

New Europe College Regional Program Yearbook 2005-2006



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Regional Program
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ISSN 1584-0298

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NEW EUROPE COLLEGE**

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NEW EUROPE FOUNDATION

NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

Institute for Advanced Study

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

Its impetus was the *New Europe Prize for Higher Education and Research*, which was awarded in 1993 to Professor Pleșu 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, the New Europe College was awarded the prestigious *Hannah Arendt Prize* for its achievements in setting new standards in higher education and research. One year later, the Romanian Ministry of Education officially recognized the New Europe College as an institutional structure of continuous education in the humanities and social sciences, at the level of advanced studies.

Aims and Purposes

- To create an institutional framework with strong international links that offers young scholars and academics in the fields of the humanities and social sciences from Romania and South-Eastern Europe working

- conditions similar to those in the West, and provides a stimulating environment for transdisciplinary dialogues and critical debates;
- To foster, through its programs and activities, the development and reform of the Romanian higher education;
 - To promote contacts between Romanian and regional scholars and their peers worldwide;
 - To cultivate the receptivity of academics and researchers in Romania for fields and methods as yet not firmly established here, while preserving what might still be precious in the particular type of scholarly approach that emerged, against all odds, in the local pre-1989 unpropitious intellectual, cultural, and political context;
 - To contribute to the development of a core of promising young academics and scholars, who are expected to play a significant role in the renewal of the Romanian academe and intellectual life.

As an institute for advanced study, NEC is not, strictly speaking, an institution of higher education, although it has been consistently contributing to the advancement of higher education through the impact of its programs and of the activities organized under its aegis. In order to further enhance its support for the development of higher education in Romania, NEC has initiated as of 2003 the *NEC-LINK Program*, thus establishing its direct presence in the major universities of the country.

PROGRAMS

NEC Fellowships (since 1994): 149 fellowships

Each year, ten NEC Fellowships for outstanding young Romanian scholars in the humanities and social sciences are publicly announced. The Fellows are chosen by the NEC international Academic Advisory Board for the duration of one academic year (October through July). They gather for weekly seminars to discuss the progress of their research projects and participate at all the scientific events organized by NEC. The Fellows receive a monthly stipend for the duration of nine months and are also given the opportunity of a one-month research trip abroad, at a university or research institute of their choice. At the end of the NEC academic year, the Fellows submit papers representing the results of their research, which are published in the series of New Europe College Yearbooks.

RELINK Program (1996–2002): 35 fellowships

The RELINK Program targeted highly qualified, young Romanian scholars returning from studies abroad to work in one of Romania's universities or research institutes. 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 for three years was offered, consisting of: funds in order to acquire 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. Beside their individual research projects, the RELINK fellows of the last series were also involved in organizing outreach activities within their universities (for which they received a monthly stipend). NEC published several volumes comprising individual or group works of the RELINK Fellows.

The GE–NEC Program (since 2000): 29 fellowships

Starting with the 2000–2001 academic year, the New Europe College administers a program that is financially supported by the Getty Foundation. Its aim is to strengthen research and education in the fields of visual culture, by inviting leading specialists from all over the world to give lectures and hold seminars for the benefit of Romanian under-graduate and graduate students, as well as young academics and researchers. The program also includes 10-months fellowships for Romanian scholars, who undergo the same selection procedures as the NEC Fellows (see above). The GE–NEC Fellows are fully integrated in the life of the College, receive a monthly stipend, and are given the opportunity of spending one month abroad for a research trip. At the end of the GE–NEC year, the Fellows submit papers representing the results of their research, that are published in the series of the GE–NEC Yearbooks.

NEC Regional Fellowships (2001–2006): 41 fellowships

As of October 2001, the New Europe College has introduced a regional dimension to its programs (that were hitherto dedicated solely to

Romanian scholars) by offering fellowships for 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 aims 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 regional level. With the prospect of the European integration, and in complementing the efforts of the European Union to implement the Stability Pact, the New Europe College invites academics and scholars from the Balkans to cooperate towards overcoming the tensions that have won this region an unfortunate fame over the last decade. The Regional Fellows receive a monthly stipend and are given the opportunity of a one-month research trip abroad. At the end of the grant period, the Fellows submit papers representing the results of their research, to be published in the series of NEC Regional Program Yearbooks.

The NEC–LINK Program (since 2003): 82 fellowships

Drawing on the experience of its NEC and RELINK Programs in connecting with the Romanian academic milieu, NEC initiated in 2003 a new program, that aims to directly contribute to the advancement of higher education in four major Romanian academic centers (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Iași, and Timișoara). Teams consisting of a visiting academic and one from the host university offer joint courses for the duration of one semester in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. A precondition for these courses is that they be new ones and that they meet the distinct needs of the host university. The grantees participating in the Program receive 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 Britannia–NEC Fellowship (2004–2007): 3 fellowships

This fellowship (1 opening per academic year) was initiated by a private anonymous donor from the U.K. The fellowship was identical

to a NEC Fellowship in all respects. NEC contributed the one-month research trip abroad, all other costs being covered by the aforementioned donor.

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

The aim of this program, financed by the Hertie Foundation, is 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 the regional scholarly milieu mainly in the fields of European integration, transnational governance, and citizenship. To this end the program will be run, in its pilot phase of three years, by the New Europe College. At the present stage, the main activities of the program consist of a) hosting at the New Europe College prominent, as well as young promising scholars coming from Germany in order to give lectures both at the College and at universities throughout Romania, b) the organization of international scientific events with German participation, c) the setting up and development of an increasingly strong network of scholars from Western and Central and South-Eastern Europe. Given the experience gained after the pilot phase, the Hertie Foundation may consider extending the program by also involving other institutes of advanced study from Central and South-Eastern Europe.

***The Europa Fellowships - Traditions of a New Europe.
A Prehistory of the European Integration in South-Eastern Europe (since October 2006): 8 fellowships***

This program, financed by the VolkswagenStiftung for the duration of three years, takes the now terminated Regional Program to another level. Its aim is to investigate the “pre-history” of the European integration of South-Eastern Europe, and to dwell on its diverse local and regional heritage, thus offering the present Europe some valuable vestiges of its own less known past. Such a description of a Europe in *statu nascendi* may be highly relevant for nowadays consolidated Europe, all the more as this consolidation is, as recent developments have shown, subject to reevaluations, reformulations, and crises.

The project starts off in its first (pilot) year with 8 Romanian and foreign fellows, who will focus their the research on several aspects of everyday life, by studying the history of the costume, of the portrait, or of the “gastronomic memory.”

The Petre Țuțea Fellowships (since October 2006): 5 fellowships

Starting with the 2006-2007 academic year, NEC administers a fellowships program financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania through its Department for Relations with the Romanians Living Abroad. The fellowships are granted to researchers of Romanian descent, who are living abroad and are working in the domains of the humanities and social sciences, as well as to Romanian researchers, whose projects dwell on the cultural patrimony of the Romanians from abroad. During the academic year the fellows under this program will be actively involved in the scientific life of the College. At the end of the year they are expected to submit papers representing the results of their research, which will be published in the bilingual series of the Petre Țuțea Program Yearbooks.

The New Europe College hosts within the framework of its programs ongoing ***series of lectures*** (an average of 40 per academic year) given by prominent foreign and Romanian scholars foremost for the benefit of academics, researchers and students, but also for a wider public. The College also organizes ***international and national events*** (seminars, workshops, colloquia, symposia, book launches, etc.). Another important asset of the New Europe College is its ***library***, including among its roughly 25,000 titles outstanding reference works and major works in the humanities and social sciences, as well as several thousand volumes and manuscripts donated to the NEC by private individuals from Romania and abroad. The holdings of the library are opened to readers from the academic and research milieus.

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

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

As of 2001, the Austrian Ludwig Boltzmann Gesellschaft funded to the end of 2005—within the framework of the New Europe Foundation—an institute that focused on the extremely sensitive issue of religion related problems in the Balkans (and beyond) from the viewpoint of the EU integration. Through its activities, the institute fostered the dialogue between distinctive religious cultures (Christianity, Islam, Judaism), as well as between confessions within the same religion, and aimed at investigating the sources of antagonisms and to work towards a common ground of tolerance and cooperation. To this end, the institute hosted international scholarly events, sustained research projects, brought out publications, and set up a topic relevant library, intended to facilitate informed and up-to-date approaches in this field.

The Septuagint Translation Project (since 2002)

This project aims at achieving a scientifically solid translation of the Septuagint into Romanian by a group of very gifted, mostly young, Romanian scholars. The financial support is granted by the Romanian foundation *Anonimul* and amounts to 120,000 USD. The translation is scheduled to be ended in 2007, four volumes having already been published by the Polirom Publishing House of Iași.

The ethnoArc Project – Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research (since 2006)

An European Research Project in the 6th Framework Programme: Information Society Technologies—Access to and Preservation of Cultural and Scientific Resources

The goal of the ethnoArc project (that was initially 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 of Germany) is to contribute to the preservation, accessibility, connectedness and exploitation of some of the most prestigious ethnomusicological 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 system will be designed to conduct multi-archive searches and to compare retrieved data. In a two-year effort, ethnoArc will attempt to create an "archetype" of a linked archive that aims to incite modern, comprehensive, and comparative research in ethnomusicology, anthropology, or related disciplines, and to deepen and spread awareness and familiarity with the common European memory and identity.

The project includes an international network of seven partners: four sound archives, two multidisciplinary research institutions, and a technology developer: Constantin Brăiloiu Institute for Ethnography and Folklore, Bucharest, Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire, Geneva, Ethnomusicological Department of the Ethnological Museum Berlin (Phonogramm Archiv), Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Coordinator), New Europe College, Bucharest, FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, Berlin.

Present Financial Support

The State Secretariat for Education and Research of Switzerland

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 Foreign Affairs (Department for the Relations with the Romanians Living Abroad), Romania

The Romanian State (indirect financial support through tax exemption for fellowships)

Zuger Kulturstiftung Landis & Gyr, Zug, Switzerland
Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft (DaimlerChrysler-Fonds, Marga und Kurt Möllgaard-Stiftung, Sal. Oppenheim-Stiftung, and a member firm), Essen, Germany
Stiftung Mercator GmbH, Essen, Germany
Volkswagen-Stiftung, Hanover, Germany
The Open Society Institute (through the Higher Education Support Program), Budapest, Hungary
The Getty Foundation, Los Angeles, U.S.A.
Britannia-NEC Scholarship Founder, U.K.
The Hertie Foundation, Frankfurt am Main, Germany
The Ernst von Siemens Music Foundation, Munich, Germany
Sixth EU Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (FP6)
Fundăția Anonimul, Bucharest, Romania
Forum Auto/Volvo, Bucharest, Romania

* * *

***Founder and President of the New Europe Foundation,
Rector of the New Europe College***

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Andrei PLEȘU

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IRINA GENOVA

Born in 1959, in Plovdiv, Bulgaria

Ph.D., Institute of Art History, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1989)
Dissertation: *Graphic Arts in Bulgaria during the 1960's*

Research Fellow, Institute of Art History,
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Associate Professor, New Bulgarian University, Sofia (since 1999)
Member of the Board of the Visual Seminar - ICI and the Center for Academic
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President of the Bulgarian section of AICA (1997-1999)

Fellowship of the Paul Getty Foundation, California (1998)
Fellowship of the Paul Getty Foundation, California (1994)
Fellowship of the Ministry of Culture, France (1993)
Award for art criticism granted by the magazine "*Art in Bulgaria*" (1996)
Diploma of honour for a curatorial project and exhibition *PhotoGraphic*,
9th International Print Biennial Varna'97

Participation to conferences and seminars in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic,
France, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, the USA

Articles, researches and translations in the domain of modern art history,
art criticism, and visual studies

Book:

Modernisms and Modernity. (Im)Possibility for Historicizing, Sofia, 2004
(bilingual - in Bulgarian and English)

REPRESENTATIONS OF MODERNITY – CASES FROM THE BALKANS UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR DIFFICULTIES IN HISTORICIZING/ CONTEXTUALIZING*

General ideas – Introduction

Representations of modernity(ies) in relation to ideas of modernity and urban culture have been the subject of intense discussion over the last two decades. It is my belief that the articulation of visual representations of modernity is one way to historicize modern art in the Balkans. This work focuses on the difficulties of historicizing/describing/interpreting the concrete images which are created and function under the specific conditions of this region among other images that represent (West) European “modernity”. In his article on **modernism**, Charles Harrison¹ acknowledges the contradiction in the concept of modernism from the point of view of the contemporary post-modern situation. This contradictory concept relates to the questions of whether modernism manifests itself as realism, to what degree works of art in the modern epoch are linked to human existence, and whether modernism can be reduced to certain formal qualities. In my opinion, we can describe the state of the modern mind through certain choices and expressive properties in art.

