. Il devient d'une certaine manière un personnage que les deux réalisateurs manient

formule magritienne qui met en doute toute une perspective occidentale sur les représentations qu'on a d'un objet culturel. La contestation se prolonge jusqu'en 1990 quand paraît un volume pour le moins étrange, intitulé simplement *Derrida*, dont la couverture porte deux noms d'auteurs (ou trois) Geoffrey Bennington et Jacques Derrida.

Dans une introduction les auteurs s'expliquent. C'est un livre qui part d'un pari ou d'un défi. Geoffrey Bennington se propose de faire une *Derridabase*, un décryptage de la pensée du philosophe, un logiciel critique capable d'articuler les grands concepts de la déconstruction sans pourtant faire recours aux citations ou extraits de Derrida. En échange, Derrida s'engage à écrire un texte qui devrait contredire celui de Bennington, le déconstruire, comme pour montrer la résistance de son écriture à la systématisation. Lors de la publication, le livre contiendra deux textes, la *Derridabase* qui occupe les trois quarts de la page et la *Circonfession* de Derrida structurée en *« cinquante-neuf périodes et périphrases »* comme l'annonce déjà le sous-titre. Si ce texte est une autobiographie, sa formule n'est pas du tout classique, mais fragmentée, qui renvoie par son titre aux *Confessions* de Saint Augustin, largement cité tout au long du récit et à l'expérience judaïque de la circoncision. Malgré le pacte conclu par la présence du nom sur la couverture, identité des personnes, le récit est loin de la structure lejeunienne. La rétrospection est transformée en simultanéité : la mort de la mère, par exemple est vécue à coté de la perte augustinienne de sa mère, le temps de l'écriture est temps de la lecture et ainsi de suite, la confession est citation du Saint-Augustin. L'autobiographie s'offre fragmentairement, par des intrusions et des biographèmes plutôt que directement par l'aveu. Elle côtoie un effondrement du sujet dans le texte, réitéré à chaque périphrase, circulairement. Dans un même geste, la confession derridienne s'insère comme une faille, fissure ou pli dans le texte de Bennington, la traverse comme un négatif ou son inconscient. S'opposant à la systématisation faite par le critique, le texte s'oppose en effet à la pensée même de Derrida. Derrida doit en essence s'opposer à lui-même.

Ci faisant, le titre du volume devient significatif. Le nom Derrida se multiplie dans une volonté de signer un pacte autobiographique réitéré. On le trouve dans le surtitre, il est dans le titre de Bennington (*Derridabase*), il est le nom de l'auteur aussi. A force de jeux de miroitement et d'échos (ou d'écholalies) il signifie par la perte même de son référent, par le vaguement d'un signifier à un autre. *« Ceci n'aura pas été Derrida »* pourrait bien constituer l'introduction à cet ouvrage puisque son discours est parasité

en permanence par des références littéraires, artistiques, iconiques, par l'intertexte et l'autocitation :

> circonfession si je veux dire et faire quelque chose d'un aveu sans vérité qui tourne autour de lui-même, d'un aveu sans « hymne » (hymnologie) et sans « vertu » sans arriver à se fermer sur sa possibilité, descellant délaissant le cercle ouvert, errant à la périphérie, prenant le pouls d'une phrase contournante, la pulsion du paragraphe qui ne se circomplète jamais [40]

Le rapport même à l'écriture est inversé, sa direction n'est pas du sujet vers le langage mais est dirigée vers le corps même :

> Si je compare la plume à une seringue, une pointe aspirante plutôt que cette arme très dure avec laquelle il faut inscrire, inciser, choisir, calculer, prendre l'encre avant de filtrer l'inscriptible, jouer au clavier sur l'écran, tandis qu'ici, une fois trouvée la juste veine, plus aucun labeur, aucune responsabilité, aucun risque de mauvais goût ni de violence, le sang se livre seul, le dedans se rend et tu peux en disposer.[41]

On écrit sur soi même dans le sens propre du terme, comme un acte de violence, par un retour de la pensée vers la *physis*.

3.2. Cartes postales

La réduplication du nom, des textes et des références se complique encore par l'inclusion des photos. Certaines images, accompagnent l'aveu sur le moment même de l'écriture du texte nous semblent définitoires. Un écran apparaît directement sur la page. Le livre contient le moment de sa propre naissance, sa formule initiale qui normalement est cachée pour renverser encore et encore le rapport de pouvoir. Le texte aveugle son auteur, échappe à sa primauté sur lui, le visible est l'ouverture vers l'invisible :

> le treillis des périphrases pour qu'elles commencent à flotter sur l'écran, m'appelant à pêcher l'aléatoire en ordre rigoureux même si vous n'y comprenez rien encore, pris que vous êtes dans ces algues pacifiques autour du nœud invisible, à l'insu de moi, comme si l'écran me donnait à voir ma propre cécité [42]

La présence du moment de naissance du texte équivaut au pacte référentiel qui remplace la formule classique « je suis né le » par une autre, « le texte s'écrit ici ». *Circonfession* devient ainsi une autobiographie de l'écriture ou une « autographographie ».

Une autre illustration retient notre attention. C'est toujours une photo qui surprend le moment ou Bennington et Derrida mettent au point les derniers détails du livre avant la publication, dans la demeure du philosophe à Ris-Orangis. Les postures sont étranges, Bennington semble dicter à Derrida ce qu'il doit écrire ou lui indiquer des corrections à faire. Sur le bureau une petite image encadrée attire l'attention car elle est placée face à l'objectif de la caméra, presque en premier plan. C'est la reproduction d'une gravure qui date du 13ᵉ siècle et apparaît sur le frontispice d'un livre écrit par Matthew Paris, qui doit permettre d'apprendre le futur, intitulé *Prognostica Socratis Basilei.* L'image choisie par Derrida est intéressante puisqu'elle propose une inversion des rôles. C'est Platon qui dicte à Socrate ce qu'il doit écrire quoique l'on sait que Socrate n'avait jamais écrit et qu'il devient « personnage » philosophie chez Platon, donc il est lui-même un des visage de Platon, un alter-ego. En plus l'idée même de carte postale implique un message ouvert, qui peut être lu par n'importe qui, quoiqu'il a un caractère particulier, intime, et qui se trouve être dépendant des conditions spatiales et temporelles de sa production et transmission. L'illustration se retrouve en même temps sur la couverture d'un des livres de Derrida intitulée précisément *La carte postale,* publié en 1980. Les références sont vertigineuses. La photo devient un embrayeur philosophique, elle renvoie vers le texte antérieur (et les sources de l'écriture et de la pensée philosophique), elle condense les significations de la situation réelle (Bennington derrière Derrida) et transmet une idée philosophique : la carte postale est métaphore de notre culture à l'intérieur de laquelle, le message porte le double sceau, la double marque de la tradition et de l'autorité. La carte postale est un objet qui tout comme l'autobiographie, contient l'image, l'écriture et la signature de l'auteur mais pas son adresse, uniquement celle de son destinataire mais qui sans timbre (donc sans la marque d'un certain type d'autorité) elle n'arrivera jamais à sa destination. La carte postale nous semble une métaphore même de l'autobiographie.

3.3. Récit du spectre

C'est par l'envoi d'une carte en 1995 que Derrida accorde à Amy Ziering Kofman le droit de produire un film sur lui. Celle-ci le poursuivra pendant 5 ans, avec une caméra, à côté de Kirby Dick, en Europe et aux Etats-Unis, lors de conférences ou bien à la maison, posant des questions, le laissant agir à son gré pour finir en 2000 le film intitulé *Derrida*. En effet ce n'est pas pour la première fois que Derrida apparaît dans un film. Il est présent en 1984 dans *Ghost Dance*, réalisé par Ken McMullen, en *Derrida's Elsewhere,* réalisé par Saafa Fathy en 1999 tout comme dans plusieurs interviews filmées et documentaires quoique ici l'accent tombe sur l'œuvre et pas vraiment la personnalité même du philosophe.

Dans le dossier de presse qui accompagne la sortie du *Derrida*, les deux réalisateurs renvoient toujours à cette scène archétypale des places échangées entre Platon et Socrate : « For over five years, Dick and Ziering Kofman played Plato to our own modern day Socrates »[43]. Cette affirmation, innocente en apparence, pose le problème de l'auctorialité. Si les deux réalisateurs s'érigent dans la posture du philosophe qui écrit, ils affirment par cela leur statut d'auteurs, de créateurs d'une figure philosophique, polémique. Autrement dit, en suivant la logique derridienne de l'absence du sujet au moment même de la représentation, ou de la trace, le philosophe à l'écran n'est qu'une représentation fantomatique, une figure de l'absence, un leurre, une illusion.

Il y a deux images de l'auteur dans le film, une du personnage public et l'autre du personnage privé dont les menus gestes sont présentés en surimpression avec une lecture en voix-off des passages de ses travaux. Derrida est mal à l'aise devant la caméra, il se révolte parfois, il se laisse séduit d'autres fois mais ne peut jamais l'ignorer complètement ou faire semblant qu'elle ne soit pas devant lui. Si dans *Circonfession* il indique les points de défaillance du texte, dans le film il marque ouvertement sa position ou le mécontentement. Il dénonce à chaque instant les conditions mêmes de prise de vue : « DERRIDA (talking to the camera): So, this is what you call cinema verite ? Everything is false. Almost, almost everything. I'm not really like this. First of all, I don't usually dress like this. »[44] Toujours à la manière du livre, un seul cadre peut contenir des images écholaliques de soi. Une scène filmée en France est projetée quelques années, lorsque le philosophe est en Californie, plus tard sur un écran. Derrida regarde son image et se rend compte qu'il avait complètement oublié ce qu'il disait ou et l'occasion. Le fragment montre en effet la fragilité du discours

autobiographique face aux défaillances de la mémoire. L'interview autobiographique de Derrida est déconstruit lui aussi, pas de cohérence narrative ou dans la présentation du personnage. Il est un assemblage de fragments et de citations, de visages et de révoltes contres le dispositif même d'enregistrement. Se laisser filmer, enregistrer, équivaut pour Derrida à une anticipation de la mort :

> I feel watched. Like right now. What am I doing ? You're filming me […]. So there will be people who can see this images when i'm dead. That's inscribed in the structure of what we're doing. Death is here.[45]

Si l'idée n'est pas nouvelle, elle revient dans chaque discours qu'il tient sur le phénomène de la télévision. En 1996, au moment de l'enregistrement de l'interview avec Bernard Stiegler, Jacques Derrida se sent toujours devenir spectre, absorbé par le viseur de la caméra et projeté dans un monde de simulacre, ou tout n'est qu'image sans chair, sans substance. Revenir sur ses pas, comme Thésée qui aurait tenté de trouver la sortie de l'enfer, Derrida tente de se refugier dans la mémoire. Texte et écriture se retrouvent donc chez Derrida en symbiose. Cette formule autobiographique s'affirme intermédiale dès la publication du livre et est poursuivie grâce aux intentions du réalisateur qui transformera le film autobiographique en une autobiographie de l'œuvre aussi, imaginée en co-dépendance avec la vie même du philosophe.

4. Hervé Guibert et la transgression des genres

Ecrivain, photographe, chroniqueur de film et de photographie dans *Le Monde* entre 1977 et 1985[46], Hervé Guibert ne conçoit jamais l'acte créateur enfermé entre les limites d'un seul art. A part quelques textes fictionnels de jeunesse comme *La Mort propagande*[47] et *Mauve le vierge*[48], Hervé Guibert ne s'occupera dans ses écrits que de lui-même. Vers le milieu des années 80 il découvre être infecté par le virus HIV. Devant le spectre d'une mort prochaine, l'auteur se lance dans l'écriture. Il publie *Mes parents* en 1986 et une trilogie du Sida, dernier rempart avant la mort, à côté de quelques albums de photographies, un photo-roman autobiographique intitulé *Suzanne et Louise*[49], à côté d'un essai sur la photographie intitulé *L'Image fantôme*[50] et le journal de l'hospitalisation, *Cytomégalovirus*[51].

144

4.1. Une pratique artistique plurielle

Pour lui, la littérature, la photographie et le film constituent des pratiques artistiques enchâssées l'une à l'autre, à travers lesquelles, ou pour mieux dire, à la confluence desquelles, peut uniquement de révéler le moi du créateur. Guibert écrit et prends en même temps des photos, soit lui même en train d'écrire, soit de sa table de travail chargée par des manuscrits, ou bien il enregistre avec son caméscope toute cette nature morte qui forment autant des portraits en creux de l'auteur. Il n'est pas rare que les photos ainsi obtenues soient décrites à leur tour dans un roman ou dans son journal. Chaque art est pour Guibert un langage spécifique qui lui permet de se dire et, parfois, d'éluder la mort, affirme Claire Guillot : « tant le *moi* fut sa matière première, son terrain d'expérimentation »[52].

Dans un entretien avec Maurice Pialat, réalisé en 1985, Guibert posait au réalisateur une question qui, malgré sa formule un peu circonstancielle, en dit long non sur le film de Pialat mais sur le rapport pris par Guibert même vis-à-vis de ses propres pratiques artistiques : « J'ai eu l'impression, en voyant la première partie du film, que vous essayez d'imposer quelque chose de terriblement vrai pour pouvoir ensuite faire passer une chose invraisemblable plus essentielle »[53]. Imposer donc le vrai avec tout ce que cela suppose de terrible et de nécessaire, comme une condition *sine qua non* d'une fiction qui à elle seule pourrait contenir et rendre visible l'essentiel qui échappe par la mise en scène du réel, voilà donc les traits d'une *poïétique* guibertienne confirmée ces dernières années par des critiques qui ont mis en lumière le glissement permanent de l'écriture à côté d'un référent autobiographique et l'effet déréalisant de la photographie.

La figuration de soi est redevable à cette technique du « faire passer » la fiction jusqu'à la rendre indiscernable, insaisissable et somme toute inéluctable. Paradoxalement, les images les plus intimes ne sont pas les autoportraits, qui impliquent toujours des mises-en-scène du visage, mais les photos d'où le sujet s'absente pour devenir un pur regard et pourquoi pas ses autoportraits textuels, disséminés tout au long de ses écrits soit sous la forme d'une description de photo, soit sous celle de la confession[54]. Enfin, si la question de l'encadrement générique des textes est en quelque sorte réglée par les nombreuses études sur le sujet qui mettent en lumière l'existence d'un « contrat de transparence »[55] qui remplace le pacte fiduciaire lejeunien, en ce qui concerne le film *La Pudeur ou l'impudeur,* les références permanentes à l'écriture et aux photos imposent la nécessité d'une approche transgressive et intermédiale.

4.2. Une autobiographie de l'œuvre

La mise en scène de son récit autobiographique est résumée par une phrase de *Mes Parents* « il faut que les secrets circulent »[56], et ce secret-là c'est précisément l'être le plus profond de chacun, son moi qu'il doit mettre en lumière, à la vue des tous. Le livre tout seul ne pourra jamais contenir ce désir de tout confesser. A l'exemple de Sartre il a cette impression que la littérature est liée à la mort, que s'écrire équivaut à une mise au tombeau : « Impression que mes livres sont vivants tandis que moi mort j'y ai fait passer toute ma vie »[57]. Tout comme Derrida, il est persuadé qu'entre son corps et son texte se produit un transfert de substance vitale. Contre le livre il utilise la vidéo.

Lors du passage sur le plateau de l'émission *Apostrophes* de Bernard Pivot en 1990, Hervé Guibert affirme ne plus pouvoir écrire. Pascale Breugnot, productrice à la TF1 aura alors l'idée de confier à Guibert un caméscope afin qu'il puisse « occuper cette zone intermédiaire en réalisant un film dont vous seriez à la fois l'auteur et le sujet »[58]. Entre juin 1990 et mars 1991 il porte la caméra avec lui à l'hôpital, à la maison, en visite chez ses tantes, partout. Les cadres sont pris à Paris et sur l'île d'Elbe, pendant un dernier séjour[59]. Une fois le film fini, Breugnot se heurtera au refus des chaines de télévision de programmer le film pour la diffusion. Certaines scènes comme celle de Guibert nu dans sa salle de bain, sont jugées offensantes pour les spectateurs. En novembre 91 uniquement, la TF1 programme l'émission après des discussions sur le créneau horaire et la sensibilité des téléspectateurs. Avant tout, la chaîne tente d'éviter toute accusation de voyeurisme.

Enregistrement des derniers mois de vie de Guibert, le film est construit par des séquences qui rappellent toutes des passages de ses livres. Comme un *ekphrasis* inverse qui tenterait de décrire à l'aide des images un contenu littéraire, *La Pudeur ou l'impudeur* déploie ses sens toujours par un effet de miroitement. Si chez Derrida, le sujet se voyait confronté à son image, qui du coup lui apparaît comme étrangère et fantomatique, chez Guibert le sujet n'a pas de consistance en l'absence de cette réduplication fondamentale des figurations de soi. Afin d'exemplifier ce mouvement, il suffit de prendre en compte un fragment du *Protocole compassionnel,* publié en 1991, dont la rédaction a été concomitante au tournage du film, où Guibert raconte comment il a filmé son médecin Claudette lors d'une visite médicale.

Je changeai d'angle de prise de vues et, sans rien lui demander, je filmai Claudette Dumouchel. Elle était belle. Je filmai son visage dans cette lumière sublime, j'étais heureux. L'œil au viseur je voyais que l'image tremblotait imperceptiblement au rythme de ma respiration, des battements de mon cœur. […] J'ai commencé à tourner un film. Mon premier film.[60]

Mis en rapport au cadre similaire extrait du film, le processus de construction d'une autobiographie transgressive est mis à jour. Ce fragment qui se rattache au film met en lumière tout le travail d'enchâssement d'une image dans l'autre et le passage vers un autre média qui y découle. Le texte raconte l'expérience enregistrée auparavant par la caméra et si Guibert endosse la posture de réalisateur et de spectateur, et implicitement de premier destinataire de l'image filmique, il met en lumière par une notation qui s'insère dans la trame du récit ekphrasique ses propres sentiments « j'étais heureux » afin de rendre visible ce que l'image ne peut pas surprendre. Par cela, bien que situé derrière la caméra, portant un regard qui découpe l'espace de vision et sépare l'espace visible dans le champ et le hors-champ, il focalise pour un instant sur sa propre subjectivité. Autrement dit, il redouble le dispositif d'enregistrement par celui d'écriture qui radiographie, dans un éclair, à la manière d'un flash, sa vie intérieure. Guibert se livre à un double enregistrement – celui mécanique, effectué par le caméscope- et l'enregistrement textuel de cet acte premier. Il se regarde regardant l'Autre, Claudette, mais l'image vidéo, malgré sa froideur et sa nature immédiate et impersonnelle absorbe, porte les traces du corps de l'auteur. Guibert s'inscrit dans le texte au fur et à mesure que l'image filmée absorbe les signes vitaux de son corps la manière d'un intertexte. Les verbes au présent de dernier paragraphe qui renvoient au moment même de la rédaction du texte et la référence à la figure du docteur, « Claudette sourit », qui se profile pour un instant, affirment encore une fois l'hybridation entre texte et image, comme pour souligner la posture ou l'imposture guibertienne de spectateur. Toutefois, l'écriture propose un nouveau cadrage. Le regard scriptural découpe dans l'espace de l'image vidéo une zone sensible et ici Guibert semble décrire la découverte d'un *punctum* barthien.

4.3. Le salut par l'œuvre

La fin de *La Pudeur ou l'impudeur* fonctionne également sur le même principe de la synthèse de l'œuvre guibertienne. L'auteur est filmé à sa table de travail, en train de taper un texte à la machine. En voix-off,

s'entend sur le fond sonore des cliquetis des touches de la machine à écrire, un fragment tiré de son journal, non publié au moment de la production du film :

> Il faut déjà avoir vécu les choses une première fois avant de pouvoir les filmer en vidéo. Sinon, on ne les comprend pas, on ne les vit pas, on ne peut en faire la synthèse, la vidéo absorbe tout de suite et bêtement cette vie pas vécue. Mais si la vidéo parvient à faire le lien entre photo, écriture et cinéma, elle m'intéresse.[61]

Le film se clôt sur le mot « passé ». L'image devient statique et rejoint toute la série des tables de travail publiées pendant les années 80. A un certain moment, l'auteur disparaît tandis que le cliquetis continue de s'entendre au delà l'absence même de l'écrivain. Le cadre final c'est la synthèse parfaite entre film, écriture et photographie où leurs différences s'annulent pour devenir des actes simultanés, obligeant le spectateur de les concevoir non séparément mais ensemble. La dernière image filmique (ou photographique puisque l'image devient du coup statique) se détache de ce que Barthes nomme « cela a été » pour affirmer une présence perpétuelle – ce dernier cadre signifie tout aussi bien « cela s'écrit » continue de s'écrire, de déployer des images à l'infini ou cela « tourne » s'enregistre, continue de signifier dans l'absence du sujet.

En fin de compte, chez Guibert la vidéo ne donne à voir ni autant le vécu dans sa forme pure, ni le corps, mais un réseau d'images qui enserre à la fois les photographies et le texte littéraire. Les références à l'œuvre passent par la mise en scène de la vie et du corps, comme si, dans les derniers moments de son existence Guibert ne faisait que récréer, utilisant un nouveau moyen, son passé. Le processus d'enregistrement qui se laisse lui aussi redoublé, multiplié par son inscription textuelle dans les livres, aboutira à la création d'un film dont la structure est presque celle d'un corps spectral, kaléidoscopique composé de traces, de mots et d'images, ineffable et glorieux qui survit à la disparition du sujet et qui se substitue à la fois au corps textuel guibertien [62] à celui physique en train de s'effacer sous l'assaut de la maladie et aux confins de la mort.

Conclusion

A travers les trois exemples choisis il a été possible d'apercevoir comment le récit de vie écrit change radicalement, continue ou revient hanter le film autobiographique. Mais quoiqu'il le veule ou non, l'auteur n'a aucune chance de se défaire de tout un imaginaire attaché à ses textes. S'il tente de le faire, les réalisateurs le ramènent en arrière comme chez Sartre, le représentent en superposition à sa pensée comme chez Derrida ou bien refait lui aussi tout un trajet existentiel grâce à un nouveau média. Accepter cette impossibilité c'est pouvoir penser déjà en termes d'intermédialité une œuvre réceptacle de toute la création antérieure. Donc autant au niveau des intentions, qu'au niveau de la réception, l'image filmique ne peut pas fonctionner individuellement, en deçà de l'autobiographie écrite. L'auteur est à l'écran parce qu'il a une histoire dont il ne pourra pas se séparer. Il doit accomplir un rituel supplémentaire qui n'était pas nécessaire dans le texte écrit parce qu'ici il n'il y avait pas de transgression et donc ni de besoin de chercher une légitimité : celui de faire la liaison entre le visage, qui est montré en premier, offert au regard de l'autre, et le nom, comme dans le stade psychanalytique du miroir.

Par rapport à la formule classique, cette nouvelle autobiographie est pour l'instant incomplète. Le contenu projeté sur l'écran est indissociable du contenu de la page et aussi bien l'image d'un auteur telle qu'elle se dévoile dans le texte écrit est incomplète sans avoir pris en compte sa présence filmique. C'est pour quoi nous proposons de concevoir l'autobiographie comme un genre ouvert, aux limites malléables, poreuses, qui peut accueillir toute formule de confession que l'auteur a utilisé pour parler de lui-même, comme un genre intermédial.

Enfin, le passage de la page à l'écran ne se joue pas sur le mode du rejet ou du remplacement, de la rupture radicale, il n'est pas transgressif mais inclusif et parfois totalisateur il nous oblige d'assumer ce que nous sommes aussi, des identités hybrides, mi-image-mi objet, mi-image, mi-sujet qu'il est impossible d'annuler.

NOTES

[1]   Le texte est un « appareil littéral désintégrateur et transformateur », résultat d'un passage du logocentrisme vers la lecture/écriture, auquel s'ajoute la dissolution des notions de sujet, substance, vérité. Cf. Philippe Sollers, *Survol/ Rapport (Blocs)/Conflit,* dans *Tel Quel*, nº 36, 1969, Paris, Seuil, p. 8.

[2]   Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte Autobiographique*, Paris, Seuil, 1975.

[3]   Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Mots*, Paris, Gallimard, [1964], 2000.

[4]   Hervé Guibert, *Mes Parents*, Paris, Gallimard, 1986.

[5]   Id., *A l'ami qui ne m'a pas sauvé la vie*, Paris, Gallimard, 1990, Id*., Le Protocole compassionnel,* Paris, Gallimard, 1991 ; Id*., L'Homme au chapeau rouge*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992.

[6]   Jacques Derrida, *Circonfession*, Paris, Seuil, coll. « Les Contemporains », 1990.

[7]   *Sartre par lui-même,* film réalisé par Alexandre Astruc et Michel Contat, Paris, Éditions Montparnasse, 2007, 2 DVD, 3h07.

[8]   *Derrida. The Movie*, film réalizé par de Kirby Dick et Amy Ziering Kofman, 2004, 1h25.

[9]   *La Pudeur ou l'impudeur*, film réalisé par Hervé Guibert, 1991, 58'.

[10]   Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[11]   Devant l'usage excessif du terme « autobiographie » et contre celui d'autofiction qui reste toujours faiblement défini, J-B. Pontalis propose l'autographie: « graphie de soi qui crée un Je par écrit ». J.-B. Pontalis, « L'autographe » dans *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, Paris, nº 598, « Je & Moi » sous la direction de Philippe Forest, octobre 2011, p. 186.

[12]   *Roland Barthes par Roland Barthes*, Paris, Seuil, 1979.

[13]   Voir Jean-François Louette, « Écrire l'universel singulier », dans *Pourquoi et comment Sartre a écrit* Les Mots. *Genèse d'une autobiographie*, sous la direction de Michel Contat, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998, et Jacques Lecarme, « Sartre palimpseste », dans *Ibidem*, p. 83-88.

[14]   Elizabeth W. Bruss, « L'autobiographie au cinéma. La subjectivité devant l'objectif » dans *Poétique*, nº 56, nov. 1983, traduit de l'américain par Vincent Giroux, Paris, Seuil, p. 461.

[15]   Philippe Lejeune, « L'autobiographie parlée » in *Obliques*, dossier « Sartre » dirigé par Michel Sicard, nº 18-19, Paris, 1979.

[16]   Philippe Lejeune, *Je est un autre. L'Autobiographie de la littérature aux médias*, Paris, Seuil, 1980.

[17]   Philippe Lejeune, « Cinéma et autobiographie, problèmes de vocabulaire », dans *Revue belge de cinéma*, dossier « Autobiographie et cinéma », nº 19, Bruxelles, 1987, p. 9-10.

[18]   Nous ne prenons pas en compte les films soi-disant autobiographique dont le principe de construction repose sur la prise en compte du personnage du réalisateur par un acteur comme c'est le cas dans le *Amarcord* de Fellini, *Les 400 coups* de Truffaut, ou dans le film d'animation de Marjane Satrapi, *Persepolis.*

19 Jurgen Ernest Müller, « L'intermédialité, une nouvelle approche interdisciplinaire : perspectives théoriques et pratiques à l'exemple de la vision et de la télévision », dans *Cinémas : revue d'études cinématographiques,* vol. 10, nᵒ 2-3, 2000, p. 86.

20 Dick Higgins, « Statement of intermedia » dans Wolf Vostell [ed.] *Dé-coll/age (décollage)* nᵒ, 6, Typos Verlag, Frankfurt /Something Else Press, New York, juillet 1967.

21 André Gaudreault, « Pour une approche narratologique intermédiale », dans *Recherches en communication*, nᵒ 11, 1999, p. 137.

22 Edmond Couchot, *La technologie dans l'art*, Paris, Editions Jacqueline Chambon, 1998, p. 157.

23 Marshall McLuhan, *Pour comprendre les médias : les prolongements technologiques de l'homme*, traduit de l'anglais par Jean Paré, Paris, Seuil, 1968.

24 En 1973, 29 Français sur 100 regardent la TV plus de 20 heures par semaine contre 43 Français pour 100 en 2008, donc le nombre a presque doublé tandis que la lecture des livres et des journaux a diminué continuellement : si 74% des Français avaient lu au moins un livre en 1997, en 2008, ce taux a diminué de 4%. Olivier Donnat, « Pratiques culturelles 1973-2008 : dynamiques générationnelles et pesanteurs sociales », dans *Culture études*, Paris, nᵒ 7, 2011.

25 *Cf.* Jean-François Diana, « L'écrivain contre l'image ou le reste de la parole » dans *Médiamorphoses*, nᵒ 7, 2003, p. 63-70 et Georges Didi-Huberman, « La condition de l'image », entretien avec Frédéric Lambert et François Niney, dans *Médiamorphoses*, nᵒ 22, 2008, p. 6-18.

26 Roland Barthes, « La mort de l'auteur » [1968], dans *Œuvres Complètes*, t. II, Paris, Seuil, 2000.

27 Michel Foucault, « Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur ? », dans *Dits et écrits*, t. I, Paris, Gallimard, 1994.

28 Pour Claude Abastado, cette situation n'a rien d'inouï mais bien au contraire, les auteurs de nos jours ne font qu'agir selon le modèle imposé avec l'affaire Dreyfus, en 1859. Claude Abastado, *Mythes et rituels de l'écriture*, Bruxelles, Éditions Complexe, 1979.

29 Entre 1952 et 1956. Il s'en sépare après l'insurrection de Budapest.

30 Jean-Paul Sartre, *Les Mots*, *op. cit.,* p. 161-162.

31 « Jean-Paul Sartre s'explique sur *Les Mots* », interview accordée à Jacquelline Piatier, *Le Monde*, 18 avril 1964, p. 13.

32 *Ibidem.*

33 Philippe Lejeune, *L'Autobiographie en France*, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

34 Serge Doubrovsky, « Sartre : autobiographie/ autofiction », dans *Revue des sciences humaines*» tome LXXXXVIII, nᵒ. 224, octobre-décembre 1991, p. 25.

35 Sartre dit à propos du film « Je n'ai pas participé moi-même à l'élaboration du film et ce projet n'était pas le mien : on me l'a présenté, je l'ai trouvé intéressant, j'en ai discuté avec les réalisateurs et je l'ai accepté. » Livret du coffret DVD du film *Sartre par lui-même*, *op. cit.*

36 Philippe Lejeune, « L'autobiographie parlée » dans *Obliques, op. cit.*, p. 100.
37 *Sartre par lui-même, op. cit.*
38 Geneviève Idt, « Le travail du style dans les avant-textes des *Mots* » dans *Pourquoi et comment Sartre a écrit Les Mots, op. cit.* p. 122.
39 Amy Ziering Kofmann, « Making *Derrida* – An impression or… », dans *Derrida. Screenplay and essays on the film*, Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 28.
40 Jacques Derrida, *Circonfession, op. cit.*, p. 21-22.
41 *Ibidem*, p. 19.
42 *Ibidem*, p. 235.
43 Dossier de presse accompagnant la sortie du film *Derrida*, disponible à l'adresse http:// www.derridathemovie.com/presspulls.html. Consulté le 10 mai 2012.
44 *Derrida. Screenplay and essays on the film, op. cit.*, p. 66-67.
45 *Ibidem*, p. 150.
46 Les chroniques de Guibert sont réunies dans *La photo, inéluctablement. Recueil d'articles sur la photographie 1977-1985*, Paris, Gallimard, 1999.
47 Hervé Guibert., *La Mort propagande*, Paris, Éditions Régine Desforges, 1977.
48 Id., *Mauve le vierge*, Paris, Gallimard, 1988.
49 Id., *Suzanne et Louise,* Paris, Gallimard, 1980.
50 Id., *L'Image fantôme,* Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1981.
51 Id., *Cytomégalovirus : journal d'hospitalisation*, Paris, Seuil, 1992.
52 Claire Guillot, « Les balades entre la vie et la mort de l'écrivain photographe Hervé Guibert », dans *Le Monde*, 10 mars 2011, p. 25.
53 Hervé Guibert, « Un flic, pour moi, c'était le soupçon. Entretien avec Maurice Pialat » dans *Articles intrépides 1977-1985*, Paris, Gallimard, 2008, p. 343.
54 Claire Guillot, *op. cit.,* p. 25.
55 J.P. Boulé, *op. cit.* , p. 98.
56 Hervé Guibert, *Mes Parents, op. cit.*, p. 14.
57 Id*., Le Mausolée des amants. Journal 1976 – 1991*, Paris, Gallimard/Folio, p. 502.
58 Id., *Le Protocole compassionnel*, Paris, Gallimard, 1991, 171.
59 D'ailleurs, Hervé Guibert avait anticipé symboliquement son projet dans une photo des années 80*,* intitulée *Le rêve de cinéma* où l'on retrouve une caméra installée sur un trépied dont l'objectif est braqué sur celui qui regarde l'image.
60 Hervé Guibert, *Le Protocole compassionnel, op. cit.,* p. 227.
61 *La pudeur ou l'impudeur, op. cit.* Le fragment lu en voix-off fait partie du volume d'Hervé Guibert, *Le Mausolée des amants. Journal 1976-1991, op. cit.*, p. 374.
62 La formule « corps textuel » est proposée par Ralph Sarkonak dans la *Revue des Lettres Modernes, op. cit.*

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Corpus principal

DERRIDA, J., *Circonfession*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, coll. « Les Contemporains », 1990

GUIBERT, H., *Mes Parents*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, coll. « Folio », 1986

GUIBERT, H., *A l'ami qui ne m'a pas sauvé la vie*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1990

GUIBERT, H., *Le Protocole compassionnel*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1991

GUIBERT, H*, L'Homme au chapeau rouge*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1992

SARTRE, J.-P., *Les Mots*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 2000

Œuvres cinématographiques

Derrida. The Movie, film realisé par Kirby Dick et Amy Ziering Kofman, 2004, 1h25.

La pudeur ou l'impudeur, film réalisé par Hervé Guibert, 1991, 58'.

Sartre par lui-même, film réalisé par Alexandre Astruc et Michel Contat, Éditions Montparnasse, 2007, 2 DVD, 3h07.

Bibliographie critique

ANTONIOLI, M. [sous la direction de], *Abécédaire de Jacques Derrida*, Mons, Éditions Sils Maria, coll. « ABéCédaire », nᵒ 3, 2006

BARTHES, R., *Roland Barthes*, Paris, Seuil, 1979

BARTHES, R., *La chambre claire. Notes sur la photographie*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1980

BAZIN, A., *Qu'est-ce que le cinéma ?* Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1962

CONTAT, M., [sous la direction de], *Pourquoi et comment Sartre a écrit Les Mots. Genèse d'une autobiographie*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998

COUCHOT, E., *La technologie dans l'art*, Paris, Jacqueline Chambon, 1998

DELEUZE, G., *Cinéma 2. L'image-temps*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, coll. « Critique », 1985

DELEUZE, G., *Cinéma I. L'image-mouvement*, Paris, Éditions de Minuit, coll. « Critique », 2003

DERRIDA, J., STIEGLER, B., *Echographies de la télévision. Entretiens filmés*, Paris, Galilée-INA, 1996

DOUBROVSKY, S., *Fils*, Paris, Éditions Galilée, 1977

GARDIES, A., GESTENKORN, J., *Le Je à l'écran- actes du Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle [14-21 août 1999],* Paris, L'Harmattan, 2006

GENON, A., *Hervé Guibert : vers une esthétique postmoderne*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2007

LEJEUNE, Ph., *Je est un autre*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1980

LEJEUNE, Ph., *Le Pacte autobiographique*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1975

LEJEUNE, Ph., *Signes de vie. Le pacte autobiographique 2*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 2005

MACLUHAN, M., *Pour comprendre les médias : les prolongements technologiques de l'homme*, traduit de l'anglais par Jean Paré, Paris, Seuil, 1968

OLNEY, J., *Autobiography essays theoretical and critical,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980

PEETERS, B., *Derrida*, Paris, Flammarion, coll. « Grandes biographies », 2010

Articles

BARTHES, R., « La mort de l'auteur » [1968], dans *Œuvres Complètes*, t. II, Paris, Seuil, 2000.

BRUSS, E. W., « L'autobiographie au cinéma. La subjectivité devant l'objectif », traduit de l'américain par Vincent Giroux, dans *Poétique*, nº 56, nov. 1983

DIANA, J.-F., « L'écrivain contre l'image ou le reste de la parole » dans *Médiamorphoses*, nº 7, 2003

DONNAT, O., « Pratiques culturelles 1973-2008 : dynamiques générationnelles et pesanteurs sociales », dans *Culture études*, Paris, nº 7, 2011

DOUBROVSKY, S., « Sartre : autobiographie/ autofiction », dans *Revue des sciences humaines*» tome LXXXXVIII, nº. 224, octobre-décembre 1991

FOUCAULT, M., « Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur ? », dans *Dits et écrits*, t. I, Paris, Gallimard, 1994

GAUDREAULT, A., « Pour une approche narratologique intermédiale », dans *Recherches en communication*, nº 11, 1999

HIGGINS, D., « Statement of intermedia » dans Wolf Vostell [ed.] *Dé-coll/age (décollage)* nº, 6, Typos Verlag, Frankfurt/Something Else Press, New York, juillet 1967

KEEFE, T., «Hervé Guibert. Autobiographical film-writing pushed to its limits? », dans *Autobiography and the existential self*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1995

KOFMANN, A.-Z., « Making *Derrida* – An impression or… », dans *Derrida. Screenplay and essays on the film*, Manchester University Press, 2005

LEJEUNE, Ph., « L'autobiographie parlée », *Obliques*, « Sartre », nº 18-19, dirigé par Michel Sicard, Paris, 1979

LEJEUNE, Ph., « Cinéma et autobiographie, problèmes de vocabulaire » dans *Revue belge de cinéma*, « Autobiographie et cinéma », nº 19, printemps, 1987

LEJEUNE, Ph., « Où s'arrête la littérature ? » dans *Raison présente*, « Littératures en marge, littérature en marche », nº 134, 2ème trimestre 2000

MULLER, J.-E., « L'intermédialité, une nouvelle approche interdisciplinaire : perspectives théoriques et pratiques à l'exemple de la vision et de la télévision », dans *Cinémas : revue d'études cinématographiques,* vol. 10, nº 2-3, 2000

PIERRE-BOULE, J., « Guibert ou la radicalisation du projet sartrien d'écriture existentielle », dans *Revue des Lettres Modernes*, dossier « Le Corps textuel d'Hervé Guibert. Au jour au siècle 2 » coordonné par Ralph Sarkonak, Minard, 1997

PONTALIS, J.-B., « L'autographe » dans *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, dossier « Je & Moi » sous la direction de Philippe Fores, Paris, nº 598, octobre 2011

FLORIN LEONTE

Born in 1977, in Iași

PhD in Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest (2012)
Dissertation: *Rhetoric in purple: The Renewal of Imperial Ideology and Political Discourse in the Texts of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (r. 1391-1425)*

Researcher, Central European University, Budapest

Fellowships and grants:
2011 University of Vienna, Institute for Byzantine Studies, research travel grant
2011 State University of Yerevan, Armenia and Matenadaran Institute for Ancient Manuscripts, teaching fellowship
2009-2010, Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C., junior fellowship
2008-2009, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Fellowship in the framework of "Marie Curie" European Doctorate Program, European Science Foundation
2008, Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Medieval Greek Summer School

2008, Oxford University, April- May 2008: research travel grant

Participation to international conferences in UK, Bulgaria, Hungary, USA, Austria
Numerous research papers published both in Romania and abroad

BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITALY: SCHOLARLY CIRCLES, AGENCY, AND IMPERIAL PATRONAGE IN BYZANTIUM BEFORE THE FALL (C. 1350-1453)

Abstract: Contrairement à les sociétés modernes, les savants byzantins n'avaient pas l'appui institutionnel qui est aujourd'hui fourni par les systèmes institutionnels organisées de l'éducation. Au lieu de cela, généralement, en plus des activités pédagogiques occasionnels les savantes byzantins souvent attiraient leur soutien de mécènes plus ou moins généreux. Si le patronage a représenté un phénomène social et culturel constant tout au long de l'histoire byzantine, après 1261, l'année où Constantinople a été récupéré des Latins, le soutien pour les activités scientifiques savaient grandes fluctuations dues à des transformations qui s'opèrent dans l'économie et la societé régionale. Cet article a deux objectifs principaux: détecter les changements dans la nature des largesses impériales vers les chercheurs au cours du derniere siecle de l'histoire byzantine, et d'identifier les usages des réseaux intellectuelles dans le milieu impérial. Ces éléments seront donc analysés sur trois périodes distinctes correspondant aux règnes des empereurs Jean V Paléologue (1347-1391), Manuel II Paléologue (1391-1425) et Jean VIII Paléologue (1425-1448). En fin de compte, il sera soutenu que le mecenat littéraire de l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue était unique pour la période des Paléologues et qu'il avait de nombreuses implications pour son programme idéologique. Comme preuve de mon enquête je vais utiliser les sources écrites principalement des lettres et des textes rhétoriques des auteurs actifs dans cette période.
Keywords: Patronage, scholars, Byzantium, theatron

Introduction

Unlike in modern societies, in Byzantium scholars lacked the institutional support which nowadays is provided by organized institutional systems of education. Instead, typically, in addition to occasional teaching activities Byzantine learned individuals often drew their support from more or less generous patrons. If patronage represented a constant social

and cultural phenomenon throughout Byzantine history, after 1261, the year when Constantinople was recovered from the Latins, the support for scholarly pursuits knew great fluctuations due to the transformations taking place in the regional economy. If the preserved evidence indicates that the first century of the rule of the Palaiologan dynasty (Emperors Michael VIII, Andronikos II and III) coincided with a period of revival in various fields of studies, both theoretical and rhetorical, for the last decades such activities decreased. Scholars like Theodore Metochites, Nikephoros Gregoras, Nikephoros Choumnos, or Thomas Magistros who were active in the first decades of the fourteenth century and who had an intense philological, theoretical, or scientific activity are not to be found in the later periods.