This research represents an attempt to problematize the relation between the adoption of European modernity as a cultural model in Bulgaria and Romania after the foundation of independent states and the assimilation/practice of different modernisms. The discussion on modernisms goes beyond the frame of form and style to present

* The author was a New Europe College Fellow within the Regional Program of the academic year of 2003-4.

relationships with the modernization of society, representations of ideas of modern man, urban life, nature, modern polygraphy, etc.

Difficulties of historicizing the local and the marginal through representations of ideas on modernity are a challenging topic, the importance of which goes beyond the local context. Discussing the connection of artistic phenomena in Bulgaria, Romania, the Balkans with the European narrative, and, at the same time, the impossibility of their being completely integrated into it, seems to be important for any a-central² position. A history of notions would take us far beyond the scope of this study. My intention is only to provide reference points for the use of the notions that appear in this text.

According to the article entitled *Modernism in Encyclopaedia Universalis*,³ the notion of “modernism” came into use in Italy to designate a phenomenon concerning Catholicism. In the following years it came to designate phenomena in social life, science, and culture. In what is relevant to our study – the visual arts of the twentieth century – artistic value in its autonomy was imposed as the only relevant value for a work of art according to the modernist concept. My statement, based on a contemporary determination for multiple (art) histories, affirms that multiple modernisms describe a specific connection of artistic endeavor with human existence in the differing conditions of the modern world. In the case of Bulgaria and Romania, it was my intention to bring to light a multi-disciplinary area between the study of concrete representations and the context of artistic practices.

Western European modernisms were related to industrial and urban development. In his article *The Premises of Modern Art*, Stephen Bann⁴ defends the theory that the institutional character of French artistic practice laid the foundations of the modernist initiative. Also worthy of mention and important in this approach is the study by Nigel Blake and Francis Frascina⁵ on the relationships between modern practices and modernism in the French painting of the nineteenth century. The purpose of this study of art in Bulgaria and Romania and the Balkans is to discuss the interdependencies of the ideas on modern times following European models and the appropriation/manifestation of multiple modernisms. Of equal interest are the conditions whereby the borderline becomes extinct between the so-called fine arts (in the Salons and Museums) and artistic activities in urban space.

If we imagine an art museum⁶ exhibiting modern Balkan painting, the first rooms would be devoted to the nineteenth century. They would

show sequences of images of modern city people, wealthy merchants, politicians, scholars with various objects (maps, globes, geometrical tools), writers, men and women reading, children studying, etc. – and not to forget military men (there are various examples of military men in Greek, Serbian, and Romanian painting, as well many important, though less numerous examples in the Bulgarian painting of the second half of the nineteenth century). At times simultaneously with the images described above, though mainly two or three decades later, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, *fin de siècle* town interiors, objects and clothes influenced by European fashion, boulevards and trams, café and theatre scenes also began to appear. The landscapes and plein-air scenes of the time, in their turn, reveal city people's new attitudes toward nature.

It seems to me that walking through the rooms of this imaginary museum devoted to the nineteenth and early twentieth century would be similar to walking through seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century (West) European imagery: from representations of seventeenth-century Dutch painting and the (French, German and Russian) Enlightenment to the age of impressionism, photography, and symbolism. However, the specificities concern not only the division into periods, which are difficult to establish, but also subjects and manners. Social issues, related to the big cities and industrial work; modern buildings and vehicles (factories, bridges, trains); the alienation of the individual in terms of work and social life and the estrangement of society in respect of nature, etc. – all these for the most part appeared in this Balkan collection of images after the First World War. It was again in this period that non-representational works of art, abstract forms related to different theories of perception, came to the fore. After the war this kind of representation and artistic practice, comparatively speaking, became part of and itself created a different context.

I made similar observations to these in my earlier NEC application project. In Bucharest, visiting the National Art Museum of Romania, I discovered that the real experience of this museum was not dissimilar to that of my hypothetical museum for Balkan modern art up until the start of the twentieth century. When facing these works of art, certain situational questions arise:

How should we discuss the eclectic representational conventions and suggestive properties of form related to Balkan modernity? Which works of modernism(s) in the Balkans can we use in an inquiry into the local

condition of modernity? Is the relationship between representational modernity and modernism in the Balkans similar to that in the large (West) European centers (urban, cultural, economic)?

Before looking more closely at concrete images in museums in Sofia and Bucharest, I would like to outline two more general questions that merit the devotion of a seminar in their own right:

What is representation? What does representational modernity mean in the Balkans?

As far as **the notion of representation** is concerned, the most important elements are probably the intuitions as to the range of what can be represented. According to an article by Richard Wollheim and Antonia Phillips,⁷ we can have representations of objects and representations of events. These can be real or fictitious (mythological, literary, etc.). But can we speak here of “representations of modernity”?

Representations of the fictitious can illustrate a pre-existing narrative/description. However, a picture/image is also able to bring fiction into existence by representing an object or event. In my case, the image is able bring into existence the idea of modernity; that is, the modernity can be “produced” in artistic representation. It is my belief that every consideration on representational modernity which follows Baudelaire’s *The painter of Modern Life* began with this text.⁸ According to Baudelaire, the artist “is looking for that quality which you must allow me to call ‘modernity’ [...] He makes it his business to extract from fashion whatever element it may contain of poetry within history, to distil the eternal from the transitory”, implying that only artists, poets, and writers have the means – metaphors, suggestive properties – to transform these fugitive elements into “modernity”, as if “modernity” could be observed/discussed only in representations. With the rapid development of photography and mechanical reproduction, the increasing circulation of images has influenced our ideas and perceptions in a powerful way.

To these I would like to add another range of intuitions: certain concepts and ideas, such as the idea of “modernity”, could be represented through visual conventions as well as expressed through different properties (color, light, line, etc.). To what extent is representation a conventional or expressive matter? This is a question that should be raised in every specific case. Another important question asks from what position are representations seen to be related to modernity – from that of artistic intentions, the contemporary viewer’s/consumer’s expectations or from my position as a present-day interpreter? In keeping with Richard

Wollheim, I accept that as far as the artist is concerned, he or she operates at the intersection of more than one intention. In this open relationship, the spectator – whether present-day or contemporary with the artist – is expected to be able to interpret or structure the work of art in more ways than one according to the principle of freedom of perception and understanding. “But this freedom is acceptable only if it is not gained at the expense of the artist: it must, therefore, be congruent with some requirements of his.”⁹

In another study, representations are associated with entities, such as genres (portrait, interior, cityscape, etc.), pictorial style (neo-classicism, romanticism, impressionism, etc.) or national artistic schools (Bulgarian, Romanian). In my perspective, these can be associated with representations, first and foremost with the idea of modernity. From the position of the artists, they were initially conceived as portraits of someone or land- or cityscapes of some place. However, I am convinced that one of the artistic intentions was also to represent the idea of modernity, to express a particular attitude to their present experience as an experience of modernity. And the only arguments I have to support my conviction are representational conventions and expressive properties, examined in a comparative way. Here, I would like to refer to Karl Popper’s famous article on historical interpretation, and make the point that interpretative approaches and points of view in the humanities, unlike those in the exact sciences, cannot be tested.¹⁰

In general, the artist should not be interested in rules that allow him/her to construct works unambiguously correlated with one “meaning”. Ideas and perceptions are influenced through the fusion and condensation of rules and evocations.

The term **“modernity”** in this research has a situational meaning. That means it is applied to specific representations in a concrete context and defined only contextually and in comparison. The transitory and situational, contextually changing consistency of representational “modernity” is the main subject of my inquiry into cases from the Balkans.

1. Cases and conventions of early representational modernity: modern men, modern women

Symbolic systems containing rules and conventions clearly extend the scope of representation, but this does not imply that representation is fundamentally conventional. The artist’s/spectator’s perception also plays

a role. Let us look more closely at a number of concrete images, as in the following scenario:

I walk into the National Art Museum of Romania, in Bucharest. Let us imagine that I know next to nothing (isn't that possible?) about the history of representation or the interest in pictorial representation which this place embodies. What kind of ideas can I get from the images I see?

In the first room I see mostly portraits – men, women, families – in traditional or European dress from the early nineteenth century. Most of the people portrayed regard me with self-confidence.

In one family portrait, the man/father is represented in traditional costume and decorated with medals; the son is in a military costume and bears a sword; the woman/mother and daughter both wear fashionable dresses and sport lavish jewelry. In her left hand, the mother is holding a letter (probably a family visiting card). The young woman is playing the piano – she has to appear well educated. The solid and self-confident air of the man speaks of his fortune and social status. A small white-and-brown dog, lying at the feet of the father and son is staring straight ahead. This is *The family of the Minister of the Interior Alecsandri*. The Young Vasile Alecsandri¹¹ is represented in family surroundings between his mother, father, and sister. The year is 1837.

In the same room I find another portrait, from 1841: a portrait of the minister of the interior Theodor Burada in European costume and without insignia.¹² Costume and posture play an important role in the representation of the idea of modern man/woman. The duality I referred to above was described in many of its aspects, but also in this particular aspect by Lucian Boia:

Iconography offers us some amusing images – in the salons of the day, men of more mature years, faithful to the Oriental mode of dress, appear alongside younger men and women of all ages dressed in 'European' style.¹³

With its two groups of figures, and with the father-son group slightly to the center, the portrait of *The family of Alecsandri* reminds me of eighteenth-century representations, the neo-classical clarity and unity of eighteenth-century portrait composition. Everyone in the portrait is staring straight ahead, so their faces can be clearly seen; they do not seem to be seeking contact with the spectator, but are, rather, confined in their own space. The space of the interior is defined by a pedestal with the base of

a large column on it, and creates the impression of solid architectural construction. Rich drapery cascades down the pedestal and the column. All sorts of insignia and accessories are also to be found in European (French, Italian, etc.) neo-classical portraits. The dog – a symbol of loyalty, independence, and prosperity – is also present in West European portrait tradition, though it is not so typical in the neo-classical one. Not only the iconography (the mixture of costumes and other elements), but also the stylistic features convey in this and similar paintings the impression of confusion. The recognizable neo-classical components are combined with stylistic properties of an early stage of academic painting and even remind me of the semi-primitive Russian “parsuna”.

The portrait of Theodor Burada is very different – unimpeded by attributes and insignia, the spectator’s attention concentrates on the face and posture. The painting shares the characteristics of the nineteenth-century psychological portrait.

* * *

The author of the family portrait described above is Niccolo Livaditti, and the author of the male portrait is Giovanni Schiavoni. Both names are foreign. I look around to see the names of other artists whose work is displayed in the room – between the 1830s and 1860s there were many foreign artists/portrait artists working in Romania. Again from Boia’s book I learn that at the end of the nineteenth century over half the population of Iasi and one quarter of the population of Bucharest were Jewish, Catholic or Protestant: the large urban communities were cosmopolitan. The early portrait gallery is representative of this cosmopolitan character, which can be seen both in artists’ names and the people portrayed. The various lavish (theatrically baroque) traditional costumes and head-dresses require special attention. The wealthy residents of the big cities – boyars and tradesmen – commissioned portraits of themselves and their families. In this respect, they demonstrated a very modern attitude related to urban life, even where they were not related to the bourgeoisie.

* * *

In relation to the foreign artists, a question arises as to art education: when did art schools and academies first appear in Romania? I look for the answer in the museum catalogue: the School of Fine Art in Bucharest was founded in 1864, while the school in Iasi had been founded four years earlier, in 1860 – meaning that both had been founded after unification. In Boia’s book I read that between the 1860s and the 1870s

“the young Romanian state adopted models from the European institutional and legislative system: constitution, Parliament, responsible government, legal codes, the university, the academy”.¹⁴ Among these first institutions of state were also art schools and museums. The establishment of the institution of fine art education is perceived as one of the main characteristics of the modern artistic practice together with the foundation of museums of art, art salons, art criticism in periodicals, and early art histories. I guess from the museum’s exhibition that during the 1860s and 1870s the newly founded Romanian state was in transition from pre-modern to modern artistic practices. Clearly, as everywhere else, such as in Bulgaria two decades later, the newly founded state, aspiring to become a nation-state, adopted European (in Romania, mainly French and Belgian) institutional models. The State Art Collection, founded as such in 1864, the same year as the School of Fine Art, was managed by the School’s presidency, meaning that in the beginning the two most important art institutions were related. Their common task was to establish and present artistic practices and artistic representation as national.

In Bulgaria, a united National Library and Museum institution was founded in 1879, the year after the establishment of the Bulgarian state as an autonomous principality. The National Museum became an independent institution in 1892; the State School of Art opened in 1896 and was the first institution of art education.¹⁵ As in Romania, the common task of the first institutions of art was to relate important artistic practices to the newly established nation-state.

* * *

Education and scholarly pursuits were of central representational interest for the West European Enlightenment. French and English painting, for example, often represented scientists¹⁶ and children with their books. The portrait of the scientist Petar Beron by the Bulgarian artist Nikolay Pavlovich¹⁷ clearly shares the spirit of the Enlightenment. The figure of the researcher is placed in an interior – a studio/home library full of bookshelves, books, manuscript scrolls, and various objects associated with an occupation in the exact sciences. Petar Beron is represented seated at a table, reading. He does not look at the spectator and the spectator cannot see his eyes. This position – in profile – allows the artist to represent books, manuscripts, an inkpot and pens, and other research-associated objects on the work table, and through them to represent the historical person portrayed. A large green cloth covers the table, falling down to the floor like drapery. In front of this drapery, on

the left-hand side in the foreground there is a three-dimensional model of the solar system. On the right-hand side in the background there is a covered image hanging on the wall, most likely a map. Beron had encyclopedic interests in the fields of philosophy, medicine, chemistry, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and the social sciences. He was the author of *The Miscellaneous Reader* (1824), known as *Riben Bukvar*.

The artist Nikolay Pavlovich (1835-1894) was educated at the Vienna Art Academy (1852-1854) and graduated from the Munich Art Academy (1856-1858). Beron's portrait was painted many years after his death, in 1871, and is in essence a votive portrait. It was made from previous study drawings. The practice of posthumous portraits is related to the traditional donors' portraits in the Balkans. Here we observe the ambiguity between the West European Enlightenment portrait and the local representational tradition. We are confronted with an example of the difficulties of historicizing images created and functioning in the specific conditions of this region, among other images representing (West) European "modernity".

An even better example in this respect is given by the posthumous portrait of the teacher Radi Kolesov by Alexander Popgeorgiev.¹⁸ The long epitaph in rhyming verse on the right hand-side of his armchair ends with the words: "You are a glorious teacher and an enlightened man, who devoted great effort to education in our fatherland". The artist had no formal education. In this case both the votive character and style are related to the local representational tradition. But the iconography and the clearly suggested meanings are reminiscent of the pathos of eighteenth-century West European representational modernity.

* * *

Coming back to the Museum, my attention is attracted to the portraits of rebellious and military men, and, among them, that of the anonymous nineteenth-century portrait of Iancu Manu¹⁹ in particular. The portrait shows a young man with refined, dandy-like features, with a lavish oriental head-dress on his head, holding a rosary and a blue flower, and wearing a bracelet and a ring on his right hand. He regards the spectator with self-confidence. The military uniform and the decorated handjare-handle protruding from his belt reveal his military occupation. According to *History of the Rumanians*²⁰, Iancu (Ioan) Manu was a leading figure in the regional and state administration, a Chief Magistrate and, after the unification of the principalities, a representative of the minister

of foreign affairs. He came from well-educated, enlightened social strata, and was one of the founders of the Philharmonic Society in Bucharest in 1833.²¹ In the Balkans, the Enlightenment went hand in hand with the military vocation.

Many portraits of boyars in Romania – especially of the young ones – represent them as military men, with decorated weapons and spectacular costumes and hats. Modern identity in Wallachia and Moldova, as in Bulgaria, was related in artistic representation (including literary representation) to the struggle for an independent state. The duality underlying the choice of costume – a duality between local identity (the traditional) and the creation for oneself of personal originality (the modern) – combined with military insignia (weapons, military decoration) was a typical representation of the experience of modernity in the Balkans.

Constantin Rosenthal, as an artist who came to Romania from Budapest, studied in Vienna and traveled to Paris and London, had an experience of different identities (he too was of Jewish origin)²² and different traditions. Together with the portraits of the nineteenth-century English Romantic type he also painted allegorical representations of revolutionary Romania. This multiple skill and artistic involvement in a rather contradictory reality was a common feature of the modern Balkan artists of the time. Rosenthal was involved in current events not only through artistic representation, but also through real life experience – for his revolutionary activity he was imprisoned in Budapest, where he died at the age of thirty-one.

I would like to stress this important aspect of (visual, but also literary) artistic representation of modernity in the Balkans. In the Balkans, modern times were invariably associated with the struggle for an independent state and national unification. The representational experience sought in (Western) Europe was that of the bourgeois and national revolutions – the struggle for civil rights. Representations in allegorical compositions, in Balkans “Mariannes”²³, together with portraits of military men in military costume holding weapons, were an important part of the imagery of modern times in the Balkans, though without a proper bourgeoisie and its activity.

I recall a “self-portrait” by the Bulgarian artist Georgi Danchov (1846-1908),²⁴ in which he represents a young man with a resolute expression on his face looking straight ahead. The man is dressed according to the contemporary European fashion, “a la franga” (*à la française*), with a large striped bow-tie and golden-colored buttons on his coat. At the same time, he is wearing a fez and has a small moustache as

was the fashion in the Ottoman Empire at that time. The colors of his clothes – blue, white, red – are very distinct. I have known this self-portrait for a long time, but only now did I realize that these are colors of the French tricolor, something which could not have been accidental. The French Revolution as a symbol inspired enlightened circles, and not only in Bulgaria.

Like many modern artists in the Balkans at the time, Georgi Danchov was involved in the revolutionary struggle for an independent Bulgarian state. In 1873 he was arrested by Ottoman officials and sent into exile in Diarbekir. After the foundation of the independent Bulgarian state, he became involved in political activities and was elected as a member of the National Assembly and deputy mayor of the city of Plovdiv.²⁵ Meanings in visual representation take on form among other meanings.

* * *

Representational conventions similar to those in painted portraits could also be observed in the staged photographic portraits of the period. In a photograph of Alexandru Ioan Cuza²⁶ the man/prince is seen in military uniform sitting next to a table covered with books and holding a sword (rapier) in his left hand. What is especially interesting is that in the background we can see fragments of columns and drapery. Just as in the painted family portrait of Alecsandri, the staged interior space is defined in a neo-classical manner. The photograph is also similar to *Portrait of a Man* (Konstantin Vlachov) in uniform by Pera (Ch)Ristich,²⁷ on display in the Museum of Art in Plovdiv, in which the man stands in front of a neo-classical architectural frame that opens the space of the painting into a landscape. Representational conventions in early photographic portraits were borrowed from portraits in painting. Photographic studios staged pictures against backgrounds that imitated backgrounds in painting. In its turn, photography also influenced portrait painting – indeed, many portraits were made from photographs. Some photographic portraits, especially those of revolutionary men, were transferred into the medium of lithography so that they could be easily reproduced and circulated. The circulation of images of important contemporary figures – in photo-lithographs and shortly after in the press – related to the ideas and strategies of modern times in respect of visual influence on a mass level.

Georgi Danchov, the Bulgarian artist mentioned above, acquired a knowledge of photography and lithography during his stay in Istanbul in 1865-1866. During his exile in Diarbekir he opened a photographic studio, where he made photographic portraits. Danchov was not the only

portrait-painter of his time also to show an interest in photography – we can also mention Ivan Dospevski (1840-1889),²⁸ who had a photographic studio in Samokov.

The prestige that the photographic occupation enjoyed in the artistic milieu is confirmed by the fact that in the first Bulgarian art salon in Plovdiv in 1892 medals were also awarded for photography.²⁹

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The local/traditional and European/modern duality is also present in early female portraits, albeit given that women were portrayed more than men in European dress (which was sometimes complemented by traditional, “exotic” accessories such as shawls and head-dresses). Women from well-to-do families are frequently seen playing the piano or reading a book; sometimes they also hold spectacles or pince-nez. Women’s portraits were not conceived as historical. Subject’s names were not identified – they were labeled “Portrait of the Wife/Daughter” or simply “Portrait of a Woman”. Female portraits had a specific social (and later historical) character only in relation to the family.

The portrait of *Anica Manu and Children*³⁰ by Constantin Rosenthal is a good example of the representation of the woman’s position within the wealthy Europeanized family. The beautiful woman regards the spectator with dignity. She is proud of her social and family role (that of raising and educating her children). She is surrounded by her three sons; one of the boys is holding a shotgun, which is associated with hunting, and, by extension, is of aristocratic origin. The portrait is set in an open interior that includes architectural elements – a marble floor, parapet, column, drapery – and a framed landscape in the background. The compositional pattern – a slice of nature behind an architectural frame – is typical of the eighteenth-century English Romantic portrait. By including a landscape, but one that is still outside and separate from the representational frame of the painting, this type of portrait represents a compromise in terms of expressing the interest for nature of the enlightened strata.

In these family portraits, however, it is not easy to find representations of the middle classes. Assimilation/integration of cultural experience did not always occur simultaneously with the changes in urban space, commerce, travel experiences, and production. Early portraits of the enlightened strata more often followed the pattern set by portraits of the aristocracy than of the bourgeoisie.

* * *

A difficult problem arises in connection with the stylistic features of these portraits. It is easy to find similar portraits from the same period anywhere in the territories formerly under Ottoman rule; however, it is rather more difficult to articulate their formal and stylistic features through the established categories of academicism, classicism, neo-classicism, romanticism, realism, naivism, etc. In this text, as in any study that aims to establish a specific framework, I need to discuss the notion of style and the sense in which I use the term. In an encyclopedia entry on "Style", James Elkins admits that this is "one of the most difficult concepts in the lexicon of art and one of the chief areas of debate in aesthetics and art history".³¹ He begins with a provisional loose definition: "style is a term used to describe a coherence of qualities in periods or people." In this text, it is not my objective to examine different concepts of style in art history. Rather it is my intention only to mention some important ideas about the way this notion has been used – ideas that have been influential in my understanding and the basis of my research. One significant reference is a text by Gombrich from 1968 which develops the idea that the term "style" should be applied in a descriptive sense in concrete cases (following Karl Popper's view on historicism).³² The author affirms that "the limitations of scientific morphology are perhaps all the more galling when we realize that a style, like a language, can be learned to perfection by those who could never point to its rules."³³

The other important reference is an article on style by Svetlana Alpers from 1979.³⁴ I am ready to assume, following Alpers, that style can be considered in specific cases. This assumption is related to the historiographic approaches developed since the 1960s that discuss historical writing as the historical interpretation of specific facts and aspects of reality.³⁵

"Style is what you make it" is both the title of the article and its central thesis. The question of modality – the relationship of the maker to the tradition of making – is discussed as being significant in art historical writing. But the question still remains as to what kind of descriptive concepts we can use to discuss such hybrid artistic phenomena, the confusion of traditions and practices. Models in my Balkan cases, though of diverse types and from diverse periods, all belong to the European tradition. The established categories can never be entirely applicable in these a-central cases; however, it would be meaningless to invent other categories.³⁶

My research into representations of multiple modernities is grounded in the conviction that in a-central/different cultural situations there are no gaps/lacunae in artistic trends – rather, there are different presences. What I find of significance here is the articulation of the artificially universalized representational trends within the modern epoch's paradigm of art historical knowledge, which results in multiple specific cases. The difficulties lie in the need of verbalization: the most general question, "how can we speak/write about visuality?" remains unanswered. We still need these artificially universalized stylistic notions – not in order to be able to define large groups of works of art (to fill the notions with the substance of concrete works), but in order to be able to describe and compare through them the diversity of concrete hybrid forms. In other words: to make use of them in a relative, not substantial way.