If these scholars as well as the multiple connections among themselves have been thoroughly investigated in the past years, for the later periods such treatments are missing. Certainly, extensive evidence of scholarly activity in the second half of the fourteenth century is, by and large, less consistent than in the previous periods, and, hence, researchers concluded that after 1350s scholarly activities entered a phase of decline. Yet, a survey of the scholarly activity in connection with imperial patronage in the last hundred years of Byzantine history can reveal a series of significant evolutions within a social and cultural aspect that is essential for understanding both imperial and authorial agency.

Building on these preliminary observations, the present paper has two major aims: to detect the changes in the nature of imperial largess towards scholars over the last hundred years of Byzantine history; and to identify the uses of scholarly networks within the imperial milieu. These elements will be thus analyzed over three distinctive periods corresponding to the reigns of the Emperors John V Palaiologos (1347-1391), Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) and John VIII (1425-1448). Ultimately, it will be argued that Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos' literary patronage was unique for the late Palaiologan period and that it had wide implications for his ideological program. As evidence for my survey I will use written sources mainly letters and court rhetorical texts of authors active in this period. The reasons why I chose to deal with this period pertain mainly to the significant shift in Byzantine politics, intellectual life, and society occurring by the middle of the fourteenth century that were generated by two major events: on the one hand, the Church Synod of 1354 which declared Hesychasm as official doctrine of the Byzantine church, and, on the other hand, the rise of the new dynasty of the Ottomans more belligerent than ever. The first event had repercussions on the intellectual milieu of Constantinople,

until then much divided by the polemics between Hesychasts and anti-Hesychasts. The second event put further pressure on the diplomacy and the military resources of the Byzantines. Both these elements divided the social and intellectual elites into a group of militants in favor of an intervention of the western/Latin states and another group who feared that such an intervention would bring an unwanted union of the Orthodox and the Catholic churches.

Before beginning the discussion of the three different periods in late Byzantine imperial patronage, several preliminary methodological clarifications are necessary. First, who can be included in the late Byzantine category of "scholars"?[1] I use here a broad definition which encompasses the individuals who had a training in ancient Greek grammar and rhetoric reflected in the composition of various texts: from rhetorical exercises and *progymnasmata* to sophisticated treatises of theology, philosophy, or science. Some of these learned individuals acquired a high reputation and honor among the social elite circles of Constantinople, reflected in their acquisition of administrative positions. Most often, these *literati* formed tightly knit groups on the basis not only of their friendship but also of their religious or political persuasions. Such connections were frequently reflected in their theological polemics which did not cease throughout the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

The other major concept used in the present paper, patronage, can be defined as a relationship characteristic to pre-modern societies between two persons or between one person and a group (patron and clients). Such a relationship took place on unequal terms, for one of the individuals involved was socially authoritative whereas the other(s) were in a state of subordination. Relations of patronage, often presented by written evidence as "friendship," were created on the basis of a reciprocal exchange of services and material assets. A patron could offer financial security or social promotion, that is access to positions in the administrative and political structures. Sometimes, the protection meant the formal adoption of the client into the patron's family. For their part, the client(s) could offer their expertise, services, and loyalty, thereby enhancing the patrons' prestige, authority, and legitimacy. From this point of view, the relationship of patronage was mutually beneficial to both the patrons and the clients. As a matter of fact, the vast modern scholarship on ancient and medieval patronage emphasized precisely the economic aspects of this kind of relationships: for instance, P. Bourdieu argued that patronage was a complex exchange between patrons and clients similar

to a systematic economic arrangement. According to him, in pre-modern economies patronage represented a practice which "never ceased to conform to economic calculation even when it gave every appearance of disinterestedness."[2]

In Byzantium patronage acquired a wide range of forms, dimensions, and functions. Probably the most widespread one was reflected in the support offered by emperors or wealthy individuals to monastic foundations. During the Palaiologan period examples of such patronage can be identified in the case of the Monasteries of Kyra Martha, the monastic foundation of the female members of the imperial family, the Pantokrator Monastery, the burial place of the Palaiologan monarchs, and the monasteries of Mount Athos who often received lands or tax-exemptions. The practice of offering imperial support to monks and ecclesiastical enterprises which can be identified ever since the beginnings of the empire became a matter of state policy in the sixth century and was formalized in the early ninth century.[3] Two major virtues regarded as the cornerstone of imperial conduct – *love of mankind (φιλανθρωπία)* and *generosity (εὐεργεσία)* – underlined the emperor's necessity to provide material support to various groups of interest.[4] In the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries these two imperial qualities continued to be present especially in official documents or public addresses of imperial propaganda. Yet, in addition, during this period, the emperor's largess was also meant to stand out since it often competed with the generosity of other wealthy individuals and families.

1. Scholars and imperial patronage 1350s-1391

The first period under investigation here coincides with the rule of John V Palaiologos (1354-1391). During his four decade long reign, John V renounced any attempts to form a regional alliance with the western powers and was forced to obey to the Ottomans' authority who occupied their first territories in Europe. Internally, he was confronted with several attempts of usurpation from his sons Andronikos IV and Manuel II, attempts to which he resisted by summoning the Ottomans in support.

In terms of numbers, the court rhetorical texts produced in this period are much fewer in comparison with the previous reign of John VI Kantakouzenos and with the ensuing one of Manuel II Palaiologos. Unlike his father-in-law, John VI Kantakouzenos, a theologian and historian, John

V undertook no intellectual activities. Only sporadically, public gatherings meant to extol the emperor's deeds surface in the sources of the fourteenth century.[5] Contemporary authors largely shunned laudatory references to him despite the intense imperial diplomatic efforts to maintain the Byzantine state alive. Strikingly, only two panegyrics addressed to John V survive from his reign: one by Demetrios Kydones, in fact a public autobiography and one by his son, Manuel II Palaiologos, performed as a means to show repentance after previous instances of rebellion. For one of the longest reigns in Byzantine history such as John's, this represented a very low number even in comparison with other late Palaiologan emperors.

The scarcity of court rhetorical activities that would have involved John V is reflected in the scarcity of scholars connected with the emperor. One of the very few examples is that of Demetrios Kydones, a prolific late Byzantine writer and, up to 1370s, one of the emperor's closest collaborators. In the following I will deal with his scholarly activity, since his connection with the emperor is by far the best documented case of such a relationship during this period. The evidence comes from the writer's extensive epistolary corpus. Other contemporary scholars like the astronomer Theodore Meliteniotes,[6] or the theologians Theodore Dexios, Philotheos Kokkinos, and Prochoros Kydones seem to have derived no support at all from the emperor and in any case they never acquired high ranking court positions. On the contrary Demetrios Kydones entered the imperial court at a very young age in his early twenties. Owing to his family's connections with the Kantakouzenoi, he became the Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos' *mesazon,* an office which, during the Palaiologan period, acquired particular influence within the court hierarchy, as it undertook the attributions of other previous positions which had become obsolete. After the installation of John V Palaiologos in 1354, Kydones retained his position of *mesazon* despite the feud between the families of the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi. Most probably, John V's reason for keeping Kydones in the same high administrative position was his acknowledged expertise pertaining to the western world affairs. Throughout the first two decades of his reign John V constantly tried to establish an alliance with the Papacy and the western states. The assistance which Kydones offered in this sense was crucial for the emperor's negotiations for the mesazon had previously established many connections with the Latins living in Constantinople. It was a Dominican monk from whom Kydones learned Latin and at some point in the 1360s he converted to Catholicism. His favorable attitude towards the Latins

played a major role in John V's own conversion to Catholicism in 1370 during a visit in Rome.[7]

Despite the close ties with the western states, in the beginning of the 1370s, John's external policy shifted towards a strategy of appeasement with the Ottomans. The reasons for such a radical change in the state's foreign affairs go beyond the scope of the present study, yet it is certain that Kydones' position and influence suffered from this sudden change. Significantly, after he left imperial service, he took refuge on the Island of Lesbos at his friend's house, the Latin lord of the place, Francisco Gattilusio. Kydones accused the emperor of undermining the only possible military alliance with the fellow Christian Latins against the Muslim Ottomans. The ensuing letters Demetrios addressed to the emperor indicate a conflict between the two which nevertheless appear to have been partly solved by the early 1380s when we find Kydones fulfilling again state administrative tasks especially in connection with the Byzantine interests in the Italy.

In parallel with his political activity, Kydones stood as by far the most prolific writer of his age. The conversion to Catholicism as well as the stance favorable to the alliance with the Latins prompted him to write a long series of theological texts and public admonitory orations. An important section of his rhetorical work consists of political, panegyrical, and deliberative orations, in which he defended his pro-western stance with regard to the solutions of safeguarding Byzantium in the second half of the fourteenth century. He wrote four extensive orations, titled *Apologies*, in which he defended his political position and two further admonitory speeches: *De non reddenda Gallipoli* and *Pro subsidio Latinorum*.[8] In both texts, Kydones drew the emperor's attention to the strategic importance of the town of Gallipoli, the first Ottoman possession in Europe and urged him to continue negotiations for a military alliance with the Latins. In addition to these texts, Kydones translated extensively from Latin Church writers and philosophers: Saint Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, or Ricoldo da Monte Croce, the Latin translator of the Qu'ran.[9] Yet, perhaps more importantly, he also strove to maintain connections with other fellow scholars regardless of their religious options. Thus, his large epistolary collection indicates that he equally corresponded with Orthodox high ranking ecclesiastics and theologians, such as Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaetos, Euthymios, or Isidore Glabas, Metropolitan of Thessalonike or with individuals well connected to the imperial court.

On the other hand, he appears to have used his position of influence and connections with the imperial court in order to support acquaintances

into positions where they could promote Catholicism. Thus, he established relations of teacher-disciple type with Maximos Chrysoberges and Manuel Kalekas (Letter 437), both of whom had pro-Latin sympathies and later converted to Catholicism. As for Manuel Kalekas, he was the one directly involved in collecting and transcribing partly Kydones' extensive letter collection.[10] Another interesting case of direct support for a late Byzantine scholar with pro-Latin sympathies was that of Manuel Chrysoloras. In 1396, as we find out from a letter of the Italian humanist Coluccio Salutati, Kydones recommended Chrysoloras for the publicly funded position of the first teacher of Greek in Italy. The connection with Salutati, one of the well-known humanists of the fourteenth century, suggests that Kydones could have had many other acquaintances among the Italian humanists as well. As a matter of fact, such connections emerged naturally since Demetrios, owing to his intense diplomatic service and expertise, received Venetian citizenship early in the 1390s.[11] Furthermore, in other letters, Coluccio Salutati noted the support of Kydones and Manuel Chrysoloras in the cultivation of Greek studies in Italy. Thus, Coluccio asked Kydones to recommend him a teacher of Greek for Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia. That teacher was Manuel Chrysoloras.[12] Interestingly, despite its conventional terminology, the language used in the correspondence on the issue of Greek teaching in Florence, betrays a rather friendly relation between them.[13]

The above evidence surviving in epistolary form suggests that, by supporting other fellow writers, Kydones maintained a fully fledged scholarly circle and acted as a kind of patron of contemporary literati, both in Byzantium and Italy, the place where they often traveled. The *mesazon*'s active support for contemporary scholars appears to have replaced the direct imperial patronage which remained limited throughout all the phases of Emperor John V's reign. In fact, the emperor's lack of interest in promoting court rhetoric is reflected in the eleven letters which Kydones sent to the emperor.[14] While these letters often praise the emperor's generosity (εὐεργεσία) which in itself was a conventional trait of imperial public representations, Kydones constantly summons the emperor to keep up with his payments owed as salary for his administrative services. Thus, in a letter dated to 1374, after praising John for other previous instances of εὐεργεσία, Kydones reminds the emperor of the delay in receiving the previously promised imperial gifts.[15] Similarly, in another letter dated to 1380s he urges the emperor to act like a ruler and not like a private person thus showing generosity in order to fulfill his promises.[16] In other

instances, the emperor's humanity is mentioned when he justifies his post-1370 pro-Latin position that was contrary to the emperor's policy of peaceful approach of the Ottomans. Rarely however, Kydones addresses to the emperor letters of recommendation for several individuals whom he proposes for services close to the emperor: it was the case with Theodore Kaukadenos as tutor for the emperor's students and with Stephanus Garcia as rhetorician.

To conclude this section, it seems that Kydones' eleven letters addressed to the emperor attest for a type of connection between the two, emperor and *mesazon*, that regarded substantial imperial patronage of literary and rhetorical pursuits as rather marginal. Given the emperor's lack of interest, the literati of the second half of the fourteenth century often sought for other patrons within or outside the imperial court. Such an example is provided by Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina, the emperor's wife and daughter of John VI Kantakouzenos.[17] She was the person who played the role of a patron of letters and gathered around herself a group of scholars who met regularly and performed their texts publicly. While supporting Hesychasm and hard-line hesychasts like the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354 and 1364-1376) who dedicated her several theological texts, she also had friendly relations with scholars like Nikephoros Gregoras and Kydones himself. The latter two addressed her letters which allude to her sophisticated education. Kydones dedicated her the translation from Saint Augustine and received her protection in the years after John V's change of policy. Some of the letters addressed to Helena Palaiologina show that their relationship went beyond a mere literary camaraderie, as he received an important donation from her upon her entrance in a monastery in 1396.[18] Furthermore, she has apparently gave her protection to Kydones' brother, Prochoros, an Athonite monk who converted to Catholicism and wrote against Hesychasm. In 1391, upon her entrance in the Monastery of Kyra Martha, Kydones extolled her in an extensive letter-panegyric for the gifts he received from her.[19]

The emperor's use of this scholarly network was thus apparently minimal and it was, by and large, intermediated by Demetrios Kydones. This represented perhaps a normal situation for Emperor John V disappointed with the lack of results after the long years of diplomatic negotiations with the West. Neither his relations with the ecclesiastical learned individuals were much better. Thus, arguably, John V's lack of interest in cultivating rhetorical performances at court most plausibly

reflected a conscious choice and a significant element of his style of government.[20]

2. Scholars and imperial patronage 1391-1420s

Demetrios Kydones' network of pro-western scholars continued to be operational even after his death in 1396. Despite their mentor's disappearance, literati like Chrysoberges, Chrysoloras, or Kalekas attached themselves to the court of the ensuing Byzantine emperor, Manuel II Palaiologos (r.1391-1425). Like his father, Manuel ruled in a period of political upheaval in a state territorially reduced to the capital Constantinople and few other territories. Like his father also, the emperor made diplomatic efforts to contain the Ottoman advancement into Europe. Yet, unlike his father more preoccupied with issues of day-to-day administration, Manuel constantly cultivated the representation of a learned ruler and wrote extensive texts that addressed questions of politics or theology. As a result, in comparison with the previous period, his imperial patronage of court rhetoric seems to have undergone a considerable shift for it produced a rearrangement and re-purposing of the various scholarly networks active in Byzantium and connected to similar networks in Italy. Noticeably, up to that point, such circles of educated individuals did not draw any benefit from imperial support. In the following section I will deal extensively with the profile and the uses of the scholarly circles backed by Emperor Manuel II himself. Since the extent of the imperial patronage and of the scholarly networks far exceeds the previous and the subsequent similar phenomena, I will proceed by first looking into the elements that played an essential contribution in the formation of an imperially patronized scholarly network and its relation to the emperor.

2.1. *Theatra* and rhetorical practices

The letter collections as well as the evidence drawn from manuscripts dating from the time of Manuel II's reign suggest that, even in this period of political troubles, between the members of a group of intellectuals a continuous exchange of ideas and texts took place. Among the members of the various scholarly groups active at that time one finds people upholding various religious or political persuasions mirroring the political

and social transformations ongoing in the fourteenth century: anti-unionists or supporters of the union of the Churches, lay people or ecclesiastics, members of the old aristocracy or people of lower social status. Owing to his extensive literary oeuvre, the Emperor Manuel himself became a member of this *intellectual society* from an early stage of his career, and, over time, his connections and uses of the network multiplied. Furthermore, because of his position of political authority, he played a decisive part in maintaining the connections between the members of this group and often in promoting them to high ranking administrative positions.

This group of individuals with similar literary preoccupations is attested not only at the level of their substantial extant correspondence but also by concrete meetings in the framework of the so-called *theatra*. These were organized gatherings with a long tradition in Byzantium which can be traced particularly in the late antique, the Komnenian, and the Palaiologan periods. Some of these *theatra*[21] were specifically designed for authors to read aloud their texts and, following such performances, to receive comments from their peers. *Theatra* fulfilled both a social and a literary function:[22] for the Palaiologan period numerous pieces of evidence indicate that such meetings enjoyed a certain popularity among the authors and their patrons.[23] More specifically, with regard to Manuel's reign, the evidence concerning *theatra* is frequent enough to allow us to conjecture that, at least during the first decades of his reign, the *theatra* represented regular occasions of meeting and performing literary texts. The extant sources dating from the late fourteenth century suggest that most of the *theatra* were chaired by the emperor himself, since there are actually no other mentions of such meetings during this period. Already during his stay in Thessalonike (1382-1387) Manuel organized *theatra* where the scholars of the city met regularly.[24] In a letter addressed to Triboles, one of his supporters,[25] Manuel offered a vivid image of the enthusiasm of the audience who listened to Triboles' text performed in the theater:

> We made a serious effort to have your letter read before as many people as you would wish, and you surely wished a large number to hear it, confident in your literary skill and expecting to be praised for it. And this is just what happened. For the entire audience applauded and was full of admiration as the letter was read by its grandfather. Nor was he able to conceal his own pleasure as the theater was shaken by applause and by praise for the skilled craftsman whose teaching has led you to become such a great rhetorician.[26]

Despite being couched in elaborate encomiastic terms, the above passage provides several interesting details with regard to the atmosphere and the activities taking place in a *theatron*: the audience comprised a large number of listeners who could understand and appreciate the intricacies of a sophisticated rhetorical text; the emperor seems to have played a leading role in the gathering; and such public recitations could increase or decrease an author's reputation (τιμή).

Still, in the imagination of most Byzantine intellectuals Constantinople remained the major hub of literary activity.[27] These features emerge in other pieces of late Palaiologan texts as well, including the collection of Manuel's letters. Quite a similar description of a *theatron,* this time taking place in Constantinople, can be found in another of Manuel II's letters, addressed to the *protekdikos* Michael Balsamon:

> Expectation of the letter, therefore, caused joy, but when it actually arrived it greatly exceeded our expectations and dimmed the joy that was in us, just as the sun hides the brightness of the stars so brilliantly did it shine. I will not speak of all the applause which came from those inspired by the Muses, nor will I mention Iagaris, acting in your stead and reading the letter, was so overjoyed that he was unable to continue.[28]

When mentioning the *theatra* organized at court, the emperor is keen to stress that they represented occasions for discussing the literary achievements of certain authors, especially those close to the ruling family. This was the case with some of his addressees: Demetrios Kydones, the emperor's mentor,[29] Theodore Kaukadenos, the instructor of Manuel's sons,[30] Demetrios Chrysoloras,[31] or Constantine Asanes.[32] The echoes of such literary debates indicate that the *theatra* were not only occasions of praise but also of criticism: a letter addressed by the emperor to "a certain foolish person" shows that the *theatra* also involved debates with regard to the value and actions of certain authors.[33]

Manuel was not the only late Palaiologan author who described *theatra* in the imperial palace. Other authors also provided evidence of such gatherings organized in the imperial palace where the emperor had a leading role. In a letter addressed to Eustathios, general judge (καθολικὸς κριτής), John Chortasmenos praised the emperor for the fact that, during his reign, rhetoric was highly valued in the imperial palace (ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις):

> For now wisdom and virtue are held in high esteem, and education took on much space in the imperial palace.[34]

Another contemporary scholar, Manuel Kalekas, provided a detailed description of a *theatron* in which he participated and in which the emperor played the role of "literary judge" (ὁ βασιλεὺς κριτής ἐστι λόγων) of the texts recited there.[35]

Manuel's role as chief convener of *theatra* during the late Palaiologan period contrasted sharply with his father's, John V, who does not appear to have shown a particular interest in court rhetoric.[36] On the contrary, based on the extensive reference to such meetings in his epistolary collection, it appears that Manuel rather wished his contemporaries to regard the *theatra* organized in the imperial palace as elements of his own style of government. Viewed against the background of court ceremonial, it is not far fetched to assert that the *theatra* organized by Manuel could have constituted attempts to replace older court practices which included the periodical delivery of panegyrics or the presence of an officially appointed orator, a μαῖστωρ (ῥήτωρ) τῶν ῥητόρων, a court position which disappeared in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Under Manuel II the situation changed and the emperor became more interested in promoting public literary debates. Thus, I wish to suggest that under the difficult circumstances of the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century Manuel attempted to fulfill the role of court orator.

2.2. The profile of the literary court

Even if the *theatra* and other rhetorical performances attracted a wide range of participants with different social or cultural backgrounds, Manuel entertained closer relations with only a limited number of learned individuals.[37] Epistolary and manuscript evidence indicate that these individuals formed a group which can be defined as a literary circle.[38] In the following section I will try to establish the configuration of this circle and, inasmuch as possible, its functions and the ways it was used by its members.

Certainly, there were many variations with regard to the configuration of this group in terms of the social status of its members. Many of them belonged to the clergy while others were laymen; some held strong theological convictions, either in favor of the Latin Church, or defended an Orthodox position; some were members of the aristocracy while

others came from not so well-off families and had to teach grammar and rhetoric in order to earn their living.[39] Despite such differences in status and beliefs it is noticeable that in general many scholars continued to depend exclusively on the ruler's benevolence.[40]

With regard to their strength of connection with the emperor, the members of Manuel's circle can be organized on different levels. On the one hand several contemporary individuals with intellectual preoccupations had close ties with the emperor and yet their connection with Manuel in matters of scholarly pursuits is not so well attested. Among the members of this category we can count the copyist Stephanos, *oikeios* of the emperor and later on appointed metropolitan of Medeia in Thrace, George Baiophoros, another copyist who resided in the monastery of Petra, and Demetrios Pepagomenos, the emperor's secretary and a good friend of John Chortasmenos and Theodore II Palaiologos.[41] Since they had court-related positions, it can be assumed that they were aware of the emperor's literary activities at the court. Still, unlike in other cases, there is no evidence of their direct involvement in the production and circulation of his texts or in assuming a prominent role in the court literary activities of the time.

On the other hand, many individuals corresponded intensely with the emperor and, based on epistolary evidence, it appears that they maintained stronger connections. These *literati* had a considerably more intense activity which involved the production and circulation of texts as well as an active participation in literary activities at court. Within this group we can distinguish two major subgroups, or, to use the social network analysis terminology, clusters whose members forged their ties among themselves based on the consensus over religious doctrinal issues: pro-Latin or strictly Orthodox.[42] Although the debate over a Church union decreased in intensity in the second half of the fourteenth century, the dispute was far from settled.[43] Sometimes this debate took acute forms, as in 1396, when, after a Church synod, most pro-Latin scholars were forced to go into exile or had to reaffirm their Orthodox faith.[44] Later on in 1422, during the negotiations for a council that would discuss a proposition of a union with Rome, another conflict broke out between the supporters of such a move led by the co-emperor John VIII and the Orthodox party grouped around the monastery of Charsianites.[45] Thus, within the imperial literary circle a cluster of individuals with a pro-Latin orientation acquired a strong profile especially in the first decade of Manuel's reign.[46] They were connected by their tendency to participate in polemics with the Orthodox

majority and by promoting on various channels the Catholic doctrine and a sympathy for Latins. Most of them were converts to Catholicism and, as a consequence, they were able to establish more easily connections in the West or with the Italians living in Constantinople.

This group consisted of several individuals most of whom had important administrative duties. By far the most prominent member of this group was the above mentioned **Demetrios Kydones** whose political role in the second half of the fourteenth century can hardly be overestimated.[47] Kydones' disciples whom I already mentioned, **Manuel Kalekas** (1360-1410), **Maximos Chrysoberges**, and **Manuel Chrysoloras** (1370-1415), followed closely in the steps of their mentor. The first one, a teacher of grammar and rhetoric in the 1380s, became increasingly involved in defending and promoting the Catholic faith in Constantinople.[48] He composed several theological treatises including an apology addressed to the emperor Manuel II in which he defended his conversion. After a sojourn in Crete and Italy where he drafted theological treatises in favor of the Catholic faith, he retired to a Dominican monastery on the island of Lesbos. Likewise, Maximos Chrysoberges[49] converted to Catholicism and entered the Dominican monastery of Pera in 1396. It was Kydones who first introduced him in the circle of Manuel Palaiologos whom Chrysoberges accompanied in exile on the island of Lemnos (1387-1389).[50] He was mostly active as theologian authoring several theological treatises.[51]

The activities of Manuel Chrysoloras, a well known late Byzantine scholar, were primarily tied to the Byzantine immigration in the West in the early fifteenth century.[52] As mentioned above, in 1396 he received a job offer from Florence where a teaching position of Greek language had been set up by Coluccio Salutati, a friend of Demetrios Kydones. Yet, after five years of teaching he entered the emperor's diplomatic service, and in the following decades he dedicated himself almost entirely to the activities of imperial emissary to European courts. In 1403, Manuel II sent Manuel Chrysoloras in a diplomatic mission of recovering assets and several sums of money which western rulers owed to the Byzantine emperor.[53] From this position he undertook long journeys to most western European countries. In time, he acquired a strong political reputation and became acquainted with important leaders of the time, such as King Sigismund.

In addition to the above mentioned four individuals we can count two other, less prominent members of this particular cluster who interacted to some degree with the emperor. Chrysoloras' nephew, John,[54] was also a teacher and a diplomat in the emperor's service. While in Constantinople,

he taught Greek to Guarino of Verona (1403-1408) and afterwards took part in some of the emperor's diplomatic missions in Italy.[55] Another learned anti-Palamite, Demetrios Skaranos (1370s-1426),[56] a member of the pro-Latin party also participated in various diplomatic missions. Especially after 1410 he traveled extensively to Rome and Florence where he finally settled.[57]

Several elements offered cohesion to this group of Latinophrones. They all regarded Kydones as their mentor and protector due to his connections in the political and scholarly spheres.[58] At the end of the fourteenth century, they participated in common diplomatic actions, such as the attempt to recover the assets of John Laskaris Kalopheros, an old friend of Kydones,[59] assets also claimed by Venice.[60] As a distinctive group in Constantinople they also enjoyed the protection of a highly positioned courtier, Constantine Asanes, *theios* (uncle), of the emperor.[61] At the same time, they all worked together on the long term project of translating the Dominican liturgy into Greek. It appears that in the framework of this project, each of them took the responsibility of translating a section of the text.[62] Finally, they all enjoyed close relations with the Latins in Constantinople or with the humanists in Italy. Among Manuel Chrysoloras' students can be identified many of the most distinguished humanists of the early Quattrocento: Guarino of Verona, Leonardo Bruni, Palla Strozzi, Roberto Rossi, Jacopo Angelli da Scarperia, Uberto Decembrio, and Paolo Vergerio.[63] For all these scholars Chrysoloras had become the *eruditissimus et suavissimus litterarum Graecarum praeceptor,* in the words of Jacopo Angelli.[64] Many of them appear also among Manuel Kalekas' correspondents or John Chrysoloras' friends.[65]

Another distinctive cluster in Manuel's circle consisted of individuals who upheld a stricter Orthodox position in religious affairs. Several prominent figures stand out in this group. **Nicholas Kabasilas Chamaetos** (1323-1396) the theologian known for his writings inspired by Hesychasm which included sermons and theological treatises. Through his mother's family, Kabasilas was connected to the imperial dynasty, especially the emperors John VI and John V. **Patriarch Euthymios** (1340-1416), embraced the monastic life at an early age and, in the 1390s, became abbot of the Stoudios monastery. Upon the death of Matthew I in 1410, he was appointed patriarch, a position which he held until 1416, despite several disputes with the emperor.[66] **Gabriel**, became metropolitan of Thessalonike after the death of Isidore Glabas in 1397 and succeeded in maintaining good relations with the Ottomans during the critical years

of occupation. In the 1390s he became involved in the controversy over the deposition of Patriarch Matthew but defended Makarios of Ankara's position. As metropolitan he was active in preaching, composing more than sixty homilies.[67] **Joseph Bryennios** (1350-1438), another member of the Orthodox group, began his ecclesiastical career in Crete and then moved to Constantinople by the end of the Ottoman blockade. As a monk in the monastery of Stoudios, and later on in Charsianites, he acquired a high reputation as theologian and soon began to deliver homilies in the imperial palace. In 1422, due to his intransigent position vis-à-vis the union of the Churches, he convinced the emperor to reject an advantageous proposition of union from Pope Martin V.[68] Bryennios' literary output consists mostly of homilies and apologetic theological treatises, some of them directed against the Latins or the Muslims.[69] **Makarios Makres** (1370-1431) came to Constantinople from Mt. Athos where he lived as a monk. In Constantinople he became abbot of the monastery of Pantokrator (1423), and later on he participated in the negotiations for Church union. Like other contemporaries he was a prolific writer authoring sermons against Islam, theological treatises.

The members of this *Orthodox group* were connected mostly by friendship as their intense correspondence indicates. Their close relations are reflected by the fact that Gabriel of Thessalonike, Euthymios the Patriarch, Makarios Makres, and Joseph Bryennios collaborated in writing several texts, as suggested by the palaeographical analysis of contemporary manuscripts.[70] They were also connected by the fact that most of them held ecclesiastical positions and were actively involved in preaching or elaborating theological treatises defending Orthodox principles against Latins or Muslims.[71]

Yet, even if the members of these two clusters were divided over their religious persuasions and even if the *Orthodox group* seems to have prevailed at the synod of 1396, they remained connected among themselves. In one of his letters, Bryennios alludes to the intense exchanges between Constantinopolitan intellectuals in the years following the end of the Ottoman siege.[72] Another letter addressed to Maximos Chrysoberges, part of their larger epistolary exchange, suggests that Bryennios and Chrysoberges had a friendly relationship despite their polemic reflected in several of their texts.[73] Kydones also expressed admiration for Nicholas Kabasilas and Euthymios, the future patriarch. Moreover, although on many occasions the emperor expressed his Orthodox views, he equally admired the Latin doctrine and rites. In one of his letters Manuel describes

the Catholic rites in positive terms,[74] just as in his treatise *On the procession of the Holy Spirit,* addressed to a French theologian, he did not put forward a polemic against the Latins but rather produced an explanation of Orthodox principles.[75]

Alongside the members of these two distinct parties, Manuel's literary circle included other *literati* who held positions at the imperial court. One of them was **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, who, for much of his career served John VII: first, in the 1390s in Selymbria, afterwards in Constantinople when John moved to replace his uncle (1399-1403), and finally in Thessalonike (1403-1408) as *mesazōn*.[76] After John VII's death he moved back to Constantinople to Manuel's court. In 1409 he also participated as member of the senate and the emperor's *oikeios* in the trial of Makarios of Ankara.[77] Finally, Chrysoloras took part as imperial delegate in the synod of April-May 1416 which elected a new patriarch and clarified the emperor's rights in the church.[78] His rhetorical skills were also highly praised by the contemporary *literati*,[79] for he composed several homilies, a panegyric oration for emperor Manuel II titled *A comparison between the ancient rulers and the emperor of today* (Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ νέου, τοῦ νῦν αὐτοκράτορος), letters, and rhetorical exercises.

Like many of his educated contemporaries, **John Chortasmenos** (1370-1439), having no aristocratic origins, acted as a teacher and writer in Constantinople for a long time. He was also an active collector of manuscripts: twenty-four manuscripts copied or acquired by him survive from his library.[80] Yet, unlike other scholars of his time, Chortasmenos, did not travel outside Constantinople, in search for a better life or for the company of humanists.[81] His literary preoccupations reflected the activity of a usual educated Byzantine author who tried to approach a large set of genres and topics: poems, *ekphraseis*, philosophy, logic, astronomy, panegyrical orations, *epitaphioi,* hagiography, and gnomic literature.[82]

Manuel's epistolary collection records several other individuals with literary preoccupations who had close connections with the emperor as well. **Isidore,** later cardinal of Kiev (1390-1463), started his career in a monastery in the Peloponnese where he resided during most of Manuel's reign as metropolitan, after his studies in Constantinople. Much of the information concerning Isidore's activity dates from the period after Manuel's death and therefore is irrelevant for my purposes here.[83] His written work consists mainly of theological treatises on the union of the Churches, but also of letters and panegyrics addressed to Manuel's son, John VIII.[84] Finally, **George Gemistos Plethon** spent several years in

Constantinople before leaving for the Peloponnese where, apparently, he had connections with the Palaiologan family attested by the argyrobulls Theodore II Palaiologos issued in which the Despot awarded the scholar and his sons with pieces of land and villages in Morea: Kastron, Chōra Phanariou, and Vrysis.[85]

2.3. Connectivity among the members of the literary court

Having identified the members of the scholarly network I will now turn to the main parameters which define its type and extension: *connectivity* understood as the ability to maintain relations between the members of the same group[86] and *usage* of the network by its members.

Most of the evidence regarding the connectivity of Manuel's network can be drawn through the analysis of the relationships established between the members of the circle gathered around Manuel. In this case, the letters constitute an instrument for measuring the quality and efficiency of these relations. Surely, the problems involved in the study of this particular genre always remain in the background: selection of letters for the creation of a collection, the utilization of specific formulas of address characteristic to the language of friendship etc.[87] Yet, they can support the detection of the political usages of the literary network and the place of the *literati* in Byzantine society.

In most instances the extant correspondence among the members of this circle reflects a spirit of friendship and respect, even when the correspondents had different political or religious opinions.[88] Thus, we have an intense exchange of letters between emperor Manuel and other scholars: Demetrios Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, Nikolaos Kabasilas, Joseph Bryennios, Demetrios Chrysoloras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Isidore of Kiev etc. Moreover, the texts dedicated to the emperor point not only to the emperor's position within this network but also to the type of relationship established between the *literati* and the ruler-literatus. John Chortasmenos, Demetrios Chrysoloras, Manuel Chrysolorars, Gemistos Plethon, or Makarios Makres dedicated to him orations or other texts such as poems, thus positioning themselves in a close relation with the emperor.

2.4. Uses of the network

This literary network served a variety of purposes both for the emperor and for its members. First, at the most basic level, it had a practical

function, since some of its members used their acquaintance with the emperor to acquire material benefits. In their letters addressed to the emperor, Kydones, Manuel Chrysoloras, or Demetrios Chrysoloras, show gratitude to the emperor for the gifts they received. To a large extent most of the scholars who participated in the *theatra* still depended on the emperor's goodwill. As I. Ševčenko pointed out, other contemporary centers of artistic patronage had limited resources to dispose of in favor of scholars. Thus, in a letter addressed to the emperor, John Chortasmenos made a request for financial support from the emperor for his mother.[89] Reflecting the same kind of network usage, Manuel Kalekas, Kydones, and Chortasmenos also wrote in the name of other individuals who were looking for administrative positions or various other benefits. In several letters, Demetrios Kydones promoted a friend, Theodore Kaukadenos, who was searching for a position at court[90] and who sent a literary text to the emperor in order to be performed in the *theatron.*[91] The emperor appreciated Kaukadenos' text and, according to his own statements, he indeed delivered it in public. Eventually, he appointed Kaukadenos as his sons' preceptor.[92]

Second, a further important function of this network was to provide a platform for cooperation among *literati* in the process of writing. The emperor not only delivered most of his texts in public but he also constantly circulated them among his fellow authors. Often, Manuel sent versions of his texts together with cover letters in which he requested opinions regarding their literary level. Such letters were sent together with the *Admonitory Oration for the Thessalonians,* the *Dialog on marriage,* the *Funeral oration on his brother Theodore,* and the *Foundations of imperial education, The prayers, The homily on the Mother of God.* Several addressees of such cover letters answered the emperor's demands: Demetrios Kydones,[93] Manuel Chrysoloras,[94] Demetrios Chrysoloras,[95] Gabriel of Thessalonike,[96] or the Italian humanist Guarino of Verona.[97] The process was mutual, for Manuel himself read and commented on texts of his friends.[98]

Often the feedback addressed to the emperor took the form of lengthy and detailed interpretations. An example of the echo which the emperor's texts found among contemporary authors is the *Funeral oration,* commented extensively by Manuel Chrysoloras and George Gemistos Plethon.[99] Each of them praised different rhetorical aspects. On the one hand, Plethon, following the ancient theories of rhetorical composition, praised the right division of the various parts of the oration,

while Manuel Chrysoloras in the *Epistolary discourse* commented upon various theoretical aspects like justice, virtue, or education.[100] There were other instances of differences of opinion regarding the literary value of certain texts. As the chair of a *theatron,* the emperor noticed that at one of the scholarly meetings different groups appreciated different merits of the performed texts. Despite the fact that these remarks were also meant to flatter an interlocutor they are telling for the attitude which the emperor sought to cultivate at the court.[101]

In many cases, the collaboration between authors went beyond the mere sharing of commentaries on different texts, for they elaborated together certain writings. When addressing Euthymios, Manuel acknowledged his friend's role in writing a theological text, a clarification (σαφήνεια) following a debate between Demetrios Chrysoloras and the Italian Antonio d' Ascoli:

> The present work is the child of both of us, it is yours and mine, not only because "friends share their possessions," but also because it belongs almost as much to you as it does to me. While I gave birth to it, it was you who helped it grow by adding your ideas. You may therefore do what seems best for it just as I would. At your discretion add or remove whatever you wish.[102]

The evidence drawn from late Palaiologan manuscripts which have been analyzed in the past few decades, indicates that the scholars gathered around Manuel have often worked on copying and improving the emperor's texts. Ms. Vat. gr. 1619 provides evidence for contacts between the members of Manuel's learned circle in late fourteenth century.[103] The same type of collaboration is detectable in other manuscripts as well: in manuscripts Vat. Barb. gr. 219 and Vat. gr. 1107, containing the texts of Manuel, the hands of Makarios Makres, and Isidore of Kiev have been identified both of whom corrected the emperor's texts.[104] In Paris.gr. 3041 and Vindob. phil. gr. 98 have been detected the hands of several scribes who corrected the emperor's texts, some of them, arguably, upon Manuel's request.[105] Also, the final version of the *Funeral oration* included in Paris. Suppl. gr. 309 included no less than five hands that added commentaries and corrections.[106] In addition, there is also strong evidence that Joseph Bryennios, Makarios Makres,[107] and Manuel Chrysoloras collaborated in writing their own texts.[108]

Third, Manuel actively sought to engage his literary friends into his political endeavors. Despite the predominant literary topics, the emperor's letters addressed to his literary friends often allude to the political situation of the empire. He was in constant contact with Manuel Chrysoloras, his ambassador, to whom he transmitted his thoughts on the progress of negotiations with the western leaders. At other times, in letters addressed to friends, he alluded to his daily activities or the problems he encountered in establishing order in the empire.[109] In a letter addressed to Kydones, Manuel summoned his mentor to take a more active part in the state affairs.[110] The literary circle also provided the emperor with intellectual and political contacts beyond the Byzantine realm, especially in the Latin world where it had multiple ramifications. Many Byzantine *literati* were proficient in Latin and thereby became members of the humanist intellectual milieu.[111] The emperor's friendship with the Byzantines active in Italy who used their Hellenic education in building up their relationships[112] helped Manuel establish closer political relations and advertise his need for support. The cases of Manuel Chrysoloras, John Chrysoloras, and Demetrios Skaranos[113] indicate that the emperor used his literary connections as agents in the West, alongside court ambassadors like Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes who came from aristocratic pro-western families.[114]

The case of Chrysoloras' diplomatic service in the West is telling for the general use of the scholarly network by its members. Chrysoloras was active in the West at a time when Manuel needed to show his willingness to continue negotiations with the Latin Church for a future union. Later on, especially after 1415, Manuel accepted the preeminence of Joseph Bryennios, another member of his literary circle, in religious matters at the court. He also recruited the patriarch Euthymios II from among his literary friends. These cases indicate that the relations established previously on the basis of literary preoccupations served later on other purposes determined by the emperor's changing interests.[115]

Based on these functions, in the absence of established rhetorical services such as the regular performance of imperial orations on designated dates by designated people (e.g. a μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων), the emperor used this scholarly circle as a platform to advertise an image of his authority. As mentioned above, in the difficult political circumstances of the last decade of the fourteenth century, there were few occasions for panegyrical celebrations. If before 1403 the *theatra* offered the opportunity for the emperor to show off his literary skills, with the stabilization of the situation

in the empire the emperor could rely on several members of this network, such as Demetrios Chrysoloras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Makarios Makres, and John Chortasmenos, to write panegyrics or pieces of public oratory which extolled his military and political merits in pacifying the state. This tendency is particularly noticeable in the period after 1415 when he succeeded to assert his control over the Peloponnese or other Byzantine territories in continental Greece.

Imperial patronage during Manuel's reign and beyond. Conclusions

The extent of the emperor's letter collection and the constant concern for advertising his literary compositions suggest that the emperor maintained, and presided over a separate group of individuals with literary interests. Manuel played both the role of a literary patron, supporting various *literati,* and of a patron of a literary salon, chairing meetings where texts of his literary peers were performed.[116] While the late fourteenth century scholars established many connections among them, it was the emperor who played the major role in providing them with support in their intellectual endeavors. More often than not, these individuals created close relations with the ruler or with the ruling family of the Palaiologoi. At the same time, according to his own statements, Manuel constantly presented himself as their peer and not as their patron. This happened not only because they had common preoccupations but, arguably, because thus it was easier for him to advertise the political messages of authority embedded in most of his texts.

One of the tasks of this paper has been to identify the configuration of the literary circle gathered around Manuel and the functions it fulfilled at different moments in the emperor's career. I. Ševčenko's statement that in the Palaiologan period everybody knew everybody reflects the situation of Manuel's circle of intellectuals during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[117] The evidence presented here indicates a revival of court rhetoric during Manuel's reign in comparison with the previous reign of John V Palaiologos. We also have no information of systematic rhetorical activities at the parallel imperial court of John VII either in Constantinople or in Thessalonike.

As for the final decades of the Palaiologan period the evidence for imperial patronage of scholarly networks points to a steep decline. The

number of literati living in Constantinople decreased and no *theatra* are mentioned during this period even if towards the end of the empire, the *megas doux* Luke Notaras tried to revive such meetings by gathering fellow intellectuals at his house.118 Furthermore, if John VIII seems to have continued his father's efforts and apparently encouraged the creation of a higher education school in Constantinople under the guidance of John Argyropoulos,[119] there is no much evidence on the activities of this school. Regarding the imperial patronage, the scholars and panegyrists of the time, continue to mention Manuel II as the one who provided support for the literati. Such a situation must come as no surprise: both emperors of the last two decades in Byzantine history John VIII (r.1425-1448) and Constantine XI (r. 1448-1453) were much more preoccupied with the negotiations with the Latins and the Ottomans. In addition, by that time, the intellectual circles of Constantinople almost disappeared as more and more scholars found better opportunities to teach in Italy as well as wealthier patrons.

Thus, when compared with other emperors of the late Palaiologan period, it appears that during his reign, Manuel played an active role in gathering rhetoricians to whom he gave the opportunity to perform their texts in *theatra* organized at his court. Based on the evidence of his epistolary collection, we may assume that the emperor wished to portray himself as an *arbiter elegantiae* of courtly literary productions and encouraged his friends to consider him as a kind of a *first among equals* rather than an emperor. In doing so, it is possible that he wished to follow the model of his mentor, Demetrios Kydones, who also gathered around him a circle of friends with literary preoccupations.

Several observations can be made regarding the composition and chronological development of this group which constituted the primary learned audience of Manuel's texts. First, it was not restricted geographically to Constantinople since the emperor had many connections among *literati* in Cyprus, Morea, Thessalonike, and even Italy. Second, it comprised individuals with different social status: with very few exceptions (e.g. Maximos Chrysoberges) all the members in the emperor's literary circle held a position in the administrative or ecclesiastical hierarchy. Third, most of them were divided with regard to their religious or political opinions and even at the level of literary aesthetics, as the members of this group seemingly had different preferences in terms of the literary merits of a text.

The differences between the members of the same literary circle might have forced the emperor to tune his political discourse according to the views characteristic to each of these different groups. From this point of view we can understand the fact that the emperor did not confine himself to a single genre but approached a multitude of rhetorical forms which he tried to adapt to given situations. In addition to his theological texts, Manuel authored extensive writings with political content: two didactic texts for his son, John VIII, a funeral oration for his brother Theodore II Palaiologos, a dialogue with his mother, as well as prayers occasioned by the Ottoman sieges. In these texts he made frequent references to current political events and put forward solutions for further action. At a different level, since the emperor was much interested in prolonging negotiations with the Latin West, the multifaceted literary circle offered him the possibility of entertaining the role of mediator between the Orthodox and the western oriented Byzantine groups.

In chronological terms, this literary circle knew several transformations throughout Manuel's reign. The group to which he belonged was also active before his reign, as the many letters dating form the period before 1391 testify to.[120] In the beginning, due to his mentor, Demetrios Kydones, Manuel maintained closer relations with several Byzantines who upheld pro-western views or who converted to Catholicism. In the second half of his reign the number of people with strict Orthodox views, especially members of the clergy, like Makarios Makres, Joseph Bryennios, or the hieromonk David, increased. This change in the group configuration can be explained on the one hand by the fact that many members of the pro-Latin group gradually left Constantinople for Italy while the influence of several Orthodox ecclesiastics increased. The chronological evolution of the circle is also reflected in the literary preoccupations cultivated at court: if in the first decade of his reign the discussion of literary aspects prevailed in Manuel's letters, later on he appeared more concerned to approach political and religious topics.

The significance of Manuel's activity as convener of a literary circle becomes clearer when compared with similar contemporary activities. In fact we know of only three other contemporary patrons of literature and artistic endeavors in Constantinople: Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos to whom John Chortasmenos addressed several poems-ekphraseis on his palace;[121] Constantine Asanes who offered protection to the pro-Latin group in Constantinople although, later on, he had to reaffirm his Orthodox position; and Matthew Palaiologos Laskaris, an active collector

of manuscripts.[122] To these may be added Theodore II Palaiologos in the Peloponnese: *literati* like the *grammatikos* Manuel Holobolos, Demetrios Pepagomenos, author of a monody for Cleope Malatesta, Plethon, and Isidore, future cardinal of Kiev seem to have found shelter in Mystras at different points of their careers.[123] All three patrons were prominent members of the imperial court and *oikeioi* of the emperor: Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos was a rich businessman with many Latin business connections, and a senator in Constantinople;[124] Constantine Asanes was *theios* of the emperor and of John V; and Matthew Palaiologos was a member of the ruling family.

Apart from these Byzantine patrons, Italian humanists residing temporarily in Constantinople also played a role in attracting Greek scholars into their service. Cristoforo Garatone, an Italian humanist and student of Guarino, who around 1420 lived in Constantinople as *cancellarius* of a Venetian businessman, commissioned several scribes to copy manuscripts for him or for his wealthier master.[125]

Some members of Manuel's circle also maintained their own smaller but effective networks. John Chortasmenos was able to collect almost thirty manuscripts and was well acquainted with Constantinopolitan scribes, such as Joasaph.[126] At the same time, monasteries remained important centers of ecclesiastical manuscript production. In the beginning of the fifteenth century particularly the Petra monastery housed an important collection of manuscripts and prolific scribes like Stephanos or George Baiophoros were actively involved in copying texts both ancient and modern.[127] Stephanos who later on was to be appointed metropolitan became one of the emperor's *oikeioi*, while Baiophoros was a teacher. John Chrysoloras and Matthew Palaiologos Laskaris commissioned several manuscripts comprising both ancient and contemporary texts. Among the texts copied were *Mazaris' journey* and Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Refutation of Demetrios Kydones' treatise against Nil Cabasilas.*[128]

Still, despite the fact that in the Palaiologan period such places of patronage emerged and offered incentives for literary or artistic endeavors, there was no other center comparable to Manuel's imperial court.[129] Not only that it managed to offer shelter to numerous *literati,* but even in terms of book collections, the imperial palace housed a library such as the one described by Pero Tafur who traveled in Constantinople around 1430s.[130] In addition, it seems that the emperor encouraged the copying of manuscripts with different ancient texts, rhetorical or scientific. A recent study suggests that the emperor sponsored a workshop of manuscript

production in Constantinople where Isidore of Kiev and Demetrios Pepagomenos, two copyists connected to the imperial family, were active. This workshop was most probably functioning in the first three decades of the fifteenth century. Five manuscripts seem to have survived from this workshop and one of them, the Paris. Suppl. gr. 309, has an official character as it opens with the emperor's portrait and it includes only Manuel's *Funeral oration.*[131] Based on these observations, I would like to suggest that Manuel made a conscious effort to enforce the imperial court's role of a preeminent center of literary patronage, given the fact that previously during the Palaiologan period other local centers of patronage had multiplied: Thessalonike, Mystras, Italy, Trebizond.

Unlike in the case of other emperors of the last hundred years of Byzantine history, Manuel's circle served a variety of functions and had a wide extension within the late Byzantine intellectual sphere. It served both the emperor's needs to receive some kind of feedback from other fellow authors as well as his need to advertise his political messages. From this point of view texts were often regarded as objects in the wider political negotiations of the period and intellectuals were frequently integrated in the emperor's efforts to insure stability and support for his actions. Arguably, by attaching himself to the scholarly circles of Byzantium and beyond and by constantly seeking recognition for his literary achievements Manuel attempted to legitimize himself as a different kind of ruler. At the same time, the scholarly network he gathered around himself appears to have played the role of a parallel court especially in those moments when he lacked full support for his political actions. This extensive imperial patronage represented an approach that was rather unique for the later periods of the Byzantine state.

NOTES

[1]   For the definition of late Byzantine intellectuals and further discussion of different intellectual groups see F. Tinnefeld, "Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2006): 153-172; I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual life in Late Byzantium," in M. Berza and E. Stănescu (eds), *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre, 1971,* Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Rômânia, 1974, vol. 1, 65–92: "intellectual denotes Byzantine producers of preserved intellectual statements, whether original or not, in short, Byzantine writers;" S. Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261–1453),* Athens: Hetaireia tōn philōn tou laou, 1996.

[2]   P. Bourdieu, "Outline of a Theory of Practice," 177.

[3]   Byzantine Monastic Typika.

[4]   For instance see the last page of one of the manuscripts of Manuel's oeuvre, Vindob. phil. gr. 42 comprising prescriptions of imperial behavior.

[5]   E.g. Demetrios Kydones, Letter 210 (1382-1383). This was a letter of recommendation for a certain Kaukadenos praised for his rhetorical skills. Theatra and public gatherings for the emperor's praises are mentioned (ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἀτεχνῶς καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ βασίλεια καὶ θέατρα καὶ πάντας συλλόγους τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων ἐνέπλησε.)

[6]   *PLP* 17851.

[7]   Kydones' knowledge of Latin prompted him to create multiple connections among the Latins of the region. For Kydones' influence on John V conversion to Catholicism in 1370 while in Rome, O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome,* 98.

[8]   *A Monody on the Dead of Thessalonike*, composed after the Zealot uprising of 1345 in Thessalonike (*PG* 109, 640-652); *Two Orations for John Kantakouzenos*- both dating to 1347, when Kantakouzenos established himself in Constantinople. The *First Oration* stands as a plea to Kantakouzenos for support based on Kydones family's association with Kantakouzenos, and the troubles they have endured. The *Second Oration* is more strictly an oration: it gives a short, selective review of the recent events of the civil war, framed within an encomium of Kantakouzenos as the new emperor; *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum* (1366); *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli* (1371); *Oratio ad Iohannem Palaeologum*, shortly after John V's return to Constantinople in October 1371: Demetrios is aware of John's disfavor, which he sees as the result of John's lending credence to Kydones' opponents. He asks to be released from his duties in imperial service, and for permission to travel to Italy, to continue his studies and represent John V's interests to the pope. The speech has several levels: it is framed around Kydones' scholarly interests but also discusses his career in John V's service and his theological stance; Four *Apologias:* I- discusses the development of

Kydones' interest in Latin language and thought; II- defense of sincerity in adopting Catholic faith; III. *De contemnenda morte* (1371) a philosophical discourse; IV. *Defense of Thomas Aquinas against Nil Kabasilas* (1373). Cf. J. Ryder, *Kydones*, 42-47.

[9] E.g. the letter addressed by Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene presenting a translation from Augustin, Loenertz, *Correspondence,* letter 34.

[10] E.g. Mss containing Kydones' letters: Urbin. gr. 133 written by Manuel Kalekas and Vat. gr. 101 which belonged to Kalekas and later on to Maximos Chrysoberges and his brother Andreas, R.-J. Loenertz, *Le recueil*, 1-2.

[11] R.-J. Loenertz, "Demetrius Cydones, citoyen de Venise," *EO* 37 (1938): 125-126.

[12] Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati,* Florence: Forzani, 1905, vol. 3, letter 13, 105-119.

[13] Coluccio Salutati's Letter to Kydones, asking for a teacher of Greek for Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia: *Nunc autem volo tibi persuadeas me virtutis et scientie quam in te Deus ostendere dignatus est, commotum atque pellectum in animum induxisse meum dignissimum esse, quod te non solum diligam ut proximum, sed colam et amem etiam ut amicum, teque rogatissimum velim, quod benivolentiam tuam michi non invideas. Nam, ut noster testatur Cicero, nichil minus hominis este, quam non respondere in amore, cum provoceris; ut amodo quicquid michi Deus concessit atque concedet vel habere vel posse tuum dicas. Iacobum autem meum, quem amor affectioque discendi ad te usque perduxit, recipias in filium, precor; dirige consiliis et favoribus adiuva, quo finem honestissimum, ad quem suspirat, attingat.*

[14] Letters 139, 147, 193, 210, 211, 215, 221, 233, 266, 340, 349, 386.

[15] Letter 139, δὸς δὴ τέλος, ἄριστε βασιλέων, τῇ τῆς δωρεᾶς ὑποσχέσει.

[16] Letter 386 (1388-89): letter in which Kydones requests his salary which the emperor did not pay to him (Λαμπάδια καὶ βιβλία πρώην ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν μοι, βασιλεῦ, δέδωκας οὔπω, [οὐ] οὐκ εἰωθός σοι τοῦτο πεποιηκώς). In the end of the letter Kydones urges the emperor not to act as an ordinary person but to to show high virtue (ἄρχοντι δὲ ἀγαθῷ καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ σέ, ὃς τῶν λαμβανόντων αὐτὸς μᾶλλον ἤδη διδούς, οὐκ ἂν ἀρκέσειεν ἡ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἡμῶν ἀρετή, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ σχήματι οὕτω προσῆκον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ νικᾶν.)

[17] Other letters also attest for the relations with members of the ruling family, such as Theodore Kantakouzenos, Despot of Morea, or Matthew Kantakouzenos.

[18] F. Kianka, "The letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina*," DOP* 46 (1992): 160-164.

[19] Kydones, Letter 222.

[20] J. Ryder argues that John V consciously emphasized his actions rather than his words, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of*

Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 111.

[21] The late Byzantine imperial oration were also delivered in a *theatron-like* setting. See. I. Toth, "Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium: The example of Palaiologan imperial orations," in *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter,* ed. M. Grünbart, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007, 429-448.

[22] On *theatra* in late Antiquity, see *Libanii Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, Vols.10–11, Leipzig 1921–1922, ep. 1259. For the same phenomenon in the twelfth c. see P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 335-356 and M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople," in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy from IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold, Oxford 1984, 173–201; P. Marciniak, "Byzantine Theatron–A Place of Performance?" in *Theatron: rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter,* ed. M. Grünbart, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007, 277-287. On *theatra* in the Palaiologan period see N. Gaul, *"*Schauplätze der Macht,*"* in *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik: Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten der fruhen Palaiologenzeit,* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011, 17-61.

[23] For the earlier periods we have evidence from scholars like Demetrios Kydones, John Kantakouzenos and Nikephoros Gregoras who often alluded to such meetings taking place either in the imperial palace or in private houses.

[24] See F. Tinnefeld, "Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 153-72.

[25] G.T. Dennis, "Prosopography," in Manuel, *Letters,* liii.

[26] Manuel, *Letters,* 9, 3-17, tr. G.T. Dennis. The ensuing translations of the letters are from G. T. Dennis edition. The passage was also discussed by N. Gaul, "Die Hierarchie der *Theatra*" in *Thomas Magistros,* 27-28.

[27] Kydones, *Letters,* 188.16-17: ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ πόλις ποιητῶν ἐστι καὶ ῥητόρων πατρίς, καὶ πνεῦμά τι μουσικὸν ἄνωθεν δοκεῖ ταύτῃ συγκεκληρῶσθαι.

[28] Manuel, *Letters,* 34. Other mentions of literary gatherings can be found in Manuel's letter 15.5-6 to Kabasilas: "the astonishment of the others when they saw me reading your letter was something to see. They looked at one another nudging all the way glancing sideways at me;" in letter 30 to Constantine Asanes, "everyone who listened to the letter made the observation that it was really sent not to you, but to me;" and in letter 28.18-19: "you always provide the audience (τὸ θέατρον) with a chance to jeer, inasmuch as you present yourself before all as a noble athlete."

[29] As it happened often in the case of Demetrios Kydones, e.g. Manuel, *Letters,* 23.

[30] Manuel, *Letters,* 27 (1395) addressed to Theodore Kaukadenos gives a detailed description of a θέατρον in that period.

[31] In Letter 61.2-3 Manuel suggests that Chrysoloras' *Hundred Letters* were read aloud: "the hundred letters you recently sent to us brought much applause and many words of praise from those who do not know your abilities."

[32] Manuel, *Letters,* 30, addressed to Constantine Asanes, includes another description of a *theatron:* "Everyone who listened to it (the letter) made the observation that it was really sent not to you, but to me."

[33] Manuel, *Letters,* 28. 16-20: "falsehood is your ally, fighting along at your side, in your never-ending battle. You always employ it as your model, your trainer and your teacher in preparing you for combat. But then, you always provide the audience with a chance to jeer, inasmuch as you present yourself before all as a noble athlete."

[34] Letter 10, Chortasmenos- Hunger, 13-21.

[35] Cf. Kalekas, letter 47.32-40: θέατρον οὖν τούτοις καθίζεις ὡς ἀφεστηκὼς πάντων. In another letter addressed to the emperor (letter 34) Kalekas reasserted the emperor's function in the scholarly activities of his time and addressed him as emperor and rhetor.

[36] Kydones, *Letters,* 340, 5-21. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 307.

[37] Among the educated individuals contemporary with Manuel, yet not appearing to have been integrated in Manuel's circle can also be counted Makarios metropolitan of Ankara and Symeon of Thessalonike, who, until 1416, resided at the Byzantine court. They both expressed views that downplayed the emperor's authority (See ch. 7). In this category can further be included Matthew I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Bessarion, or George Scholarios, who started their careers towards the end of Manuel's life.

[38] The approach of the group of *literati* gathered around the emperor in terms of a cohesive literary circle was followed by several scholars: G.T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II,* ix, I. Ševčenko, "Society and intellectual life in the fourteenth century," 3, H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978, vol. 2, 157; S. Mergiali, "L'état intellectuel durant le regne de Manuel II Paleologue," in *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paleologues;* F. Tinnefeld*, "*Gelehrtenzirkel," in *Die Gesellschaft,* 307.

[39] Partial lists of Palaiologan *literati* were also compiled by I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life," and F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 371-386.

[40] Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life," 4.

[41] Chortasmenos-Hunger, letters 43, 44, 47, and 48.

[42] In studying the different groups of late Byzantine *literati,* scholars have used as major criteria the social status and the dichotomy ecclesiastic vs. lay (I. Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life" and Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 365-373). However, these criteria of division among the members of Manuel's circle are not entirely operational here.

[43] Especially after the Ottomans' siege which ended in 1403 when many aristocrats became more oriented towards the West.

44 On the intense debates and negotiations over Orthodoxy and Church union see G. Patacsi, 'Joseph Bryennios et les discussions sur un concile d'union (1414-1431)', *Kleronomia* 5.1 (1973), 73-96; M. Chivu, Ἡ ἕνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ Βρυέννιον, PhD dissertation, University of Thessalonike, 1985; P. Gounaridis, "Επιλογές μιας κοινωνικής ομάδας," in Ch. Angelide, ed., *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα,* Athens: Byzantine Research Institute, 2004.

45 G. Patacsi, "Joseph Bryennios," 75.

46 The Latinophiles in Palaiologan Byzantium formed a strong group already in the second half of the fourteenth century. During the reign of John VIII they became even more influential. See F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 330-344; I. Djuric, *Le crépuscule de Byzance,* 121-136.

47 For much of his political career, owing to his family's connections, he held the position of *mesazōn* of emperors John VI and John V (1354-1370). A member of a Thessalonican family, he came to Constantinople at an early age and was employed by John Kantakouzenos, a friend of his father. See Demetrios Kydones, *First Oration addressed to John Kantakouzenos*, in R.-J. Loenertz, *Correspondence,* 6-7.

48 In 1396 after the synod organized by Patriarch Matthew I intended to reaffirm the Orthodox principles, Kalekas was forced to leave Constantinople and take refuge to Pera, Kalekas, *Letters,* 21.

49 Giovanni Mercati, *Notizie Di Procoro E Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca E Teodoro Meliteniota: Ed Altri Appunti Per La Storia Della Teologia E Della Letteratura Bizantina Del Secolo XIV,* Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1931, 480-483.

50 Kydones, *Letters* 394, and 387.

51 G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota*, 481-483.

52 Chrysoloras' career has so far been treated in several monographs and extensive studies: Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origine dell'umanesimo,* R. Maisano, *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del Greco in Occidente,* and the recent monograph by L. T. Wickert, *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415). Eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellektuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance,* Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006.

53 Cf. the official letter issued by Manuel II when in Venice (March 1403) and edited by Th. Ganchou, "Ilario Doria, le gambros Génois de Manuel II Palaiologos: beau-frère ou gendre?" *Études Byzantines* 66 (2008): 90-93.

54 Mentioned in Manuel's letter 56.

55 In February 1410 he arrived at the papal court in Bologna as the emperor's envoy; then he had missions to Morea and to King Sigismund.

[56] Manuel's letter 49 suggests a close relation between Skaranos and Manuel Chrysoloras.

[57] G.T. Dennis, "Prosopography," in *The Letters of Manuel II,* xxxvi.

[58] Kalekas, *Letters,* 4. 14-15, σὺ <Κυδώνης> δὲ ἄρα τὰ λαμπρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς σεαυτὸν κεράσας ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ πολλαχόθεν εὐδαιμονίας εἴδη προβάλλῃ, μαθητὴς μὲν κοινῇ τῶν παλαιῶν ἁπάντων γενόμενος, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἑκάστου, μηδενὸς αὐτῶν διὰ πάντων ἐλθόντος.

[59] Kydones, *Letters,* 37 and 73.

[60] D. Jacoby, "Jean Lascaris Calophéros, Chypre et la Morée," *REB* 26 (1978): 190-193.

[61] Cf. Kydones' letter 71 addressed to Constantine Asanes, and Kalekas, *Letters*, 73-77.

[62] T. Violante, *La Provincia Domenicana di Grecia*, Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1999, 202-205.

[63] I. Thomson, "Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance," *GRBS* 7 (1966): 63-82.

[64] Cf. G. Cammeli, *I dotti bizantini,* 180.

[65] Demetrios Skaranos enjoyed the friendship of many Italians who offered him a shelter in Florence, Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora,* 66.

[66] In 1397 he was candidate to patriarchate. He took sides with Makarios of Ankara in the dispute with Matthew I and opposed the Emperor when he wanted to install his favorite metropolitan.

[67] H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und teologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reiches,* Münich: Beck, 1959, 777. V. Laurent, "Le métropolite de Thessalonique Gabriel (1397 - 1416/19) et le couvent de la Νέα Μονή," in *Hellenika* 13(1954): 242-255.

[68] In 1419-1420 he vehemently opposed the attempts of Church union, when Antonio de Massa came to Constantinople for negotiations and Theodore Chrysoberges and Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes traveled to Pope Martin V, R.-J. Loenertz, "Pour la chronologie des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios," *REB* 7 (1949): 73-75.

[69] Most of his theological texts were reused in his homiletic pieces: H. Bazini, "Une première édition des œuvres de Joseph Bryennios: les Traités adressés aux Crétois," *REB* 62 (2004): 83-132. She differentiates between two editions of the author's texts: the corpus of texts written in Crete and the Constantinopolitan homilies.

[70] Ch. Dendrinos, "Co-operation and friendship among Byzantine scholars in the circle of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) as reflected in their autograph manuscripts," (http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/html/Dendrinos.html) 13-17.

[71] G. Patacsi, "Joseph Bryennios," 73-96.

[72] Bryennios, *Letters* 23.10-11 addressed to a certain John.

73 Bryennios, *Letters,* 10.

74 See letter 55 addressed to Manuel Chrysoloras.

75 Ch. Dendrinos, "Introduction," in *An annotated critical edition of the treatise On the Procession of the Holy Spirit,* 3-9.

76 Not much is known about his office in Thessalonike. In 1407 we find him in a delegation sent by John VII from Thessalonike to Constantinople, F. Dölger, *Regesten,* 77, no. 3207.

77 During the synod discussing the accusations of Makarios of Ankara and Matthew of Medeia, Demetrios Chrysoloras spoke in favor of reconciliations between the different parties involved in the conflict. V. Laurent, *Trisépiscopat,* 134, 136.

78 Silvester Syropoulos, *Memoirs,* 134, 136.

79 John Chortasmenos, Theodore Potamios, and Manuel II: G. T. Dennis, *Manuel II. Letters. Appendices,* Potamios' letter 8, 226. Chortasmenos-Hunger, 90-94. Manuel, *Letters,* 45.

80 H. Hunger, "Handschriftsammler und Kopist," in Chortasmenos-Hunger, 20-29. On Chortasmenos' scribal activity see also P. Schreiner, "Johannes Chortasmenos als Restaurator des Vat. gr. 2226," in *Scrittura e Civiltá* 7: (1983), 193-199.

81 Ibid. 13-20.

82 In a letter addressed to Theodore, notary in Constantinople, Chortasmenos indicates his knowledge and interest in rhetoric and poetry: ῥητορικῆς μὲν σχημάτων ποικιλία καὶ νοημάτων ἐξαλλαγὴ πυκνότης τε ἐνθυμημάτων μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἀναπαύσεως ἑκάστῳ μέρει προσηκούσης τὰ οἷον οὑτωσί πως εἰπεῖν χαρακτηριστικά τε καὶ ἰδιαίτατα, ποιητικὴ δὲ ὁρίζεται μάλιστα μέτρῳ καὶ ταῖς τούτου διαφοραῖς (Letter 13, Chortasmenos-Hunger, 164).

83 He traveled to Russia, as cardinal (1436-1463), participated in the Council of Ferrara-Florence as Byzantine representative, and was appointed Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.

84 G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il Cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,* Roma: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1926, 130.

85 *PP* 4, 104-109.

86 On the connectivity of the elite scholarly groups of late Byzantium see Ševčenko "Society and Intellectual life in the Fourteenth Century," N. Gaul, "The Twitching Shroud: collective construction of paideia in the circle of Thomas Magistros," *Segno e Testo* 5 (2007): 263–340. G. Cavallo, "Sodalizi eruditi e pratiche di scrittura a Bisanzio," in *Bilan et perspectives des études medievales (1993-1998)* ed. by J. Hamesse, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 645-665.) These studies emphasize the transfer of information and knowledge from one group to another.

[87] Cf. G. Dennis, "Introduction" in *The Letters of Manuel II*, and R.-J. Loenertz, "Introduction," *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas,* Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950, 16-46.

[88] Representations of friendship in Manuel's letters are to be found in 5.5-8, "granted that our friendship has reached perfection, and that you are right in saying that nothing further can be added, is it not likely that this friendship will of necessity decline?" Several of Manuel's addressees were explicitly addressed by the emperor as friends: Demetrios Kydones, Nicholas Kabasilas (letter 15), Demetrios Chrysoloras, hieromonk David, or Makarios Makres. In other cases Manuel mentions an intense letter exchange with the addressee, letter 17.4-5 to Pothos: "your snowfall of letters has enabled you to surpass many of those to whom we have personally written."

[89] πένης μὲν εἶναι ὁμολογῶ καὶ λέγων οὐ ψεύδομαι. […] δεήσομαί σου περὶ τῆς σῆς δούλης, τῆς ἐμῆς μητρός (Chortasmenos, letter 35). Chortasmenos repeated his request for financial help in a poem addressed to John VIII Palaiologos: γενοῦ μοι σωτὴρ σύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένῳ/ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συντυχών, ὥσπερ οἶδας,/ τῷ παμμεγίστῳ καὶ σοφῷ καὶ πατρί σου,/ δὸς ἐν τάχει μοι τὴν χάριν πτωχεύοντι (Hortatory Poem to emperor John the younger, 5-9). Chortasmenos also addressed several poems to another patron of *literati* and collector of manuscripts, Theodore Kantakouzenos Laskaris. Another scholar, Manuel Chrysoloras, acknowledged to have received gifts from the emperor (Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epistolary discourse,* 54).

[90] In letter 215, Kydones mentions that Kaukadenos received a position at the court by the imperial order (πρόσταγμα) of John V (Cf. G. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II*, p. xlvii). Kaukadenos lost however his position in 1386 and asked Kydones to intervene for him to John's mesazōn, Goudeles, because some of the courtiers were plotting against him, see Kydones, *Letters*, 357.

[91] Kydones, *Letters,* 210.

[92] Manuel, *Letters,* 27.

[93] Manuel, *Letters,* 62 to Demetrios Kydones, asking for feedback on the *Dialogue on marriage*. In his turn, Kydones answered in another letter. Manuel's Letter 11 addressed to Kydones is a cover letter for his *Admonitory Oration to the Thessalonians*. Again the mesazōn's answer came in the form of a letter.

[94] Manuel, *Letters*, 56 addressed to Manuel Chrysoloras on the *Funeral oration*.

[95] Manuel, *Letters,* 61 (1417): in response to Chrysoloras' *Hundred letters* Manuel sent him an Oration to the Mother of God, for revision and feedback: "But just now I have composed an oration to the Mother of God which I am sending you in place of the reply I was planning to write. You will not, I am sure, take it ill and assume that your letters have been surpassed by this oration, for the preeminence of the Immaculate does not allow you to feel that way. Rather, on reading through the work, add to it if something necessary is missing and remove whatever is superfluous."

96   Manuel, *Letters,* 57 addressed to Gabriel, accompanied the text of the *Kanon Paraklētikos* written in the aftermath of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople of 1411.

97   Manuel, *Letters,* 60 addressed to Guarino of Verona. Evidence for Guarino's involvement in the emperor's literary endeavors comes from the manuscript Vat. gr. 2239, the very copy which the Italian humanist received from Manuel II. This codex bears the marginal notes of Guarino and of his friend, Nicolo Barbaro who both read the text. See A. Rollo, "A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239: Manuele II e Guarino," *Νέα Ρώμη*, 3 (2006): 375-378.

98   Manuel, *Letters*, 5. 10-12: "on many occasions you thought it worthwhile to place your writings in my hands even though I was younger and understandably less experienced in literature than now." Letter 15 to Kabasilas: "first of all then, I can give no higher opinion about your most recent letter to us than that which you know we have already given about your previous ones." The letter to Demetrios Chrysoloras on his *hundred letters.* Letter 10 to Kydones shows that often texts from contemporary authors were collected by their peers: "your letter arrived here bearing an indictment that what you had previously written was nonsense and at the same time accusing us of compiling these letters of yours into a book [...] Since all of your writings are above reproach."

99   Shorter comments on the same text were written by Manuel Chrysokephalos and Joasaph, the monk: J. Chrysostomides, ed., Manuel II Palaiologos. *The Funeral oration on his brother Theodore,* 70-71.

100 Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epistolary discourse,* 81.21.

101 Manuel, *Letters*, 61, 2-4.

102 Letter 54, 2-4. The answer of Euthymios (Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II,* Appendix p. 221) praises the emperor's text for its power, clarity and charm.

103 Ch. Dendrinos, "Co-operation and friendship among Byzantine scholars in the circle of Emperor Manuel II."

104 See also Ch. Dendrinos, "Palaiologan scholars at work: Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios' autograph" *Vom Codex zur Edition-From Manuscripts to Books*, ed. A. Giannouli and E. Schiffer, Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaten, 2011, 25-55.

105 A. Angelou, "Introduction," *Dialogue on marriage with the empress-mother,* 14-20.

106 J. Chrysostomides, "Introduction" in *Funeral oration on his brother Theodore*, Thessalonike: Association for Byzantine Research, 1985, 36.

107 R.J. Loenertz, "Écrits de Macaire Macres et de Manuel Paleologue dans les mss. Vat. gr. 1107 et Crypten. 161," in *OCP* 15 (1949): 185-192.

108 Dendrinos, "Co-operation and friendship," 12.

109 Manuel, *Letters,* 44 addressed to Demetrios Chrysoloras.

110 Manuel, *Letters*, 3 and 4.

111 Plethon was aware of the philosophical debates in Italy ῾Τοὺς δὲ νῦν Πλάτωνος ἡττωμένους ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, οἷς φησι χαριζόμενος τὴν τοιαύτην πραγματείαν λαβεῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν, ἴσμεν τίνες εἰσί· καὶ ἑώρων πολλοὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ συγγιγνομένους αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ, οἷς τοσοῦτον μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας, ὅσον αὐτῷ Πλήθωνι ὀρχηστικῆς. […] ῞Οσοι δὲ ἐν Ἑσπέρᾳ γνησίως τῶν φιλοσοφίας δογμάτων ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως τὰ τοιαῦτα κρίνουσι· κρείττους δὲ ἀριθμοῦ σχεδὸν εἰσιν οἵ γε τοιοῦτοι, ὧν αὐτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐνέτυχον.᾿ Καὶ πότε σὺ ἢ τίσι τῶν γε ἐν Ἑσπέρᾳ ἐνέτυχες σοφῶν; George Gemistos, *Against Scholarios in favor of Aristotle's objections*, 2.14-17

112 I. Thompson argued that teaching Greek to the leading men of Florence, Venice and Milan was for Chrysoloras a means to attach the educated elites of Italy to the cause of the Greek empire. In proof of his contention Thomson cited Andrea Zulian's funeral oration for Chrysoloras, which claimed "his true task was to save his country from danger rather than give delight to Italy." I. Thompson, "Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance," *GRBS* 7 (1966): 63-82;

113 Manuel's letter 49 addressed to Manuel Chrysoloras suggests that Demetrios Skaranos was instrumental for the promotion of the emperor's interests in Italy.

114 Relationships with the Latin West are attested by the significant number of Latin letters issued from Manuel's chancery and often conveyed by his ambassador, Manuel Chrysoloras: letters were sent to the kings of England, France, and to Sigismund (some of them translated by J. Barker, "Appendices" in *Manuel II*); Manuel's letter to the Siennese (*PP* 3, 120-121); four letters addressed by the Byzantine chancellery in Manuel's name to Martin V and Ferdinand I of Aragon. Manuel's Letter 38. 26-28 addressed to Manuel Chrysoloras speaks of the English King: "this ruler (Henry IV of England) is most illustrious because of his position, most illustrious too, because of his intelligence; his might amazes everyone; he extends his hands to all and in every way he places himself at the service of those who need help."

115 In fact, in Manuel Chrysoloras' case it has been pointed out that the pedagogical activities of the Byzantine scholar in Italy might have been determined by several underlying political factors such as the emperor's strategy to promote proper relations with the papacy (I. Thomson, "Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance" and J. Haskins, "Chrysoloras and the Greek Studies of Bruni," in *Manuele Crisolora. Il ritorno del greco in Occidente,* Napoli, 2002, 175-205).

116 On this dichotomy, see M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople," *Byzantine Aristocracy. IX to XIII century* , ed. M. Angold, Edinburgh, 1984, 173-201.

117 I. Ševčenko, 'the criss-crossing of the lines of correspondence shows that everybody was in touch with everybody at some time, either directly or through a potential intermediary and that literary traditions ran in some families, in "Society and Intellectual Life," 72.

[118] George Scholarios, Letter 5 addressed to Luke Notaras, 31-35, M. Jugie, *Œuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 4. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1935: 494.

[119] Between 1425 and 1441 Argyropoulos taught philosophy in a *didaskaleion* sponsored by John VIII. See É. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques des Francois Filelfe*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892: no.24, 50-51; S. Mergiali, "L'état intellectuel à Constantinople la veille de sa chute," in *L' enseignement,* 232-234; F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 309. Later, under the patronage of Constantine XI, in Constantinople Argyropoulos taught in a so-called *Mouseion* frequented by the descendants of aristocratic families, F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft,* 210-212, 309.

[120] Letters addressed to Kydones, Kabasilas, Triboles.

[121] Chortasmenos- Hunger, *Poems* b, d, e.

[122] Cf. *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten:* Laskaris commissioned to two scribes Stephanos of Medeia and George Baiophoros several manuscripts. Cf. also N. Gaul "The Partridge's Purple Stockings Observations on the Historical, Literary and Manuscript Context of Pseudo-Kodinos' Handbook on Court Ceremonial" in *Theatron*, p. 100, discussed in connection with manuscript Paris. gr. 2991A, a miscellaneous manuscript copied for Matthew Laskaris which included both older and more recent texts.

[123] See the poems addressed to him. The dedicatory letter addressed by Mazaris: S. Mergiali, "Attitudes intellectuelles et contexte social dans le despotat de Morée au XVe siècle," D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotate grec de Morée,* vol. II, 245-250.

[124] Synodal tome of 1409.

[125] On the activities of Cristoforo Garatone in Constantinople and Italy see Th. Ganchou, "Géorgios Scholarios, 'secretaire' du patriarche unioniste Gregorios III Mammas? Le mystère résolu," in *Le patriarcat oecuménique de Constantinople aux XIVe-XVIe siècles: Rupture et continuité.* Paris: Centre d'etudes byzantines, neo-helleniques et sud-est europeennes, 2007, 173-175. L. Pesce, "Cristoforo Garatone, Trevigiano nunzio di Eugenio IV," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 28 (1974) 23-93.

[126] John Chortasmenos, *Monody for scribe Joasaph* in Chortasmenos- Hunger, 194.

[127] E.D. Kakulide, Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου-Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντνούπολη, *Hellenika* 21 (1968), 26-28.

[128] See *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten,* Vaticanus, 584.

[129] Cf. also Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life," 71.

[130] "The emperor's palace must have been very magnificent, but now it is in such a state that both it and the city show well the evils which the people suffered and still endure. At the entrance to the Palace, beneath certain chambers, is an open loggia of marble with stone benches around it, and stones, like tables, raised on pillars in front of them, placed end to end. Here are many

books and ancient writings and histories, and on one side are gaming boards so that the Emperor's house may be well supplied. Inside, the house is badly kept, except certain parts where the Emperor, the Empress, and attendants can live, although cramped for space" (Pero Tafur, *Travels and adventures 1435-1439,* tr. M. Letts, London, 1926, 145).

[131]   D. Grosdidier de Matons and C. Förstel, "Quelques manuscrits grecs liés à Manuel II Paléologue," in B. Atsalos and N. Tsironis (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on Greek Palaeography, Drama, Greece, 21–27 September 2003*, vol. 1, Athens, 2008, 375–86.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

Loenertz, R.-J. (ed). *Démétrius Cydonius: correspondance*. 2 vols. Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1956-1960.

Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum:
"Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum." *PG* 154, 961-1008.

Oratio de non reddenda Gallipoli:
"Oratio de non reddenda Gallipoli," *PG* 154, 1009-1036.

George T. Dennis (ed). *The letters of Manuel II Palaeologus: text, translation, and notes*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977.

Loenertz, Raymond-Joseph. *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950.

Mazaris. *Mazaris' Journey to Hades: Or, Interviews with Dead Men About Certain Officials of the Imperial Court: Greek Text with Translation, Notes, Introduction and Index*. Buffalo: Department of Classics, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975.

Secondary sources

Dendrinos, Ch. "Co-operation and friendship among Byzantine scholars in the circle of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) as reflected in their autograph manuscripts," (http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/html/Dendrinos.html).

Dendrinos, Ch. "Palaiologan scholars at work: Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios' autograph." In A. Giannouli and E. Schiffer (Eds.), *From Manuscripts to Books - Vom Codex zur Edition, Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10-11 December 2009)*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.

Gaul, N. "The Twitching Shroud: collective construction of *paideia* in the circle of Thomas Magistros." *Segno e Testo* 5 (2007): 263–340.

Gaul, N. *Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik: Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten der frühen Palaiologenzeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.

Gounaridis, P. "Επιλογές μιας κοινωνικής ομάδας." In C. Angelide, ed., *Το Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα*. Athens: Byzantine Research Institute, 2004.

Grosdidier, D. and Förstel, C. "Quelques manuscrits grecs liés à Manuel II Paléologue," in B. Atsalos and N. Tsironis (eds), *Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on Greek Palaeography, Drama, Greece, 21–27 September 2003*, vol. 1, Athens, 2008, 375–86.

Hinterberger, M., and Schabel, C. *Greeks, Latins, and intellectual history, 1204-1500*. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Hunger, H.. *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 1: Codices historici, Codices philosophici et philologici*, Vienna: Prachner, 1961.

Kakulide, E.D. "Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου-Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντνούπολη." *Hellenika* 21 (1968): 26-28.

Kianka, F. *Demetrius Cydones (c. 1324 - c. 1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century.* PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1981.

Kianka, F. "The letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakuzene Palaiologina," *DOP* 46 (1992): 160-164.

Kianka, F. "Demetrios Kydones and Italy." *DOP* 49 (1995): 99–110.

Loenertz, R. J. "Demetrius Cydones, citoyen de Venise." *EO* 37 (1938): 125-126.

Loenertz, R. J. "Écrits de Macaire Macres et de Manuel Paleologue dans les mss. Vat. gr. 1107 et Crypten. 161." *OCP* 15 (1949): 185-192.

Maisano, R. (ed) *Manuele Crisolora e il ritorno del greco in Occidente: atti del convegno internazionale : Napoli, 26-29 giugno 1997.* Napoli, 2002.

Matschke, K.-P., and Tinnefeld, F. *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen.* Köln: Böhlau, 2001.

Necipoğlu, N. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Pesce, Luciano. "Cristoforo Garatone, Trevigiano nunzio di Eugenio IV." *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa* 28(1974): 23-93.

Rollo, A. "A proposito del Vat. gr. 2239: Manuele II e Guarino." *Νέα Ρώμη* 3 (2006): 375-378.

Ryder, J. R. *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society.* Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Schreiner, P. "Literarische Interessen in der Palaiologenzeit anhand von Glehrtencodices: Das Beispiel des Vaticanus gr. 914." In W. Seibt (ed.), *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger,* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996, 205-220.

Seibt, W, and Hunger H. *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit: Referate des Internationalen Symposions zu Ehren von Herbert Hunger (Wien, 30. November bis 3. Dezember 1994).* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.

Ševcenko, I. *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium.* London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Trapp, E. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976-1996.