It is my intention to problematize the intermediacy/a-central condition, not as an exception to the norm, but as shared ground; to think of it not as insufficient, but as valuable; to present fluctuations as possibilities, stability as impossibility.

2. Cases of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representational modernity: the city and nature

I am now on the upper floor of the of the National Art Museum in Bucharest, in the rooms displaying art from the period of the modern state's institutionalization (the time of art schools, museum and private collections, art salons, etc.). I find there are far fewer names of foreign artists here. We also see evidence of the practice of different representational genres: portraits, landscapes, still life, interiors, genre images, plein-air scenes in parks and gardens, representations of wealthy milieus, salons filled with fashionably dressed people, women in moments of privacy (reading a book or daydreaming). The paintings are small and medium-sized and intended for the home interiors of the wealthy.

It is not easy to differentiate periods in the representational arts of the Balkans. For the Romanian condition, the first appearance of the new subjects and manners – related to modernity – occurred approximately two decades before that of Bulgaria. The definition of a period in this research could be made mostly in a typological sense – meaning that the works of art discussed in this part are of a type, conceived during these decades, and, especially in Bulgaria, some of these works were created later (after 1903-1904) during the next typologically defined period.

In his famous essay, *The Painter of Modern Life*, Baudelaire remarks that “all those other delightful artists who, though depicting nothing but the familiar and the charming, are in their own way no less serious historians.”³⁷ Could it be said that the paintings I have chosen to discuss bring into being a kind of history of modernity in the Balkans? Or is it mainly an idea, a kind of temptation, an eagerness for modernity, which they bring about?

“Is Art History?” is a revealing question and the title of a 1977 article by Svetlana Alpers.³⁸ Discussing seventeenth-century Dutch art, Alpers claims that the image can be considered as a piece of history. The point is that not only the object world, or the iconography, but also representation as a whole and the role of the spectator in the system allow us to regard an image as a piece of history. In the last decades of the nineteenth century (in Romania), and in the first decade of the twentieth century (in Bulgaria), we see this other type of representational modernity: together with the modernity of the Enlightenment visual representations of the new city life, following recognizable (mainly French) models of theme and style, begin to emerge. However, there are some peculiarities. Firstly, city life is represented mostly as private – in private spaces and with intimate manners of communication. Another particularity is that there are no clear characters with bourgeois behavior in these representations and the new inhabitants of the big city – small traders, employees, the “underworld” of city life – are missing.

To what extent is this situation in the representations connected with social conditions? I agree with the statement by Wollheim that “the link between art and society is in the broadest terms. The determination cannot be readily identified with constraint or necessity. Nevertheless there are very few cases where our understanding of a work is not likely to suffer from the fact that we misidentify it, or that we falsely locate it from a historical point of view.”³⁹ On the other hand, as Wollheim observed himself, the utility of the social context is very limited for the articulation/verbalization of the effect of some works of art. “The answer is likely to vary from one work to another. It depends on how much the style of the work is an institutional, and how much it is an expressive matter.”⁴⁰

* * *

Masked Ball in the Artist's Studio (“Soirée”: 1878) by Theodor Aman (1831-1891) represents the artist's salon, the place he used for work, crowded with fashionably dressed men and women. A domino left on a chair in the painting's foreground indicates the kind of festivity,

divertissement, theatricality going on; it suggests the idea of the transformation – simultaneously dissimulation and revelation – of one's "real" identity; it suggests the idea of multiple identities. Is it an over-interpretation if I consider the representation of the *Masked Ball* with the domino detail and self-portrait on the right-hand side of the wall in no other place than his studio as a suggestion about the role of the artist in this *mondaine* play of identities?

The walls of the interior in *Masked Ball* are covered with paintings. The stage/definite space of the salon opens up in the background through the large frame of a door in a kind of enfilade. Light from candles – a great number of them, near the walls, surrounding the "scene" – seems to unsettle the space and blur the outlines of the figures, which reflect in the shining floor. The frames in this image are clear, not blurred: frames of paintings on the walls, frames in the frame of the background door, flooded with light. The representation of light coming through a door often symbolically suggests the passage from inner to outer space.⁴¹

Could we say here which is more important – the assimilated experience of impressionism or the interest in symbolic suggestion? Is the choice of one of these denotations/ associations, or even the combination of the two, adequate for a discussion of Aman's work? Educated in Paris, Aman was clearly interested in the experience of the Barbizon painters, and probably also in Courbet and Manet. Not only can this thematic choice, but also the stylistic features can be considered proper to "modernity". He came into contact with and assimilated experience from these "traditions of making" (to use Svetlana Alpers' phrase). Aman's *mondaine* milieu – salons, gardens and parks, reading and even smoking women – is depicted in a dynamic manner and with the determining role of light over form. His small-sized images have the character of painterly sketches. At the same time, the suggestion of individual states of mind (dreaming, meditation), achieved through the interaction of abstract (light, color, etc.) and representational properties, places these works in connection with symbolism in the broader sense of the term.⁴²

I am curious to learn more about this artist. The Aman Museum offers me the chance to view a collection of paintings, drawings, and graphic works in the very same interior that is represented in these works. Along with the *mondaine* world and manners, I find a mixture of different themes, genres and styles: historical compositions, odalisques, and representations of Romanian villages (characterized by genre scenes and a variety of

characters). I learn that Aman was the first director of the newly created School of Fine Art in Bucharest. Can we consider as representations of modernity the paintings (or at least as concrete images) by the director of the State Institution of Art Education (reputedly a conservative institution, corresponding to the Art Academy)? We might find this mixture puzzling if we do not consider or perceive it in its specific cultural situation.

* * *

In the Zambaccian Collection, the painting *In the Forest of Fontainebleau*⁴³ by Nicolae Grigorescu (1838-1907) represents two figures – a couple – seen from behind and entering the forest. The woman is wearing a long blue dress, echoing the blue of the sky, and is carrying a white parasol. The man is wearing a loose white shirt and a straw hat. Other figures are seen further down the road, vanishing into the colorful shadows of the trees. Public gardens and the practice of promenading first appeared in the nineteenth century, and once again it was the city of Paris that led the way. The square next to Notre-Dame, which opened in 1844, is considered the first square to have been conceived from the very beginning as a public space⁴⁴ – before there had only been private parks and gardens, which would occasionally be open to a larger public, depending on their owners. In Bulgaria and Romania, gardens such as Cismigiu in Bucharest or the Central Park (later “Borisova Gradina”) in Sofia were from the beginning conceived as public spaces. However, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century representations of these urban spaces of leisure and socializing are rare, usually small paintings, sketches, and drawings. The subject of parks and gardens was a favorite of impressionist and post-impressionist artists. Although we do find examples of this subject in paintings by Bulgarian and Romanian artists connected with late impressionism, these usually represent parks and gardens elsewhere – in France, Germany, or Italy, for example.

The Bulgarian artist Tseno Todorov (1877-1953) has represented himself seated in front of an easel and in the process of painting *The Garden of Luxemburg (Le jardin de Luxembourg)*.⁴⁵ The artist has his back to the spectator and his eyes are turned to the object of his interest: the representation aims to express the relationship between artist and nature. In this case the artist⁴⁶ represents himself as the inhabitant of a modern city and his natural surroundings as a piece of nature incorporated in the city. The sculpture of a deer in the background suggests the ambiguity between natural and artificial, between nature and art. This composition reminds me, despite all significant differences, of the self-portrait by

Vermeer entitled *Allegory of Painting*. Impressionist lessons and symbolist dispositions go hand in hand.

New sensibilities and attitudes to nature, characterized by the personal and the intimate, were conceived in the early nineteenth century with the contribution of artistic representations. In his *Manifeste pour l'environnement au XXI siecle* [*Manifesto for the Environment in the Twenty-First Century*] Jacques Leenhardt⁴⁷ examines the ideas prominent in different periods after the Enlightenment about nature. According to him, after the French Revolution, from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, a new kind of approach to nature can be observed in visual representations. City people took walks in the country in the hope of fathoming the depths of "human nature", worried that it could be lost in urban life. "The feeling of nature" became a subject of discussion. "It is more the attitude to nature than nature as such that occupies the pictorial scene."⁴⁸ As an important aspect of the inner world, nature began to be considered as part of modern culture and to be seen by the city. At the same time, in the nineteenth century, as mentioned above, nature was included in big cities in the form of city parks and gardens, which differed in scale, shape and function from the seventeenth- and eighteenth century parks of the aristocracy.

For Bulgaria the emergence of new attitudes to nature came later. A curious event that embodied these new sensibilities was the first hike to Cherni Vruh (the Black Peak) on the Vitosha mountain near Sofia organized for a group of intellectuals by the writer Aleko Konstantinov in 1895. As far as representational interest in nature is concerned, early amateur photography in Bulgaria was also connected with the first hiking initiatives.⁴⁹

The emergence of city people's new sensibilities and attitudes to nature in France (with the big city of Paris as a model) was related to the Barbizon School and the Impressionist movement. Those were the stylistic models adopted by Nicolae Grigorescu, who from the 1860s onwards traveled and exhibited both in Bucharest and in Paris. He spent the summer of 1862 in Barbizon, and in 1868 he exhibited together with Barbizon artists. From Grigorescu, I had already expected a variety of themes and genres. He was considered the primary leading figure of the national Romanian school of art because of his historical compositions (he took part in the War of Independence in 1877-1878) and representations of Romanian villages and village people (especially women) – not because of representational modernity.

For Tseno Todorov this French experience came later. He was educated at the Fine Art Academy in Paris during the first decade of the twentieth century thanks to a fellowship awarded by the Bulgarian state. After returning to Sofia he became a leading portrait artist of the realist and psychological trend and was promoted to the position of professor at the School of Fine Art in Sofia.

Even though the paintings by Aman, Grigorescu, and Todorov, as discussed above, were not of central importance within their artistic oeuvres and careers, these cases of representational modernity are significant in my investigation today because of the thematic and stylistic models they made use of and the potential they had for bringing into existence the French/West European idea of modernity in the Balkans.

* * *

Some years later (at the turn of the first decade of the twentieth century in Bulgaria's case), representations of a different kind of experience of nature – contemplative and intimate – began to emerge. A painting by Nikola Petrov⁵⁰ (1881-1916) represents a woman, seen from the rear, seated on a bench and contemplating the landscape. In the foreground, a little girl is playing with a dog. The plein-air space of the foreground is the cultivated space of a garden, with large pots of ornamental shrubs and flowers. This is a sort of a garden terrace designed to give a panoramic view of the wilderness. This kind of theatrical exposure of nature suggests, through the motif of vast distance, the desire for infinity and liberty.

A similar contemplative disposition to nature is also suggested in the painting⁵¹ by Elena Karamihailova (1875-1961) *By the Bodensee*. It represents a young woman dressed and coiffed in the city fashion, with a folded parasol, standing in the foreground in contemplation. Her head is turned to the depth-ground so that the spectator can see her profile and a fragment of what she can see – a lake, some trees, vegetation on the shore. The composition, with the representation of a human figure as if posing in front of a natural sight, reminds me of a photographic framing. The fragmentation of the framing view in cityscapes and plein-air pictorial representations was influenced by photographic images. Most painters of impressionist landscapes and cityscapes in France were interested in photography. This constitutes a difference from early photographic portraits, which borrowed representational frames and conventions from the painted portrait. But at the same time early photo-landscapes bear witness to an interest in pictorial styles. In the late 1890s, the English

photographer Peter Henry Emerson created images echoing paintings by Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), and in the last years of the nineteenth century he assimilated the impressionist experience;⁵² and he was not the only example.