Thomson, I. "Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 7 (1966): 63-82.

Thorn-Wickert, L. *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415): eine Biographie des byzantinischen Intellektuellen vor dem Hintergrund der hellenistischen Studien in der italienischen Renaissance.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2006.

Tinnefeld, F. "Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike." *DOP* 57 (2006): 153-172.

Wilson, N. *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

ZAHARIA-SEBASTIAN MATEIESCU

Born in 1983, in Horezu

PhD. in Philosophy, University of Bucharest (2011)
Dissertation: *The Concept of Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics*

Researcher, Center for the Logic, History and Philosophy of Science,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Bucharest

Guest researcher at the Research Master Programme "History and Philosophy
of Science" (2009-2010)

Several publications on Methaphysics, Theology, Philosophy of Science
Participation to conferences, both in Roamnia and abroad

THE INTERPRETATION OF MIRACLES IN THE THOUGHT OF SAINT MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

Abstract: The goal of this paper is to come up with an interpretation of miracles based on the thought of the Byzantine theologian Saint Maximus the Confessor (580-655). The thesis championed here is that Maximus' conception of the dyothelite dogma of Christ's two energies and wills provides us with a consistent interpretation of miracles from both a theological and philosophical point of view. The argument shows that by following Maximus' conceptual tools for the formation of the dyothelite dogma together with some of his reflections about miracles one can consistently interpret miracles as the change of the modes of existence of beings.

Keywords: Maximus the Confessor, miracles, laws of nature, Fathers of the Church, theology, Patristic philosophy.

Introduction

The topic of miracles is one of the most interesting and provoking themes of reflection. Both theologians and philosophers have tried to explain or at least to interpret miracles, their relationship with faith, the logic of bringing testimonies for them or their connection with the laws of nature. This last topic of miracles and laws of nature will concern us here for this continues to puzzle our minds with deep questions: how to make sense for both miracles and for the validity of human knowledge too? What is it happening with the nature of objects when miracles take place? Is our knowledge still valid if we cannot explain miracles by natural causes? There are no universal accepted answers to these questions, and the present approach aims at contributing to this by coming up with an interpretation of miracles based on the conceptual tools of the Christian dogma of Christ's two energies and wills. Therefore, my aim in this work is to provide an answer to these questions by reconstructing some of the philosophical and theological ideas of Saint Maximus the Confessor, the

author of this dogma.[1] If I were to express my main objective here I would say that it is to come up with a consistent theological and philosophical interpretation of miracles by referring to the invaluable reflections of Saint Maximus the Confessor. Such a work is desirable for to my knowledge, there is no successful recent attempt to explain miracles such that both fundamental theological and philosophical principles remain preserved.[2] Moreover, although some of Maximus' scholars remarked that he can have a proper interpretation of miracles, none of them made any attempt to uncover it and the present work aims at fulfilling this gap.[3]

Revered both in the Eastern and Western Christianity, Maximus the Confessor (580-655) is one of the most important Byzantine saints and theologians, whose writings constituted the basis for the dyothelite dogma of Christ's two wills and energies. Maximus was born in Constantinople in 580 AD, educated there, and then at the age of thirty briefly held a high position in the civil service - first secretary in the imperial chancellery - in the Emperor Herakleios' new administration.[4] But within a few years he left the court and become a monk, traveling in different places from North Africa to Rome. The context of this flee was marked by the Persian invasion in the Byzantine Empire in the 610's and 620's, which had the effect of disclosing the religious vulnerability of Byzantine Christianity in the Eastern provinces. In those parts, the Council held in Chalcedon in 451 was widely regarded as the 'Great Apostasy' for having relinquished from the details of the teaching of St. Cyril of Alexandria, who was universally acknowledged as a great theological figure in the East by Maximus' time. The sixth century had witnessed several attempts for the harmonization of those who rejected Chalcedon, but all remained unsuccessful. The Persians took profit of this insecure social and religious context and in the 620's reached a religious settlement with the Christians, patriarch of Antioch including, from the newly-conquered territories that recognized those who refused to accept Chalcedon. The religious authorities in Byzantium quickly replied to this frightening situation by proposing a Christological compromise for the Christians from the Eastern provinces: they accepted the Chalcedonian statement of the two natures in one person of Christ, but claimed that the one person was manifest in a single divine-human activity (energeia) and will. It was against this idea of a single activity or power and will of Christ, called the monothelite dogma that Maximus started a forceful fight that lasted until the end of his life. He became so important a voice in Byzantium such that everybody was praying him to

abandon for a while his views for the search of peace in the Empire, but Maximus strongly opposed this. In 646, after many debates and writings issued against Monothelism, he went to Rome where he took part in the Council from Lateran (649), ruled by the Pope of Rome Martin I, which condemned Monothelism. This strongly irritated the imperial government in Constantinople and both the Pope and Maximus were arrested and taken there. Martin was tried, condemned and exiled to the Crimea where he died. Maximus was himself tried and exiled for several times and in the end he was condemned as a heretic – the Byzantine authorities cut his tongue and right hand. After approximately twenty years, the orthodox confession of Christ's two natural wills, for which they had given their lives, was vindicated at the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680-681.

As I will show in this paper, Maximus' arguments for the dyothelite dogma are based on a specific philosophical and theological approach. My claim is that one can come up with a Maximian interpretation of miracles as the *changing of the modes* (*tropoi*) of being by relying on the conceptual apparatus used by Maximus in the formation of the dogma of the two wills. Therefore, my aim here is to show how a theological dogma can provide us with very useful philosophical conceptual tools for interpreting miracles and thus, I hope, the philosophical relevance of the theology of this great Father of the Church, Maximus the Confessor, will be once more uncovered.

I split the argumentation in two parts: part I-*Ousia*, *Dunamis* and *Energeia* in Theology, and part II-The Meaning of Miracles. Each part follows the same red line, that is, the discussion of three fundamental concepts for the history of philosophy and of theology, namely *ousia*, understood as *being* (substance*)* or *essence*, *dunamis*, understood as *power* or *capacity* and *energeia*, understood as *activity* or *operation*. Without the grasp of the subtle relationship between dunamis and energeia and also that between ousia (substance or essence)-logos-mode (*tropos*), I think it is very hard to understand the interpretation of miracles proposed here.

In the first part I show how the Christian theologians in the first centuries used one traditional philosophical interpretation of dunamis and energeia in order to express the relationship between God the father and God the Son. I will work out few details of this theological approach down to its Christological relevance highlighted in the 7th century by Maximus the Confessor, who used the concepts dunamis and energeia for expressing what later become the dogma of Christ's two natural

wills. These reflections are very important because they provide us with the conceptual basis for the interpretation of miracles presented in the last section. Here I detach from Maximus' approach the elements for constructing a consistent interpretation of miracles and laws of nature from both a theological and a philosophical point of view. As I will show bellow, the key of this achievement will lie in the recognition of both the difference and the relationship between power and activity and the idea that the innovation of beings can take place by the change of their mode of existence (*tropos tes hyparxis*).

I. *Ousia-Dunamis-Energeia* in Theology

Theological Considerations

The c o m m e n c e m e n t of my theological inquiry has to do with the concept of dunamis (power-capacity) applied to the Christian God. The starting point consists of the well known dispute between 'homoians' and 'heterousians', who were providing different answers to the fundamental question whether God the Son has the same essence that is 'is homousion or not' with God the Father. On the one side, Arius and Eunomius were famous supporters of the difference between the Son and the Father, while the Cappadocian Fathers were committed to the 'homousious' thesis that is the Son has the same being with the Father. Eunomius' basic tenet was to make equivalence between God's property of being ingenerated or without cause and His essence. Any other property or name applied to God Eunomius takes to be tantamount with God's property of being unproduced. The basic postulate of this view is that God's simplicity constrains us to accept ingeneracy as God's true essence. Any other property applied to God essentially would destroy God's simplicity. Thus, God cannot give birth to the Son because that would count as a second property among His ingeneracy and the simplicity of God's essence would be altered by it. Secondly, Eunomius uses the term 'energeia', that is, activity and not power/dunamis for denoting God's property of productivity, while the results of this activity are called *erga*. Thus, if we were to summarize Eunomius' stance, we can follow the next scheme: i) God's eternal essence; ii) eternal essence = eternal activity; iii) the world is not eternal; hence, iv) there is no divine eternal activity. If, for example, God is productive in creating the world,

and if God's essence is eternal, then His activity of creating the world must be eternal too, Eunomius would like to say. But this is contrary to what the Bible says that the world has a beginning.

Both Gregory of Nyssa and Basil the Great wrote intensively against Eunomius' theology. One of the many arguments fostered by Gregory of Nyssa refers to the significance of names. For Gregory of Nyssa the names refer not to the essence of an existent but to its distinctive powers. At the basis of Gregory's view lies his conception of the absolute transcendence of God's essence. As most of his fellows, Gregory was committed to apophaticism or to the statement of the absolute limits of the human mind in knowing God's essence. In accordance to this, God is approachable only through his powers or properties but not through his essence. Consequently, God's names as unbegotten, so much invoked by Eunomius in his arguments or powerful or begotten etc can only refer to his powers but not to His essence *per se*, as Eunomius would like to think.

Eunomius' philosophy commits itself to another major assumption, namely that each activity (energeia) has just one single result. Since the Son cannot be equal with the Father due to its begotteness, he is certainly God's first product, Eunomius says. After, him, the production of the Holy Spirit, of angels and of the creation follows. In Eunomius' thought, each of God's products is hierarchically ordered in accordance with a hierarchy of God's activities. But against this, Gregory of Nyssa adduces some physical examples recalling us of a similar discussion of dunamis in the Presocratics but also very suggestive for the forthcoming discussion of miracles: fire's activity, for example, can have different results, says Gregory, "for it softens bronze, hardens mud, melts wax, and destroys flesh. Similarly, the Sun's power of warming has different effects as well, which vary according to the power of that receiving the effect."[5]

Thus, Gregory has argued that one cause can have many different effects, all depending on the receptive being. Gregory believes that he has shown by his examples of fire and the sun that Eunomius' invoked one-to-one correspondence between energeia and ergon cannot be true, but he does not deny that there is a continuity of nature in the causal chain. He argues, instead, that there is a correspondence between the power and the being. Gregory's understanding of the relationship between nature and power is that the latter is the expression of the distinctive characteristic(s) of the former. The moral of Gregory's argument is as follows: since both the Father and Son manifest the same power(s), they must share the same nature for "the same power(s) belong to the same

nature."[6] The best examples of the relationship between a nature (physis) and its power (dunamis), where the power makes known the nature, are fire and heat, and ice and cold. Gregory twice compares fire and its powers heat, as well as ice and its power cold, to the divine nature and its powers. He argues that just as the power heat is a certain indicator of fire, so too the power providence, which both the Father and the Son possess, is a certain indicator of a common nature. In each case the power is the basis for our recognition of the identity of nature, since "identical powers mean identical nature."[7] And similarly, the argument applies in the case of the Holy Spirit.

Although I have closely followed Barnes' *The Power of God…* in this account of Gregory's argument based on God's dunamis or power I, on the contrary, do not want to privilege Gregory's power-type argument over his energeia-type argument.[8] Actually, one has to recall here that arguments based on energeia entered the Trinitarian debates with the *Letters to Serapion* of St. Athanasius the Great. Athanasius reacted to a group of Arians who were forcefully arguing against the divinity of the Holy Spirit. His argument relies on identifying many passages in the Scriptures where it is mentioned that the three divine persons have the same works or that they have a joint work: "The Apostle does not mean that the things which are given are given differently and separately by each person, but that what is given is given in the Trinity, and that all are from one God."[9] Therefore, Athanasius strategy is to argue from the same energeia to the same ousia and hence energeia is seen as "revelatory of ousia".[10] Part of Eunomius' arguments is directed exactly against this type of union between energeia and ousia. One of Eunomius' remarks is that the Father, as begetter, possesses the energeia of begetting uniquely and hence the two persons do not have the same energeia in common. Consequently, the reasoning back from energeia to ousia will have the end result of collapsing on two ousiai, one for Father and one for Son. An important reply to this came from St. Basil the Great, who distinguished between knowledge on *whatness* of a thing and *how* a thing is. In the light of this distinction, the fact that the Son is from the Father does not tell us something about the ousia of the Son but about how this being is.[11] This *how* of the being is also called the mode of existence (*tropos tes hyparxis*) and as I will argue in the sequel, it represents one of the fundamental contributions of the Fathers to the philosophical language. For Maximus the Confessor it will represent the key for the explanation of miracles.

Coming back to St. Gregory of Nyssa's energeia-type objections against Eunomius, the strategy used by Gregory is to force Eunomius into a paradox. The dilemma reconstructed runs as follows: either the Son is coming from an energeia deprived of an ousia as its source and hence the Son is paradoxically generated from something non-substantial or the energeia stems from an ousia and the Son has the same nature as the begetting ousia. Gregory is very clear here that there can be no being without hypostasis, which is probably one of the most important ontological principles of the Cappadocians and of Maximus afterwards.[12] We thus observe a triad made of *ousia-dunamis-energeia* which lurks at the back of the philosophy of the Fathers. In general, their arguments for the identity of ousia of the three divine persons go back either directly, from the same energeia to the same ousia or from the same dunamis to the same ousia. The relationship between the three concepts is a very subtle one: one the one hand, the Cappadocians are all committed to the absolute transcendence of the essence of God and implicitly to the absolute limits of the human mind in knowing it. On the other hand, what can be grasped is the natural energeia of God, which comes down to us. The relationship between *ousia-dunamis-energeia* is that of manifestation - the later always manifest the previous one in this sequence, while there is no gap between them and still, the ousia is seen as the source of the chain. The triad as such occurs in Galen and in Philo of Alexandria. Galen thinks of the organ, with its specific faculty or capacity and the energeia of that organ understood as coming from the faculty: "... the faculty (dunamis) is the cause of the activity (energeias), but also, accidentally... it is the cause of the effect... and so long as we are ignorant of the essence of the cause which is operating, we call it a faculty".[13] A better expression of Galen's implicit agnosticism with regard to the use of the triad can be found in the subsequent relevant passage:

> Everyone knows that we possess souls, for all see plainly the many things that are performed through the body-walking, running, wrestling and the many varieties of perception...But because they do not know exactly what the cause of these things is, they assign it a name on the basis of its capacity to do what it does.[14]

Philo of Alexandria was probably among the first who used the triad in a theological context. He thought of God's attributes as Powers which are only made available to the human mind through their activities: "But

while in their essence they (Powers) are beyond your apprehension, they nevertheless present to your sight a sort of impress and copy of their activity (energeias).[15] Similar considerations can be found in the Pagan literature dealing with the energeiai of the demons but most importantly, they occur in Iamblichus and Proclus, the last one recently considered a source of Maximus the Confessor's ideas on the triad.[16] Although I am not persuaded by Lauritsen's arguments for a Proclean Maximus, it is important to acknowledge Proclus' influence *via* Denys the Areopagite.[17] However, it is worth quoting for the moment a passage from Iamblichus, bearing a striking similarity with Maximus' account of the triad:

> To perceive and make clear the dunameis of demons is easy enough. We attain to a perception of them through their energeiai, of which the dunameis are the immediate mothers; for a dunamis is median between an ousia and an energeia, put forth from the ousia on the one hand, and itself generating the energeia on the other.[18]

As I will argue below, it is exactly this triad that we will encounter in Maximus' ontology and in his explanation of miracles. The connections between Patristic philosophy and ancient Greek philosophy are multi-faced here. On the one hand, the triad bears an Aristotelian input since it comprises the idea of activity of a dunamis but this meaning of energeia was overcome by Aristotle in the favor of energeia understood as actuality.[19] Philo, Galen, Iamblichus and Proclus added to this the idea of ousia as a source of the triad and as the previous quoted passage from Iamblichus shows, the intricate relationship between these concepts asks us to commit ourselves to apophaticism in what concerns the knowledge of the essence and to the reality of both the dunamis and the energeia. As I will show, in Maximus' view this ontological status of both dunamis and energeia is quite paradoxical and it cannot be maintained without the action of the divine *logoi* implanted by God in each creature. As shown above, the Cappadocians themselves used the triad in theological arguments and Maximus will make references to them in order to support his own interpretation. He will also heavily rely on the works of Denys the Areopagite, as the following quotation proves:

> … the great Denys corrects the monk Gaius with these words, teaching that the God of all, as Incarnate, is not simply said to be man, but is himself truly a man in the whole of his being. The sole, true proof of this

is its natural constitutive power (dunamis), and one would not err from the truth in calling this a natural energy properly and primarily characteristic of it, being a form-enduing movement that contains every that is naturally added to it, apart from which there is only non-being, *since, according to this great teacher, only that which in no way is without movement or existence.* (my emph., S. M.)[20]

This passage shows the importance of dunamis and energeia in Maximus' thought. I will develop this in the sequel, paying great importance to the constitutive role of the two concepts in defining the essence of beings. But I will start uncovering their role in the Christological debates concerning the dogma of Christ's wills and natural energies.

Christological considerations

An interesting question will be now to reflect on a very deep Christological issue, namely, how to think of Christ's natural energies and wills? The phenomenology of Christ is certainly interestingly enough as he is both God and man. An intense discussion occurring in different periods in the first Byzantine centuries dealt with the puzzling problem of Christ's natural energies. As we saw above, the theology of the Fathers maintained the intimate connection between nature or substance/ousia and natural energy. What should we expect of Christ's person: did he have two natural energies and wills corresponding to his two natures or did the divine will overcome the human will of Christ, as the monothelite interpretation maintains?

Sources of Monothelism go back at least to Appollinarius of Laodicea and Nestorius. Both these authors praised the existence of a single *divine* energy for Christ because of the way they conceived of the embodiment of God. Among many of Appolinarius' arguments one of them concerns his interpretation of the consequences of the Fall, where Appolinarius defines human person as being a totally sinful creature. This obviously implies that God cannot embody Himself into a sinful person and hence Christ as a historical person is a person deprived of its essential human features, that is, of its sinful mind.[21] Hence Christ can have just one single natural energy. Another argument launched by Appolinarius starts from more abstract principles, namely from the idea that two principles of thinking and willing instantiated in one single person would fight one against each other. As Bathrellos puts it,

If there were in Christ two minds, a divine and a human, an opposition between them would be bound to occur due to the unavoidable mutability of the latter. This mutability seems to be mutability from the good, and this is why it results in the human mind's opposing by its will the immutable divine mind.[22]

Therefore we again see how Appolinarius' pessimistic attitude towards the human person forces him to claim one single energy and implicitly one single divine will for the person of Christ.

The attitude that characterizes the other great representative of early Monothelism, Nestorius, is one focusing on the union between the divine and human in Christ. Because of his way of thinking of the person or hypostasis as a mask (prosopon) or manifestation and not as a self-subsisting entity, Nestorius did not accept a proper union between the two natures. Rather, the word hypostatis is taken by Nestorius and by his fellow Theodore of Mopsuestia, as synonym with nature (physis) and person is reserved to the expression of the external manifestation of this nature.[23] In other words, the picture we receive from these authors is that Christ's human nature is just an instrument of God's intentions and thus its natural energy and will are only endowed with an ethical but not an ontological status.[24]

When one comes to the picture of Monothelism in the seventh century it is much more difficult to summarize it in just few lines. Two crucial moments, already mentioned above, have marked the passage from old Monethelism to the new one issued in the 7th century: the teachings of St. Cyril of Alexandria and Council of Chalcedon. Cyril paid great effort to support the true union between the divine and the human nature into the hypostasis of Christ. He publicly argued against Nestorius and issued some anathemas against Nestorianism.[25] The Archbishop of Alexandria praised the union of the two natures and speaks in terms of a dyophysite Christology: "It may be seen, then, that he (the Word) grants the glory of the God-befitting operation (energeias) to his own flesh, while, on the other hand, he appropriates the things of the flesh…"[26] However, Cyril also used the formula 'one incarnate nature of God the Logos' and this made him a sustainer of Monophysitism and implicitly of Monothelism in the eyes of some of his fellows. The Council of Chalcedon (451) however was influenced by the great personality and acknowledged authority of the dyophysite Cyril. The Council condemned Eutyches' Monophysitism and proposed the famous formula 'one in two natures' for describing the relationship between Christ's hypostasis and his natures.[27] But as I have pointed out above, the different parts of the Empire

were not fully persuaded of these achievements.[28] At the theological level, Severus of Antioch was a strong anti-Chalcedonian voice. He relied on the old interpretation of hypostasis as synonym with nature. The union between the divine and the human is not granted by him with a proper ontological status but it is rather seen as a 'brotherhood' union.[29] Moreover, Severus opposed to the Chalcedonian formula 'one in two natures' for he thought that number two has as a proper function, namely that of dividing. Maximus will develop in his *Opuscula Theologica et. Polemica*[30] as well as in his Letters[31] a forceful argumentation against Severus and a penetrating explanation of the non-divisive role of the numbers. He will also devote some of his most important writings against Monothelism and Monoenergism.[32] It is worth summarizing the central theses championed by the Monothelits in different periods of time: [33]1. will is ascribed to hypostasis; 2. two opposing wills in the same person are impossible; 3. will and the object of will are confused; 4. the faculty of will and its employment are confused; 5. will is synthetic; 6. nature and hypostasis are confused; 7. the human will is moved by the divine will; 8. the human will is appropriated; and 9. will is gnomic (i. e. intentional).

The line of the Monothelite argumentation is the ascribing of operation or energeia and subsequently of will to hypostasis, in perfect similarity with Eunomius' ascribing of unbegotten to the hypostasis of the Father. Contrary to this and in fair continuity with the tradition that Maximus knew very well, he on the contrary, links operation or energeia with dunamis or power and consequently with ousia and not with hypostasis. The result of this is that the Monothelits will deny any active role of the human will in Christ as principle 7 expresses above and thus, they will ascribe to God a constraining activity upon human will. The key to Maximus' argument is the affirmation that Christ is not other than the two constituent natures 'from which and in which he exists', and that he wills in a correspondingly dual way, each nature having a corresponding will:

> But, following all the holy Fathers in this as in all things, we say: since the God of All has himself become man without change, it follows that the same person   not only willed appropriately as God in his godhead, but also willed appropriately as man in his humanity.[34]

Maximus explains in what really consists of this connection between will and nature, by defining will as an 'appetitive power or dunamis' of a being/nature:

It is said that the natural will, i. e. the faculty of will, is an appetitive power of being according to nature which maintains all the essential attributes and properties of nature. For by this natural will the essence is naturally compelled and desires the being, life and motion proper to it by sense and intellect: its own natural and full being. Being voluntary in itself, and the sustainer of all that is comprised by it, the nature is established, continuing in the logos of its being, according to which it is and becomes appetitive.[35]

I take profit here of this last quote for highlighting a point of which I think can be interesting for us as moderns: what deserts to be mentioned is that for Maximus and his companions, the human will is not equivalent with free choice as we as moderns would like to think of it. As we have seen, the will is nothing than a natural power of an existent - free choice is the actual exercise of this natural power activating only in deliberating upon what is in our power of deliberation, as the following quote shows:

… others define natural will to be a rational and vital appetite, while free choice is a deliberative appetite of those things within our power [dunamis]. Therefore, the faculty of will is not free choice since the simple faculty of will is a certain rational and vital appetite, while free choice is a concourse of appetite, deliberation and judgment.[36]

As moderns, we tend to say that we are free when we can choose between different possibilities. I am inclined to say that I am free whenever I can choose, for example, between eating an apple or eating an orange. But for Maximus and for the Fathers of the Church he closely follows, freedom must be placed at the level of will and not at the level of choice. Maximus would tell you that you are free in the sense that you can follow in your decisions the logos of your being as implanted by God in you or on the contrary, you can act against it, as Adam and Eve actually did. The Confessor explicitly states that the mechanism of deliberating entered men after the Fall as it is only with the fall that men willed something else than the Good in itself, which is God. And in their loose of their natural and intimate connection with God, the first men had to struggle from then onwards to decide on what is good or not for themselves. Now, Maximus' would like us to answer the following question: What type of will did Christ himself have as long as He became human too? The answer is not hard to give for Maximus: Christ, as God, has the entire knowledge of the Good, being Himself that Good. Therefore, there is no sense for us to think of Him as deliberating on what to do, on what action is better to

pursue. In conclusion, He has two natural wills, corresponding to His two natures, divine and human, but He lacks any gnomic or deliberative will:

> It is not possible to say that this (Christ's will) is a gnomic will, for how it is possible for a will to proceed from a will? Thus those who say that there is a *gnome* in Christ, as the inquiry demonstrates, teach him to be merely a man, deliberating in a manner proper to ourselves, having ignorance, doubt, and opposition, since once only deliberates about something which is doubtful, not concerning what is free of doubt.[37]

Maximus' argument for the existence of two natures, respectively two natural wills in Christ had to face not only well known Monothelits as Severus or before him, Nestorius. It equally had to accommodate to our common sense because we never properly see these two wills as activities of the two natural powers in Christ but only one single result of these wills. Maximus however is careful in distinguishing between acting and willing and the act done or the deed willed:

> For the natural will is the power that longs for what is natural and contains all the properties that are essentially attached to the nature. In accordance with this to be disposed by nature to will is always rooted in the willing nature. For to be disposed by nature to will and to will are not the same thing, as it is not the same thing to be disposed by nature to speak and to speak. For the capacity for speaking is always naturally there, but one does not always speak… So being able to speak always belongs to the nature, but how you speak belongs to the hypostasis.[38]

The result of the two actions of Christ is however clearly one: the actions of Christ are the actions of a single person. But for Maximus, there is a clear distinction to be drawn between the natural level and the hypostatic or the personal level. So far as activity and will as processes are concerned, they belong to the natural level: activity, and in the case of rational creatures, will - as a process - proceeds from nature, it is bound up with the movement that belongs to nature. But so far as result is concerned, activity and will are an expression of the personal; "they express the particular way or mode (tropos) in which a nature moves to other natures."[39] Thus Maximus' idea that dunamis and energeia, and for rational beings, rationalized energeia in the form of will belong to nature or essence, while the particular way of working these natural properties belong to the hypostasis: "This is why there is only one God, Father, Son,

211

and Holy Spirit. For there is one and the same essence, power, and activity (energeia) of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and no one of them can exist or be conceived without the others."[40]

In conclusion, the fact that Christ acts as one person should not confuse us to think that he lacks His two natural and essential wills or activities. This is why in his *Dogmatic tome to Marinus*,[41] Maximus argues that Cyril's expression *mia physis* has been wrongly associated with a Monophysite stance and he provides some arguments meant to sustain that the Archbishops' theology was a diophysite approach in its kernel. Maximus also aptly remarks that the Areopagitic expression of 'one new *theandric* energy' has been mistakenly interpreted as 'one (single) *theandric* energy', with the term 'new' skipped from it. This was done in order to falsely suggest that Christ has just one single energeia, the divine one, which has superseded the human one.[42] The Confessor's favorite metaphor for expressing the joint operation of two different natures refers to the action of cutting and burning effected by a heated sword: "If the operation of the sword and that of the fire are both mutually united, yet we observe that the fire's effect is burning and iron's effect is cutting".[43] The example if somehow imperfect for in Christ's case the type of effects by which we observe the divine energeia are miracles and thus the effects must be supernatural and not from the same category as with the case of the hardened sword. However, the metaphor is very suggesting in the sense that the triad *ousia-dunamis-energeia* should not be use for defining just Christ's person but also any other being, as I will argue in the sequel.

II. The Meaning of Miracles

The *Logoi* of Beings

It is now the time to articulate the elements of Maximus' dogma of the two wills of Christ and to prove that they compose a framework that allows for a sound explanation of miracles. The first element is one that I have already mentioned above, that of *logos* of being. In Maximus' view, every being is endowed by God with a *logos* which has the function of preserving the identity of that being. Maximus defines the essence of a being as follows: "Essence and nature are the same for both are predicated of what is common and universal among many and numerically distinct things, and they are never limited to any individual person."[44]

The *logoi* are possessed by God from the eternity[45] and their role is to provide the ratio or principle for each being or essence.[46] Their function is to give the definition and the constitution of a nature. The logos preserves the identity of a given nature by which it can be distinguished from other natures. Since there is a multitude of beings, all arranged in different kinds, there are also many correspondent logoi. All these logoi exist in a supra-unitary way in God's mind even before the creation of the world and God knows them before the creation of things will take place.[47] These logoi are sometimes identified following Denys the Areopagite with God's thoughts or wills (actually this has also a Stoic and Neoplatonic origin).[48]

The significance of the Maximian doctrine of the logoi is twofold. The logoi have the status of models or paradigms after which all beings were created. Also, they function for safeguarding the identity of the essence of every entity as existing in many different categories or natural kinds/species. The Maximian image of the sensible world is that of a Heraclitean continuous change which force upon all beings a dynamics of change and alteration.[49] But in contradistinction to Aristotle, who struggled for preserving the identity of beings in this alterable world by using the couple potentiality/actuality,[50] St. Maximus takes a more Neo-platonic path by endowing the logoi with the job of bringing forth the stability of beings.[51] And the means for achieving this goal is the conception of beings as grouped in different species/natural kinds and categories, the identity of which is defined by the divine logoi. Thus, the divine providence can be seen in this work performed by the logoi in saving the distinction and implicitly the stability of each being as part of a natural kind or species.[52]

As we saw above, some of the citations containing Maximus' explanation of Christ's two natures and natural wills show us Maximus' understanding of will as a natural power or dunamis, bearing a constitutive role for human nature. The following two quotes prove that Maximus' conception of dunamis and energeia as constitutive and defining elements of human being can be equally extended for all the other objects in the world: "The idea of natural power is the definition of substance, by nature characterizing all which it is naturally inborn."[53]And also, "The only true declaration of a substance is its natural constituent power... "[54] Therefore, the logos and the dunamis of each being are intimately linked by Maximus, as we saw it was the case with Gregory of Nyssa who used the triad: ousia-dunamis-energeia. One should observe here that Maximus is using the term natural will for natural and constitutive power or dunamis only for rational beings, such as God or men-otherwise he is

most of the time using the general term dunamis and energeia, which is valid for all existents. The Byzantine theologian considers these natural powers or dunameis as the essential attributes or properties that define the specificity of each being, thus placing it in different natural kinds or species: "Every being whatsoever possesses a constituent difference (diafora): its congenital motion; this, taken together with the genus, forms the definition of the subject, by which the *that it is* and the *what it is* is accurately made known..."[55] It seems that Maximus uses the concept of essential difference in a sense which is close to Porphyry's form-making and constitutive difference issued by him in his famous Isagoge, an introduction to Aristotle's categories used as a kind of text book by all philosophers in the first Byzantine centuries.[56] As constitutive or essential, the differences define what is the common aspect of beings. The difference 'rational' is common to all individual men, establishing them as one species. However, species are identical in genus, as all men are also animals. Maximus speaks about the logoi as defining both each particular being but also the more general, like species and genus - the logoi themselves seem to be more general as we advance towards the top of the Porphyry's three, where the general categories of being are displaced. Thus each logos defines a genus or species or safeguards the identity of each such category by keeping undisturbed the link between the categories and their constitutive dunameis or properties. My fundamental claim here is that in the inseparability between the logos and dunamis we have the true expression of I think is Maximus' concept of *law of nature*: the relationship between species or genus and their distinctive properties or dunameis. This relationship is elevated to the status of law of nature as is preserved unchanged by the logos that God implanted in every being and that keeps undisturbed the intimate relationship between substances and their properties. It would thus be very interesting what miracles would mean as we now have a concept of laws of nature!

But before getting into this, let me add another fundamental idea of the Confessor - he seldom remarks that we never find in existence bare species or genus - we never meet the species of man but we only meet this or that man, that is only individuals/particulars and not the natural kinds themselves.[57] This should not mean that these categories lack being, I hope what I said so far made transparent Maximus' true commitment to the full ontological status of the species and natural kinds. This should also come as a consequence of his commitment to the

full ontological status of dunameis, because I have pointed out already that it is these dunameis which express the true distinction between beings. Maximus' point however is that these categories exist as instantiated in particulars - thus, they never exist in themselves but only as occurring in a particular existent being. Following Porphyry and implicitly Aristotle, Maximus defines these natural kinds or species as universals as they are predicable of many individuals. For example, about all the individuals in this room we can predicate a common property, their rationality for instance, but we can't predicate each individual of something else, that is we can't predicate the individual John of something else because nobody else is this particular John. 'Animality' or 'rationality' is common and thus universally applied to many individuals, but 'Johness' is common only to John and not to somebody else - this is why we call him a particular being. Referring to a definition of individuals shared by all philosophers, Maximus explicitly says that the specificity of a particular is that it cannot be in something else that is, it cannot be predicated of something else:

> An individual is, according to the philosophers, a collection of properties, and this bundle cannot be contemplated in another; according to the Fathers, such are Peter or Paul, or someone else, each of whom is distinct from other men by virtue of their own personal properties.[58]

The concept of particular and that of genus or species have an intimate connection in Maximus' system for the universals always exist for Maximus as for Aristotle as instantiated particulars. This instantiation of universals further requires some other clarifications. As species and genus are made of dunameis and as the former exist only as instantiated in particulars, the dunameis themselves must exist somehow as instantiated in something else. And indeed, Maximus takes these dunameis as being themselves instantiated in individuals under the form of activities or operations (energeiai). That is, this or that individual man instantiates the species of man and its essential properties or dunameis manifest themselves through his activities or operations/energeiai. Let me put this in the following way. We neither find in existence the natural kind of fire but only this or that particular fire nor do we witness the existence of fire's essential dunamis in itself, that is heat in itself, which is fire's dunamis, but only this or that particular heat, with its specific intensity or brightness. And this or that particular heat Maximus calls energeia of fire, that is, activity or operation of fire. However, even if the world consists of individuals

and their many essential activities or operations, Maximus, with many occasions, pays much effort to preserve the distinction between dunamis/power and energeia/activity, because, as we already have seen above, it is one thing to have the capacity to will or to speak and a different one to actually will or speak.

The two elements, dunamis/power and energeia/operation are tightly connected by a relationship of dependence: power depends on activity in the sense that in existence we only find individuals with their particular activities, but also activity depends on power as its ontological source:

> For of that of which we do not have the power, we have neither the activity which is the fulfillment of the natural power. Activity then depends on power, power on substance. For activity is from power, and power from and in substance.[59]

This difference between power and activity will prove itself to be fundamental for the forthcoming interpretation of miracles. The power of each being will be preserved intact by the logos which defines the identity of that being, while its mode of existing or of operating will be changed. Thus, one the one hand, miracles preserve the essence of each being by leaving intact the dunameis which define its identity as saved by the logos of being. On the other hand, miracles will change the particular mode of existing or operating of such and such a particular being.

Miracles

Describing Christ's miraculous walking on water, Maximus, following Denys the Areopagite, gives us the elements of how to understand Christ's theandric activity and his miracles, implicitly. Witness Maximus' own words:

> And he [Christ] performs human activities in a way beyond the human: dispassionately instituting afresh the nature of the elements by degrees. For clearly water is unstable, and cannot receive or support material and earthly feet, but by a power beyond nature it is constituted as unyielding. If then with unmoistened feet, which have bodily bulk and the weight of matter, he traversed the wet and unstable substance, walking on the see as on a pavement, he shows through this crossing that the natural energy of his own flesh [humanity] is inseparable from the power of his divinity.[60]

Maximus highlights here the main elements of his argumentation for his dyothelite position: on the one hand, there are certain signs for Christ true humanity as he does all activities common to humans: walking, eating, crying etc. And on the other hand, he works some activities which are far beyond human capacity, walking on water, healing people, rising from death etc. The only difficulty lies in the fact that Christ always shows his divine activity *qua* man, thus showing himself as a paradoxical creature rather than as God. But Maximus' formal explanation for this paradoxical unitary action of Christ contains the key for his understanding of miracles. Maximus says:

> He [Christ] assumed being in a mode beyond being, and performed human activities in a way beyond the human, but he shows in both the *newness of the modes* [tropoi] preserved in the constancy of the natural logoi, without which no being is what it is... For the Word beyond being truly assumed our being for our sake and *joined together the transcendent negation with the affirmation of nature* and what is natural to it, and became man, having linked together the way [mode-tropos] of being that is beyond nature with the logos of being of nature (my emph., S. M.).[61]

We now have here concentrated Maximus' whole idea of miraculous: a miracle is a joining together of the transcendent negation with the affirmation of nature. The negation is achieved by the changing of the mode of being (tropos hyparxis) and the affirmation of nature by the preservation of the essence of each being by the action of its characteristic logoi which keep intact the constitutive power (dunamis) of each being. In this sense we can say that Maximus' view on miracles is a paradoxical one since it represents a union between what is natural (the essence) and what is supra-natural (the new mode of being).

When Christ miraculously walks on water neither the essence of water nor Jesus' human nature is affected. Rather, what happens here is that Christ shows a mode of being human different from the one we are accustomed with. In Maximus' own words, Christ unifies a supra mode of being with his assumed human nature which commonly has a common mode of being.[62] He shows his human nature in his stepping on water, because walking is a property characteristic of human nature. But the way or mode of doing this action is completely strange to our human powers. Therefore a miracle is equivalent with the change of one's entity mode of existence with another mode or better said, with a supra mode. Thus

miracles are not to be explained as many philosophers or theologians try by just invoking human limits in knowing the true laws by which God actually works the miracles. Also, miracles should not be taken as simple breaking with the laws of nature, a fact that Maximus takes to be contradictory for God as He maintains the creation through his will or logoi, which are perfect and immutable. The miracle is thus in itself a paradoxical union between what is natural and what is supra-natural, between a being preserved in its limits by its constitutive logos and a mode that can vary through God's action into nature. What is left to us here is to make an effort for the understanding of the concept of mode of existence or tropos because it is only through its change that miracles can take place, as Maximus often emphasizes:

> Generally speaking, all innovation is manifested in relation to the mode of the thing innovated, not to its natural principle (logos). The principle, if undergoes innovation corrupts the nature, as the nature in that case does not maintain inviolable the principle according to which it exists. The mode thus innovated, while the natural principle is preserved, displays a *miraculous power*, (my. emph., S. M.) in so far as the nature appears to be acted upon, and to act, clearly beyond its normal scope.[63]

The Mode of Existence

The following passage is very suggestive for Maximus' understanding of the notion of mode:

> As being some thing, not as being some one, each of us principally operates, that is as a man; but as some one, as Peter or Paul, he gives form to the mode of action - more or less intensively, this way or that he determines it as he wills. Hence in the mode the changeability of persons is known in their activity, [while] in the logos the inalterability of natural operation [is known].[64]

Thus the mode is simply the expression of our personal mark, reflected in each moment in the particularity of our use of our natural energy. We use our constitutive powers as activating our wishes, as thinking or physically moving ourselves, that is, as being active in many different ways. But the way of wishing or move is so different from person to person such that it is unique to everyone. As a matter of fact, the concept of mode

of existence is a technical one in theology. "It is no shame to admit an ignorance, without danger, of the mode of the Holy Ghost's existence", said Basil the Great in his Contra Eunomium[65] with few centuries before Maximus, thus showing us the theological not only the Christological or ontological relevance of the concept of mode of existence. The same parlance was common to all Cappadocian Fathers and also to others like Pseudo-Basil-Dydimus, Amphilochius, Leontius of Byzantium, etc. They employed the term mode of existence also for referring to God's ingeneracy or to the unspoken generation of the Son from the Father. The core of these reflections consists of discerning properties of the divine persons from the divine essence itself by using the concept of mode. The generation or ingeneration of God applies itself not to the essence of God but it refers to the three divine persons. More exactly, these features mark the specific *mode of existence* for each of the divine persons: God, the Father, exists as a principle for the other two persons, God the Son exists as begotten and the Holy Sprit's particular way of being is that of proceeding from God the Father. Thus, one can say that the only way God "exercises" his divinity in an absolute and perfect manner is given by his mode of entering in a relation of love between a Father, a Son and Spirit. The remarkable aspect of these three specific modes of being of the divine essence is that these modes encapsulate absolute perfection and uniqueness. The question that now comes to mind is whether the mode of existence for men works the same as we have seen it works for God? Maximus' answer, already stated above, will be negative - if God's modes of being are absolute and perfect and thus unchangeable, the mode of existence for every created being is changeable:

> The principle of human nature is to exist in soul and body... but its mode [tropos] is the scheme in which it naturally acts and is acted upon, which *can frequently change or undergo alteration without changing at all the nature along with it* (my. emph., S. M.).[66]

And the miracle is nothing else than this modification of the natural mode of existence of a particular being with a super-natural mode of existence. As the following quote shows at length, this fact is valid for every natural being not only for Christ's human person:

219

Such is the case for every other created thing as well, when God, because of his providence over what he has preconceived and in order to demonstrate his power over all and through all things, desires to renew it with respect to its creation.