The central representational motif in Karamihailova's painting is contact with nature in its intimacy. It is not the spectator but nature that this woman is in touch with. As far as the spectator is concerned, neither the woman, nor the landscape is fully displayed – if the landscape were of central interest, the framing would have been horizontal. The contact between the female figure and its surroundings is not only a matter of spatial contiguity – the light, intensified by the reflections and the brightness of the lake, seems to transmit to the figure the qualities of youth and serenity. Undoubtedly, this plein-air representation is related to the late impressionist practice. Elena Karamihailova studied painting in Vienna (1895-1896) and Munich, where she lived until 1910. The stylistic features of her painting could easily be assimilated into the late impressionist version of Munich's artistic milieu.⁵³ At the same time, some elusive suggestions, achieved through the visual properties of whiteness and luminosity, bring to mind the symbolist experience.

* * *

Can we make a distinction, in Balkan conditions, between the impressionists' enthusiasm for the representation of natural sites and gardens – both as attractive open-air spaces and as places for the socializing/mingling of different social strata – and conservative artistic circles' interest in representing *mondaine* manners in a new "scene"? In Bulgarian conditions, for instance, representations clearly could not be sufficiently "impressionist" in the French way, with respect to subject. But this does not mean that these representations are not related to modernity, to a modern urban life – albeit without an influential bourgeoisie, factory workers, or "déjeuners sur l'herbe". A distinction between the impressionist experience and the symbolist moment that could indicate the turn in this typological period is also hard to make.

* * *

As with representations of parks and gardens, representations of other modern urban public spaces are also uncommon in Balkan art. The 1912 *On the Terrace Oteteleshanu* by Camil Ressu⁵⁴ is, to my knowledge, the only example of a large painting of this genre. The painting represents an intellectual gathering of artists and writers in a popular Bucharest café. Unlike the group portraits of the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and

nineteenth-century European tradition, which represent professional guilds or groups of artists involved in a common task and sharing a common attitude (for example, seventeenth-century Dutch group portraits or eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French *hommage* scenes), in this case the position of each individual is of equal importance to the scene. Early twentieth-century modernity was represented as a new urban experience of enjoying an atmosphere of conviviality and spending time in a social space, but a social space also perceived as one's own surroundings. Some of the numerous drawings and the oil painting sketch of this image are suggestive of this.⁵⁵

However, for Ressu himself, this painting was an isolated experience. In the same period to which this painting belongs, he was mostly interested in country life and rural culture. In a 1910 manifesto article, Ressu pronounced himself in favor of the traditions of pre-academic and folk art and against foreign formulae and models.⁵⁶

The integration of artistic experience elsewhere was not always coherent, nor took place simultaneously with the changes in urban space, communication and travel experience with local common dispositions. Representations of trains, for instance, so exciting in an industrial surrounding, in Sofia or Bucharest, say, were still missing at the end of the nineteenth century.

The painting *Bucharest Boulevard on a Rainy Day* by Nicolae Darascu (1918)⁵⁷ offers a vivid glimpse of a big city with cars, carriages, and pedestrians carrying umbrellas. The rain motif provides further possibilities for the scenography of light and reflections. It is reminiscent of compositions by Monet, Pissaro, and Caillebotte, though it came some decades later. The ideas of modernity of early twentieth-century culture and those of late impressionism in Bulgaria have always been associated with Nikola Petrov's (1881-1916) Sofia cityscapes. My choice to discuss these rather than other works, however, was determined by the evocative power these paintings have today. These are examples in which the utility of the social context for interpreting the suggestiveness of the work is of only limited value.

*Sofia in Winter*⁵⁸ offers a bird's-eye view of the city. In the foreground we see the new boulevards, broad and straight, intersecting one another, and featuring city transport and pedestrians; in the middle ground, we see the straight lines of trees in the city garden – a framed piece of nature in the city; while in the background we see the recently built National Theatre.⁵⁹ All these represent the modern urban environment.

But my reaction to this image is defined and dominated by the silvery light, which melts forms and contours and suggests the sensory effect of snow.

Another painting – an oil painting sketch – represents *The Mineral Baths Square in Sofia*.⁶⁰ In this case we have a closer, fragmented view of the citizens at a specific place with a specific atmosphere. Light, again, plays a leading role. An interest in city life and the effects of light, which is normally associated with impressionism and the Paris of the 1870s, appears in this case as a hybrid representational and expressive source. Petrov had no direct contact with the impressionist artistic experience; he had never visited Paris. In 1903 he had the opportunity to go to Rome, and in 1905 he visited Liège, Brussels, Munich, Vienna and Budapest. These short visits could hardly have had a decisive influence on him, though admittedly some of the works he saw were probably in tune with his intuitions and his intellectual milieu in Sofia. Petrov was a member of the Modern Art Society, created in Sofia in 1904 (the group was founded in 1903) and a graphic designer for the journal affiliated to the Society, *Hudozhnik* (Artist).

3. Images of modernity/images in the modern world – the experience of the visual arts in the years leading up to the First World War

In this situation I am trying to discuss, the relationship between maker and the tradition of making (to use Alpers' phrase) is a crossed relationship between different times and experiences. Makers were appropriating traditions of making from elsewhere. The normal European practice in art education of making copies of the old masters, thereby ensuring a succession of artistic experiences, was not – indeed, initially, during the “first modernity” period, could not be – applied in Balkan museums to the works of artists from the same a-central region.

The problem in this situation is that it is unable to resort to a single, sufficiently evocative specific case – I was barely able myself to identify an artistic representation that is important enough to justify extended interpretation. We are thus faced with the risk of over-interpreting an image. When I cannot find a specific image that presents a complete embodiment of a specific situation, I need more than one “piece of history”.⁶¹

* * *

Let us forget for a moment the (multiple) contexts, and relive the experience from the position of a spectator unacquainted with historical matters (though this is admittedly never the case). If a work does not appeal to me, then I need not discuss it from the point of view of form and style or context. Difficulties arise when I like the work but – as often happens – I cannot place it within systematized art historical knowledge.

Nikola Petrov's intense interest in light and his small, rhythmic brush strokes have led critics to define the artist as a (belated) impressionist or a post-impressionist (he does not, after all, use pure colors and he even makes use of black⁶²). However, in my opinion, such analogies do not suffice. *The National Theatre* is probably the most representative in this series of Nikola Petrov's cityscapes. The theatre itself appears to be placed on a stage, illuminated by footlights, with a *contre-jour* image of the garden that separates us as spectators. The light streaming from the theatre also relates, in my eyes, to another kind of artistic experience – that of symbolism. What matters here is not so much the illusion of reality, of sensory perception, but rather the suggestion of the idea of theatre.

Another cityscape, *The Church of St. Sophia*, appears to give off a glow that governs the suggestion contained in the painting as a whole. In 1899, Dr. Krastev wrote in *Misal (Thought)*, the most influential literary journal in late nineteenth-century Bulgaria, apropos of an exhibition organized by the Society for the Support of Bulgarian Art that artists need to paint "in a modern manner".⁶³ Given the character of the journal, it would be easier to say that this "modern manner" should be a gathering trend. In the broadest sense, "modern manner" should mean non-realism and non-academicism, a tendency to subjectivism involving stylistic features of symbolism and art nouveau. Could we justifiably call Petrov's cityscapes – or at least some of them – symbolist works? The symbolists seem to reject classic genres and these paintings are indeed cityscapes. Moreover, in Petrov's work we find none of the mythological, religious, or literary subjects preferred in the symbolist inclination. At the same time, in symbolist painting the effect of the objects represented and the means of representation (form/line, light, color, etc.) predominate over the easily recognizable iconographic conventions.

The entry on symbolism in *The Dictionary of Art* (1996) notes that it is difficult to provide a strict definition of the term. Of the artists associated with this trend, some tend to rely more on narrative, while others rely

predominantly on style. What they share, according to the dictionary, is a desire to represent visually that which is invisible and exists in the sphere of the subjective and the irrational – in reverie, quietude, meditation.⁶⁴ According to this relatively new and liberal interpretation of the trend, we can include within it both “impure” artistic phenomena and some of Nikola Petrov’s cityscapes.

In terms of the term neo-impressionism, in relation to these cityscapes it is thought to partly coincide with the term symbolism criticism today, according to the same dictionary. We can see in this how the cultural centers that invented the modern classifications of artistic phenomena are today gradually relinquishing their rigid distinctions guided by the idea of sufficiency in respect of the specific phenomenon.

The question of Petrov’s cityscapes does not concern the terms “post-impressionist” or “symbolist” – rather, it is a matter of the question, “How and why do these works affect us/me today?” The painting of light creates a sense of mobility, ephemerality, and a suggestion of beyondness. The flickering outdoor light and the brilliant whiteness are problems of perception, however the whiteness and light also presents a possibility for suggestiveness. Nikola Petrov’s works integrate, without contradiction, both the impressionist and the symbolist experience.

Similar things can be said of the works of Stefan Luchian, though there are many specific differences between the two artists. I will mention two paintings by Luchian: *Flowers*, from the Zambaccian collection, and *Corner of the Povernei Street*, from the Gallery of Constance (Roumania)⁶⁵.

The first image has a banal motif (pots with flowers on a staircase), but has in most parts an unusual close look and fragmented framing. The viewer is involved in the process of getting over the everyday experience. Colors and light – reinforcing each other and excited by the meditative gaze – generate the sensation of a brilliant, precious substance, of a kind of enamel. The (post-)impressionist commitment to light effects enforce the suggestion of another, non-mimetic space.

A different feeling – one of melancholy – related to the romantic and symbolist dispositions is suggested in the painting *Inseparable* by Goshka Datzov (1885-1917). The figures, as in other paintings discussed above, have their backs to the spectator and their eyes turned to nature, or, in this case, to some remote place flooded with light. Datzov graduated from the Fine Art Academy in Rome and was influenced by the symbolism in that milieu. Together with the symbolist experience, a kind of romantic

inclination is also evident in this painting in the form of a sentimentalism and a representational concern with the sublime.

The foreground of the image provides a short-distance view of the silhouettes of a man and a woman – of their melted contours, embraced in vegetation. The title the artist gave to his painting, *Inseparable*, suggests both feelings of love and a desire for fusion with nature. The sense of modern man's loneliness and anxiety are conveyed through the spectator's somewhat too close position. In an article on melancholy, Corinne Mandel observes that "In the modern age Dürer's productive winged genius would accordingly be transformed by the romantic into the anxious paradigm of modern humankind."⁶⁶

* * *

Let us now leave our imaginary museum of nineteenth-century Balkan art. After 1902-1904, in the period of what we can call the "third modernity", painting no longer played a leading role in representing/expressing modernity in the Balkans as elsewhere in Europe. It was artistic activities and presence in the environment – urban, architectural, interior – that became important and effective in art around 1900. The "union" between art and industry, which was a challenge in Western Europe, did not flourish in the Balkans because of the lack of growing industrial development – and this despite the existence of attempts to adopt art experience in everyday city life.

In this text I propose to examine some cases of polygraphical products. The design of books (including children's books and textbooks, literary miscellanies and magazines) and the various print forms (cards, university diplomas, share certificates, banknotes, and postage stamps), due to their large circulation and distribution, were the most common and diverse field for assimilating the Modern Style/Secession/Art Nouveau⁶⁷ experience in the Balkans. Another reason for choosing the polygraphical products was the influence of literary and poetical representations on the visual arts of the period.

As far as the Bulgarian condition is concerned, it is important to outline the various hybrid variants, common features, and differences with the European Secession/Art Nouveau movements. The specificity of the visuality in Bulgarian polygraphy can be interpreted in connection with European examples. Over the course of several decades leading up to the First World War, Secession decorative tendency (mostly the Middle European variant) was combined with characteristics of Symbolism

(predominantly Italian and German). During the same period (since the beginning of the twentieth century) the so-called “Bulgarian” style was invented/structured to outline a difference from the easily recognizable European models.

Those variants which were “non-pure” in terms of stylistic classifications were determined by the cultural milieu. We could not possibly describe, differentiate and comment on them only by means of style characteristics. Also of importance is the context of perception (both that of the artist/designer and that of the reader), intentions, functions and impact.

The artistic form of the book is an essential and changing condition of the meaning, and therefore also of the act of reading.⁶⁸ In the modern period, the publishing of a text in a certain form, and its second edition in another form with a different design, is closely linked to the cultural environment. The study of the relationship between the text, the visual design of the book as an object, and the cultural environment that “consumes” the book all presupposes going far beyond the description of the artistic style. “The subtle details of the typographic conception and design are meaningful,” affirms Donald F. McKenzie.⁶⁹

The end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries in Europe are characterized by the mass expansion of the visual image – in books, periodicals, posters, advertisements. This situation is related to improvements in the printing process (the rotary press, manufactured paper, etc.) and graphic print. In institutional terms, the period also witnesses the establishment of publishing house structures and the book market. The initiatives of the big publishers boosted and maintained book design in terms of the Modern Style/Secession/Art Nouveau. In social terms, the changing image of the book is linked to the taste of the new readers in the industrialized societies, in the cities – the taste of both the connoisseur and the general public.

The word “illustration”, meaning an image connected with a text and created on paper, first began to be used throughout Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was at that time that a number of large-circulation newspapers using the Storz woodcut⁷⁰ on their pages included the word “illustration” in their titles. Examples include *The Illustrated London News*, established in 1842, and *Illustration* in France, established the following year.⁷¹ In Bulgaria, a monthly magazine, *Bulgarian Illustration*, was published from 1880 until 1882. It was the first Bulgarian illustrated popular magazine for science and literature.⁷²

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the spread of industrialization made it possible for illustrated editions to increase their circulation and reduce prices, thereby reaching a wider audience – from the broad literate classes to bibliophiles. The renovation of book design and illustration⁷³ is connected on the one hand with the impact of literature on the creation of visual symbolism and, on the other, with the new taste for the peculiar object, both in terms of form and decoration. New aspects of the text-image relationship were discussed. Typographic realization had to maintain the text's suggestions. The artistic parts of the book – the fly leaf, illuminated letters, vignettes, decorative frames, title pages, bindings, illustrations, ex libris – were thoroughly planned.

At the turn of the century, book production in Bulgaria was relatively low in scale. The decoration of books and exquisite magazines consisted mainly of Secession vignettes, frontispieces and tailpieces, all directly borrowed from different European publishing houses (Vienna, Prague, Istanbul, etc.). It was usually eclectic and unrelated to the text.⁷⁴

After the period 1902-1904 and in the period up until the Balkan Wars and the First World War, there were examples of literary works that were related to Symbolism and in typographic forms, and graphism that was close to the recognizable European variants. Some of the best achievements in book design belong to the artists connected with the “*Suvremenno Izkustvo*” (Modern Art) Society,⁷⁵ such as Haralampi Tachev, Goshka Datsov, and Nikola Petrov.

The most renowned example of Nikola Petrov (whose paintings were discussed above) in bookdesign is *Na Ostrova na blazhenite* (*On the Island of the Blessed*) by Pencho Slaveykov (Sofia, 1910, Al. Paskalev, Court Printing House). As a friend of the poet, Nikola Petrov takes part in his idea for a simulacrum of an anthology – Pencho Slaveykov's poem collection is represented as a collection of poetic series by separate authors. The artist creates the portraits of these authors using different photographs of Pencho Slaveykov. The portrait of Silva Mara, the only woman included in the anthology, is made on the basis of a photograph of the female poet Mara Belcheva. The symbolist idea of the multiple identities of a given personality is thoroughly shared by the artist himself.

The illustrated weekly and monthly magazines are yet another area of the manifestation of the idea of “modern” visual graphism.⁷⁶ The magazines, their book series, and the artistic circles connected with them all contributed to the spread of visual art tendencies and taste. The mobility

of these periodicals and their ability to circulate quickly turned the Secession/Art Nouveau into a European phenomenon.

In Bulgaria, there was an early periodical connected with the Secession: namely, the *Hudozhnik (Artist)* magazine, which dated back to 1905. Its artists – Aleksander Bozhinov, Sirak Skitnik, and Nikola Petrov – created ornamental and pictorial motifs, vignettes and tailpieces. Nikola Petrov designed the cover of the issue of year III (1909) using plant ornaments, a decorative frame and written letters. Holding a lyre, a young woman in profile is represented in the center. The symbolism and the decorative aspect are in unison. The title page shows an unfolded landscape drawing with the recognizable silhouette of St. Sofia Church in the foreground. The weekly literary magazine *Listopad (Leaf-fall)* contains a number of artistic compositions in the “modern” trend of the Secession and Symbolism.

Goshka Datsov (discussed above in connection with a painting with a symbolist disposition) made vignettes, tailpieces, and compositional framing poems for *Listopad (Leaf-fall)*. Two of them recur in later issues (1913-1914). The first is a semi-recumbent female figure, whose silhouette is affectedly prolonged but then transforms itself into a landscape line-horizon. Above them, painfully twisted branches with falling leaves join together in a frame. The motif with the prolonged female silhouette that gently fades away is the artist’s favorite – both in his drawings and paintings. Goshka Datsov’s graphic compositions are comparable with secession and symbolist examples elsewhere in Europe (e.g. Italy and Austria). The second one is a landscape vignette showing a sunset. It seems to float downwards and out of the frame. In the foreground there is a female figure with her hair-stream covering her face, and, once again, there are falling leaves. The graphism here is clearly expressed and its quality makes it a rarity of graphic design in Bulgaria.

Together with individual alienation and problematic relationships to society and nature, the issue of national identity began to surface. What is called “Bulgarian style” appears to defy the earlier non-differentiated “European” variants of the Secession/Art Nouveau, which had been spread out. The processing of ornaments of ethnographic provenance (textiles, embroidery, and ceramics), as well as illuminated manuscripts, is one of the basic occupations of the stylization classes at the School of Arts in Sofia. Great efforts were made to integrate this ornamentation into print forms – book decoration, diplomas, banknotes, shares, stamps. The

“Bulgarian style” was formed by the joint efforts of decorators and architects from “Modern Art” circles.

In the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the newly formed state in the Balkans aimed to differentiate itself from the former Balkan mixture within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire by use of a specific cultural heritage. During the second half of the nineteenth century, certain cultural circles in other European countries were also purposefully involved in rediscovering local artistic traditions related with the aspiration to authenticity. Hence, they were on the lookout for artistic and literary material necessary for the creation of national myths – a part of the creation of identities connected with the nation-state⁷⁷. During the 1880s, there was a widespread movement for local craft work collection and the acquisition of the craftsman’s technical skills.

In the Bulgarian environment, a similar example of the interest in local crafts is given by the collection of embroideries compiled by Stefan Badzhov entitled *Bulgarian National Embroidery* (Sofia, 1913)⁷⁸. Its aim was to present the material used for new ornaments designed for various objects and textures. The idea behind the collection is comparable with similar collections elsewhere in Europe from the turn of the century. The differences lie in the degree of imagination with which they are processed. In Bulgaria, in many cases these embroideries were literally transferred onto porcelain forms, book covers, certificates, and bonds, etc.

Worthy of mention is the case of Yosef Peter (1881-1925), a Czech artist who worked for a long time in Bulgaria⁷⁹ and was involved in the study of illuminated manuscripts (ornamental letters, vignettes, etc.), as well as embroidery and interlacing ornaments from Bulgaria for the purpose of modern polygraphy and book design. He processed and molded local ornaments following the Central European Secession experience in order to apply them to book covers, calendars, diplomas, and other polygraphic forms⁸⁰.

Posters and advertisements, which were a major area of artistic presence in the urban environment, in Paris, Vienna, Bruxelles, and London, did not become influential artistic phenomena in Sofia and Bucharest until the First World War. The insufficient technological resources for printing (for color lithography) and the limited needs of the society did not allow for a large variety and circulation of posters in the cities.

During the industrial era, although significant industrialization did not take place everywhere, artistic representations/expressions became part of the experience of modernity in city life. It is in this subsequent (third) period of representational modernity in the Balkans that value was first attributed to the quality of the printed book and other large-circulation typographic forms.

Final points - Balkan modernity as revealed in representations

As a way of concluding this part of the study on representations of modernity in the Balkans, I suggest that we consider what modernity is with respect to the cases discussed.

During the first period – provisionally the 1840s to 1870s – modernity was defined in the field of public concern, through portraits and allegorical representations, as related to the struggle for liberty, an independent state and civil rights. Throughout the same period, and again in portraits, modernity was also associated with education in the sense of the European Enlightenment. Modernity and Europe (European educational models) were seen as synonymous. Pedagogy and education were representational topics of both public and private concern. Portraits were painted of both publicly known scholars, such as Petar Beron, and of women and children reading in private, family surroundings.

As far as social life is concerned, somewhat later in the second period – the last decades of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries – modernity was represented through both subject and technique (manners of representation), although the relationship between the two varied. Salons, promenades in the open air (in parks, in the countryside), and the bustle of city streets were the favorite representational subjects; and the late (post)impressionist technique was the most common representational trend related to modern sociality.

On the other hand, the café as a place of socializing for literary and artistic circles was not a central theme in Balkan painting of the period. It only appeared in sketches and drawings, in marginal and intimate forms of representation not intended for exhibition or sale. In Sofia, one such place that was often represented in sketches was the café on Tzar Osvoboditel Boulevard; in Bucharest, there was the Terrace Oteteleshanu, which was subsequently represented in the large painting discussed above.

Labor, related to machines, industry and the modern times,⁸¹ was also not represented. It was not a significant issue in the visual arts in the Balkans of those years. It was mainly the theme of rural labor that represented work as social relationships.

We find a wider range of subjects and manners of representation in marginal forms that were never exhibited to the public. The situation was similar to that in Paris, Berlin and elsewhere in terms of early representations of public places. Baudelaire observed that, "For the sketch of manners, the depiction of bourgeois life, and the pageant of fashion, the technical means that is the most expeditious and the least costly will obviously be the best. The more beauty that the artist can put into it, the more valuable his work will be; but in trivial life, in the daily metamorphosis of external things, there is a rapidity of movement which calls for an equal speed of execution from the artist."⁸² Sense of speed and current time became part of experiencing modernity on both sides – on that of the artist and that of the spectator. But in Sofia and Bucharest, the "sketchy" manner and non-representational forms, suggesting rapid movements, were practiced mainly in private artistic space: in the studio and between friends. In Bulgaria paintings characterized by speedy brushwork only appeared in exhibitions after 1902-1904. Thus the separation between public and private/intimate can be observed in a way in subject, manner, and the effect of images.

After 1902-1904 we witness a different, third moment in the relationship of artistic practice to modernity. Now we need to leave the Museum in order to discover the variety of images in the modern city. In Sofia, this variety was not as wide as in the urban centers of rapid industrial development, but was still significant enough in comparison with the preceding period. Book design and the great diversity of large-circulation typographic materials were an essential expression of/condition for the changes in the ideas of modernity in the Balkans.

Before the Balkan Wars, great efforts were made in Sofia and Bucharest, but also in other Balkan cultural centers, to identify/invent an artistic patrimony for the nation-state and to integrate it into a kind of national style ("the Bulgarian style", the "Romanian style"). Going back to the questions asked at the beginning of this text, I would say that we are not able to think of works of modernism(s) in the Balkans as an inquiry into the local conditions of modernity in a similar way to that in the European cities with big urban, cultural, and economic resources. It is not possible to consider the relationship between representational

modernity and modernism in the Balkans as comparable to that in Western and Central Europe.