We see this precisely in the magnificence of miraculous signs and wonders that God performed from on high. God acted on this principle of innovation when he translated the blessed Enoch and Elijah from life in the flesh, subject to corruption, to a different form of life (2 Kg 2:11, Gen 5:24), not by altering their human nature, but by changing the mode and domain of action proper to their nature. He did the same when he made water engulf the wicked men who had established themselves on the earth in such great numbers, while enabling the first sailor Noah and the wild animals appearing with him in the ark to survive unharmed (Gen 6:5-8:22). He did the same when he honored his great servants Abraham and Sarah with a son beyond their age, beyond the alleged limits and natural time of childbearing (Gen 17: 15-17; 18: 9-15; 21: 1-7)... God set fire to the burning bush without it being consumed in order to call his servant (Ex.3:2) and gave water the quality of blood in Egypt (Ex. 7:17) without denying its nature at all, since the water remained water by nature even after it turned red...So too with any of the rest of the alleged divine deeds in the promised land and in many lands... (and) in company with all of these achievements, and yet after them all, God fulfilled for our sake the truly mystery for which and through which God fulfilled for our sake the truly new mystery of his incarnation... Here again, God innovated human nature in terms of its mode, not its principle, by assuming flesh mediated by an intelligent soul...[67]

This last passage clearly states Maximus' commitment to the general validity of the idea that miracles occur through modes-changing. It could have been thought so far that the explanation of miracles by invoking the change of modes is valid only for those miracles referring to the person of Jesus. But the last quote explicitly states that all miracles generally take place by the change of the mode of being of each 'object' submitted to God's action. The change of the mode of being is actually a much richer concept in Maximus' approach. For example, Maximus emphasizes in many passages that the fall of Adam and Eve was meant by God as a change in their mode of exercising their humanity. As Louth puts it, In Maximus' thought "the result of the Fall is not that natures are distorted in themselves, but rather that natures are misused: the Fall exists at the level not of logos, but of tropos".[68] Speculatively as it may be, I claim that Adam and Eve never witnessed a miracle in the Garden of Eden as their mode of being and the mode of existence for each other being was already super-natural. Only the Fall effected a change of their mode of existence, that state of existence that we call today as 'the natural'. Consequently, Christ's Second Advent

and the destruction of the world must be nothing than a change of the natural mode of existence for each being into the supra-natural one God intended for us from the beginnings. In other words, both the Fall and the Second Advent interfere with the mode of acting/operating of one's being essential powers/dunameis. Thus, the change of the mode of existence represents not only the key of Maximus' interpretation of miracles but also the central tool for his understanding of the ontological consequences of the Fall and of Christ's embodiment.

Conclusions

The goal of this paper was to provide an interpretation of miracles based on the theological and philosophical reflections of Saint Maximus the Confessor. I have started out by discussing the fundamental role played by dunamis and energeia in Theology, together with their correlative, ousia. I have briefly described the significance of energeia and dunamis as they occurred especially in the 4th century theological debates concerning the relationship between the essence (ousia) of God and the three divine persons. My aim was to highlight the strict connection between energeia and dunamis with the ousia of God operated by the Cappadocians, a view fully embraced by Maximus the Confessor himself. I have tried to articulate this last idea in a short presentation of the Christological debates issued in the 7th century by the Monothelite camp, one the one side, and Maximus, on the other side.

The last part disclosed the most important conceptual tools of Maximus' dyothelite dogma for coming up with a consistent interpretation of miracles. Miracles have been thus defined as the change of the *mode of being* (*tropos tes hyparxis*), a change which leaves intact the identity of each being, while it alters its way of operating or exercising its essential properties. I have exemplified this with Christ's miraculous walking on water but I think its validity can be extended to most of the miracles reported by the Bible. To give another relevant example, the miracle with the burning of the bush witnessed by Moses can be similarly explained: fire is exercising its essential property of burning in a different or supra-mode due to God's intervention. Fire remains fire in this miracle but the mode in which it operates its essential attribute of heating is changed. Thus, the miracle concerns the change of the mode of being/operating while the logos preserves the identity of that being as expressed through its essential dunamis. Obviously, this mechanism can do no work of

explanation in a system of thought deprived of the essential elements of Maximus' dyothelite dogma: ousia, dunamis, energeia, logos, hypostasis/ particular and mode of being and implicitly, where God is not granted with the power of effecting a change of the mode of existence.

It seems to me that modern science works only with two of these six concepts, namely with particulars and their dunameis and hence it shows us that the laws of nature can be uncovered without any commitment to the whole conceptual apparatus used by Maximus the Confessor. For example, a fundamental theory in physics as quantum mechanics successfully works just with particles treated as individuals/particulars and their properties represented by mathematical operators. This can suggest that from the point of view of modern physics most of Maximus' conceptual tools form a redundant superstructure with no ontological relevance and the natural solution would be its submission to Occham's razor. A paradox however is now disclosed: despite the fact that quantum mechanics' simple ontological setup is enough for the description of the laws of the quantum world, there is no absolute criterion for deciding between the multiple interpretations of this theory, all being approximately equally valid.

In conclusion, it should come as no surprise if the two domains, science and theology, clash and this especially in what concerns the interpretation of miracles. In the end, one of the big lessons one should draw from this is that theology itself is committed to a specific ontological view and man is free to embrace it or to abandon it in the favor of the one issued by modern science or to come up with a third option. However, I think the present reconstruction of Maximus' interpretation of miracles as modes-changing can be seen as a strong candidate for a consistent interpretation of miracles not only from a theological but also from a philosophical point of view.

NOTES

[1]   To my knowledge, none of the scholars working on Maximus the Confessor so far tried to reconstruct Maximus' interpretation of miracles. However, the idea championed in this paper that Maximus refers to miracles as the change of the mode (tropos) of beings is mentioned without being followed by any detailed discussion in P. Sherwood, *The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and His Refutation of Origenism*, Pontifical Institute, 1954, p. 60 and in J. C. Larchet, *La divinization de l'homme selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, CERF, 1996, pp. 141-150.

[2]   R. Swinburne's attempt is probably the most important one in the last years but I think it is too demanding from a theological point of view – conceiving of miracles as simply non repeatable exceptions from the laws of nature he thus forces upon God the demand of not repeating a miracle in very similar circumstances. However, the Bible seems to contradict this: just recall that Peter the Apostle miraculously walks on water and so he closely repeats Christ's miraculous stepping on water. Moreover, Swinburne's approach seems to be immune to any critique as it takes profit of the arbitrary way of defining the conditions of similarity; see for details, Swinburne, R. (ed.), *Miracles*, Macmillan, 1989.

[3]   See note 2 above.

[4]   I closely follow here the biography of Maximus as presented by A. Louth in his *Maximus the Confessor*, Routledge (1996: pp. 3-17).

[5]   I rely here on M. R. Barnes' analysis in *The Power of God. Δύναμις in Gregory of Nyssa's Trinitarian Theology*, Catholic University of America Press., 2001, p. 278. and ch. 1 for the link with the Presocratics.

[6]   Idem.

[7]   Ibid., p. 281.

[8]   The argument based on energeia is also widely used by St. Basil the Great in his proofs of the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

[9]   Cited in Bradshaw, D., *Aristotle East and West*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 155.

[10] Idem.

[11] See Basil the Great, Contra Eunomium, 1.15 and the explanations provided by Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 158.

[12] Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium, 1.253.

[13] Galen, Nat. Fac. 1.4 apud. Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 58.

[14] Galen, Subst. Nat. Fac., apud. Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 59.

[15] Philo of Alexandria, Spec. Leg. I.47-49, apud. Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 63.

[16] F. Lauritzen, *Pagan Energies in Maximus the Confessor: The Influence of Proclus in Ad Thomam 5*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 52 (2012) 226-239.

[17] See H. D. Saffrey, *New Objective Links between Pseudo-Dyonisius and Proclus* in D. O'Meara, 'Neoplatonism and Christian Thought', The Catholic University of America (1982, pp. 65-74).

[18] Iamblichus, Commentary to Alcibiade, Fr. 4, apud. Bradshaw, op. cit., p. 136, ff. 42.

[19] See for details Bradshaw, op. cit. ch. 1 and Tollefsen, T., *Activity and Participation in Late Antique and Early Christian Thought*, Oxford University Press, 2012, ch. 1.

[20] St. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua*, 1048 A, translated in Louth, op. cit., p. 170.

[21] See D. Bathrelos, *Person, Nature and Will in the Christology of Saint Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 12-13.

[22] Ibid., p. 13.

[23] Ibid., p. 19.

[24] Ibid., p. 22.

[25] See Hans van Loon, *The Dyophysite Christology of Cyril of Alexandria*, Brill, (2009) and Bathrellos, op. cit., p. 25.

[26] Apud. Hans van Loon, op. cit., p. 276.

[27] See ibid. and Bathrellos, p. 28-29.

[28] See above the Introduction.

[29] See Bathrellos p. 51.

[30] Patrologia Greaca (PG), vol 91, 9-353.

[31] PG 91, 363-645.

[32] See Maximus' Ambigua (Amb.), Opuscula (Opusc.), and Letters in PG 90 and 91.

[33] These nine principles of Monothelism are taken from Michael E. Butler, *Hypostatic Union and Monotheletism: The Dyothelite Christology of Saint Maximus the Confessor*, PhD Thesis, Fordham University, New York, 1993, p. 73.

[34] Disputatio 297a-b, translated in J. P. Farrel, T*he Disputation with Pyrrhus of our Father among the Saints Maximust the Confessor*, Saint Tikhons Seminary Press, 1990, p. 16.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Disputatio 308c-d, translated in Farrell, op. cit., p. 123.

[38] Opusc. 3.

[39] Louth, op. cit., p. 57

[40] Maximus the Confessor, Chapters on Knowledge, II,1, translated in Berthold, G. C., *Maximus the Confessor, Selected Writings*, Paulist Press, New York, 1985, p. 148.

[41] Opusc. 7, 88a.

[42] Ambigua ad Thomam, 5.

43   Disputation 341b, translated in Farrell, op. cit., pp. 61-2.
44   Opusc. 14, translated in Butler, op. cit., p. 142.
45   Amb. 7.
46   For Maximus' theory of the logoi see L. Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press,1985, esp. ch. 3-5, M. Törönen,, *Union and Distinction in the thought of Saint Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford University Press, 2007, ch. 8, and especially T. Tollefsen, *The Christological Cosmology of Saint Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford University Press, 2008, chapters. 2 and 3, where the theory of the logoi is compared with exemplarism, with the main components of Plato's theory of ideas and the Stoic conception of the *rationes.*
47   Amb. 7, PG 91: 1081a-b.
48   See Amb. 7 and Ad Thal. and Tollefsen 2008, op. cit.
49   Amb. 10.
50   For details about the Aristotelian approach see for example Piere Aubenque, *La problèe de l'être chez Aristotle*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
51   Amb. 10.
52   Idem.
53   Idem, apud. Sherwood, op. cit., p. 113.
54   Amb. 5 in Sherwood, p. 114.
55   Amb. 7.
56   See for details Tollefsen 2008, p. 100.
57   Idem.
58   Opusc. 26.
59   Opusc. 1-33 B7-C2
60   Amb. 5, 1050-1051 A, translated in Louth, op. Cit., pp. 171-2.
61   Amb 5, 1053 A-B, translated in Louth, op. cit., p. 173.
62   Idem.
63   Amb. 42, 1431 D1-1341 D1-6, translated in P. M. Blowers&R. L. Wilken, *On the Cosmic Mistery of Jesus Christ. Selected writings from Saint Maximus the Confessor*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 2003, pp. 89-90.
64   Opusc. 10, translated in Butler, op. cit., p. 130.
65   For rendering the history of the concept of mode of being I here follow Sherwood, op. cit., pp. 155-166. For the relationship between mode of existence and hypostatis in Maximus see Heinzer, F., *Gottes Sohn als Mensch*, Universitäsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz, 1980, esp. pp. 117-141 and pp. 171-178. For some interesting critical remarks concerning the association of hypostasis with mode of existence, see Larchet, op. cit., pp. 141-151.
66   Amb. 42, 1041 D-1044 A, translated in Blowers&Wilken, op. cit., p. 90.
67   Amb. 42, 1344 A-1345A, translated in Blowers&Wilken, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
68   Louth, op. cit., p. 56.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Migne, Patrologia Greaca, vol. 90 and 91: *Ambigua. Books on Difficulties; Centuries on Love; Questions to Thalassius; Mystagogia; Epistula; Disputation with Pyrrhus*

Secondary sources

Aubenque, P., *La problème de l'être chez Aristote*, Presses Universitaires de France 1962.

Barnes, M. R., *The Power of God. Δύναμις in Gregory of Nyssa's Trinitarian Theology*, Catholic University of America Press, 2001.

Bathrellos, D., *The Byzantine Christ*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

Berthold, G. C., *Maximus the Confessor, Selected Writings*, Paulist Press, New York, 1985.

P. M. Blowers&R. L. Wilken, *On the Cosmic Mistery of Jesus Christ. Selected writings from Saint Maximus the Confessor*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York, 2003.

Bradshaw, D., *Aristotle East and West*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Butller, M. E., *Hypostatic Union and Monothelitism: The Dyotelite Christology of St. Maximus the Confessor*, PhD. Dissertation-Fordham University, New York, September, 1993.

Farrel, J. P., *The Disputation with Pyrrhus of our Father among the Saints Maximus the Confessor*, Saint Tikhons Seminary Press, 1990.

Heinzer, F., *Gottes Sohn als Mensch*, Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz, 1980.

Heinzer, F and von Schönborn, Ch. (eds.), *Maximus Confessor, Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, 2-5 septembre 1980*, Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1982.

Larchet, J. C., *La divinization de l'homme selon Saint Maxime le Confesseur*, CERF 1996.

Lauritzen, F., *Pagan Energies in Maximus the Confessor: The Influence of Proclus in Ad Thomam 5*, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 52 (2012) 226-239.

van Loon, H., *The Dyophysite Christology of Cyril of Alexandria*, Brill, 2009.

Louth, A., *Maximus the Confessor*, Early Church Fathers, London and New York: Routledge, 1996.

O'Meara, J. (ed.), *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, State University of New York Press, 1982.

Swinburne, R. (ed.), *Miracles*, Macmillan, 1989.

Sherwood, P., *The Earlier Ambigua of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Pontifical Insitute, 1955.

Thunberg, L., *Man and the Cosmos*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985.

Tollefsen, T., *Activity and Participation in Late Antique and Early Christian Thought*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

Tollefsen, T., *The Christocentric Cosmology of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford, 2008.

Törönen, M., *Union and Distinction in the Thought of St. Maximus the Confessor*, Oxford University Press, 2007.

CORNEL MICU

Born in 1980, in Brăila

PhD, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Germany (2010)
Dissertation: Agrarian Reforms and Modernization in Twentieth Century
Romania. A Case Study: The Bordei Verde Commune, Brăila County

Assistant professor, Department of International Relations and European
Studies, Faculty of Communication and International Relations,
Danubius University, Galați

Research grant offered by the Graduate Academy in Jena
(July – October 2010)
PhD grant within the frame of the „Kulturelle Orientierungen und
Ordnungsstrukturen in Südosteuropa" research group, Friedrich-Schiller-
Universität, Jena, Germany (Sept. 2006 – Sept. 2009)

Papers presented at international conferences in Romania, Germany, UK,
Serbia, Poland

Articles and studies in the field of History and Political Science

Research associate in national and international projects

Book:

Cornel Micu,: *From Peasants to Farmers? Agrarian Reforms and Modernisation in Twentieth Century Romania. A Case Study: Bordei Verde Commune in Brăila County*, Peter Lang, Berlin, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Vienna, 2012.

A UNIQUE POLICY OF URBANIZATION? THE RURAL SYSTEMATIZATION IN ROMANIA

Abstract: Rural Systematisierung ist als repräsentativ für die Brutalität des kommunistischen Regimes in Rumänien betrachtet. Dieser Artikel behaupte, dass eine solche Politik nicht einzigartig war und dass Rumänien war in der Tat eines der letzten kommunistischen Staaten, die sie implementiert. Diese Verspätung bezieht sich auf die Rolle die das Dorf hatte und hat in der Deutung der rumänischen Nationalidentität und die Einhaltung, im Namen der nationalen Unabhängigkeit, der Grundsätze des ursprünglichen Stalinismus von der Ceausescu Regime. Schließlich, bestimmten die Stagnation der Urbanisierungsrate und die Rückständigkeit der Landwirtschaft in den 80er Jahren die Systematisierungsumsetzung.

Key words: rural systematization, communist regime, agricultural policy, urbanization, village, urban centre, national identity, urban system, reform, culture, society, economy.

Introduction

Throughout this article I will approach the transformation of rural area during the last two decades of the communist period in Romania. I am dealing with a specific policy of urbanization applied by the communist regimes through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) starting with the sixties, in order to radically change the rural area and to reform the agricultural sector in the Eastern European state. This policy which I will define as "rural systematization" was a deliberate strategy of the communist regimes to transform certain selected settlements into small towns, which were to attract the population from the nearby smaller villages. The new towns, which I will describe in the next pages under the name of "agro-industrial complexes" were constructed according to centrally designed plans, and were suppose to act both as urban cities and regional industrial centres for the processing of agricultural raw products.

The CMEA was founded in 1949, as an economic organisation of the communist states as counterpart of the Organisation for European

Economic Co-operation which existed among the democratic countries in Western Europe. It was in fact a part of the Soviet strategy of avoiding the application of the Marshall Plan for the Eastern European states. Although it never reached the importance of European Economic Community in Western Europe, the CMEA attempted to coordinate the economic policy of the Eastern European States, including aspects such as industrialisation or the modernisation of agriculture.

The case of Romania is special among the Eastern European states since it rejected for a long period rural systematization, only to implement it during the final years of the regime. This is especially interesting as during the interwar period and the first two decades of the communist regime the Romanian policy toward agriculture was comparable with the one promoted by the rest of the South-eastern European states: agrarian reforms in 1921 and 1945, collectivization between 1949 and 1962. Yet, this situation changed during the eighth decade of the twentieth century, when the Romanian leadership chose to reject the agricultural policy promoted by the CMEA and to delay as much as possible the construction of agro-industrial centres.

Besides, another interesting aspect of the rural systematization in Romania is the bad reputation that it enjoyed among the Romanian intellectuals after 1989. Actually, what I will argue in the next pages is that it remained mostly in the stage of planning, rural systematization was (and still is) considered by the Romanian intellectuals as one of the most negative aspects of the communist regime. This is in my opinion representative for a certain ideological connection between the rural space and the Romanian identity, a connection which distorts the perception of the countryside and its short and long term development.

This paper will be organised in several sections which will approach different aspects relevant for the policy of rural systematization. The first one provides the reader a historical background of the rural area in Romania during the twentieth century. Here I argue that the villages represented an important landmark of the Romanian society mostly because of a development model that relayed heavily on agricultural exports during the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that this model became obsolete in the last century, it affected the structure of the rural area for the next several decades.

The second part describes the policy of rural systematization carried out, in various forms, by all the Eastern European states. Here I argue that

such a policy was not at all singular to Romania and that the leadership in Bucharest delayed it as much as possible.

The third part, entitled "Cultural Aspects of Rural Systematization in Romania", deals with the actual perception of the Romanian intellectuals about this policy. The mostly negative perspective about the development of agro-industrial centres is in my opinion connected with the importance of the village and rural area for the Romanian national identity. I consider this an important factor in delaying the implementation of rural systematization by the communist regime from Bucharest, especially as nationalism became the dominant ideology during the seventies and the eighties.

The last part places the rural systematization into the wider context of urbanization in South Eastern Europe. The peculiarity of the urban development in this area, emphasising the importance of capital city and the centralist political model adopted by most of the countries during the nineteenth century, became incompatible with the massive social transformation that took place during the first two decades of the communist period. Therefore, the rural systematization represented an effort to adjust the urban structure to the new social one.

Historical Background

The Romanian landscape was dominated by villages which were, at the beginning of the twentieth century, inhabited by almost eighty percent of the Romanian population. Throughout the last century, the number of the inhabitants of the villages declined, although they continued to represent an important share of the total Romanian population. In 2002 the percent of rural population was still close to fifty percent. During the eighties, the average dimension of a village was of 880 inhabitants, with more than and 44.0 percent of them with under five hundred.[1] The dimension of the villages and their territorial density greatly varied at a regional level: the less populated were the counties located in the Eastern part of Walachia and in Dobrudja, regions which have been colonised after their integration to the Romanian kingdom during the nineteenth century.

There would be rather difficult to define the aspect of an average Romanian village, since during the twentieth century the regional differences in architecture remained notable. The modern state of Romania was formed in 1859, through the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, two

principalities which shared strong cultural, socio-economic and political similitude. After World War I, three other provinces were attached to it, namely Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia. The first two were previously parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy while Bessarabia had been ruled starting with 1812 by the Tsarist Empire.

The regional differences remained strong, and can be explained through historical and ethnical factors. The villages inhabited by Germans in Transylvania were grouped around the fortified church, since the Saxons had been colonised in the South Eastern parts of Transylvania starting with the middle of the twelfth century, and their task was to protect the frontiers of the Hungarian Kingdom. In the South Western part of Transylvania, known also as Banat, German Swabians colonists arrived during the eighteenth century, and their movement was regulated by the Habsburg Monarchy. Therefore, the villages they constructed had been designed according to systematic plans, and preserved an orderly aspect until nowadays. Nevertheless, most of the Romanian villages in the Old Kingdom and Bessarabia were not organised according to systematic plans.

The predominance of the villages as an essential part of the Romanian rural landscape was the result of a specific model of economic development. During the nineteenth century the Old Kingdom developed an economy based on the exports of grains toward the Western European industrialised states[2] and the local medieval elites seized the property over land and used the landless peasants as cheap labour force. This is especially easy to notice for the regions integrated to the Old Kingdom during the nineteenth century. As the colonisation was not regulated by the state, the first settlers were the temporary pastors, which were periodically moving with their flocks to the region. Initially the established small settlements inhabited by an extended family and used the untilled lands as pastures.[3] They were settled into the villages later, when the density of population grew and the land was transformed from pasture into agricultural (cultivated) terrain.

This shows that the villages had an important political and economic function: that of providing labour force for the grate estates. Indeed, not only in Romania but in the whole Eastern part of Europe countryside was dominated by villages. The farms as economic centres for exploitation of land were a rare occurrence and, aside several model farms managed by the state, practically inexistent in Romania. The closest to farms were the estates mansions, which were located at a close distance to the villages. The villages represented therefore a good way of controlling landless

peasants, as shown by the fact that the local landowner was the one that approved their mayors even at the middle of nineteenth century.[4]

The ulterior evolution of the rural area preserved the village as an important peculiarity of the Romanian landscape. Due to the usage of peasants as cheap labour force, the living conditions in the villages constantly deteriorated during the nineteenth century. Romania continued to export important quantities of cereals on the Western European markets and the land owners preferred to pay less the peasants and cut the costs of production instead of investing into technology and raising the overall agricultural productivity.

The result was the so called "rural problem", with masses of landless peasants living in deep poverty. A series of peasants´ revolts which culminated with the one in 1907, repressed with the price of several thousand victims[5] opened the debate regarding an eventual distribution of land to the peasants. The beginning of the World War I postponed the problem. Until 1916, Romania kept a neutrality position but the politicians agreed that eventual land redistribution was to be carried at the end of the war. Romania joined the fight against the Central Powers in august 1916, a decision that proved disastrous on short term. In several months, enemy troops controlled more than half of country and the government and royal family, retreated in Moldavia, could only hope that the front, sustained by an army composed mostly of peasants, would hold. The Russian revolution (February 1917) was another reason to fear because of the possibility of revolutionary disorders among the Romanian troops.

The solution adopted in order to gain the support of the peasants was to distribute small plots of land of maximum five hectares to every household. Most of the land was expropriated from the estates and distributed to the peasants, and as a result the estates lost their economic function.

 The extent to which the policy of keeping the peasants in the villages continued is difficult to asset, but the way in which the reform was enacted meant that the land was used mostly as subsistence mean and the development of the farms was delayed. The average distributed plot was in fact much smaller than the five hectares stipulated by the low: between 2.3 and 2.8 hectares.[6] Such small plots didn´t encourage the development of farms in the Romanian countryside and slowed the migration of the peasants toward the cities. This situation lasted for the whole interwar period, as in 1940 a Danish expert writing about the situation of cooperatives in Romanian agriculture, was stroke to discover

that the migration from villages and establishment in the middle of their lands, in farms, never really took place in Romania.[7]

The importance of the village as a peculiarity of Romanian landscape was further strengthened through a second agrarian reform that took place in 1945. It expropriated all private terrains exceeding fifty hectares and distributed them in even smaller plots to the peasants. The average surface of the distributed plots was of 1.3[8] hectares and it was expected to be used mostly as subsistence mean by the peasants.

Nevertheless, the reform in 1945 brought noticeable structural changes in the Romanian agriculture, changes which represented the first step of a radical transformation of the social and economic structures existing in the villages. Unlike its forerunner, it didn´t distributed all the land to the peasants, but preserved an important proportion which was transferred to the state and worked by state farms. Such enterprises began to slowly develop and gained an important impulse in 1949, after the remaining estates were transferred to the state. During the next several decades, this kind of farms gained importance in the Romanian agriculture. Their architecture resembled the one of the private farms in Western Europe, with several buildings and dependencies placed in the middle of the land they worked. They were managed by state representatives, using agricultural tools and a number of daily labourers recruited among the peasants from the nearby villages.

State farms managed only a small percent of the Romanian territory. Most of it was initially managed by private peasants and, after the collectivisation of agriculture (1949 – 1962), by collective farms (see table I). In theory the collective farms were enterprises in which the land was jointly owned by its members, who also appointed the administrative staff. Nevertheless, the local party structures played an important role in the appointment of the collective farms´ managers, which meant that in practice the peasants had little control over their administration.

An important distinction, reflected even by the communist constitutions, was maintained between the state and collective property. The last communist constitution, published in 1965,[9] mentioned socialist property as the basis of the Romanian economy (art. 5) and defined it as state property consisting in goods that belonged "to the whole people" or collective property for goods that belonged to the collective associations (art. 6).

In practice, the fact that the collective property was deemed inferior to the state one meant that the collective sector was subject to less investment

in technology and specialised staff. Actually, the collective farms had little to no access to technology, since the agricultural tools were managed by the Stations of Machines and Tractors which worked, against cost, the collective land. Therefore, they required the physical work of the peasants, and the villages remained a constant presence in Romanian landscape.

Table I: Repartition of the agricultural and arable land according to property forms in April 1962[10]

	Agricultural surface		Arable surface	
	Thousands of ha	%	Thousands of ha	%
Total agriculture	14,594	100	9,854	100
A. Agricultural state property of which:	4,364	29.9	1,781	18.1
State Farms	1,745	12.0	1,365	13.9
B. Collective Farms	8,862	60.7	7,524	76.4
C. Associations for working the land (in the mountainous areas)	415	2.8	149	1.5
D. Small households (in the mountainous area)	954	6.6	400	4.0

On the background of the rapid urbanization that took place during the fifties and the sixties the regime was less preoccupied by the villages and the rural landscape. It was supposed that the development of heavy industry would absorb the peasants and transform them into workers and townsfolk. Nevertheless the rate of growth of urban population sharply declined after the first two decades (see table II), due to the economic crises that stroke Europe at the beginning of the seventies.

Table II: Growth of the urban population in Romania during the twentieth century[11]

Year	Urban population (%)	Growth rate for the whole interval (%)	Yearly growth rate (%)
1912	18.3	-	-
1930	20.1	9.83	0.35
1941	24.4	21.39	1.94
1948	23.4	-4.1	-0.58
1956	31.3	33.76	4.22
1966	38.2	22.04	2.20
1977	43.6	14.13	1.3
1992	54.3	24.54	1.63
2002	52.27	-2.95	-0.29

The crisis was followed by attempts of reform undertaken by the leaders of Eastern European regimes, which tried to escape the trap of debts in which the area felt during the seventies and to preserve a certain standard of living for the population. Yet, Romania was a notable exception among the Eastern European states, as the leadership in Bucharest focused rather in paying the debts with the price of huge economic and social costs, instead of undertaking economic and social reforms.[12]

The crisis revealed another problem of the communist regimes. The policy of heavy industrialization promoted during the fifties and the sixties meant that the investments in agricultural technology were very low and the need for manual labour force remained relatively high. That led to an important contradiction in the development policy, between industrialization and the consequent urbanization officially promoted and the need for labour force in agriculture. The development of agro-industrial centres was an attempt to solve this contradiction, by developing the light industry specialised in processing agricultural products and keeping some of the labour force available for the agricultural sector.

The Policy of Rural Systematization

Nevertheless, while in other Eastern European states the idea of agro-industrial cooperation and industrialization of agriculture gained terrain the Romanian leadership chose a divergent path in their policy toward agriculture. The new policy of USSR and other Eastern European states promoted an increased vertical cooperation among farms specialised in processing/distribution of products and the ones supplying non-agricultural inputs and services for agriculture. The concentration of the agricultural population in settlements of urban type was initially proposed by the Soviet Union in the late sixties and was pushed intensively in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. In the Bulgarian case the number of official established agro-industrial complexes grew from 153 in 1974 to 161 in 1977 and 338 by 1979.[13]

In the case of Romania the principles of "sistematizare rurală (rural systematization)" were laid down during the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in 1967 but the first "complexe agro-industriale (agro-industrial complexes)" were built only after the earthquake in 1977. Even at that moment the progress was rather slow and the decision to accelerate the process was taken during the Party Plenum in June 1986.[14] The connection between the development of agro-industrial complexes and the shortage of labour force in agriculture becomes obvious if one takes into account that in December 1981 the first restrictions regarding the residence were officially published[15] and they were used until the end of the regime in order to obstruct the migration from the countryside to the cities.

The delay in implementing the systematization is explainable if one takes into account the tensioned relations between Romania and the CMEA and the overall deterioration of Soviet-Romanian relations during the sixties. The refuse of CMEA policies was undoubtedly also connected with the official nationalist ideology of the period, which relied heavily upon a glorification of peasant folklore and presented Nicolae Ceaușescu as someone deeply concerned with the peasants' problems.[16]

On the long run, Romania rejected specialization among the state members which would have reserved to her the status of agricultural producer[17] and chose to force the industrial development. As a result, the living conditions in the villages deteriorated and, at the beginning of the eighties, the regime in Bucharest was confronted with shortage of labour force in agriculture. The decision to speed up the construction of agro-

industrial complexes in 1986 came as an attempt to stop the migration toward the cities by improving the living conditions in the villages and to modernize the production process. Yet, the projects of "rural urbanization" implied immense costs and in the case of Romania it was implemented at the worst moment, during a period of acute economic crisis. The block of flats erected in the villages lacked basic amenities, such as running water above the ground level[18] and the program progressed rather slowly until it came to an end in December 1989.

The delay of urbanization affected the Romanian rural area way after the collapse of communist and it imprints the Romanian landscape until nowadays. With around 32 percent of the total population employed in the agricultural sector and around 45 percent of population still living in the rural area, Romania is one of the less urbanised states in the European Union. However, the problem of Romania is not only the proportion of rural population, but also the small number of cities which would accommodate the growing urban population in the near future. In 2002 for example, the number of Romanian localities administratively defined as cities or towns was of 265. The number of cities in Netherlands, the EU members with a population close to Romania (16 million in comparison 22), is almost double – 430. Meanwhile, the number of cities in Bulgaria, state with a comparable development level with the one of Romania, is of 249 at a population three times lower.

Cultural Aspects of Rural Systematization in Romania

The delay of the rural systematization by the Romanian communist leadership may be explained through its refusal to adjust the development strategy to the economic realities of the seventies. Nevertheless, in this part of the paper I will argue that this delay was also due the specific ideology of the Romanian regime, which was rejecting the CMEA policy in the name of national independence. I consider that traditionally the rural area was an important element in the construction of Romania´s national identity, an element which was incorporated by the communist regime in the nationalistic ideology displayed especially during the seventies and the eighties. Therefore, the reform of rural area was delayed also based on ideological or cultural reasons strongly connected to the Romanian traditionalism.

As a starting point of my analysis I propose the perspective which the Romanian intellectuals held about systematization. Their overwhelming majority describe the rural systematization and the development of agro-industrial centres are described in negative terms (see note 14 for example), emphasising its role in the destruction of national identity in Romania and the strong resistance showed by the peasants who refused to leave their villages. This perception is based on the work of the historian Dinu C. Giurescu, *Razing of Romania´s Past*,[19] published after his emigration in USA in 1988. In his work Giurescu severely criticised the policy of systematization, which, according to him, played an important role in the destruction of the cultural patrimony of Romania and the national identity of Romanians. Nevertheless, he made little distinction between the policies of urban and rural systematization. The first one meant the demolition of the historical centres of the cities and their reconstruction according to the regime´s architectural plans. The second one meant the transformation of certain selected villages in small towns, which were to attract the rural population from the nearby villages.

Due to the international criticism of the Ceaușescu regime, the rural systematization became rapidly an expression of the communist dictatorship directed against the free will of the peasants. Without any attempts to compare it with the policies of the neighbouring countries, the rural systematization was regarded as a peculiarity of the Romanian Communism, despite the fact that even Giurescu writes rather about the regime´s plans for it, without giving any data regarding the number of agro-industrial centres that were really built.[20]

The approach of rural systematization in a comparative perspective and a thorough investigation of the sources contradict Giurescu. In fact, the number of localities administratively defined as "urban settlements", namely cities or towns, remained constant (189) between 1968 and 1982,[21] and shows that the Romanian administration started to develop the agro-industrial centres after 1982. Meanwhile, voices among the Romanian architects tried to connect the policy of systematization to the dominant nationalistic ideology. The development of agro-industrial centres was considered a way of preserving the rural specific of the country, by providing nearby working places for the commuters from the villages.[22]

Less it is known about the peasants´ perception over systematization, since no systematic study of this problem was conducted. Ironically, the reason for this may be the fact that there are so little examples of systematised communes and hence the topic is difficult to approach.

Nevertheless, one book indirectly approached a case of systematization, namely the one of Scorniceşti village (later town), which was the place of birth of Nicolae Ceauşescu, the last Romanian dictator.[23] It showed that the perception regarding the systematization was mostly positive among the villagers.[24] Yet, one should take into account that, because of its strong symbolic value, Scorniceşti is not the best case study to assert the experience of the people who were subject to systematization.

The perspective regarding the systematization proposed the Romanian intellectuals shows that the rural area is still a sensitive topic in the Romanian culture. This is an important factor in explaining the reluctance of Romanian communist regime to apply policies which would have radically changed the countryside. The overall perception of the peasants and villages in the Romanian culture is very important in this context, and a short overview of it may help to better understand the reasons for which the rural systematization was delayed by the communist regime.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rural area was considered a part of the country that Romania should be ashamed of and the image of the peasants was very negative among the urban strata.[25] The evolution of the term "prost" is representative for this perspective: the word was used during the eighteenth century to define the uneducated, lower class person and was transformed into a strong insult during the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The political attempts to transform the rural area were delayed, even when the social pressure to improve the peasants' life was obvious. The peasant uprising in 1907 affected roughly the whole Romanian territory and was suppressed with the price of thousands of victims, but the agrarian reform was promulgated only ten years later, during World War I.

It was in fact the war that changed the perspective about the peasants. As most of the army consisted in peasants and the survival of the Romanian elites depended of it, two reforms were hastily promoted: the agrarian reforms which distributed land to the peasants and the electoral one, which granted the right to vote for the whole adult male population. With the strengthening of nationalism in interwar period, the peasants become the main symbol of Romanian nationalism. They had the advantage of being orthodox, Latin (although is arguable to which extent the average peasant of aware of his or her Latinity) and not corrupted by the foreign values. The most important Romanian fascist organisation, the Iron Guard, was especially active in the rural area, which was considered the most "românised" part of the society.[26] The village was therefore regarded as

the cradle of Romanian civilisation and the virtues of the peasants and rural life were praised in literature and arts.

This perception changed after the Second World War, with the instauration of the communist regime in 1947. The "new man" of the official ideology was the worker and the presence of Soviet troops in Romania until 1958 acted a good deterrent against the nationalism. Nevertheless, the regime in Bucharest promoted an autonomous policy toward the Soviet Union, and after the death of I. V. Stalin, attempted to distance itself of the Soviet model. The key event here was the retreat of the Soviet troops from Romania, in 1958, an event which allowed the regime in Bucharest to pursue a more autonomous policy and to reject the political reform undertaken in Soviet Union after the death of I.V. Stalin. Under these circumstances, the regime recovered both intellectuals and ideas from the interwar period.[27] Interesting to notice, among the intellectuals recovered by the regime were both Dinu Giurescu (the author of the work regarding the systematization in Romania) and his father, Constantin C. Giurescu, also historian. They were reintegrated during the second half of the fifties in the teaching and scientific activity, after being purged in 1950.

The return of the nationalism during the leadership of Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1989), was especially strong in Romania. Under these circumstances, the villages and the peasants regained their symbolic value,[28] reflected by ample festivals dedicated to Romanian rural tradition, such as "Cântarea României [The Singing of Romania]", where different groups of amateur artists presented the traditional songs and dances from different regions all over Romania. Of course, these festivals were centred on the Romanian rural tradition, with little space for the ethnic minorities. This would explain not only the delays in the implementation of systematization but also the attempts to ideologically motivate it as an attempt to preserve the rural population.

One should not also underestimate the extent to which Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Romanian leader during the eighties, was prone to the tendency to overestimate the importance of the village. Ceaușescu was an old school communist (or rather Stalinist), but this was not necessarily incompatible with a strong nationalism. His rural origin, as son of a ten children family from the small village of Scornceşti, is another factor that should be taken into consideration. Despite his open attachment to the communist ideology, Ceaușescu was deeply influenced by his rural origins. His attitude toward its family members, who occupied important positions in the state administration, is representative for the importance of

the family ties in the countryside. Despite his publically displayed atheism, he was the one to erect a church in his birth village, as a dedication to his mother who was a very religious person. It seems indeed that his publically professed attachment to the communist values was not at all incompatible with a traditionalist perspective regarding the importance of the village and peasants for Romania.

Rural Systematization as Part of a Wider Urban Development Model

Despite the initial rejection, the communist regime in Romania felt in line with the other Eastern European states and initiated the rural systematization during the eighties. This is aspect is especially interesting since the reasons for which the rural systematization was finally adopted during the last decade of the communist regime are still unclear. By accepting the systematization, even in the last moment, the regime contradicted both its attitude toward the Soviet policy and the traditionalism emphasizing the role of the village for the Romanian national identity.

In order to provide an explanation for this peculiarity of rural systematization in Romania, I will place it into a wider context of urbanization in South Eastern Europe. From the theoretical point of view, there are two main categories of theories that attempt to explain the process of urbanization at a world scale: convergence and divergence theories.[29] In the first case urbanization is associated with a so called "natural" development of human society, being a universal feature of it, with stages that are more or less identifiable. The second category regards urbanization more as a result of regional developments and less as a general trend in the evolution of human societies. Therefore, there are no universal valid features in the development of cities or towns, but rather particular cases that should be individually approached.

In the case of this paper, I consider that the "convergence" theories would be more appropriated for my analysis, because of two distinct advantages they offer. In the first place, they allow a comparative perspective, which is very useful in placing developments of Romania into a wider, regional context. To a certain extent I already did this, when I argued that the Romanian case was peculiar in Eastern Europe because of the fact that the rural systematization started relatively late and hence

contradicted some authors that considered this policy as being particularly aggressively implemented in Romania.

Secondly, I consider the "convergence" theories more appropriated for the historical period I am dealing with. Indeed, one may accept that during the earlier historical periods the region of nowadays Romania was relatively isolated and enjoyed a particular development, but such an assertion is relatively difficult to prove for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Romanian principalities and later Romania were directly connected to the regional developments in Eastern Europe, in a first stage through the process of nation-building according to the Western European model and after the Second World War as a part of the Soviet zone of influence.

Regarded from this perspective one would expect that the political events which affected Romania and South Eastern Europe to be reflected by the social and economic developments, which would share common features in the whole area. In regarding the topic of this paper, one common trait of the urbanization in the South Eastern Europe was the development of the capital cities, as a part of the nation building process.[30] This makes sense if one takes into consideration several historical factors that supported such a development: the mostly rural, undifferentiated societies in South Eastern Europe, the centralism promoted by the newly formed states and the national pride that made them to focus on the capital city as an area which was representative for the nation as a whole and comparable to the cities in Western Europe. In the case of Romania for example, Bucharest may have been the "little Paris", but the rest of the urban centres, especially in the Old Kingdom, remained of relatively low importance.

Under these circumstances, the urban centres (either cities or towns) hardly fulfilled the main function of the city as defined by Max Weber, namely the economic one, as a place of regular exchange of goods.[31] In most cases the cities in South Eastern Europe acted rather as administrative then as economic centres. This is also reflected by the relative low degree of autonomy which the cities enjoyed in this area and their strong subordination to the central authorities. In the case of Romania, this was reflected by the importance of Bucharest as capital city in comparison with the other urban centres and steadily decline of Iași, (the capital of principality of Moldova before the Union in 1859) starting with the second half of the nineteenth century. This centralist tradition was further enforced during the communist period, when economy was

closely controlled by the state. Therefore, the cities functioned as places of distribution (rather than exchange) of goods since there existed not a real market in the economic sense. Furthermore, the communist regimes continued and strengthened the centralist policy of the interwar period, as they attempted to control as much as possible the societies they were ruling. That meant that even the developing of new urban centres or the expansion of the old ones was controlled, at least in theory, by the central authorities, according to the needs of a planned economy.

A useful concept to describe this kind of urban systems is the one of primacy, referring to regions in which one city, usually the capital city, clearly dominates the rest of the urban places.[32] Important for this paper is the fact that primacy is specific to centralised political systems and is connected with the relatively small size of the country, the short length of its urban history and the low level of economic development.[33] Especially relevant from my point of view is the low level of economic development associated with the undifferentiated societies of South Eastern Europe which acted as a factor supporting the primacy of the capital city.