In Sofia, Bucharest, and other big cities in the Balkans representations of modernity were as much an inquiry into the local conditions of modernity as an assumption about the experience of modernity in Western Europe. These assumptions were based on different sources, including other visual representations. In their turn, these representations brought new fictions into existence.

The artistic milieu of modernism(s) in the Balkans experienced different conditions of human existence in comparison with (West-, Central-) European milieus that “produced” modernist trends. They had another “schedule” and “scale” of industrial and urban development. Additionally, Balkan artists aspired to similar representational conventions and expressive qualities. I have taken the liberty of making this assumption, though not without bearing in mind today’s artistic practices.

A moment can be identified when ideas of the present begin to be expressed through images of the present, and not through representations of the past. From the time of self-representing modernity, artists have never resorted to representing this modernity as the past. “The past of modernity” has never been a representational theme in painting or graphics. City life in Sofia and Bucharest at the beginning of the twentieth century has been represented as the past only by film-producers. The rapid development of photography and, subsequently, the appearance of the moving image (cinema), challenged representations in painting and graphics.

During the period of the Balkan Wars and the First World War, radical changes in the ideas of modernity took place in the Balkans, like everywhere in Europe. Faith in the Enlightenment seemed to have been destroyed in the aftermath of the First World War. For the first time in this cultural space, modernity was represented/expressed as fear and misery.

Speculation as to the nature of modernity and modernism(s) in the visual arts could (and should) be carried out in another text, which considers representations and expressions of modernity following the First World War.



1. Giovanni Schiavoni, *Portrait of the Minister Theodor Burada*, oil on canvas, National Art Museum of Romania.



2. Nikolay Pavlovich, *Portrait of the scientist Petar Beron*, ca. 1885-1886, oil on canvas, National Art Gallery, Sofia.



3. Georgi Dantcov (1846-1908), *Self-portrait*,
ca. 1867, 69,5 x 48,5 cm., National Art Gallery, Sofia.



4. Theodor Aman, *Masked Ball in the Artist's Studio (Soirée)*, oil on canvas, National Art Museum of Romania.



5. Tseno Todorov, *The Garden of Luxembourg*,
oil on canvas, National Art Gallery, Sofia.



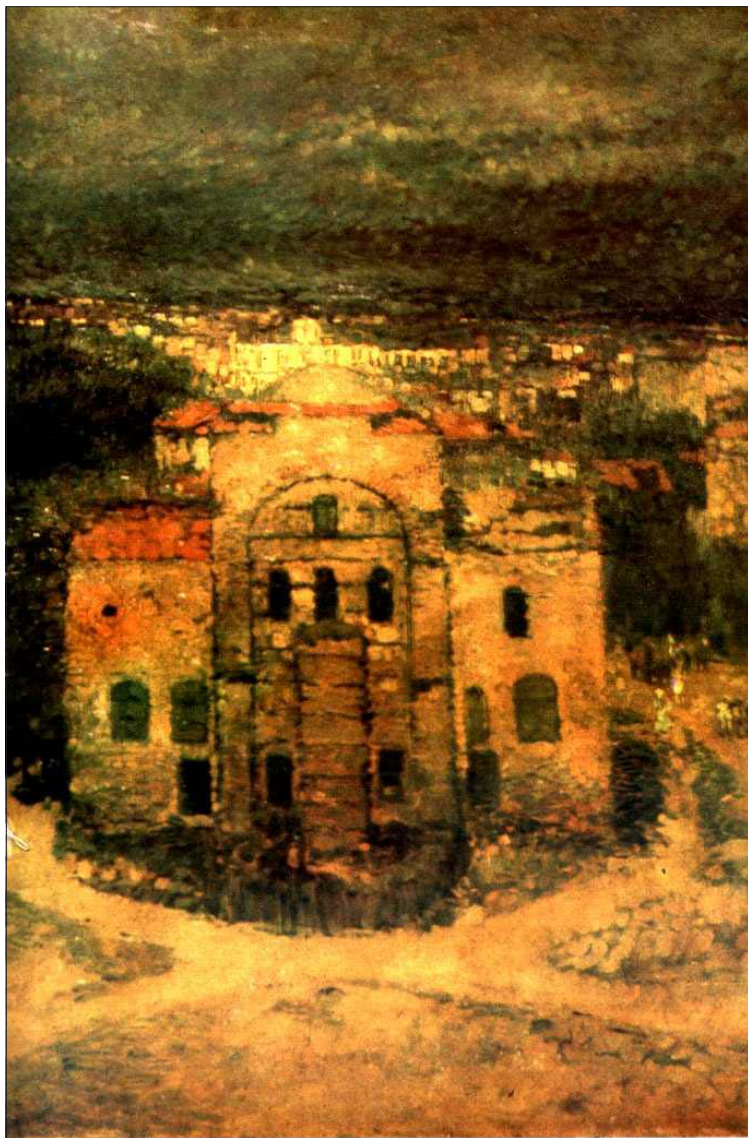
6. Elena Karamihailova, *By the Bodensee*, 1914, oil on canvas, National Art Gallery, Sofia.



7. Nikola Petrov, *The Mineral Baths Square in Sofia*, 1911, gouache on paper, 26 x 40 cm., National Art Gallery, Sofia.



8. Nikola Petrov, *The Church St. Sophia in Sofia*, 1909, oil on canvas, 86 x 120 cm., National Art Gallery, Sofia.



9. Nikola Petrov, *The Church St. Sophia in Sofia*, 1909, fragment.

NOTES

- ¹ In *Critical Terms for Art History*, Chicago University Press, 1996, pp. 142-155.
- ² The term "a-central" is used here rather than "peripheral" in order to avoid any pejorative connotations. I use "a-central" to denote a cultural milieu that principally assimilates influences, usually from more than one place. "Central", in its turn, is used to denote a cultural milieu that principally exerts influences. Definitions of central and a-central should always be considered in a relative and specific way (in a specific relationship and moment). One and the same artistic practice could be central/influential in a given moment/milieu/relationship, and a-central/unimportant in another.
- ³ *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, France S.A., 1996, Corpus 15.
- ⁴ Stephen Bann, "The Premises of Modern Art", in Christos M. Joachimides – Norman Rosenthal (eds.), *The Age of Modernism. Art in the 20th Century*, Berlin – Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 517-524.
- ⁵ Nigel Blake and Francis Francina, "Modern Practices of Art and Modernity", in Francis Francina ...[et al.] *Modernity and Modernism. French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, Yale University Press 1993, pp. 50-140.
- ⁶ Idea, related to the famous book by André Malraux: *Le musée imaginaire*, Éd. Gallimard. Paris, 1965.
- ⁷ Richard Wollheim and Antonia Phillips in *The Dictionary of Art*, Macmillan Publishers, London, 1996, vol. 26.
- ⁸ Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life", first published in *Figaro*, on 26 and 28 November and 3 December 1863.
- ⁹ Richard Wollheim. *Art and its Objects*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 139.
Wollheim claims that "The nature of art has to be understood simultaneously from the artist's and the spectator's viewpoint." "The indeterminacy possessed by art effects a convergence between demands made of art by the spectator and demands made of art by the artist."
- ¹⁰ Sir Karl Popper. "Situational Logic in History. Historical interpretation", in *The Poverty of Historicism*, Routledge and Kenan Paul. 1961, pp. 147-152. First published in 1957. Concerning the unavoidable selectiveness of history, as a point of view and material considered, Popper stated: "...The only way out of this difficulty is, I believe, consciously to introduce a preconceived *selective point of view* into one's history; that is, to write *that history which interests us*. [...] [This] means that we need not worry about all those facts and aspects which have no bearing upon our point of view and which therefore do not interest us."
"Such selective approaches fulfill functions in the study of history, which are in some ways analogous to those of theories in science. [...] But as a rule, these historical 'approaches' or 'points of view' *cannot be tested*. [...] We shall call such a selective point of view or focus of historical interest, if it cannot be formulated as a testable hypothesis, a *historical interpretation*.", in Francis Francina and Charles Harrison (Eds.), *Modern Art and Modernism*, London, Harper&Row Ltd, 1982, pp.12-13.

- 11 Vasile Alecsandri Junior (1818[1821]-1890) was a politician and writer. See: Kurt W. Treptow (ed.) *A History of Romania*, Iasi, 1996, p. 262.
- 12 A similar duality of the ideas of self-representation embodied in costume is evident in the votive portraits in the Ghica Tei Church (reproduced in Dana Harhoiu's book): Gregori IV Ghica wanted to be represented in traditional costume, and his brother Alexandru Ghica, in modern, European clothes.
- 13 Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, CEU Press, 2001, p. 31. First published in Romanian at Humanitas, Bucharest. 1997.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 15 Just as in the newly established Bulgarian state, in the 1880s and 1890s the first foreign artists in Romania were of Czech, Hungarian, Croat, and Italian origin. But what I see as a special characteristic of the Romanian situation is that in Romania, from the 1860s onwards, the models adopted in artistic life were claimed to be French ones.
- 16 To recall just one example, the portrait of Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier and his wife by Jacques-Louis David, 1789, New York, Metropolitan Museum.
- 17 Nikolay Pavlovich, *Portrait of Petar Beron*, ca. 1885-1886, oil on canvas, 68.5 x 50. National Museum of Art, Sofia.
- 18 Alexander Popgeorgiev, *Portrait of Radi Kolesov*, 1862, oil on canvas, 100 x 70. Jambol Art Gallery, Bulgaria. Published in: Blagovesta Ivanova, *Portretat prez bulgarskoto vazrajthane*. Katalog na izlojbata NHG, Sofia, Izd. "Dios", Sofia 2001, p. 33, N 208.
- 19 Iancu Manu by an anonymous artist, 19th c. Museum of the Art Collections, Bucharest.
- 20 *Istoria Românilor*, Vol. VII, Tom I, *Constituirea Romaniei Moderne (1821-1878)*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2003, p. 953.
- 21 Alexandru Măciucă, *The Art Collections Museum. A Guide to the Collections*, The National Museum of Art, Bucharest. 2003, p. 74.
- 22 See: Amelia Pavel. *Jewish Painters in Romania 1848-1948*, Bucharest, 1996, pp. 15-17; Vasile Florea. *Romanian Art. Modern and Contemporary Ages*. Meridiane Publishing House. Bucharest, 1884, pp. 52-58.
- 23 There are such examples by Pavlovich and by Rosenthal.
- 24 Georgi Danchoy, *Self-portrait*, ca. 1867. Oil on canvas, 69.5 x 48.5. National Museum of Art, Sofia.
- 25 See: Blagovesta Ivanova, *Portretat prez bulgarskoto vazrajthane*. Katalog na izlojbata NHG, Sofia, Izd. "Dios", Sofia 2001, p. 40.
- 26 Reproduced in *Istoria Românilor*, Vol. VII, Tom I *Constituirea României Moderne (1821-1878)*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucharest, 2003, p. 453, Fig. 192. Alexandru Ioan Cuza was the first prince of the United Principalities (1859-1862) and of Romania (1862-1866) – See: Kurt W. Treptow (ed.), *A History of Romania*, Iasi, 1996, p. 286.
- 27 Pera (Ch)Ristich, *Portrait of a Man (Konstantin Vlachov) in Uniform*, Mid. 19th c., Plovdiv Museum of Art, published in *Portretat prez bulgarskoto vazrajthane*. Katalog na izlojbata NHG, Sofia, Izd. "Dios", Sofia 2001, p. 34, N 213.