Nevertheless, after the first two decades of the communist regime the societies in Eastern Europe suffered a tremendous transformation. The industrial development and the subsequent high rates of urbanization deeply affected the social structure. Relatively fast the social structure became more complex, as the states of the area made a transition from mostly rural to mostly urban societies. This transformation was especially noticeable in the case of the less developed societies. In the case of Romania, the rate of growth was impressive during the first two decades of the communist regime, but was followed by stagnation and regress during the seventies and especially eighties. The reasons for this were, according to the political analyst Michael Shafir, the inability of Romanian leadership to adjust its policies to the social and economic changes following the first two decades of the regime:

> Romania´s economic problems in the late 70s and early 80s derived from the orthodox political-economic mentality of a leadership incapable of pursuing measures conducive to a <second> industrial revolution because the leadership had <overlearnt> the task of implementing the first economic breakthrough, the core of which rested in mobilizational tactics geared toward high growth rates.[34]

Regarded from the perspective of urban systems, the industrialisation of the South Eastern European societies made the traditional urban systems characterised by the primacy of the capital city obsolete. The development of agro-industrial centres may be interpreted as an attempt to transform it in a rank sized system, with various layers of urban centres of different dimensions, more suitable for industrialised societies. This would explain why such a policy was undertaken to a certain degree by all the Eastern European communist states in an attempt to adjust their agricultural sectors to the new social realities.

The initial refusal of such a policy by the Romanian leadership was in concordance with its inability to adjust to the social transformation which was created by the regime itself. The hasty implementation of rural systematization during the eighties represented a late attempt to deal with the development problems resulting from the discrepancy between the existing urban system and the newly emerged social structure. It was unfortunately implemented to late and due to the haste to which the new agro-industrial centres were built, its results were at least questionable.

Conclusions

The policy of rural systematization was by no means peculiar to the Romanian communist regime, but was applied, in different forms and degrees in the whole Eastern Europe. In fact, it was Romania among all the communist states that delayed it as much as possible, until the last years of the communist regime. These findings contradict the mainstream of Romanian intellectuals, who emphasize the destructive effects of rural systematization in Romania, considering it a peculiarity of the brutal and oppressive Romanian communist regime. Arguably, the sad fame which this policy enjoyed is partially motivated by its hasty implementation in a period in which the regime had insufficient resources at its disposal.

The negative perception of rural systematization is in my opinion connected to the symbolic role of the village in the discourse regarding the Romanian national identity. Ironically, this role was an important factor for the late implementation of this policy during communism. Nevertheless, the attachment of the Romanian leadership under Nicolae Ceuașescu to the traditionalist, Stalinist model of development, and their basic refusal of any Soviet policy in the name of national independence also played an important role in the initial rejection of rural systematization.

The development of agro-industrial centres during the eighties, after more than a decade of rejecting the CMEA policy, shows that there were pragmatic reasons for undertaking such a policy. The radical social transformation that the regime undertook during its first two decades was incompatible with the urban system existing in Romania. As a matter of fact the main factor that hindered a natural adjustment of the urban system to the new socio-economic structure was the central economic planning specific to communist regimes. Therefore, a state designed plan for the development of new urban centres was in the end necessary.

NOTES

[1] Giurescu, D. C., *Distrugerea trecutului României [The Razing of Romania´s Past]*, Museion, București, 1994, p. 72.

[2] Rosseti, R, , *Pentru ce s-au răsculat țăranii [Why Did the Peasants Rebel]*, Atelierele Grafice Socec, București, 1908, p. 269; Chirot, D., *Schimbarea socială într-o societate periferică: formarea unei colonii balcanice [Social Changes in a Peripheral Society: the Creation of a Balkan Colony]*, Corint, București, 2002 [1976], traducere de Victor Rizescu, p. 170, Scraba, G. D., *Starea socială a săteanului: după ancheta privitoare anului 1905, îndeplinită cu ocazia Expozițiunii Generale Române din 1906 de către Secțiunea de Economie Socială [The Social State of the Villager: Following the Enquiry in the Year 1905, Accomplished with the Occasion of the General Romanian Exposition in 1906 by the Section of Social Economy]*, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Gobl", București, 1907, pp. 21-25.

[3] For example in the case of Brăila county, in Eastern Part of Wallachia, 67 percent of the county´s inhabitants were immigrants from Transylvania or overpopulated regions in the Old Kingdom. Mihăilescu, G., "Note asupra populației și satelor din Câmpia Brăilei [Notes on the Population and Villages from Braila Plain]", in *Analele Brăilei [Annals of Braila]*, No. 2-3, 1932, p. 89.

[4] Filliti, I. C., Gruia I.V., "Administrația locală a României [The Local Administration of Romania]" in Gusti, D./Orghidan, C/Vulcănescu, M./Leonte, V.(eds.): *Enciclopedia Romaniei [Encyclopaedia of Romania]*, Imprimeria Națională, București, 1938-1943, vol. I, p. 304.

[5] The number of victims is debatable since the documents related to the military actions against peasants were destroyed at the end of the repression. I quote the expression "thousands of victims" as in Platon, G., "Relații agrare. Mișcări sociale [Agrarian Relations. Social Movements]", in *** *Istoria Românilor [The History of Romanians]*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2003, Vol. VII, Tomme 2, p. 101. The volumes were published by the Romanian Academy and represent the point of view of the mainstream Romanian historians.

[6] Mesnicov, I., „Evoluția de după război a proprietății agricole [The Evolution of Post-War Agricultural Property]", în Golopenția, A./Georgescu, Dr. D. C., *60 sate românești cercetate de echipele studențești în vara 1938 [60 Romanian Villages Researched by The Students´ Teams in the Summer of 1938]*, Institutul Național de Științe Sociale al României, București, 1941, vol II, p. 11.

[7] See the ample study of Gormsen, M.,"Studiu critic asupra cooperației românești [A Critical Study on the Romanian Cooperation]", in *Independența Economică [The Economic Independence]*, 3-4 (1940), pp. 33-195.

[8] Calculated according to the data regarding the total number of total number of land granted villagers and the total land granted in January 1948 as published by Axenciuc, V, *Evoluția economică a României: cercetări statistico-istorice; 1859-1947 [The Economic Evolution of Romania: Statistical-Historical Researches; 1859-1947]*, Editura Academiei Române, București, 2000, vol. II, p. 103.

[9] The Romanian Constitution in 1965, at http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie.org/const_1965.php (May 2012).

[10] Balomiri, E./Bordeianu, C./Bordeianu, T., *Agricultura Romîniei: 1944-1964 [The Agriculture of Romania: 1944-1964]*, Editura Agro-Silvica, București, 1964, p. 53.

[11] Data taken from Alexandrescu, I./Bulei, I./Mamina, I./Scurtu, I.: *Enciclopedia de istorie a României [The Encyclopaedia of Romanian History]*, Editura Meronia, București, 2000, for the years 1912, 1930, 1941 and Romanian National Institute for Statistics, http://www.insse.ro/RPL2002INS/vol1/tabele/t01.pdf (2006), for the years 1948, 1956, 1966, 1977, 1992, 2002. The growth rates were calculated by me.

[12] Berend, I. T., *From the Soviet Block to the European Union: The Economic and Social Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe since 1973*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p. 33.

[13] Wädekin, K. E./Jacobs, E. M. (eds.), *Agrarian Policies in Communist Europe: A Critical Introduction*, Allanheld, Osmun & Co. Publishers Inc., Totowa New Jersey, 1982, pp. 240-243.

[14] Berindei, M., "Distrugerea satelor românești în arhivele comitetului central [The Destruction of the Romanian villages in the Archives of Central Committee]", in *22*, 30th of June 2009, at http://www.revista22.ro/articol-6312.html (April 2012).

[15] Shafir, M, *Romania: Politics Economics and Society: Political Stagnation and Simulated Change*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1985, p. 143.

[16] Lovenduski, J./Wodall, J., *Politics and Society in Eastern Europe*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987, p. 147.

[17] Retegan, M., *Război politic în blocul communist [Political War in the Communist Block]*, Rao, București, 2002, pp. 11-12.

[18] Almond, M., *Decline Without Fall: Romania under Ceaușescu*, Alliance Publishers Ltd., London, 1988, p. 13.

[19] Giurescu, D. C., *The Razing of Romania´s Past: International Preservation Report*, U.S. Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites, Distributed by the Preservation Press, Washington, D.C., 1989. The Romanian edition was published in 1994, under the title: Distrugerea trecutului României [*The Razing of Romania´s Past*], Museion, București, 1994.

[20] *Ibidem* (Romanian edition), p. 13.

21 Oroveanu, M. T., *Organizarea administrativă și sistematizarea teritorului Republicii Socialiste România [The Administrative Organisation and the Systematization of the Territory of Socialist Republic of Romania]*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1986, pp. 313-314.

22 Nicului, C., „Punct de vedere în legătură cu dezvoltarea satului românesc în contextul sistematizării teritoriale [Point of View Regarding the Development of the Romanian Village in the Context of Territorial Systematization]", in *Arhitectura [The Architecture]*, 3/1988, p. 45.

23 See Mungiu-Pippidi, A./Althabe, G., *Secera și buldozerul: Scornicești și Nucșoara. Mecanisme de aservire a țăranului român [The Sickle and the Bulldozer: Scornicești and Nucșoara. Mechanisms for Vassalage of the Romanian Peasant]*, Polirom, Iași, 2002.

24 *Ibidem*, pp. 29-30.

25 For the low status of the peasants in the Romanian society see short story "Proștii [The Fools]" (1910) of the writer Liviu Rebreanu in Rebreanu, L., *Nuvele [Short Stories]*, Editura Liviu Rebreanu, București, 2006, pp. 196-202 or Zeletin, Ș., *Din țara măgarilor: însemnări [From the Country of the Donkeys: Notes]*, Nemira, București, 2006 (1916).

26 Heinen, A., *Die Legion "Erzengel Michael" in Rumänien: Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation: ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, 1986, p. 387.

27 Fischer-Galați, S., *Eastern Europe and the Cold War: Perceptions and Perspectives*, East European Monographs, Boulder, New York, 1994, pp. 20-21.

28 Verdery, K., *Compromis și rezistență: cultura română sub Ceaușescu [National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania]*, Humanitas, București, 1994 [1991], traducere de Mona Antohi și Sorin Antohi, p. 179.

29 Abraham, D., „The Pattern of Urbanisation in Eastern European Countries", in *Romanian Journal of Sociology*, January-December 1990, vol 1, Nos. 1-2, p. 51.

30 Förster, H., „Geographische Stadtforschung – ein Überblick", in Bohn T. M./Calic M., *Urbanisierung und Stadtentwicklung in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Verlag Otto Sagner, München, Berlin, 2010, p. 160.

31 Weber, M., „The Nature of City", in Meadows P./Mizruchi E. H., *Urbanism, Urbanisation and Change: Comparative Perspective*, second edition, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading Massachusetts, Menlo Park, California, London, Amsterdam, Don Mills, Ontario, Sydney, 1976, p. 21.

32 Eisenstadt, S. N./ Sachar A., *Society, Culture and Urbanisation*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi, 1987, p. 39.

33 *Ibidem*, p. 42.

34 Shafir, M, op. cit., p. 107.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, D., „The Pattern of Urbanisation in Eastern European Countries", in *Romanian Journal of Sociology*, January-December 1990, vol 1, Nos. 1-2.

Alexandrescu, I./Bulei, I./Mamina, I./Scurtu, I.: *Enciclopedia de istorie a României [The Encyclopaedia of Romanian History]*, Editura Meronia, Bucureşti, 2000.

Almond, M., *Decline Without Fall: Romania under Ceauşescu*, Alliance Publishers Ltd., London, 1988.

Axenciuc, V, *Evoluţia economică a României: cercetări statistico-istorice; 1859-1947 [The Economic Evolution of Romania: Statistical-Historical Researches; 1859-1947]*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2000 (3 vols.).

Balomiri, E./Bordeianu, C./Bordeianu, T., *Agricultura Romîniei: 1944-1964 [The Agriculture of Romania: 1944-1964]*, Editura Agro-Silvica, Bucureşti, 1964.

Berend, I. T., *From the Soviet Block to the European Union: The Economic and Social Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe since 1973*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009.

Berindei, M., "Distrugerea satelor româneşti în arhivele comitetului central [The Destruction of the Romanian villages in the Archives of Central Committee]", in *22*, 30th of June 2009, at http://www.revista22.ro/articol-6312.html (April 2012).

Chirot, D., *Schimbarea socială într-o societate periferică: formarea unei colonii balcanice [Social Changes in a Peripheral Society: the Creation of a Balkan Colony]*, Corint, Bucureşti, 2002 [1976], traducere de Victor Rizescu.

Eisenstadt, S. N./ Sachar A., *Society, Culture and Urbanisation*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi, 1987.

Filliti, I. C., Gruia I.V., "Administraţia locală a României [The Local Administration of Romania]" in Gusti, D./Orghidan, C/Vulcănescu, M./Leonte, V.(eds.)**:** *Enciclopedia Romaniei [Encyclopaedia of Romania]*, Imprimeria Naţională, Bucureşti, 1938-1943, vol. I.

Fischer-Galaţi, S., *Eastern Europe and the Cold War: Perceptions and Perspectives*, East European Monographs, Boulder, New York, 1994.

Förster, H., „Geographische Stadtforschung – ein Überblick", in Bohn T. M./ Calic M., *Urbanisierung und Stadtentwicklung in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Verlag Otto Sagner, München, Berlin, 2010.

Giurescu, D. C., *Distrugerea trecutului României [The Razing of Romania´s Past]*, Museion, Bucureşti, 1994.

Gormsen, M.,"Studiu critic asupra cooperaţiei româneşti [A Critical Study on the Romanian Cooperation]", in *Independenţa Economică [The Economic Independence]*, 3-4 (1940).

Heinen, A., *Die Legion "Erzengel Michael" in Rumänien: Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation: ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus*, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, 1986.

Lovenduski, J./Wodall, J., *Politics and Society in Eastern Europe*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987.

Mesnicov, I., „Evoluția de după război a proprietății agricole [The Evolution of Post-War Agricultural Property]", în Golopenția, A./Georgescu, Dr. D. C., *60 sate românești cercetate de echipele studențești în vara 1938 [60 Romanian Villages Researched by The Students´ Teams in the Summer of 1938]*, Institutul Național de Științe Sociale al României, București, 1941.

Mihăilescu, G., "Note asupra populației și satelor din Câmpia Brăilei [Notes on the Population and Villages from Braila Plain]", in *Analele Brăilei [Annals of Braila]*, No. 2-3, 1932.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A./Althabe, G., *Secera și buldozerul: Scornicești și Nucșoara. Mecanisme de aservire a țăranului român [The Sickle and the Bulldozer: Scornicești and Nucșoara. Mechanisms for Vassalage of the Romanian Peasant]*, Polirom, Iași, 2002.

Nicului, C., „Punct de vedere în legătură cu dezvoltarea satului românesc în contextul sistematizării teritoriale [Point of View Regarding the Development of the Romanian Village in the Context of Territorial Systematization]", in *Arhitectura [The Architecture]*, 3/1988.

Oroveanu, M. T., *Organizarea administrativă și sistematizarea teritorului Republicii Socialiste România [The Administrative Organisation and the Systematization of the Territory of Socialist Republic of Romania]*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1986.

Platon, G., "Relații agrare. Mișcări sociale [Agrarian Relations. Social Movements]", in *** *Istoria Românilor [The History of Romanians]*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2003, Vol. VII, Tomme 2.

Rebreanu, L., *Nuvele [Short Stories]*, Editura Liviu Rebreanu, București, 2006.

Retegan, M., *Război politic în blocul communist [Political War in the Communist Block]*, Rao, București, 2002.

The Romanian Constitution in 1965, at http://legislatie.resurse-pentru-democratie. org/const_1965.php (May 2012).

Rosseti, R, , *Pentru ce s-au răsculat țăranii [Why Did the Peasants Rebel]*, Atelierele Grafice Socec, București, 1908.

Scraba, G. D., *Starea socială a săteanului: după ancheta privitoare anului 1905, îndeplinită cu ocazia Expozițiunii Generale Române din 1906 de către Secțiunea de Economie Socială [The Social State of the Villager: Following the Enquiry in the Year 1905, Accomplished with the Occasion of the General Romanian Exposition in 1906 by the Section of Social Economy]*, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Gobl", București, 1907.

Shafir, M, *Romania: Politics Economics and Society: Political Stagnation and Simulated Change*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1985.

Verdery, K., *Compromis și rezistență: cultura română sub Ceaușescu [National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's*

Romania], Humanitas, București, 1994 [1991], traducere de Mona Antohi și Sorin Antohi.

Wädekin, K. E./Jacobs, E. M. (eds.), *Agrarian Policies in Communist Europe: A Critical Introduction*, Allanheld, Osmun & Co. Publishers Inc., Totowa New Jersey, 1982.

Weber, M., „The Nature of City", in Meadows P./ Mizruchi E. H., *Urbanism, Urbanisation and Change: Comparative Perspective*, second edition, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading Massachusetts, Menlo Park, California, London, Amsterdam, Don Mills, Ontario, Sydney, 1976.

Zeletin, Ş., *Din țara măgarilor: însemnări [From the Country of the Donkeys: Notes]*, Nemira, București, 2006 (1916).

COSMIN UNGUREANU

Born in 1980, in Bacau

Ph.D. candidate, "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urban Planning,
Bucharest
Dissertation: *Nature and Ruin. (Re)generation in 18th Century Architectural
Imagery*

Curator of European Art, The National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest
Teaching Assistant, "Ion Mincu" University of Architecture and Urban Planning

Research grants: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich,
January–August 2010
Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, July–September 2009

Articles on early modern art and architecture history and theory,
museum discourse, reviews of temporary exhibitions

Participation in workshops, symposia and colloquiums in Romania

THE IDEA OF A FRENCH ORDER
Ribart de Chamoust and the Questioning of Architectural Origins

Résumé: Dans la théorie classique du XVIIIe siècle, la notion d'ordre architectural s'est constitué par la distillation graduelle de la formule vitruvienne (*genus*), les interprétations de la Renaissance et les débats de l'Académie. Quoique présente *in nuce* à Vitruve, la possibilité de l'extension du canon des cinq ordres engendre, pendant les XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles, une longue série comprenant des variantes d'un nouveau ordre – l'ordre national. Dans ce contexte, le projet de l'architecte Ribart de Chamoust, développé dans son ouvrage théorique de 1783, porte sur une conception singulière de l'ordre français qui va à l'encontre de la rémodelation décorative de ses prédécesseurs et le définit comme système constructif. En outre, il en imagine une possible adaptation de la « cabanne primitive » à la rigueur cartésienne de l'ordre architectural, en créant des liens avec le discours des Lumières sur la nature.

Keywords: order, ordonnance, Ribart de Chamoust, Marc-Antoine Laugier, Claude Perrault, Vitruvius, origin, archetype, classical canon, tree-column.

1. The Architectural Order: rule and proportion

According to a widely accepted definition, the architectural order is "the 'column-and-superstructure' unit of a temple".[1] Two remarks should be made at this point: firstly, that the order is a "unit", which transcends the mere combination between column and superstructure, and, secondly, that the order is generally associated with sacred architecture. In other words, the order provides the edifice with an identity which – in a very subtle way – pertains to sacredness.

The order is generally referred to as "classical" and, although unceasingly (re)interpreted through the ages, it irrevocably belongs to Antiquity.[2] Moreover, despite the countless versions of Doric, Ionic or Corinthian – the irregularity of which is noticeable even in the antique

255

architecture itself – there was a constant preoccupation with theorizing a unique proto-type of each of the canonized orders. Consequently, the "classical" order was shaped into an ideal architectural unit, supposedly of utmost perfection and authoritative because of its ancientness.

It is generally agreed that this authority was strengthened, perhaps even more than by the antique examples themselves, by Vitruvius' *De Architectura Libri Decem*[3], the earliest theoretical source, uncontested between 15th and 19th centuries. However, the Vitruvian text became dogmatic only along an impressive tradition of translation, exegesis and editing which reached its zenith in France, in the second half of the 17th century, with Claude Perrault's contribution. His version, more than a simple linguistic rendering, produced a sort of "diptych" which juxtaposed the Latin source and an extensive commentary – both textual and graphical – destined to elucidate the obscure passages and to establish the Vitruvian key-concepts.[4] Among these concepts, that of "order" played a significant part as a theoretical entity already articulated, meant to replace the rather vague term "genus" used by Vitruvius.[5] In a comprehensive footnote, which discerned between the (five) "genres" of temples and the (three) "genres" of columns, Claude Perrault explained his option for "order", which he defined as "[…] a rule for the proportion of columns and for the representation of certain parts which are fitted according to their various proportions."[6]

Apart from the Vitruvian text, the modern authors, especially the 16th century Italian ones, have substantially contributed to the theorization of the architectural order. In 1537, for the first time, Sebastiano Serlio established, in his notorious *Il Qvarto Libro [...] Nel quale si tratta in disegno delle maniere de'cinque ordini, cioè Toscano, Dorico, Ionico, Corinthio, & Composito*, the scheme of the five canonical orders [il. 1], which were specified as such and minutely analysed.[7] Next in line, Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola published, in 1562, a treatise dedicated solely to orders – *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura* – lavishly illustrated and largely influential, mainly in France, until the end of the 18th century.[8] Lastly, the Italian contribution reached its peak in 1570, with the famous *I Quatro libri dell'Architettura* of Andrea Palladio, who dedicated a large part of its first book (pp. 15-50) to a thorough analysis of the orders. As a result, towards the end of Renaissance, the "column-and-superstructure unit of a temple" was completely codified, albeit with small interpretative discrepancies, and its "pantheon" was limited to the five known ones, both from Vitruvius' treatise and from later examples.

* * *

The systematization of the antique column types, as achieved by the Italian authors from Cinquecento, was an intermediary (and indispensable) phase towards *a doctrine of architectural order*, which was elaborated in the time of Louis XIV, directly connected with the program of representation of the French monarchy. The classicization of the architectural order occurred, thus, in the second half of the 17th century, within a complex process comprising various stages, such as the comparison between Antiquity and modernity (favorable to the first one, as hypostasized by Roland Fréart de Chambray in his *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne*, 1650[9]), the dogmatization of the architectural order (François Blondel, *Cours d'Architecture enseigné dans l'Academie Royale d'Architecture*, 1675), the contesting dispute with the authority of Antiquity (the famous *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*), and, finally, the synthesis undertaken by Claude Perrault and revealed, in 1683, in his book *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens*. Paradoxically, Perrault's thesis, although apparently built on the antique exemplariness, was flexible enough to allow the possibility of modern readjustments.[10]

During the second half of the 17th century, in France, the doctrine of order was configured, within the Cartesian paradigm of rationality, according to a type of logic founded on clearness, measure and proportion, which also involved the reorganization of knowledge and it being investigated through a generally valid method. In the field of architecture (part of the larger program concerning the arts), the "architectural order", as a particularization of universal order, was turned into a symbol of authority and legitimacy, and was institutionalized as such.[11] Consequently, the classical French theory of architecture was fundamentally based on proportionality – the order itself was conceived as a rule of proportion – as well as on the concept of "ordonnance", as taken from the ancient treatise and semantically extended.

Rather ambiguous when defining the order as a sort of "gender", Vitruvius resorted to the noun "ordinatione" – translated as "ordonnance"[12] – in order to express the logical arrangement of architectural elements, among which the column itself: "Order (ordinatio) is the balanced adjustment of the details of the work separately, and as to the whole, the arrangement of the proportion with a view to a symmetrical result."[13] Quite interestingly, the term "ordonnance" did not belong strictly to the architectural vocabulary. During the second half of the 17th century it

was rightfully used in painting or garden design, as well as in medicine or finances.[14] Absorbed into the architectural theory, this term was naturally placed in relation with "ordre", even if the initial ambiguity ("genus" / "ordinatio") was not completely removed. For instance, Claude Perrault asserted that "the architectural order is adjusted by order/fitness"[15], while, nine years later, the architect Augustin-Charles d'Aviler considered that each of these concepts had its own, distinct domain of appliance.[16] Furthermore, this clear disjunction was preceded by a curious (and quite strained) attempt to equate "order" ("ordinatio") with "column", somewhat in harmony with Claude Perrault's ideas: in 1675, two years after the issuing of Perrault's translation, François Blondel – the director of the recently founded Royal Academy of Architecture – coined the word "colomnaison" as a substitute for "ordonnance". In his option, he argued that it was the column – the most prominent of all the architectural ornaments – the one that provided the measure and the rule of an edifice.[17]

* * *

Even if entangled in the mechanism of its theorization, the "column-and-superstructure unit" was primarily considered a sort of *"gendered" entity*, construed by certain versions of origin and a specific domain of representation. Furthermore, it was the image of the human body that coordinated the architectural order, to the extent that it configured precise proportions and features, and even a humanly derived architectural vocabulary. The issue of "architectural corporality" as a sort of tectonic organism, in itself part of the wider pre-modern conception regarding the universal mechanism and the analogy between micro- and macrocosm, was approached – mainly in architectural theory – from two viewpoints: the symmetry (understood as mathematical harmony) and, evidently, the commensurability.[18]

Obviously, from the very beginning, the column was a favored recipient for the human analogy, since its uprightness alluded to the humanly allure, biped position or individuality. Within this conjunction, a significant role was played by the nomenclature of the various elements that composed the order. This terminology was either directly borrowing a repertoire already settled down in medicine in the time of Augustus – such as *apophysis* (part of the bone), *astragalos* (vertebra), *basis* (foot), *cephalaios* (head; a term mainly used in its Latin version *caput*), *trachelion* (neck) – or alluding to certain sacrificial practices, through the medium of such terms as *epistylium* (a Latinized Greek word denoting both the entablature and the sacrifice table) and *torus* (a twilled rope).[19] Moreover,

the mythology of the orders itself, primarily describing their origins, was fundamentally grounded on the dialectic death-sacrifice, either in the scenario of military expansion – this is the case with Dorus, the hegemon of a warriors' community believed to have invented the column – or in the key of memorial, in which the discovery of the Corinthian capital was deciphered[20] (the offering basket placed on the tomb of a Corinthian virgin and invaded by vegetation). [il. 2]

The case of the Corinthian capital is particularly relevant for its transfer of creativity, as it was but discovered by Callimachus while created, in fact, by "Nature". It is also very significant because it combines the two Vitruvian patterns for column – the vegetal and the human ones. Finally, the case of the Corinthian capital is also important because of its symbolism of death and extinction, since it is the last of the orders "authorized" by Vitruvius and, consequently, the equivalent of an architectural *nec plus ultra*, symbolically obtained in exchange for a human life.[21] It is thus explainable why, among the ancient orders, the Corinthian was considered a standard for perfection, according to which most of the attempts to design a modern order were asserted. For instance, the architect Augustin-Charles d'Aviler overtly admitted this limit, in the last decade of the 17th century: "[...] one cannot invent a better capital than that of the Corinthian order"[22], an opinion reconfirmed six decades later by Marc-Antoine Laugier.[23]

The relationship between the column proportions and the human ones – and even the connection between its gendered identity and the deity to whom the temple was dedicated –largely commented upon starting with the Renaissance, is itself originated in the Vitruvian text, more exactly in the paragraph referring to the shaping of the Ionic column, for a temple dedicated to Diana, with the slenderness of a woman's body (*muliebrem transtulerunt gracilitatem*).[24] One can also infer that the interpretation of architecture in terms of human proportionality even precedes the Vitruvian text, going back to a wider speculative approach of "man as measure for everything". However, starting with the recognition of Vitruvius' authority în the 15th century, when the profound meaning of Protagoras' dictum must have been already lost, it seems to have been constantly interpreted as if everything is derived from the human scheme and proportions.

During the 17th century, when the Vitruvian tradition reached its peak and the architectural order was being classicized, the issue of humanly derived proportions was unequivocally (re)asserted both by François Blondel[25] and Claude Perrault.[26] Later on, after 1700, as the weight of several key-concepts, such as *ordonnance* or *convenance* (with the

version *bienséance* preferred by the amateurs), progressively diminished and they were exceded by others (such as *caractère*)[27], the interest for anthropomorphism decreased as well, especially when confronted with a strong reorientation of the architectural reflection towards "Nature". Even so, it appears to have been resuscitated in the last two decades of the 18th century, although the analogy with the human body was displaced into the sphere of sensuousness, as proven by the speculation of Le Camus de Mézières on the analogy between architecture and senses.[28]

Consequently, the architectural order – the keystone of the classical French theory – gradually took shape from the initial formula (*genus*), the Renaissance interpretations and the academic theorization during the 17th century. Only when all these stages are cumulatively seen, and when centered on (human) proportionality, can one adequately grasp the meaning of the architectural order as a constructive mode. Vitruvius' treatise, in many instances equivocal, points out, more or less explicitly, two paradigms for architectural order: that of the human body, on the one hand, favored until late 18th century, and that of the tree, re-enacted around 1750, on the other hand.

2. National or (just) classical?

To a certain extent, the doctrinal debate in 17th century France already converted the antique order into a national version of it, insomuch as it was included into the vast program of representing the monarchy. In this respect, quite significant was the option for Vitruvius' text – in stead of the first French treatise, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, published by Philibert De l'Orme in 1567[29] – as a theoretical foundation for the academic training. Therefore, Claude Perrault's translation, the very first French version of Vitruvius' text, should be regarded as an essential phase in the history of architectural theory, comparable with the issuing of the Vitruvian treatise itself.

The symmetry between these two events was not altogether ignored. On the one hand, *De Architectura libri decem* established – by invoking, in the preface, the imperial authority[30] – a sort of discourse centered on the connection between the architectural program and power; in other words, the Vitruvian text was meant to ground – through a series of standards and principles, through classification, founding myths or historical accounts – a type of artistic activity fundamentally involved into mechanism of the

maiestas imperii.[31] On the other hand, the issuing of Claude Perrault's translation in 1673, two years after the opening of the Royal Academy of Architecture, preceded by more than forty meetings of its members[32], actually meant adopting *that version* of Vitruvius' treatise in particular, as the fundamental text for an art subordinated to the state politics.[33]

The most eloquent example therein was the dispute, in 1665-67, upon the eastern facade of the Louvre, in which the Italian artist Gianlorenzo Bernini was involved among others, and which determined in fact, through the famous colonnade designed by Claude Perrault himself [il. 3], the orientation of France towards a *sui generis* classicism. [34] Quite relevantly, this state of affairs was illustrated, in its comprehensive intricacy, on the frontispiece of 1673 Vitruvian edition. In this picture [il. 4], the personifications of the arts (in the left) are presenting the fundamental text – *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve* – in front of an allegorical group designating the French monarchy. However, there is a most significant detail on the background of Sébastien Le Clerc's engraving, rendered as a sort of emblem for the national (or even universal) architecture: Claude Perrault's colonnade, whose stylistic kernel – the double Corinthian column – is ostentatiously shown on a triumphant architectural object (behind the personified arts), crowned by an equestrian statue which combines that of Louis XIV (an allusion to the one made by François Girardon) and that of Marcus Aurelius from the Capitoline Hill. Within this glorious apotheosis of the French arts and monarchy, displayed on the Vitruvian foundation, one can also observe (in the hands of the personified Sculpture) a very interesting element: the national order, albeit reduced only to its capital, whose importance within the contemporary and future theoretical discourse was cardinal.[35]

* * *

Most likely, the idea of a French order was for the first time formulated in 1567, in Philibert De l'Orme's *Le premier Tome de l'Architecture*. Thus, in the 13th chapter of its seventh book – which, quite significantly, dealt with the Composite – he was arguing the freedom of the French nation to invent its own type of column, just like various nations did in the past.[36] In order to materialize it, the author submitted a column which he had already used, and which was composed of several drums and decorative rings. [il. 5] In fact, De l'Orme did not devise a proper national order, but a method to "translate" the ancient ones into a rather controversial language *à la française*[37], which he saw as a conjunction between necessity – the very structure – and the unrestrained possibility of decoration.[38]

By the time Claude Perrault published his translation, the necessity of a national order was officially proclaimed, in view of which the Academy, prompted by the minister of finances Jean-Baptiste Colbert, had already initiated a competition. The circumstances of its launching are in themselves meaningful. By that time, in 1671, the Louvre was under enlargement construction and the facades of the famous "cour carrée", designed by Pierre Lescot, were supposed to be heightened. Consequently, the new order would presumably crown – vertically, in a symbolical ascensional hierarchy – the other (antique) ones already displayed.[39]

The willingness of the French artists – both architects and painters – towards this competition is proved by the large quantity of projects in the last decades of the 17th century, some of them even outside the contest itself. However, one knows – in their graphic appearance as well – mostly the projects designed by the notorious artists – such as Charles Le Brun[40] [il. 6], Claude Perrault (the design presented on the aforementioned frontispice), Sébastien Le Clerc[41] [il. 7] or Augustin-Charles d'Aviler[42] [il. 8], and some of those more or less known, like Pierre Cottart, Jean Ier Berain, Charles Errard, Daniel Gitttard or Thomas Gobert. With no exception, their solutions were restrained to mere ornamental interventions, using presumed Gallic symbols – such as the lily, some military emblems, the sun, Apollo's lyre, the dolphin – deployed on the surface of the capitals and entablature. This information was provided by one of the competitors, the architect Augustin-Charles d'Aviler: "when the question was to invent a capital for a French order […] they used egrets in stead of foliage, arranged as if they were leaves of acanthus or olives […] quite dwarfed, as their feathers were scarcely accompanied by other ornaments."[43]

The enthusiasm with which the competition was welcomed was recorded, several years later, in the second volume of François Blondel's *Cours d'architeciture*; at the same time, the author was compelled to admit the failure of this enterprise, paradoxically provoked by the exceeding quantity of projects and, more important, by their inadequacy: "I still don't know by what misfortune we received a million different projects […] the majority of which are full of extravagancies and gothic chimeras, or fade allusions […]".[44] While recognizing the impasse, the director of the Royal Academy of Architecture was, in fact, indicating the confines of such an initiative: the order itself, with its entire theoretical scaffolding, with its rules and conventions. In other words, the attempt to invent a new order was foredoomed to implacably fail into the category of the Composite,

as revealed by the same François Blondel: "the most tolerable may be enclosed within the realm of that Architectural Order that we have to name indefinite Composite or Italic, which comprises all the antique examples, and which is not entirely congruous with the other four orders provided, by Vitruvius, with rules […]."[45] Following this revelation, the failure was officially admitted and the competition tacitly abandoned. Nevertheless, the illusion of a French order continued to nurture the architects' fantasy, albeit more in theory than in practice, along the entire 18th century, despite a tardive resolution issued by the Royal Academy of Architecture in 1763, which censured the very hypothesis of an order existing beyond the five canonical ones.[46]

*   *   *

After 1700, and particularly during the second half of the 18th century, more than ten versions of French order were published, some of which were theorized in various texts. Thus, in his *Traité du beau essential* published in 1752, the architect Charles-Etienne Briseux mentioned the competition seven decades back, in order to present his own vision, inspired by Perrault's colonnade and confined by the perfection of Corinthian.[47] Much more substantial was instead the contribution of Marc-Antoine Laugier from his *Observations sur l'Architecture* (1765), in which he rigorously systematized the conditions that make a modern order possible, the tools and the limitations of such a venture and, eventually, its resulting features – even if not visually rendered. However, there were two issues in his discourse that should to be retained: on the one hand, the urge to take Nature as a guide and, on the other hand, the opinion that the French order should partake in the character granted to France from abroad; according to this reasoning – concluded Laugier – the French order should reflect, through the medium of grace, the most exquisite spirit and the most dainty mores of the French nation.[48] Finally, before the issuing of Ribart de Chamoust's treatise, the last noticeable attempt to draw a national order belonged to Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, a quite original author advocating the sensuous approach of architecture, who was convinced that the novelty of a modern architectural order derives from ornament and not from proportion. Moreover, in stead of an autonomous proportionality – as established by the Vitruvian tradition – he suggested mixed proportions for the French order, as if it were the resulting combination of the antique/classical ones.[49]

During the second half of the 18th century, and more particularly between 1750 and 1780, the theorization of the classical order reached

its climax in France. It was in this period that the six volumes of the monumental *Cours d'architecture* (1771-77) by Jacques-François Blondel were published, the first of which dedicated considerable room to a thorough analysis of the five orders.[50] By the same time, a number of more or less obscure authors, such as Nicolas Marie Potain, Jean Antoine, Pierre Panseron or Claude Mathieu Delagardette, were reproducing the same tedious discourse, completely lacking inventiveness, in several treatises on antique orders.[51] Nevertheless, the theorization of classical order was implacably declining by that time, a noticeable symptom of this stage being the very growth of the theoretical discourse. Yet, this crisis was not reflected by architectural practice, as the Vitruvian dogma was still fundamental in academic training.[52] One could but approximately evaluate either to which extent the decline of Vitruvianism was intertwined with the decay of the Old Regime, or if there was a direct causality at all. It is indicative, though, that this climate of architectural decadence and political dissension produced such an unusual editorial event as the anachronistic treatise of Ribart de Chamoust, destined to resume and reinforce the idea of a French order.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Far from having been invented in the 17th century, the national dimension of the architectural order was, in fact, presupposed from the very beginning: apart from the Composite, all the types of columns were provided with a toponym related either to a community identity (the Dorians and the Ionians), a national identity (the Etruscans), or a geographical one (the tomb of the Corinthian maid).[53] The Tuscan, more than any other order, was efficiently capitalized in various nationalistic discourses which culminated in the 18th century with Piranesi's polemical defense of the Etruscan architecture, in his book *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (1761), as a reaction to the enthusiastic discovery of the pure Doric order in Paestum.[54]

Quite similarly, the very possibility of a sixth order was implied by Vitruvius himself, even if he did not specifically describe but the well known triad Doric-Ionic-Corinthian. Thus, in the third book, following an account about the various categories of temples according to the rhythm of their intercolumniation (Lb. III, c. 3, 5), Vitruvius alluded to the possibility that, in the *araeostyl* category, some temples might have their pediments adorned in the Etruscan manner (*earum fastigia tuscanico more*)[55], laying thus the foundation for a future debate on the Tuscan order. Likewise, in the next book (Lb. IV, c. 1, 12), after having described the Corinthian

<p style="text-align:center">264</p>

capital, he referred to the numerous capitals variously termed (*capitulorum genera variis vocabulis nominata*) which are not part of a precise order.[56] Consequently, the Composite – as well as any other modern order – may be included in the series of these "Corinthianized" columns, atypical and very numerous in the Roman architecture of his age and afterwards. Therefore, the Composite was placed and theorized in the span of freedom at the limit of the Vitruvian canon and rules.[57]

At the middle of the 18th century, after the closing of the Colbertian experiment, the sixth (national) order was approached in two ways: by stressing the freedom (and the legitimacy) of its invention, and, on the other hand, by identifying it with the lack of rules and the arbitrary combination of architectural elements. The first approach was advocated by the Jesuit abbot Marc-Antoine Laugier, who considered that the number of orders should not necessarily be limited.[58] On the contrary, as Giovanni Battista Piranesi appears to have considered, the sixth order would only reflect the decay of the good taste in architecture, while originating the "barbarian taste"; this belief is briefly noted in one of his early notebooks (*taccuini*), next to a drawing representing a conglomerate of antique fragments.[59] For Piranesi, who by that time – the '40 and the '50, when, in Rome, under the spell of the new theories concerning the Etruscan civilization – was configuring his own poetics, the sixth order was, in fact, the expression of a total creative freedom. He would defend this position more evidently as the time passed, and especially in his late years, in the book *Diverse maniere d'adornare i camini* (1769).[60] However, the theory of the order as the "absence of order" and as pure combinatory art, was indirectly supported in one of his polemical writings – *Parere su l'Architettura* (1765)[61] – which clearly stated that inventing a new species of architecture, within the Vitruvian rules, would prove a craziness.[62]

Accordingly, during the last decades of the 17th century and along the next one, the debate upon the modern order was carried on in the span between two opposed approaches: a *coercive freedom* on the one hand and, on the other hand, the search for *innovation outside the theoretical scaffolding* of the Vitruvian tradition. Somewhere in-between, towards the end of the 18th century, it should be placed Ribart de Chamoust's attempt to theorize a national order within the Vitruvian rules while, at the same time, outside its known domain of reference – the human proportionality, the founding myths etc. This time, the French order was not searched in the field – familiar, predictable as well – of the architectonic culture, but on the uncertain territory of Nature. Ultimately, such a preoccupation can

be thoroughly deciphered only if adequately related to the perception of nature in the first half of the 18th century[63] and to its impact on the architectural theory.

3. The French Order found in Nature

Indisputably, the (re)evaluation of Nature during the age of Enlightenment was an enormous, collective and multifaceted enterprise. As for the architectural order, particularly relevant was the approaching of Nature either as a guide to a certain way of working (in other words, as an operative principle), or as a sort of repository of "ideal types" destined to be taken over and adjusted to the already existing architectural morphology. The main difficulty, though, was the apparently dichotomic relationship between nature and architecture (as culture), since both of them seem to have been developed as opposite domains if not even two adversarial ones: everything nature stands for deals with irregularity, lack of proportion, timelessness, savagery, apathy, accidental and so on; architecture, instead, is intimately associated with order, regularity, proportion, reason, history, culture, representation, emotion and so forth.

One way to elude the deadlock of this opposition, especially in view of replacing the anthropomorphic pattern of the architectural order with the vegetal paradigm, was by "humanizing" the Nature, by turning it either into a sort of "tutor" – ready to provide the primitive man with essential lessons – or into an abstract and transcendental *artifex*, who would eventually allow the human being only to discover the already created architectural components – such as the acanthus basket turned into the Corinthian capital. Another way would be the "domestication" of Nature, by turning it into a generative instance whose work is essentially geometrical, making the trees spontaneously grow on the outlines of future edifices. Both approaches, as well as the very impulse of returning to nature, were based on a presupposed primitive idealness. Within the architectural discourse, this pursuit of primitiveness brought forth the problem of origin. The temptation to elucidate this mystery inevitably revealed the necessity of recreating *a suitable stage* for primitiveness hence the instrumentality of Nature in the architectural discourse.

Among the various meanings of the word "nature" during the 18th century, its equivalence with another cardinal notion – that of "reason" – seems to have been widely acknowledged: the reason must be something

natural, while Nature, in its operative ways, is assuredly reasonable.[64] A correlative term in this equation, conspicuous as well in the age of Enlightenment, was the *positivity* of nature, from which emerged not only the impulse of searching for a natural grounding of the society – natural ethics, natural law, natural politics etc.[65] – but as well the tendency to cosmeticize (rather excessively) the appearance of the primitive world.

Jean Jacques Rousseau might be considered the promoter of this nostalgic vision, as his theories, related to the origins of social inequity, institutions or languages, are centered on the "state of nature", which must have been a sort of pleasurable solitude, a perpetual *otium* adjusted only by the natural needs.[66] It was not the return to a primordial way of living that was envisaged by Rousseau, but a process of historical reduction, an *a priori* world vision set on the opposition between nature and history: the "man of nature", just like the "state of nature", refers to the condition preceding the organized society, prior to culture or temporality.[67] The "nature" itself, as described by the French philosopher, was not exactly an assembly of elements, but rather *a cognitive horizon*, an ideal mode of relating to reality.[68] Within this ideal configuration of reality, dialectically construed and logically explained (in stead of a scientific explanation), was set the primeval architectonical structure, first in its essential shape – the shelter – and afterwards in a more appropriated architectural hypostasis – the column, the capital, the order etc.

The "primitive hut", as well as its iconic picture [il. 9], was consecrated by the most Rousseauesque of the 18th century theoreticians of architecture[69], the abbot Marc-Antoine Laugier, in a book – *Essai sur l'architecture* – vehemently disputed in the 1750s. In short, taking the Vitruvian paragraph on the origin of architecture as a starting point, he innocently crafted the metaphor of a pedagogic conduct of Nature, supposed to have "instructed" the primitive man in building. In the first chapter of his essay, entitled *Principes généraux de l'Architecture*, Laugier gave a touching narrative about the difficulties the primitive man had to face when trying to find a shelter. Drifting from place to place, he finally stopped in a forest where, while contemplating nature, he discovered the fundamental architectural principles, embodied into a basic combination of "pillars", "beams" and "trusses". In fact, the French abbot was forging the paradigm of the classical temple itself – he actually mentioned, at some point, the Maison-Carrée in Nîmes – concluding that the noblest and most adequate way of building is rooted in a very simple and natural process; conforming to it not only prevents from errors but, at the same

time, ensures the enterprise's perfection.[70] The very placing of this image in the preamble of his analysis, and not as a fortuitous digression, leads to the conclusion that the conjecture of the sylvan origin of architecture was, in fact, the very foundation of his entire theory.

In his text, as he examines the various parts of an edifice in the name of some "everlasting principles" and against the "arbitrary rules" of art[71], Marc-Antoine Laugier appears to be so conspicuously intransigent as to proclaim even immoderate ideas, such as the elimination of each architectural component that conceals its own function, like pilasters, arcades or interior cornices. In turn, every element considered to be essential – namely the column, the entablature and the pediment – is confirmed within the absolute simplicity of its shape. The column, for instance, should be compelled to certain rules, some of which quite radical – like the removal of the base and the direct contact with the ground – as it should reveal the work of Nature, through its circularity, its lack of superfluous ornaments and isolation.[72]

Although he identified the tree trunk with the prototype of the ancient column, the Jesuit abbot didn't push his reasoning further; he didn't envisage the unit (the order), but the component (the column), just like he considered only the geometrical idealness of the prototype and not its particular morphology. The discursive passage from principle to (symbolic) form will be carried out, three decades later, by Ribart de Chamoust.

* * *

On the 21st of September 1776, two years after his crowning as the king of France, Louis XVI was presented a dissertation entitled *L'Ordre François trouvé dans la nature.* Its author was Ribart de Chamoust, apparently an architect (or engineer) supposedly trained by Jacques-François Blondel. There is no certain information regarding neither his biography nor his intentions.[73] It is possible, though, that when he conceived and presented his theory in front of the king, he might have been following the advise given by Blondel in one of his academic discourses, concerning the contribution of architecture to the flourishing of one's nation.[74] The presupposition that Ribart de Chamoust's undertaken was to design an architectural order that would allow France to claim preeminence is, in fact, confirmed by an introductory statement and a conclusive paragraph, according to which the French order was destined to be discovered in the time of Louis XVI.[75]

The text presented in 1776 was published several years later, in 1783. Just like in the case of its authors' biography, it is impossible to know

whether the written and the printed versions were the same or, on the contrary, his opinions were (re)shaped by various editorial events or by his own reasoning during the seven intermediary years. The only palpable evidence, therefore, is the form that this text finally reached: a volume of 56 pages structured in 13 sections and accompanied by 21 engraved plates, rendering the original drawings that minutely provided structural details, compositional schemes, monuments, plans, sections etc. Undoubtedly, assembled in this way, Ribart de Chamoust's book was the most elaborate theory – and the last relevant one as well – on the French order.

A first peculiarity was the very option for a rather anachronistic type of discourse: in a time when architecture was commented upon in essays, letters and even in literary texts, he returned to the obsolete form of the treatise.[76] Evidently, one might invoke the inappropriateness to the contemporary debate, due to his academic training and to the fact that, unlike most of his colleague writers, he was an architect and not an *homme des letters.* At the same time, it is highly probable that he might have intended to provide his own dissertation with a sort of *"classical" authority* – the one established in the time of Augustus as well as in the time of Louis XIV – for which the most adequate form was that of the treatise.

In short, Ribart de Chamoust attempted to demonstrate the primordiality of the French order and, consequently, its supremacy over the ancient ones which, quite significantly, were reduced only to the Greek triad. This confinement might be interpreted, on the one hand, as an intention to isolate the purest architectural orders to which the new one was to be added and, on the other hand, as a chronological threshold compared to which the ancientness of the French order could have been argued. In other words, Ribart de Chamoust was convinced that the French order was as ancient as the Nature itself, and that is goes back in the darkness of time, beyond history and culture, being contemporary to the first trees.[77] The disjunction – in the order of time – between Nature and culture was reflected in the difference between *type*, understood as "the Man's earliest attempts to subjugate Nature", and *archetype* conceived as "the physical objects that the Artist rightly and sensibly chooses in Nature to kindle the fires of his imagination".[78] Just like a modern Callimachus, he discovered, within the realm (and time) of Nature[79], the fundamental principles that configured the French order, and according to which it could have been reconstituted. Therefore, inspired by Nature's laws, he devised a column with creepers trailing in spirals around the shaft, just as if it were a foliage-covered tree[80]; furthermore, the capital was almost identical with the

Corinthian one, except that the acanthus was replaced by the (French) lily; finally, the pedestal was adorned with three volutes resembling an inverted Ionic capital, as if to suggest the roots.[81] Consequently, the result transparently attempted to be the image of a tree, with all its parts – the foliage, the trunk and the roots – schematically rendered. [il. 10, 11]

If up to this point Ribart de Chamoust's description might have not been so convincing, the indisputable argument seems to be the clustering of three columns (as a prominent specificity when compared to the canonical orders, either isolated or paired) supposedly reflecting the natural configuration of tree bunches risen from the same root.[82] [il. 12, 13] Beyond the inventiveness justifying this unusual solution, several aspects should be revealed.

First of all, this practice had already been catalogued by Augustin-Charles d'Aviler as a plausible way of assembling columns and pilasters.[83] [il. 14] Undoubtedly familiarized with d'Aviler treatise, Ribart de Chamoust was resorting to this ternary grouping in order to provide it with a structural-national identity: unlike the ancient orders, the French one couldn't take but *that form*.[84] Secondly, the setting of this ternary module as a composition rule seems to be related to another famous style unit, namely the double column invented more than a century back for the Louvre façade[85]; surpassing it both in innovation and significance would have allowed Ribart de Chamoust to become a sort of Claude Perrault *redivivus*, destined to restore the glory of the times of Louis XIV. Finally, perhaps even more important was the conjunction of two architectural units conceived as particularly indigenous: the (gothic) *fasciculated pillar* and the (Louvre) *ample intercolumniation*[86], which meant, in fact, a more subtle approach of the Greco-Gothic ideal.

* * *

The ideal of a synthesis between the two constructive systems was, in fact, pursued along the entire 18th century, being at times formulated by theoreticians such as Michel de Frémin, Jean-Louis de Cordemoy or Marc-Antoine Laugier. The fact that this goal was too extravagant to be fully interiorized and coherently presented was proven by the ambiguous discourse of its supporters. They were either pleading for rationality in building, or making contradictory conjectures, or, at the very utmost, they were fancifully envisioning a coalesced architectural vocabulary.

The questioning of the classical architecture was triggered in 1702 by Michel de Frémin who, in a series of letters concerning "the true and the false architecture"[87], asserted that the ancient orders were, in fact, the

least important part of Architecture, which should primarily be determined by the inner requirements of the edifice and by the particular features of the site.[88] The monuments to which he resorted in order to exemplify his hypothesis – Nôtre-Dame and Sainte Chapelle for "good architecture" and Saint Eustache and Saint Sulpice for "bad architecture" – were eloquent enough to determine his conclusion: the gothic architecture, although prodigal in decoration, is more rational than the classical one.[89] Several years later, the abbot Jean-Louis de Cordemoy challenged even more efficiently the supremacy of the classical architecture. Paradoxically, in doing so, he appealed to Vitruvius, whose treatise he revisited through the medium of Claude Perrault's interpretation.[90] Thus, the French abbot was convinced that the gothic structure proved more clearly the efficiency and rationality that were, in fact, common to the antique architecture as well, supposedly purer than what we imagine since the Renaissance. Moreover, according to him, the essence of architecture was the harmonious balance between simple and isolated elements, and this essence pertained both to ancient and medieval building. Consequently, on the ground of this structural identity, the ideal of a Greco-gothic unity should became possible, and Cordemoy saw it eventually embodied into the church Val de Grâce, provided that the fasciculated pillars were replaced by pure columns.[91] The reader was thus invited to contemplate the virtuality of a stylistic (and chronological) superposition. A few decades later, this superposition was turned into a qualitative juxtaposition by Marc-Antoine Laugier: according to him, the ecclesiastical edifice should preserve its gothic interior, while its exterior should be antiquely designed.[92]

Marc-Antoine Laugier's attitude towards the gothic architecture is rather indistinct. On the one hand, especially during the 1750s, he disapproved of its structural "errors" – such as the fasciculated pillar or the pointed arches – and, on the other hand, he expresses his astonishment for the gothic constructive system as such, to the extent that he even construes its sylvan origin, namely the binding of the branches of ancient trees in a sort of "diagonal rib".[93]

Certainly, this idea was not altogether a novelty. Unprecedented was, instead, the commingle of the two versions of origin – the primitive hut and the primeval pointed arch – that re-enacted, more than a half of century after Cordemoy, the Greco-Gothic ideal. In his 1765 *Observations*, Laugier made another peculiar assertion, namely that the medieval artisans, who lacked a good taste, were unable to imitate other than the most misshapen foliage. Consequently, as the reader was encouraged to admit, there were

two types of Nature: an adequate one, beautiful and uniform (known to have been imitated in Antiquity), and a deformed one, unpleasant and angular (supposedly imitated during the Middle Ages.)[94]

In Ribart de Chamoust's theory, the complex issue of the Greco-Gothic ideal is lessened to the point that it persists, *in abstracto*, only in the ternary shape of the order, as a symbolic suggestion of the medieval clustered piers. On the contrary, his discourse is centered on the direct connection between the column and the tree shaft. Despite the unquestionable discrepancy between the text itself and the illustrative plates, Ribart de Chamoust's ideas seem even more interesting as their visual rendering is a tedious sort of Composite. Consequently, such notions as the "tree-column" or the "sylvan edifice" should be more closely considered.

The idea of a "tree-column" was not unprecedented in France. Actually, it has been outlined for the first time in 1567, in the same primary French treatise published by Philibert De l'Orme. More specifically, in book seven, chapter twelve (just before the section on French order), he described the ancient practice of using tree shafts instead of columns, revealing at the same time his eagerness not only in restoring it, but as well in transferring it into stone.[95] Therefore, he further detailed this type of column, supposedly a close imitation of a tree, as can be seen in the corresponding illustration. [il. 15] In De l'Orme's narrative, even more interesting than this sort of *mimesis* was the curious intertwining of the vegetal and human nature – as it were "female" tree-columns and "male" ones[96] – most probably due to his care not to force too much the Vitruvian dogma. As a matter of fact, his attempt to create a new column was not meant to be an "archaeological" remake, but rather a modern undertaking, "innovative" despite (or due to) its antiqueness.

Apparently, until Laugier's famous *Essai*, the idea of a tree-column was abandoned by the French theoreticians. The "primitive hut" – as an operative principle – did not even concern the architectural order, since it conceptualized a primordial structure that emphasized the function, while drastically confining the form. The unique connection between De l'Orme's tree-column (functionally un-justified) and Laugier's artless pillar (adequate for its purpose) was the *matter itself* as a sort of matrix for the future architectural order.

The last and most ample reevaluation of the tree-column was that of Ribart de Chamoust, who explicitly referred to order and not to any constructive principle. Moreover, when asserting its primordiality, he also included Laugier's conjectures which he interpreted in a "Vitruvian" key,

yet *outside* the Vitruvian dogma. More precisely, even if not included in the series of events (the quest for a shelter, the discovery of the fire, the building of the first huts) presented by Vitruvius as the origin of architecture, the French order *was made to precede the antique ones* on the ground of its primordiality.

In order to enhance its relevance, the column "found in nature" should be considered in relation to the wider theme of the "world's architecture". Even more operative in the case of the French theory in the second half of the 18th century is the metaphor of the "nature's edifice" as a necessary shelter in view of a nostalgic (rousseauesque) abandonment of the institutionalized society/culture/architecture. In this case, a certain sacredness of "nature's architecture" is also to be expected.

* * *

At the beginning of the third section, entitled "L'Ordre François apperçu dans le type Grec, & son développement", Ribart de Chamoust described an interesting – and significant – private experience, which might be taken as the key of his entire discourse: "I was walking in the shadow of tall trees on my estate, in a gorge that leads into the Marne. Young trees, placed three by three in a fairly regular pattern, although planted haphazardly, came into sight. The groups of these trees formed and ordered by their unity *a kind of natural, hexagonal and extraordinary room.*"[97] [il. 16] In this paragraph, apparently reporting an ordinary daily happening, Ribart de Chamoust was presenting, in fact, a conjecture on the primeval regularity of Nature as a necessary support to theorizing the natural (French) order.

The analogy between edifice and garden, within the pattern of a sort of "vegetal architecture", was also formulated by Jean-Marie Morel, the author of a *Théorie des jardins* published in 1776, who denounced, instead, the deformation of the landscape through an excessive use of geometry. More precisely, he argued that a methodological confusion was inescapably leading towards the shaping of the gardens as a series of halls, cabinets and corridors.[98] By that time, the "landscape park" was being already introduced in France, gradually replacing the geometrical gardens. It is probable, though, that Ribart de Chamoust was either not familiarized with the latest fashion in landscape and gardening, or he couldn't accept it.

Another example of a correlative relation between architecture and nature was provided by Marc-Antoine Laugier, who invited his public to "regard the city as if it were a forest"[99]; still, he was not recommending a "natural" *modus operandi* for the city planners, but rather on the contrary.

273

Moreover, it is quite unclear whether he referred to a luxuriating grove or a rigorously designed park. Apparently, in Laugier's case, these two realms of vegetation are more or less the same: the wood is a sort of garden whose "parterre", drawn in Le Notre's style, should inspire the structuring of the urban space.[100] Obviously, both the "primitive hut" and the "sylvan city" were following the same eternal rules.

Besides the garden and the city, there is another repository of the analogy between nature and architecture, perhaps the most important one: the "nature-sanctuary", with the correlative form of the "forest temple". The first of them connotes the solemnity of a ritual, while the other implies the direct experience of sacredness. On the one hand, the "nature-sanctuary" could be, for instance, embodied in a sort of "vegetal monument", such as the *Poplars' Island* at Ermenonville (designed in 1776-77), that would connote death, emptiness or regeneration. The metaphor of the "forest temple", on the other hand, may be deciphered in two ways – converting architecture into nature and nature into architecture – both of them mentioned during the 18th century.

In 1714, in a letter inserted in the second edition of his treatise – meant to reply to Amédée Frezier's critiques – Jean-Louis de Cordemoy justified the use of the term "la sainte Antiquité" by invoking a versified epistle of Sidonius Apollinarius describing am ancient church in Lyon, so large that would resemble a "forest of columns" (*Et campum medium procul locatas vestit saxea silva per columnas*).[101] Conversely, the columns of a church are as well turned into trees and branches, as if to confirm Laugier's hypothesis on the origin of Gothic architecture, in a page written by Charles-Marguerite Dupaty in 1785. In his Italian diary, this obscure writer describes his religious experience – when confronted with the baroque churches in Genoa – that led him to meditate on the most beautiful temple in the world, namely the center of a vast and deep forest.[102] In the first case – that of the "forest of columns" (Cordemoy/Sidonius Apollinarius) – transcendency is turned into immanency, while in the second case – the "forest temple" (Dupaty) – the wood is endowed with sacredness.[103]

In Ribart de Chamoust's narrative, the French order "found in nature" was, in fact, created by God himself, seen as the supreme architect of the "mundane edifice".[104] At the same time, the ternary order also personified the three Graces; just like the ancient Greeks had "shaped" their columns according to (three types of) human proportions, the French order embodied the unit of the three goddesses of joy, charm and beauty.[105] Ultimately, this antique (mythological) ternary unit is intertwined with

the triad of Celtic deities – Urd, Werandi, Sculde, the personifications of magnanimity, affability and generosity – which should crown, in Ribart de Chamoust's view, the National French Monument.[106] [il. 17] The sacredness of the French order is thus revealed as a syncretic conglomerate if not, as some critics asserted, in the light of a Freemasonic engagement.[107]

* * *

Undoubtedly, of all the theoreticians of a French order, Ribart de Chamoust provided the most interesting narrative. Despite various inadvertencies and the confinement to the Composite appearance, he was the only author to have envisioned the French order beyond the mere "column-and-superstructure unit", into details such as the proportions of the intercolumniation or the shape of the newels.[108]

The cardinal difference between his undertaking and the previous ones consisted in the *primordiality* of the Order, as well as in the transfer of creativity: he approached the issue of a French order not as something to invent, but as something *discovered in nature*, and therefore ancient as the nature itself. The argumentation that the French order was exclusively "natural" placed him in a twofold tradition: antique (because of its similarity with the myth of Corinthian capital, shaped by Nature) and French (through its derivation from Philibert De l'Orme's theory). Ultimately, his eagerness to configure a national Order, through a complex and multiform narrative, can be understood as the aim to be recognized as a modern Vitruvius. With his devoted work, France, the first nation in the world, could have at last emulated the Roman Empire.
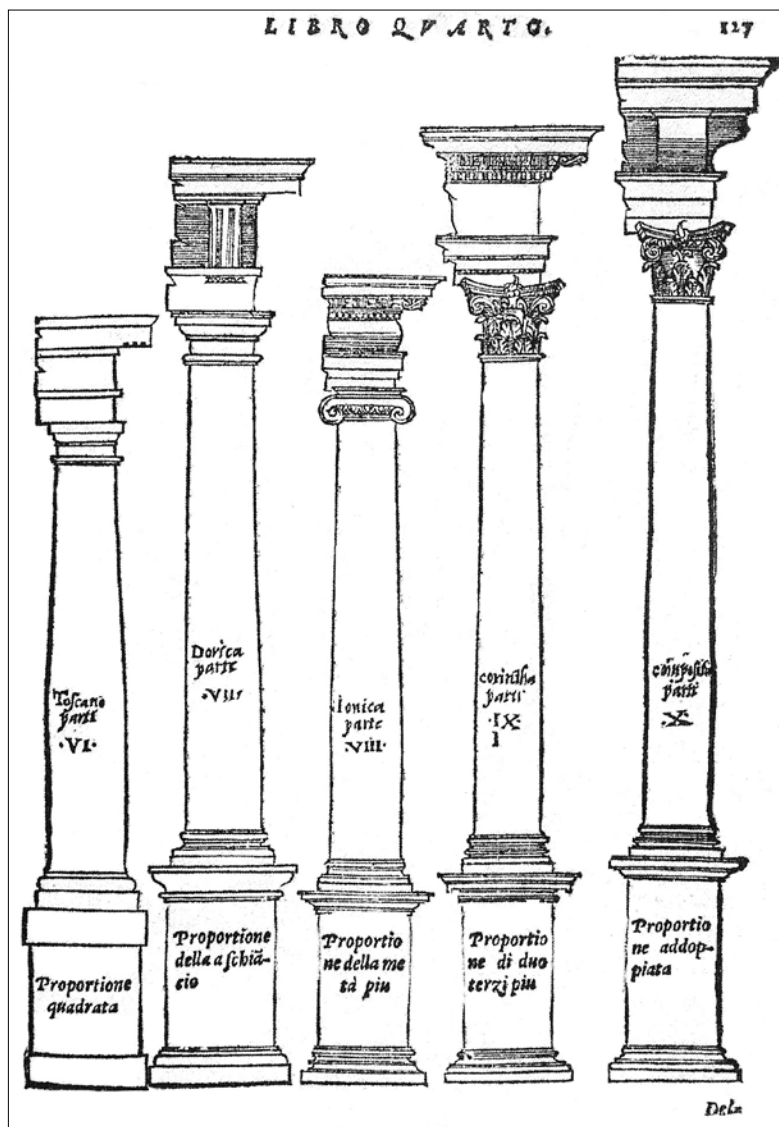
1. Sebastiano Serlio, The Five Orders, (*Il Quarto Libro*, 1537), published in *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese*, 1600, p. 127.

2. Georges Tournier (engraver), The Corinthian Order, published in
Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallele de l'Architecture antique et de la
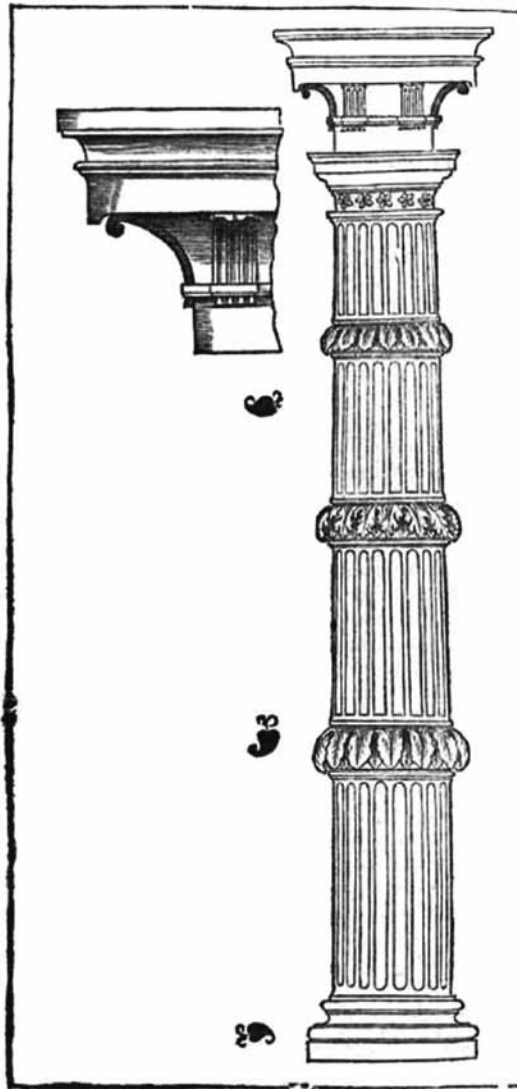moderne*, 1650, p. 63.

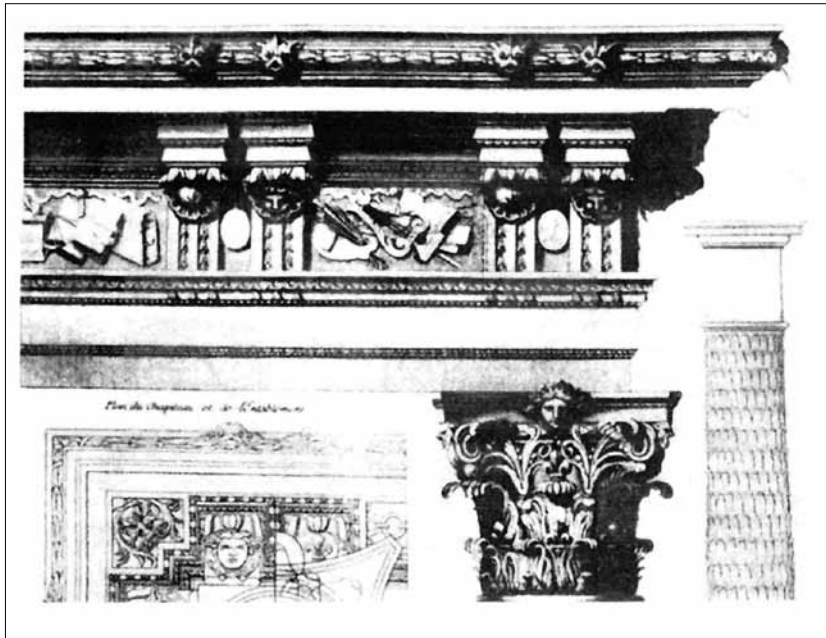3. Claude Perrault, The Eastern Façade of Louvre (the colonnade), 1665-67.

4. Sébastien Le Clerc (engraver), Frontispice, published in *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve* [par Claude Perrault], 1673.

5. Philibert De l'Orme, The French Column, published in *Le premier Tome de l'Architecture*, 1567, Lb. IV, c. XIII, p. 219.

6. Charles Le Brun, The French Order, 1672 (?), published in Pierre-Jean Mariette, *L'Architecture française*, 1727, III, pl. 559.
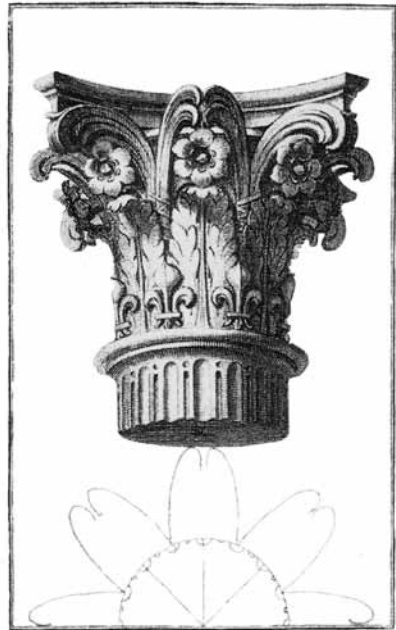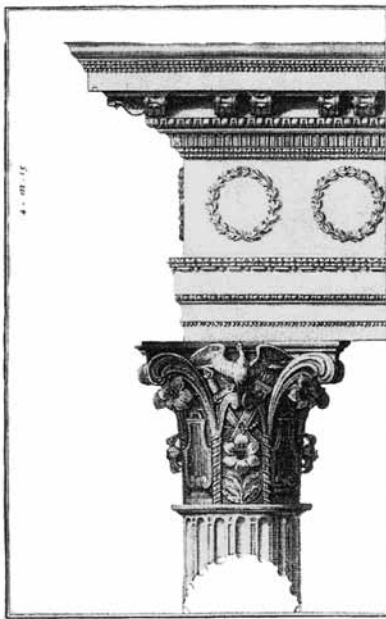
7. Sébastien Le Clerc, The French Order, published in Sébastien Le Clerc, *Traité d'architecture*, 1714, II, pl. 177 & 178.

Feüilles de Palmier. Plumes d'Autruche

Pl. 89. *Pag.* 335.

BASES COMPOSÉES ET CHAPITEAUX SYMBOLIQUES
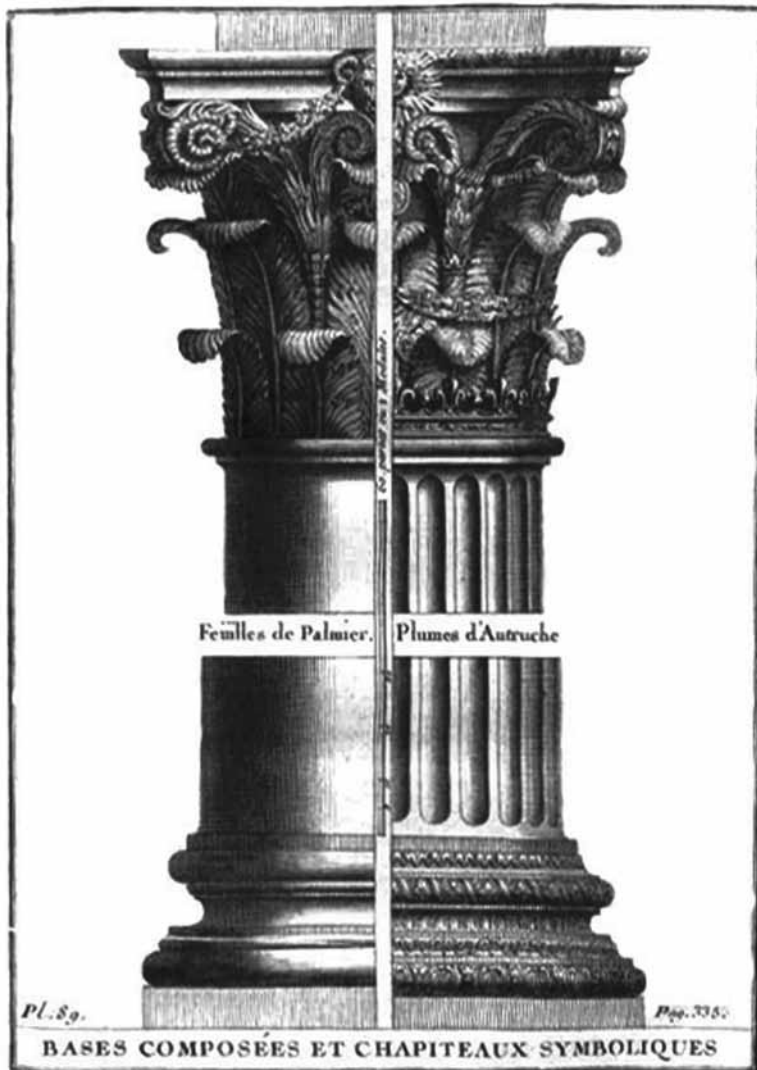
8. Augustin-Charles d'Aviler, The French Order, published in
Augustin-Charles d'Aviler, *Cours d'architecture* (1691), 1738, pl. 89.

9. Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen (engraver), Frontispice, published in Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'Architecture*, 1755.
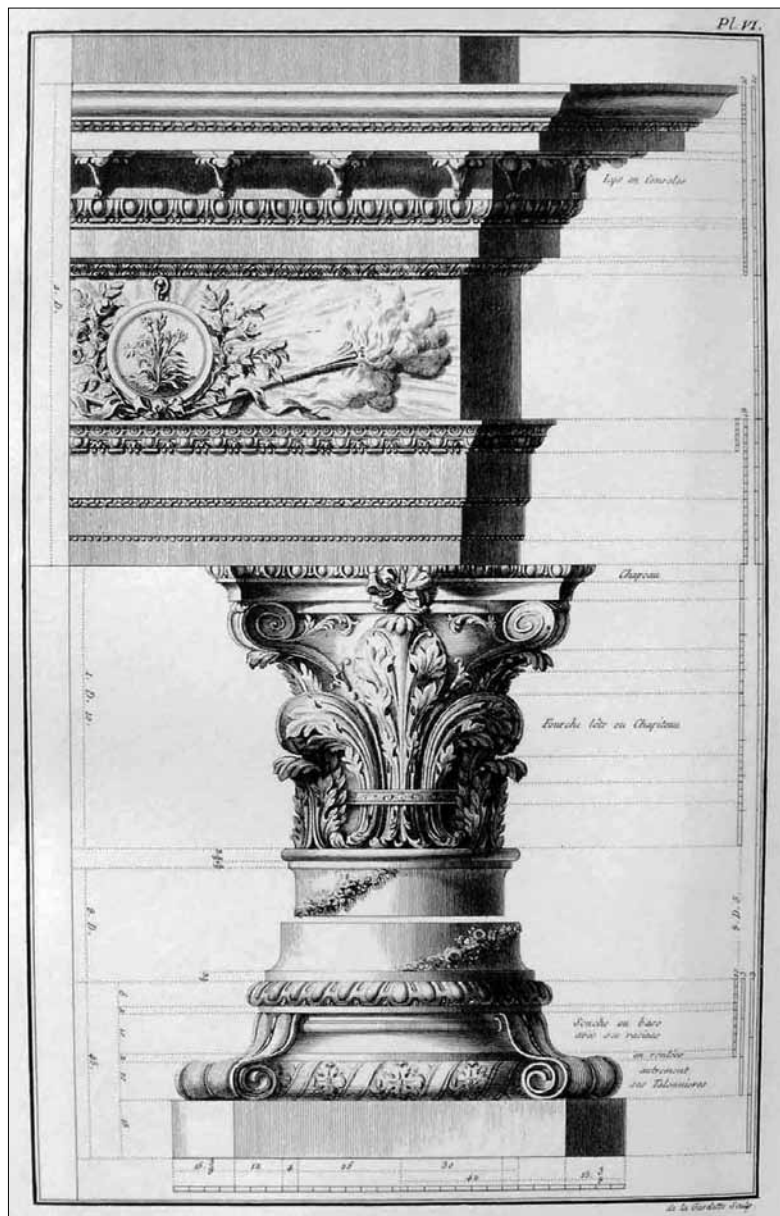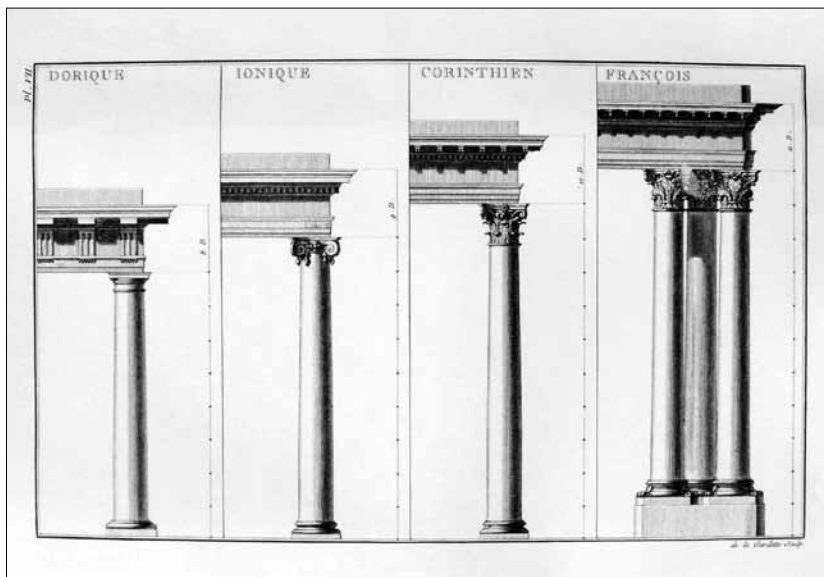
10. Ribart de Chamoust, The French Order, pl. VI, published in
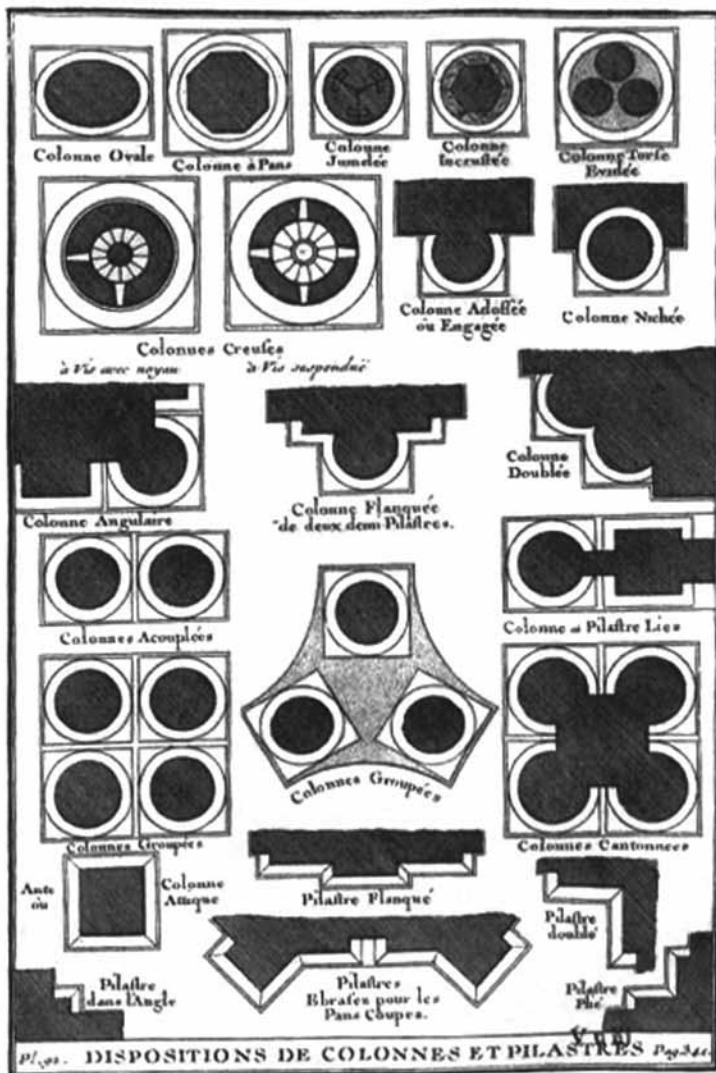*L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, 1783.
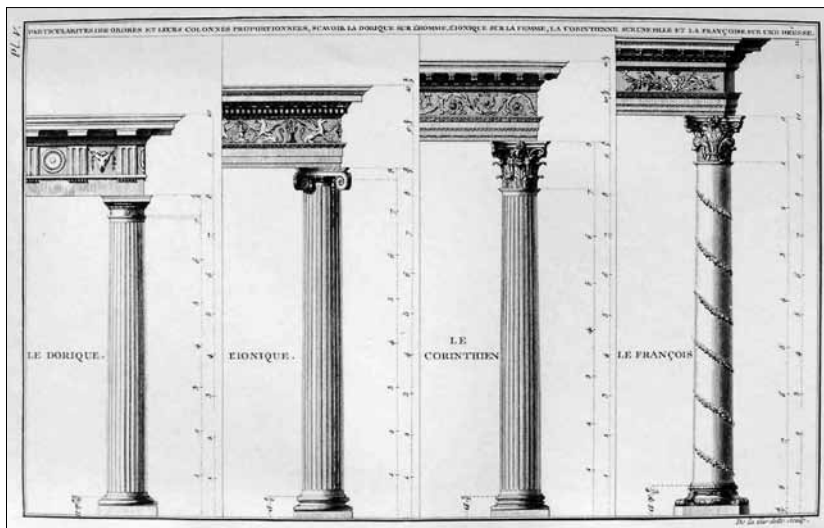
11. Ribart de Chamoust, The Four Orders, pl. V, published in
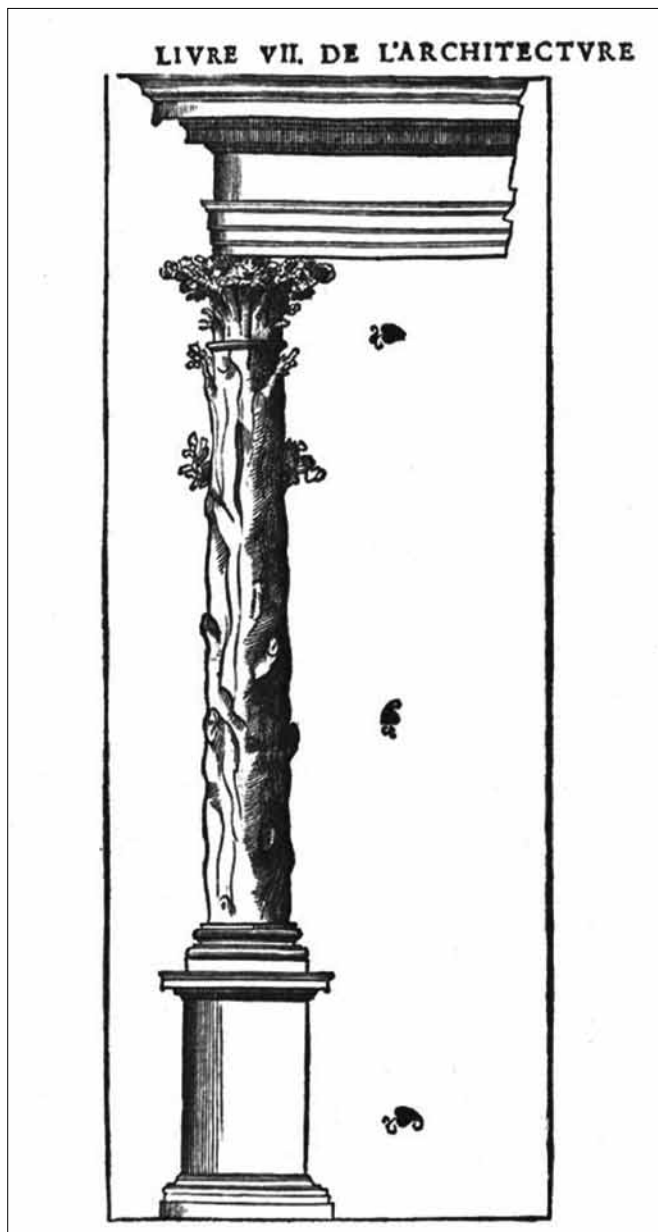*L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, 1783.
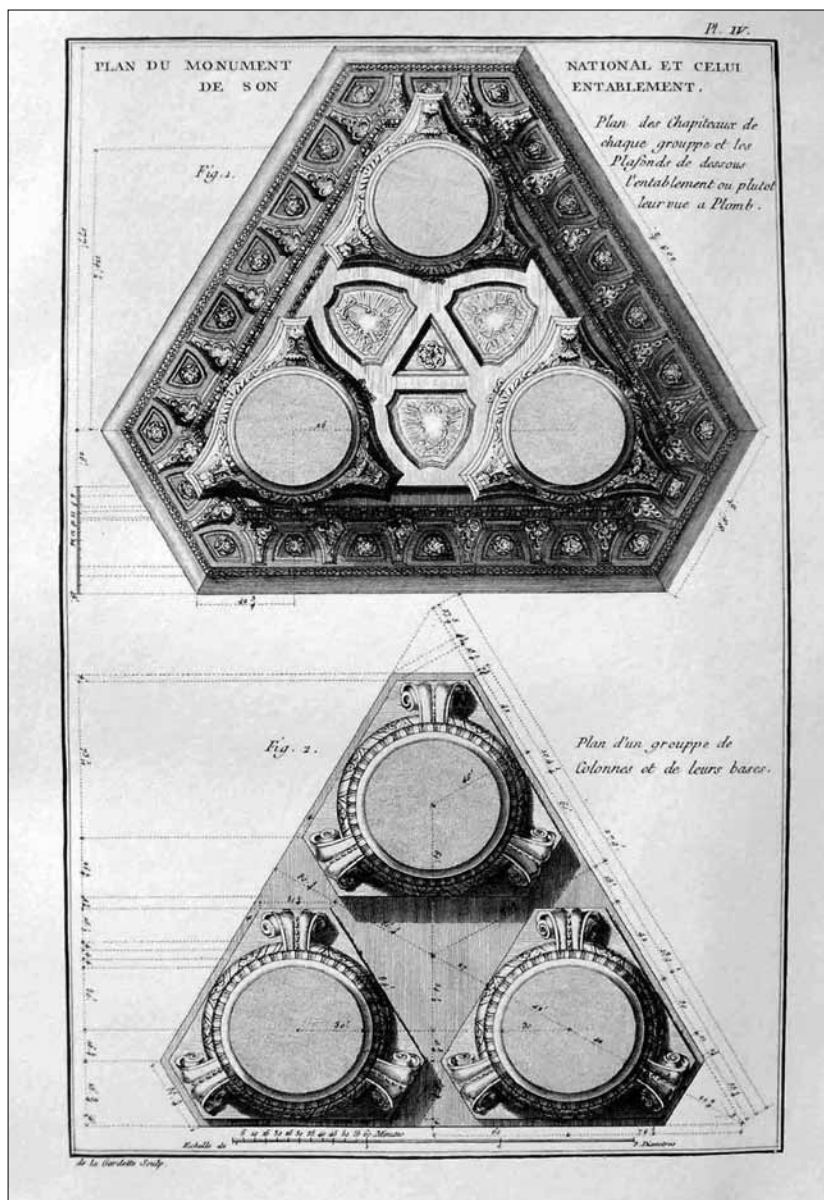
12. Ribart de Chamoust, The Plan of the National Monument, pl. IV, published in *L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, 1783.
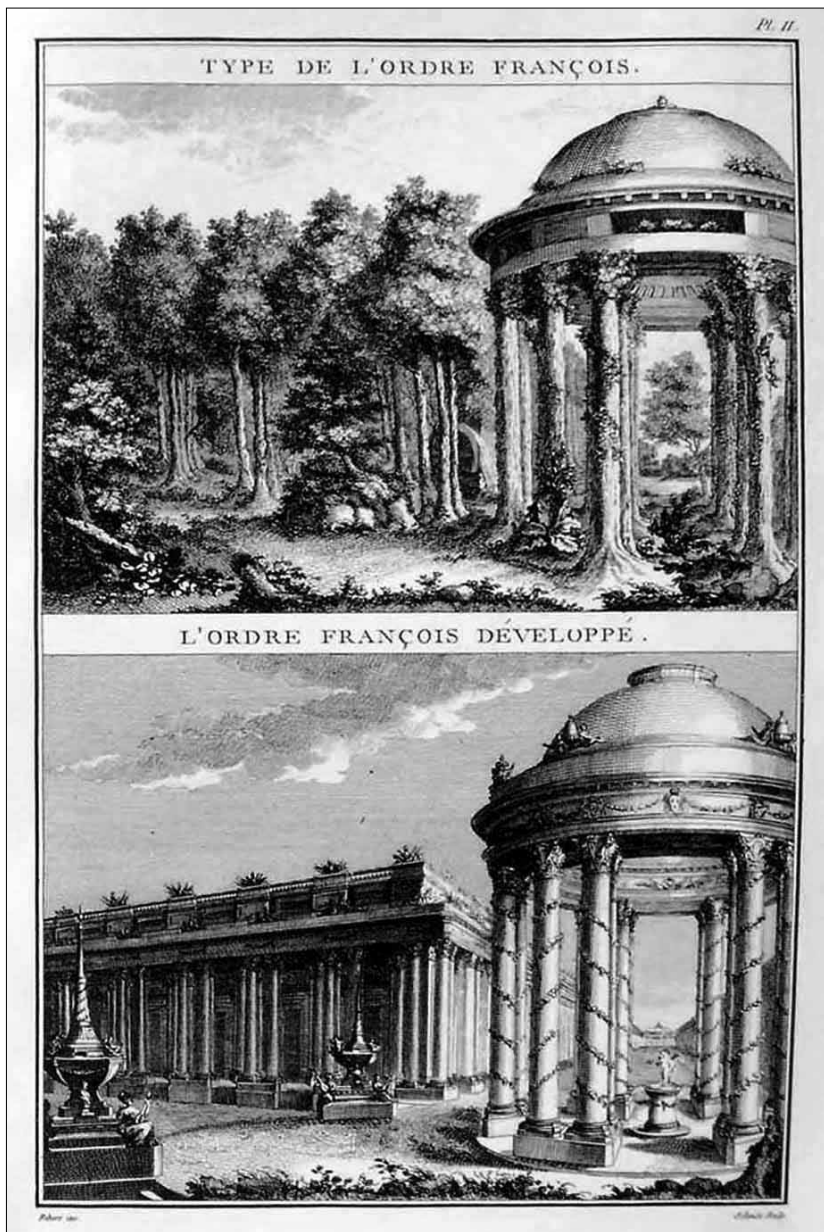
13. Ribart de Chamoust, The Four Orders, pl. VII,
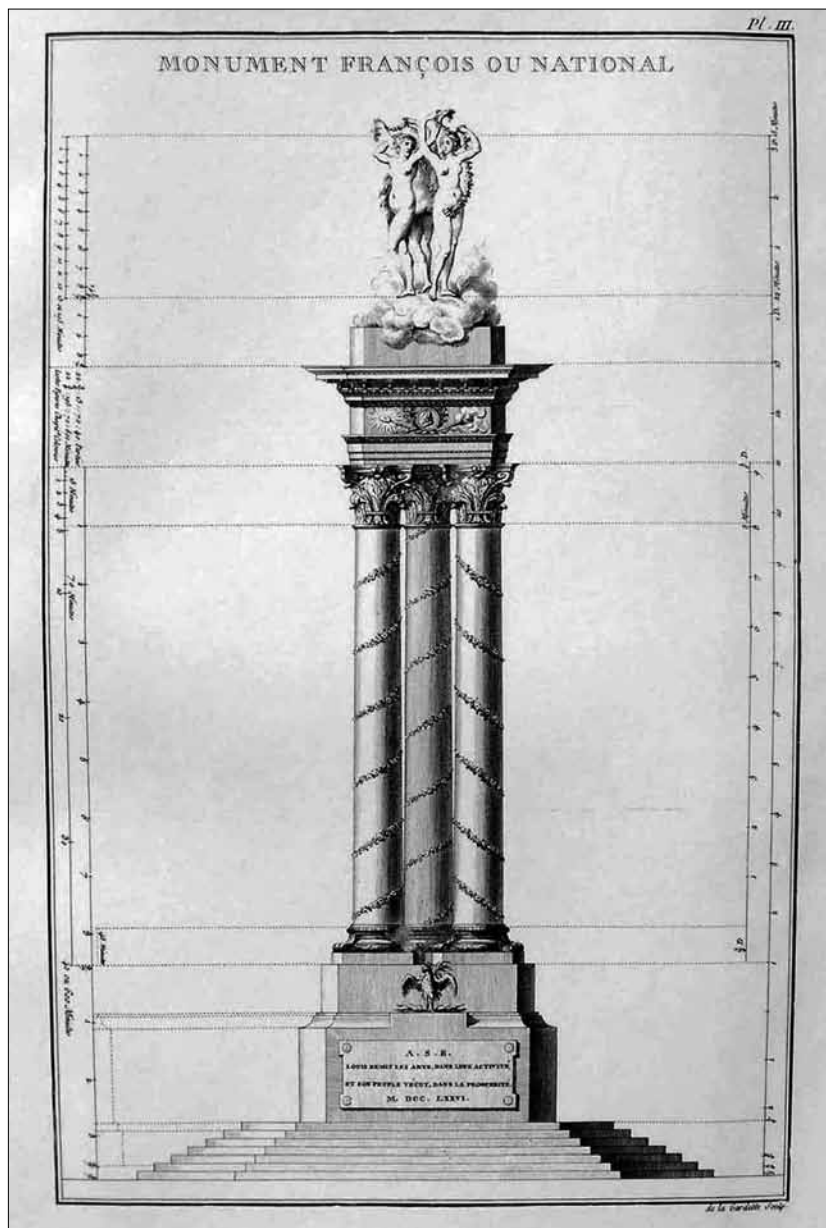published in *L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, 1783.

14. Augustin-Charles d'Aviler, Columns and Pilasters, published in
Cours d'architecture qui comprend les Ordres de Vignole, (1691),
Ed. 1738, pl. 92, p. 341.

15. Philibert De l'Orme, The Tree-column, published in
Le premier Tome de l'Architecture, 1567, Lb. IV, c. XII, p. 217.

16. Ribart de Chamoust, The Type of French Order, pl. II, published in *L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, 1783.

17. Ribart de Chamoust, The National Monument, pl. III, published in
L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature, 1783.

NOTES

1   Summerson 1993, p. 10. A comprehensive analysis of the poetics of order is to be found in Tzonis & Lefaivre 1986.
2   This perplexity is the starting point of George Hersey's enquiry into the 'lost meaning' of classical architecture. See Hersey 1988, p. 1.
3   Vitruvius speaks of Doric in Lb. IV, c. 1, 3-6. He refers to Ionic in Lb. III, c. 4, 5-15 and Lb. IV, c. 1, 7. Lastly, the Corinthian is described in Lb. IV, c. 1, 8-11.
4   See Vitruve 1673, *passim.* Claude Perrault, who was trained as a doctor, worked more than six years on this translation, benefiting from additional bibliography and – more important – from knowing ancient Greek which, by that time, was indispensable to medicine. See Hermann 1973, pp. 19-22.
5   Vitruve 1673, p. 98.
6   *Ibidem.*
7   With the nowadays sense, the term "order" seems to have been used for the first time in the famous letter sent to pope Leo X, presumably by Raphael and his intellectual circle. See Pauwels 2008, p. 8.
8   In 1691, the architect Augustin-Charles d'Aviler published a book entitled *Cours d'Architecture qui comprend les ordres de Vignole*, with numerous later editions. Likewise, Jacques Raymond Lucotte's treatise, *Le Vignole moderne*, appeared as late as 1772, being as well repeatedly re-published. See Garric 2012, 7-10.
9   The modern authors, with whom Roland Fréart de Chambray chose to parallel the Antiquity, were Leon Battista Alberti, Sebastiano Serlio, Daniele Barbaro, Pietro Cataneo, Andrea Palladio, Scamozzi, Bullant and Philibert De l'Orme. Moreover, Fréart de Chambray translated for the first time Andrea Palladio's treatise, published in the same year 1650.
10 Besides the notorious distinction between "positive" and "arbitrary" beauty, Claude Perrault identified three building manners: *ancienne* (formulated by Vitruvius and traceable in ancient Greek architecture), *antique* (suitable to ancient Roman monuments) and *moderne* (displayed since the Renaissance). Moreover, Claude Perrault contested the previous theories on proportion, according to which the proportionality was the source of beauty. Consequently, although rigorously theorized (according to the *ancient* manner), it should be relatively applied. For a relevant analysis of Perrault's theory, see Herrmann 1973, *passim* and especially pp. 95-128 and Rykwert 1980, pp. 33-34.
11 For a sharp abstract of the classical architectural theory, and of the architectural order in particular, see Fichet 1979, pp. 21-31.
12 In *De architectura*, Lb. I, c. 2, 1. See Vitruve 1673, p. 9. "Ordinatione" was usually translated in English as "Order", when not as "Fitness".
13 Vitruvius 1955, p. 25. For a detailed examination of the Vitruvian concept of "ordinatio", see Tzonis & Lefaivre 1986, pp. 9-34.

14   See Aviler 1738, p. 17.
15   Perrault 1683, p. 2.
16   Aviler 1738, p. 17.
17   Blondel 1698, p. 4.
18   Gros 2001, p. 17.
19   Hersey 1987, p. 76. In the age of Augustus, the medical terminology still resorted to ancient Greek. Confronted with the same situation, Vitruvius attempted to transpose the architectural terms from ancient Greek to contemporary Latin. However, the linguistic equation was still a major difficulty during the early modernity, when the architectural vocabulary was shaped. For instance, Philibert De l'Orme was overtly lamenting upon the inability of French to describe architecture. See Szambien 1986, p. 24.
20   Vitruvius tells the legend of the discovery of the Corinthian capital in *De Architectura*, Lb. IV, c. 1, 9-10.
21   This is the interpretation of George Hersey: the death of the Corinthian virgin, before procreation (*Virgo civis Corinthia, iam matura nuptiis, inplicata morbo decessit*), was transferred upon the architectural creativity. See Hersey 1987, p. 73. Furthermore, the author uses the key of sacrifice and taboo in interpreting other (sub)orders such as the Caryatid or the so called "Persian portico".
22   For d'Aviler, the Corinthian seems to be the suitable patterrn for each modern order. See Aviler 1738, p. 334.
23   Laugier 1755, p. 85.
24   *De Architectura*, Lb. IV, c. 1, 7.
25   For instance, when speaking of the Tuscan Order, François Blondel declared that "Les proportions de la hauteur à la grosseur ont esté judicieusement determinées par les anciens Architects, qui imitant premierement la structure du corps humain [...]." Likewise, on the Ionic Order, he stated: "Ensuite ils establirent un troisiéme ordre de Colonnes à l'imitation du corps des femmes [...]." See Blondel 1698, vol. I, p. 9.
26   See Perrault 1683, p. j. Furthermore, Perrault considered that only the difference between Orders remained constant, and not the proportions, since it reflected the analogy with the human proportions. See Rykwert 1980, p. 34.
27   Grignon & Maxim 1995, p. 29; Szambien 1986, pp. 174-200.
28   Camus de Mézières 1780, p. 8. For a theoretical approach of the architectural anthropomorphism, see Szambien 1986, p. 40.
29   Both in practice and in his theoretical vision, Philibert De l'Orme rather contested the Vitruvian theory. See Pauwels 2008, p. 146.
30   Vitruve 1673, p. 1.
31   Romano 1987, p. 17.
32   Herrmann 1973, pp. 19-22.
33   This thesis is convincingly put forward in Dripps 1987, pp. 19-20. Perrault's translation was eulogized by René Ouvard in 1679, in his book *Architecture harmonique. Apud* Herrmann 1973, p. 199. On the Royal Academy of

Architecture as an instrument for the absolutist politics of Louis XIV, see Herrmann 1958, p. 23.

34 On the voyage of Gianlorenzo Bernini in France, the fate of his project and the decision made by Colbert, see Blunt 1957, pp. 189-191; Pariset 1965, pp. 130-131; Tapié 1980, pp. 225 – 252.

35 Pérouse de Montclos 1977, pp. 230-231, 240.

36 De l'Orme 1567, Livre VII, Chapitre XIII, p. 218.

37 *Idem*, p. 221.

38 *Idem*, p. 219.

39 Pauwels 2008, p. 162. Pierre Lescot's enterprise, during 1546-1551, was in itself a crucial stage in the history of French architecture, as it implied the refusal of Sebastiano Serlio's project in favor of a local architect, but also because it announced the principles of the future French classicism. See Blunt 1957, pp. 44-46. The initiative of enlarging the Louvre's facades was triggered by Claude Perrault. See Pérouse de Montclos 1977, pp. 226-227.

40 The so called „nouvel ordre français de l'invention de Charles Le Brun, premier peintre du roi", from 1672, was illustrated by Jean Mariette in his *Architecture française* (1727). However, his first attempt to invent a French order, for the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre, preceded the 1671 competition with no less than a decade. See Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 228.

41 Le Clerc's project was visually rendered in his own book, *Traité d'architecture* (1714). In 1736, he was accused of designing his version of a French order in a too closely after the plates found in the treatises written by Andrea Palladio and Roland Fréart de Chambray. See Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 230, note 40.

42 Augustin-Charles d'Aviler presented his project in his own *Cours d'architecture* (1691), in the chapter „Bases composées et chapiteaux symboliques", in which he also mentioned the 1671 competition. See Aviler 1738, plate 89 and pp. 334-335; Pérouse de Montclos 1977, pp. 230-231, note 45.

43 Aviler 1738, p. 334.

44 Blondel 1698, vol. II, p. 249.

45 *Ibidem*.

46 This resolution was published in the eighth volume of the *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale d'architecture*, 1671-1793, (10 vol.). *Apud* Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 240.

47 Briseux 1752, vol. 2, p. 131. See Weinberger 2006, p. 48.

48 Laugier 1765, pp. 270-276.

49 Camus de Mézières 1780, p. 38.

50 Blondel 1771, pp. 189-286.

51 Nicolas Marie Potain, *Traité des orders d'architecture*, 1767; Jean Antoine, *Traité d'architecture ou Proportion des Trois Ordres Grecs, sur un module de douze parties*, 1768: Pierre Panseron, *Élements d'architecture*, 1772; Claude Mathieu Delagardette, *Règle des cinq ordres d'architecture*, 1786.

52 Garric 2012, 19.

53   Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 223
54   Apart from the confusion between the medieval Tuscan architecture and the presumed Etruscan one, starting with the 16th century, the continuity of the Tuscan order from Antiquity to present day was constantly defended. Moreover, in the early 1600, Vincenzo Scamozzi asserted the precedence of the Tuscan over the Doric, this hypothesis being later often repeated by the Italian theoreticians. See Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 224.
55   Vitruve 1673, p. 74.
56   "On met sur ces mesmes colonnes des chapiteaux qui ont d'autres noms: mais ces noms ne doivent point faire changer celuy des colonnes, puisqu'elles ont les mesmes proportions, car on ne leur a donné ces noms qu'à cause de quelques parties qui ont esté prises des chapiteaux Corinthiens [...]." Cf. Vitruve 1673, pp. 103-104.
57   Pauwels 2008, p. 8.
58   Laugier 1755, p. 61.
59   "La decadenza del buon gusto dell'Architettura o sia sesto ordine dal quale deriva il gusto barbaro fondato su le Rovine degli egizi grezi e Romani, da qui ebbe l'origine il nuovo gusto barbao". *Apud* Bevilacqua 2009, p. 81.
60   Bevilacqua 2009, p. 84.
61   The dialogue entitled *Parere su l'Architecture* was actually continuing Piranesi's *Osservazioni […]*, published in the same year, which confuted some aspects of the French theory, voiced by Pierre-Jean Mariette.
62   "[…] tre sono le maniere dell'Architettura che coltiviamo, maniera, o ordine, come volete chiamarlo [...]. Il pensare, che le differenti proporzioni possano produrre una nuova spezie d'Architettura, è una vera pazzia [...]." See Piranesi 1765, pp. 13-14.
63   For a comprehensive research on this topic see Ehrard 1963, *passim.*
64   Still, Voltaire, in his book *Nature. Dialogue entre le Philosophe et la Nature*, published in 1771, reveals his skepticism as for the unerring reason of nature. Cf. Hazard 1946, vol 2, p. 14.
65   Hazard 1946, p. 15.
66   Starobinski 1971, p. 324.
67   Kremer-Marietti 1973, p. 12-13.
68   Cassirer 2003, p. 51.
69   Kruft 1988, p. 192.
70   Laugier 1755, pp. 9-10.
71   Laugier 1755, p. 28.
72   *Idem*, p. 13.
73   In fact, even the years of Ribart de Chamoust's life remain a mystery. However, he was frequently mistaken with a certain Charles-François Ribart, who was a member of the Science Academy in Béziers. See Saint Girons 1990, p. 570.
74   Jacques-François Blondel reasserted the parallelism between the issuing of Vitruvius' treatise and its translation by Claude Perrault, by evoking the

similarities of both epochs: "[…] à l'example des siecles d'Auguste & Louis le Grand, nos Ministres, nos Prélats, nos Magistrats ne dédaignent pas de donner quelques instans de leur loisir à l'étude de l'Architecture, qui concure plus que toute autre à faire fleurir l'Etat & la Patrie." Blondel 1754, pp. 48-51.

[75] "En me consacrant tout entier à un travail dont les avantages peuvent honorer ma Patrie [...] le plaisir & la gloire d'avoir pu fournir à ma Patrie, un nouveau motif de rivalité avec les Nations les plus célèbres [...]" Chamoust 1783, pp. I-ij. "La découverte de l'Ordre François semble avoir été reservée au Regne glorieux de Louis XVI, surnommé le Bienfaisant." *Idem*, p. 55.

[76] The anachronistic approach was pointed out in Kruft 1988, p. 198 and Patetta 2006, p. 16. Concerning the overall transformations within the realm of the books on architecture, as well as in the reading practices and in the (re)configuration of the public itself, see Wittman 2007b, *passim.*

[77] "L'Ordre François existe depuis qu'il y a des arbres sur la terre." Chamoust 1783, p. 52.

[78] "J'entends par ce mot *type*, les premiers essais de l'homme pour s'assujettir la Nature [...]. Les objets sensibles que l'Artiste choisit avec justesse & raisonnement dans la Nature pour allumer & fixer en même-temps les feux de son imagination, je les appelle *archétypes.*" *Idem*, p. 5. See also Tzonis & Lefaivre 2004, p. 433.

[79] "[…] pour les disputer aux Grecs, il falloit, non les suivre pas à pas, mais remonter à la Théorie primitive, c'est-à-dire, à la Nature même." *Idem*, p. ij.

[80] The vegetal elements spread on the column's shaft, as a way of decorating the French order, had already been evoked, in 1765, by Marc-Antoine Laugier: "La tige de la colonne au lieu d'être sillonée en cannelures, sera semé de fleurs-de-lis sans nombre, d'un relief médiocre [...]" Laugier 1765, p. 275.

[81] The idea of the schematic roots was also put forth in 1728, in a German treatise, namely in Johann Georg Wagner's *Probe der sechsten Säulen Ordnung*. However, there is no evidence that Ribart de Chamoust was aware of the existence of this source. See Weinberger 2006, p. 52.

[82] "Considérons présentement chaque grouppe de trois colonnes comme formé par trois troncs sortants d'une même souche, ou plutôt comme crûs avec égalité sur un même tertre [...]" *Idem*, p. 25.

[83] Aviler 1738, pp. 340-341.

[84] "Dans l'Ordre François, c'est tout autre chose, les colonnes n'y doivent aller que par trois, soit qu'elles existent reelement, soit qu'elles paroissent feintes par des pilastres [...]"Chamoust 1783, p. 25.

[85] In the early 1700, abbot Jean-Louis de Cordemoy includes this double column, under the label *dyostyle*, among the five types of intercolumniation mentioned by Vitruvius (*pycnostyle*, *systyle*, *dyastile*, *araeostyle* şi *eustyle*), implying that "Cette derniére maniére doit être préférée à toutes les autres [...]." Cordemoy 1714, p. 52.

[86] Saint Girons 1990, p. 571; Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 238.

[87] Michel de Frémin's *Memoirs* consisted in 48 letters, written in a prolix manner. See Nyberg 1963, p. 217; Tzonis & Lefaivre 2004, p. 260.

[88] Frémin 1702, p. 22."

[89] Frémin 1702, pp. 26-40. Cf. Middleton 1962, p. 282.

[90] The impact of Frémin's "memoirs" over Cordemoy's theory is usually admitted. See Middleton 1962, pp. 282-283; Tzonis & Lefaivre 2004, p. 260.

[91] Cordemoy 1714, p. 109. Cf. Middleton 1962, pp. 284.

[92] "[...] si dans l'intérieur de nos Eglises nous ne ferions pas mieux l'imiter & de perfectionner cette Architecture gothique, en réservant l'Architecture gréque pour les dehors", Laugier 1765, p. 117.
This strange idea was reiterated by Francesco Milizia, in 1781, in his *Principj di Architettura Civile*: "E che male sarebbe imitare e migliorare nell'interno delle nostre chiese questa Architettura Gotica, e riserbare pel difuori la Greca." (tomo secondo, p. 495)

[93] "Il paroit que ces grands berceaux formés par deux rangées d'arbres de haute futaye ont fourni le modélle de l'Architecture de nos Eglises gothiques" Laugier 1765, p. 116

[94] Laugier 1765, pp. 269-270; Queysanne 1990, p. 48.

[95] De l'Orme 1567, Livre VII, Chapitre XII, p. 217. Cf. Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 237.

[96] "Et si encores vous y pouvez accomoder le sexe masculine ou feminine: comme si vous desirez façonner voz colommes, imitans les arbres, à la Dorique, vous le faictes apres la mesure de l'homme; à la Ionique, suyvant celle de la femme: & à la Corinthienne, apres celle d'une fille ayant forme & façon plus jolie & mignarde que les autres". De l'Orme 1567, *Idem*, p. 217.

[97] Chamoust 1783, p. 6 (my underline). See also Tzonis & Lefaivre 2004, p. 433.

[98] Morel 1776, pp. 4-6.

[99] Laugier 1755, p. 222.

[100] *Idem*, p. 223. See Saint-Girons 1990, p. 549.

[101] Cordemoy 1714, pp. 193-200 and especially pp. 198-199; See also Nyberg 1967, *passim*.

[102] Dupaty 1788, Vol. I, *Lettre XXII*, pp. 89-90.

[103] Simoncini 2001, p. 187.

[104] "[...] j'ai cherché & crois avoir trouvé cet Ordre dans le livre de la Nature, émané de Dieu même qui est le Maître des maîtres." Chamoust 1783, p. 52.

[105] "Dans les trois colonnes de chaque grouppe, je me suis figure voir les trois Graces [...] & j'ai cru pouvoir mieux faire que de fixer leurs proportions distinctives & leur union sur la stature & la position de ces Déesses." *Idem*, p. 8.

[106] *Idem*, pp. 8-9.

[107] Vidler 1987, p. 150.

[108] Pérouse de Montclos 1977, p. 236.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Aviler 1738 – Augustin-Charles d'AVILER, *Cours d'architecture qui comprend les Ordres de Vignole, avec des Commentaires, les Figures & les Descriptions de ses plus beaux Bâtimens, & de ceux de Michel-Ange* (1691), À Paris, chez Jean Mariette, M.DCC.XXXVIII (1738).

Blondel 1698 – François BLONDEL, *Cours d'Architecture enseigné dans l'Academie Royale d'Architecture* (1675), 3 vol., À Paris, chez l'Auteur, M.DC.XVIII (1698).

Blondel 1754 – Jacques-François BLONDEL, *Discours sur la nécessité de l'étude de l' architecture*, À Paris, chez C. A. Jombert, Imprimeur-Libraire du Roi, M.DCC.LIV (1754).

Blondel 1771-77 – Jacques-François BLONDEL, *Cours d'Architecture ou Traité de la Décoration, Distribution & Construction des Bâtiments*, À Paris, chez Desaint, Libraire, 6 vol., M.DCC.LXXI-M.DCC.LXXVII (1771-1777).

Briseux 1752 – Charles Étienne BRISEUX, *Traité du beau essentiel dans les arts. Appliqué particulierement à l'Architecture, et démonstré phisiquement et par l'expérience*, 2. vol., À Paris, chez l'Auteur ruë Neuve Grange Bateliére, M.DCC.LII (1752).

Camus de Mézières 1780 – Nicolas Le CAMUS DE MÉZIÈRES, *Le génie de l'architecture ou l'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, Chez Benoit Morin, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Saint Jacques, à la Vérité, M.DCC.LXXX (1780).

Chamoust 1783 – Ribart de CHAMOUST, *L' Ordre François trouvé dans la nature*, présenté au Roi le 21 septembre 1776, à Paris, chez Nyon, l'aîné, rue du Jardinier, Quartier Saint-André-des-Arcs, M.DCC.LXXXIII (1783).

Cordemoy 1714 – Jean-Louis de CORDEMOY, *Nouveau traité de toute l' architecture ou l' art du bastir utile aux entrepreneurs et aux ouvriers* (1706), À Paris, chez Jean-Baptiste Coignard, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy & de l' Académie Françoise, M.DCC.XIV (1714).

De l'Orme 1567 – Philibert DE L'ORME, *Le premier Tome de l'Architecture*, À Paris, Chez Federic Morel, 1567.

Dupaty 1788 – Charles-Marguerite-Jean-Baptiste DUPATY, *Lettres sur l'Italie en 1785*, 2 vol., A Rome, 1788.

Fréart de Chambray 1650 – Roland FRÉART DE CHAMBRAY, *Parallele de l'Architecture antique et de la moderne, Avec un recueil des dix principaux autheurs qui ont écrit des cinq Ordres*, À Paris, chez Edmé Martin, M.DC.L (1650).

Frémin 1702 – Michel de FRÉMIN, *Mémoires critiques d'architecture contenans l'idée de la vraye & de la fausse Architecture*, À Paris, chez Charles Saugrain, sur le Quay de Gêvres, M.DCC.II (1702).

Laugier 1755 – Marc-Antoine LAUGIER, *Essai sur l'architecture*, Nouvelle edition, revue, corrigée, & augmentée, avec un Dictionnaire des termes, et des Planches qui en facilitent l'explication, Chez Duchesne, Libraire, Paris, M.DCC.LV (1755).

Laugier 1765 – Marc-Antoine LAUGIER, *Observations sur l' architecture*, À la Haye, à Paris, chez Desaint, Libraire, M.DCC.LXV, (1765).

Morel 1776 – Jean-Marie MOREL, *Théorie des jardins*, À Paris, chez Pissot, Libraire, M.DCC.LXXVI (1776).

Perrault 1683 – Claude PERRAULT, *Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des Anciens*, À Paris, chez Jean Baptiste Coignard, M.DC. LXXXIII (1683).

Piranesi 1765 – Giovanni Battista PIRANESI, *Parere su l' Architettura. Dialogo*, In Roma, M.DCC.LXV. (1765).

Vitruve 1673 – VITRUVIUS, *Les Dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve*, corrigez et traduits nouvellement en François [par Claude Perrault], avec des Notes & des Figures, À Paris, Chez Jean Baptiste Coignard, M.DC.LXXIII (1673).

Secondary Sources:

Bekaert 1979 – Geert BEKAERT, « À l'école du Dieu du goût », in Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture. Observations sur l'architecture*, édition integrale des deux volumes, Pierre Mardaga, 1979.

Benvenuto 1990 – Edoardo BENVENUTO, "La questione della verità in architettura", in *Laugier e la dimensione teorica dell'architettura*, a cura di Vittorio Ugo, Edizioni Dedalo Spa, Bari, 1990.

Bergdoll 2000 – Barry BERGDOLL, *European Architecture 1750-1890*, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bergmann 1986 – Eckart BERGMANN, «Architektur und Natur. Laugiers architektonische Prinzipien und ihre Wirkung» in Hans Körner & *alii*, *Empfindung und Reflexion. Ein Problem des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1986.

Bevilacqua 2009 – Mario BEVILACQUA, "Piranesi teorico: il 'sesto ordine dell'architettura'", in Francesco Paolo di Teodoro (a cura di), *Saggi di letteratura architettonica da Vitruvio a Winckelmann*, I Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2009.

Blunt 1957 – Anthony BLUNT, *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700*, Penguin Books Ltd, Harmondsworth, 1957.

Braham 1980 – Allan BRAHAM, *The Architecture of the French Elightenment*, Thames & Hudson Ltd., London, 1980.

Calatrava 1999 – Juan CALATRAVA, *Arquitectura y cultura en el siglo de las luces*, Universidad de Granada, 1999.

Cassirer 2003 – Ernst CASSIRER, *Filosofia luminilor* (*Die Philosophie der Aufklärung*, 1932), traducere de Adriana Pop, Paralela 45, Piteşti, 2003.

Dripps 1987 – Robert D. DRIPPS, "Rethinking Vitruvius", in *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Jubilee Issue, Winter, 1987.

Ehrard 1963 – Jean EHRARD, *L'idée de nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIIᵉ siècle*, 2 vol., Imprimeries réunies, Chanbéry, 1963.

Fichet 1979 – Françoise FICHET, *La théorie architecturale à l'age classique. Essay d'anthologie critique*, Pierre Merdaga éditeur, 1979.

Forty 2006 – Adrian FORTY, "Primitive. The word and the concept", in Jo Odgers & *alii* (Eds.), *Primitive. Original matters in architecture*, Routledge, New York & London, 2006.

Garric 2012 – Jean-Philippe GARRIC, « Décadence de la théorie des ordres à la fin de XVIIIe siècle », in *Architecture et théorie. L'heritage de la Renaissance* (« Actes de colloques ») [En ligne], mis en ligne le 17 janvier 2012, consulté le 10 juin 2012. URL : http://inha.revues.org/3399.

Grignon & Maxim 1995 – Marc GRIGNON & Juliana MAXIM, "*Convenance*, *Caractère*, and the Public Sphere", in Journal of Architectural Education, Vol. 49, No. 1, Sep., 1995.

Gros 2001 – Pierre GROS, « La géométrie platonicienne de la notice vitruvienne sur l' homme parfait (*De architectura*, III, 1, 2-3) », in *Annalli di Architettura*, 13/2001, Rivista internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio di Vicenza, 2001.

Hazard 1946 – Paul HAZARD, *La pensée européenne au XVIIIème siècle de Montesquieu à Lessing*, 3 vol., Éditions Contemporaines Boivin et Cie, Paris, 1946.

Herrmann 1958 – Wolfgang HERRMANN, "Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royale d'Architecture", in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (March, 1958).

Herrmann 1962 – Wolfgang HERRMANN, *Laugier and the Eighteenth Century French Theory*, A. Zwemmer Ltd, London, 1962.

Herrmann 1973 – Wolfgang HERRMANN, *The Theory of Claude Perrault*, A. Zwemmer Ltd, London, 1973.

Hersey 1987 – George HERSEY, "Vitruvius and the Origins of the Orders: Sacrifice and Taboo in Greek Architectural Myth", in *Perspecta*, Vol. 23, 1987.

Hersey 1988 – George HERSEY, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture*, The MIT Press, 1988.

Hesse 1985 – Michael HESSE, «Klassizismus als Auflösung des klassischen Architekturkonzeptes. Vier Exkurse zur Architekturtheorie Marc-Antoine Laugiers», in Gottfried Boehm & *alii*, *Modernität und Tradition. Festschrift für Max Imdahl zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München, 1985.

Hvattum 2006 – Mari HVATTUM, "Origins redefined. A tale of pigs and primitive huts", in Jo Odgers & *alii* (Eds.), *Primitive. Original matters in architecture*, Routledge, New York & London, 2006.

Kremer-**Marietti 1973** – Angèle KREMER-MARIETTI, « Jean-Jacques Rousseau ou l'irréductible inégalité », in Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, Éditions Aubier-Montaigne, Paris, 1973.

Kruft 1988 – Hanno-Walter KRUFT, *Storia delle teorie architettoniche da Vitruvio al Settecento* (*Geschichte der Architekturtheorie von der Antike bis zu Gegenwart*), traduzione di Mauro Tosti-Croce, Laterza, Bari, 1988.

Lehner 1987 – Dorothea LEHNER, *Architektur und Natur. Zur Problematik des „Imitatio-Naturae-Ideals" in der frazösischen Architekturtheorie des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Mäander Verlag GmbH, München, 1987.

Long 2004 – Pamela O. LONG, "Nature", in Jonathan Dewald (Ed.), *Europe 1450 to 1789. Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World,* vol. IV, Thomson Gale, 2004.

Malgrave 2005 – Harry Francis MALGRAVE, *Modern Architectural Theory. A Historical Survey, 1673-1968*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Michel 1989 – Christian MICHEL, « L'argument des origines dans les théories des arts en France à l' époque des Lumières », in Ch. Grell & Ch. Michel (Eds.), *Primitivisme et mythes des origines dans la France des Lumières 1680-1820*, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1989.

Middleton 1962 – Robin D. MIDDLETON, "The Abbé de Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. XXV, Numbers 3-4, July to December, 1962.

Nyberg 1963 – Dorothea NYBERG, "The *Mémoires critiques d'architecture* by Michel de Frémin", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December, 1963.

Nyberg 1967 – Dorothea NYBERG, "*La sainte Antiquité.* Focus of an Eighteenth-Century Architectural Debate", in Douglas Fraser *& alii* (Eds.), *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, Phaidon Press, 1967.

Pariset 1965 – François-Georges PARISET, *L'art classique*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1965.

Patteta 2006 – Tobia PATTETA, "Sul trattato L'Ordre François trouvé dans la Nature di M. Ribart de Chamoust (1776)", in *Il disegno di architettura: notizie su studi, ricerche, archivi e collezioni pubbliche e private*, Milano, 2006.

Pauwels 2008 – Yves PAUWELS, *Aux marges de la règle. Essai sur les ordres d'architecture à la Renaissance*, Éditions Mardaga, 2008.

Pérouse de Montclos 1977 – Jean-Marie PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS, « Le Sixième Ordre d'Architecture, ou la Pratique des Ordres Suivant les Nations », in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 36, No. 4, Dec., 1977.

Pigafetta 1990 – Giorgio PIGAFETTA, "Norma e Natura in M.-A. Laugier", in *Laugier e la dimensione teorica dell'architettura*, a cura di Vittorio Ugo, Edizioni Dedalo Spa, Bari, 1990.

Queysanne 1990 – Bruno QUEYSANNE, "Laugier e il gotico", in *Laugier e la dimensione teorica dell'architettura*, a cura di Vittorio Ugo, Edizioni Dedalo Spa, Bari, 1990.

Rabreau 2004 – Daniel RABREAU, « Laugier, le « pittoresque » et la tentation du paysage », in Sylvia Claus & *alii*, *Architektur weiterdenken. Werner Oechslin zum 60. Geburtstag*, gta Verlag, Zürich, 2004.

Romano 1987 – Elisa ROMANO, *La capanna e il tempio. Vitruvio o dell'architettura*, Palumbo Editore, Palermo, 1987.

Rykwert 1972 – Joseph RYKWERT, *On Adam's House in Paradise. The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972.

Rykwert 1980 – Joseph RYKWERT, *The First Moderns: the Architects of the Eighteenth Century*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts and London, 1980.

Rykwert 1996 – Joseph RYKWERT, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts and London, 1996.

Saint Girons 1990 – Baldine SAINT GIRONS, *Esthétiques du XVIIIᵉ siècle. Le modèle français*, Philippe Sers Éditeur, Paris, 1990.

Simoncini 2001 – Giorgio SIMONCINI, *Ritorni al passato nell'architettura francese: fra Seicento e primo Ottocento*, Editoriale Jaca Book SpA, Milano, 2001.

Starobinski 1971 – Jean STAROBINSKI, « Rousseau et la recherche des origines », in *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: la transparence et l'obstacle*, Éditions Gallimard, Paris, 1971.

Summerson 1993 – John SUMMERSON, *The Classical Language of Architecture*, Thames & Hudson, 1993.

Szambien 1986 – Werner SZAMBIEN, *Symétrie, goût, caractère. Théorie et terminologie de l'architecture à l'âge classique 1550-1800*, Picard, Paris, 1986.

Tapié 1980 – Victor L. TAPIÉ, *Baroque et classicisme*, Hachette Littératures, 1980.

Tzonis & Lefaivre 1986 – Alexander TZONIS, Liane LEFAIVRE, *Classical Architecture. The Poetics of Order*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachussets & London, 1986.

Tzonis & Lefaivre 2004 – Alexander TZONIS & Liane LEFAIVRE, *The Emergence of Modern Architecture. A Documentary History from 1000 to 1810*, Routledge, London & New York, 2004.

Vidler 1981 – Anthony VIDLER, "The Hut and the Body. The 'Nature' of Architecture from Laugier to Quatremère de Quincy", in *Lotus International. Quarterly Architectural Review*, Gruppo Editoriale Electa, 1981.

Vidler 1987 – Anthony VIDLER, *The Writing of the Walls. Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1987.

Weinberger 2006 – Manuel WEINBERGER, « Les traités d' ordres nationaux à la seconde moitié du XVIIIᵉ siècle, 1752-1813 », in Daniel Rabreau & Dominique Massounie (Eds.), *Claude Nicolas Ledoux et les livres d'architecture en français. Étienne Louis Boullée, l'utopie et la poésie de l'art*, Éditions du patrimoine, Paris, 2006.

Wiebenson 1982 – Dora WIEBENSON (ed.), *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux*, Chicago, 1982.

Wittman 2007a – Richard WITTMAN, "The Hut and the Altar: Architectural Origins and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France", in Jeffrey S. Ravel & Linda Zionkowski (Ed.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 36, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 2007.

Wittman 2007b – Richard WITTMAN, *Architecture, Print Culture and Public Sphere in 18ᵗʰ Century France*, Routledge, New York, 2007.