- 28 See: *Portretat prez bulgarskoto vazrajdanje* [...], p. 40.
- 29 The art salon took place at the First Bulgarian Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition. Foreign artists took part as well. The gold medal for photography was awarded to Ivan Karastoyanov (1853-1922). See: Petar Boev, *Photographskoto izkustvo v Bulgaria (1856-1944)*, c. 1983.
- 30 Constantin Rosenthal, *Anica Manu and Children*, National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest.
- 31 In *The Dictionary of Art*, Grove, 1996.
- 32 Ernst Gombrich, "Style", in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, Ed. Donald Preziosi. 1996, p.159.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- 34 Svetlana Alpers. "Style is what you make it: The visual arts once again". In: *The Concept of Style*. Ed. Berel Lang. Cornell University 1987 [1979].
- 35 On this issue see note 7, Sir Karl Popper.
- 36 The Bulgarian historian Rumen Daskalov, faced with the same difficulty (in the field of historiography), wrote: "The question is that if we don't want to insist on our absolute uniqueness, we can hardly avoid such assimilations, as a result of the universalization (effected from one 'center' and from one given moment) of Time and History". *Kak se misli bulgarskoto vazrajdanje*. Izd. LIK, S. 2002, p.83.
- 37 Charles Baudelaire. *The Painting of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne. New York 1986 (London 1964), p. 40.
- 38 Svetlana Alpers, "Is Art History?", in *Daedalus*, 1977.
- 39 Richard Wollheim, *Art and its Objects*. 1968, p. 151.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 41 Helene E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography*, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers. Chicago – London 1998, p. 502.
- 42 Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, in thirty-four volumes, 1996, "Symbolism". Vol. 30, pp. 168-169.
- 43 *In the Forest of Fontainebleau*, 53.5 x 38 cm. Zambaccian Collection, Bucharest.
- 44 See: Domonique Jarrassé, *L'art des jardins parisiens*, Paris 2002, Ed. Parigramme, pp. 9-12.
- 45 Tseno Todorov, *The Garden of Luxemburg/ Le jardin de Luxemburg*, 1904.
- 46 Tseno Todorov was educated in the Fine Art Academy in Paris.
- 47 B. Laville et Jacques Leenhardt, *Villette Amazone*. 1996. pp. 21-51.
- 48 Jacques Leenhardt, *ibid.*, p. 43.
- 49 Petar Boev. *Izkustvoto na fotografijata v Bulgaria 1856-1944. (The Art of Photography in Bulgaria 1856-1944)*, Sofia, 1983.
- 50 *Woman on a bench*, 1914, 51 x 80. Plovdiv Museum of Art.
- 51 Elena Karamihailova, *By the Bodensee*, 1914.
- 52 See: Françoise Heibrun, *Landscapes and Nature*, Musée d'Orsay. Paris 2004, p. 16.

- 53 Elena Karamihailova attended a private academy for women in Munich.
 54 Camil Ressu, *On the Terrace Oteteleşanu*, 1912, 200 x 255. National
 Museum of Art, Bucharest.
 55 See: Theodor Enescu, *Camil Ressu*,. Ed. Meridiane, Bucharest, 1984.
 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.
 57 Nicolae Dărăscu, 1918, National Museum of Art, Bucharest.
 58 Nikola Petrov, *Sofia in winter*, 1907, 64 x 120. Pleven Museum of Art.
 59 The National Theatre building was inaugurated in January 1907.
 60 Nikola Petrov, *The Mineral Baths Square in Sofia*, 1911, 26 x 40. National
 Museum of Art, Sofia.
 61 I am thinking, by way of comparison, of contextual interpretations like the
 interpretation of Pierro della Francesca made by Michael Baxandall, or that
 of Courbet's and Manet's images made by T.J. Clark. (Both of these authors
 have been cited as examples of successful art historical writing.)
 62 See for instance: Irina Mihalcheva, *Osnovni idejno-hudojestveni nasoki na
 bulgarskata jivopis 1900-1918*, Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademija na
 Naukite, Sofia 1977, p. 102.
 63 Quoted in: Bojana Balteva, *Nikola Petrov*, Izd. Bulgarski hudojnik, Sofia
 1989, p. 30.
 64 *The Dictionary of Art*, Grove, 1996, p. 169.
 65 Stefan Luchian. *Corner of the Povernei Street*, ca. 1903-1904. Oil on canvas.
 87 x 57. Constanța Art Gallery, Romania.
 66 Helene E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography*, Fitzroy
 Dearborn Publishers, Chicago – London, 1998, p. 587.
 67 Secession/Art Nouveau are the two most popular names of an artistic
 movement which emerged in Europe around 1900. The numerous names
 of the new style express its diversity in terms of sources, fields of manifestation
 preferred, motifs, names, artistic circles and the periodicals connected with
 them. In Bulgaria the new movement is most often called "secession". In the
 catalogue on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Modern Art Society,
 Haralampi Tachev clearly points out that Andrey Protich has a grounding in
 the arts and particularly in "the then new trend – Secession". The new trend
 is called by the term that is most widespread in the German speaking
 countries (Austria in particular). Further on, it becomes clear that Tachev
 and Protich have chosen the name of the new group in Bulgaria – Modern
 Art – "under the influence of the modern movement in the West". Modern
 Art can be interpreted as a translation of Art Nouveau. In Bulgarian, however,
 the expression is perceived more broadly than the style movement and it is
 difficult to link it with its characteristics. Possibly this is one of the reasons
 why the new art is not called after the name of the group most conspicuously
 associated with it, but using with foreign terms instead. Among them,
 "Secession" is preferred, most probably because of the active contact with
 German speaking cultures, with Austria and middle Europe.

- 68 Cf. Donald F. McKenzie, "The History of the Book", in Ani Gegova and Krasimira Daskalova (ed.), *The History of the Book. The Book in History*, Sofia, 2001, p.73.
- 69 Cf. Donald F. McKenzie, „The Book as a Means of Expression“, in Ani Gegova and Krasimira Daskalova (ed.), *The History of the Book. The Book in History*, Sofia, 2001, p. 212.
- 70 Woodcut on a wooden plate, cut against the timber fibers, which began to be practiced in Europe from the end of the eighteenth century onwards.
- 71 Cf. Segolene Le Men, "L'art du livre autor de 1900", in *L'art autor de 1900*, Dossier de l'art N 65, mars 2000, p. 66.
- 72 Cf. *Encyclopedia of Fine Arts in Bulgaria*, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, vol. I, Sofia, 1980.
- 73 *L'ABCdaire du Symbolisme et de l'Art Nouveau*, Ed. Flammarion, 1997, pp. 66-67.
- 74 Cf. M. Kirov, "Tendencies in the Development of the Bulgarian Illustration from 1878-1920", in *From the History of the Bulgarian Fine Arts*, Vol. 2, Sofia, 1983.
- 75 "Modern Art" was founded as an artistic group in 1903, and as a society in 1904, in Sofia. See note 63.
- 76 In the last decades of the nineteenth century such magazines were published in Europe – *La revue blanche* in France, *Pan*, *Die Jugend*, *Simplizissimus* in Germany and *Ver Sacrum* in Austria. These magazines published texts by poets and prose-writers together with illustrations and ornaments created specially for their pages. The elite periodicals usually have a short life. The only exceptions are *Die Jugend* and *Simplizissimus*, which managed to gain popularity.
- 77 If we look for typological comparisons with the Bulgarian case, with territories outside the centers of Secession/Art Nouveau, we can find them, for instance, in Scandinavian countries. In Norway, an increasing number of references were made to the Viking art (the so-called "dragon" style) so as to underline the difference of Norwegian art from art in Sweden. In Finland, the attempt is aimed at differentiating its art from Russian art.
- 78 These illustrations are reproduced graphically by Yan Shents in Prague; the edition is bilingual, in Bulgarian and French. Cf. *Encyclopedia of Fine Arts in Bulgaria*, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, vol. I, Sofia, 1980.
- 79 From 1909 to 1921 he taught at the State Art School and the State Art Industrial School.
- 80 Cf. R. Todorova, "Yosef Peter in Bulgarian Applied Graphics", *Art Studies Quarterly*, 1991, special issue.
- 81 This brings to mind the famous movie by Charles Chaplin, *Modern Times*.
- 82 Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life", first published in *Figaro*, on 26 and 28 November and 3 December 1863. Quoted from: *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays by Charles Baudelaire*, translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne, 1986 [1964, Phaidon Press, London], p. 4.



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DISCOURSES OF INTEGRATION AND POLITICS OF REUNIFICATION IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: CASE STUDY OF THE GYMNASIUM MOSTAR¹

Introduction

This ethnographic and anthropological study of youth and education in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina (B&H) sets out to explore the following tension: the internationally administrated reconciliation and democratization programs intend to build a reconciled nation and democratic state in B&H, yet they foster the production of ethnically divided and “denationalized” citizens that obstruct the creation of a viable state. In order to get at the lived complexities of this tension, I ask how young people, as designated agents of change in the reconciliation and democratization of B&H, experience the process of state-making in everyday life. An in-depth ethnography utilizing three main anthropological methods (multi-sited participant observation, interviews, and content analysis) in the Gymnasium Mostar will explore this tension and provide detailed knowledge of the special role of education and youth in the everyday processes of reconciliation and democratization in a society disintegrated by violent ethnic conflict.

This study is divided into two main parts. The first part provides a general background including a short historical overview, a brief summary of education in B&H, and a description of the ethnographic settings. In the second part, I use the case of the reunified school to study the insertion of the international discourses of reconciliation, and especially integration, into the post-conflict context of B&H.

PART I: RESEARCH BACKGROUND

I.1. Historical Background

After more than three years of bloody conflict, 200,000 deaths, and the displacing of 1.5 million people as refugees, on December 14 1995 the Dayton Peace Agreement brought an end to the Bosnian war. While claiming to have as its objective reconciliation, democracy, power-sharing, and ethnic pluralism, in the eyes of its critics the Agreement inscribed in law the ethnic partitioning of Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims (Campbell 1999, Chandler 2000). It divided B&H into two entities: the Federation of B&H, with a 51% share of the territory and inhabited by mostly Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and Bosnian Croats, and Republic Srpska (RS), with 49% of the territory and populated almost exclusively by Bosnian Serbs. Further, the agreement separated the Federation of B&H (FB&H) into ten ethnically distinct cantons, with little intermixing between the two ethnic groups.

The global politics of reconciliation and democratization provide a blueprint for post-conflict reconstruction projects the world over, including in South Africa, Rwanda, and B&H. Of these, the B&H case is of particular interest due to the extensive involvement of some of the world's most powerful states (USA, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia) and leading international institutions (the International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations (UN), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and NATO) in governing of the country. Accordingly, the "International Community" (IC) in B&H is best described as a "loose coalition of international governmental institutions, national governments and non-governmental organizations that has bound itself to Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Dayton Accords and the period of reconstruction" (World Bank, 1999:2).²

In addition to the post-conflict reconstruction, B&H also faces the multiple challenges of post-socialist transformation. The exit from socialism and "transition" to democracy has been managed differently by each of the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. In the case of B&H, the "transition" has been transnational because of the central role of the IC in governing the country (Coles 2002, Verdery 1998:293, Paley 2002:13). The ultimate power of government is concentrated in international bodies, such as the Office of the High Representative (OHR) and the NATO-led military Implementation Force (IFOR), which was later renamed the Stabilization Force (SFOR) and finally replaced with

European Union Force in B&H (EUFOR).³ The overall goal of the IC in B&H is to “touch and change the political, social, and economic life of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state and Bosnians as people in such a way that the country and its citizens become modern, democratic, and capitalist with regard for human rights and the rule of law” (Coles 2002:2).

I consider reconciliation and democratization as a set of discourses and policies circulating globally through the aforementioned governing organizations that aim to build a democratic, multiethnic, and modern state in B&H. These discourses and policies of social reconstruction are wrapped in the rhetoric of development, modernization, democratization, equality, and their bourgeois forms of civic sociality. When placed into the B&H context, these universal notions of civic nationalism collide with ethnic political society and its multiple pursuits of security and welfare.⁴ In this study, I will focus on one segment of this collision: the integration of the B&H schools. Reconciliation and democratization programs are shaped by modern policies of international governmentality, in which the integration of schools and youth are among the main tools used in assisting B&H citizens to stitch back together the torn social fabric of their country.

In this study I look at the reunified school and its relationship to the struggle between the civic/integrationist governmentality and ethnic/segregation nationalisms in B&H and the modern world. I argue that the Gymnasium Mostar is an excellent entry point from which to understand the workings of the contested political, cultural, and social efforts involved in the processes of nation building. Besides being a field where the two socialites collide, the reunified school is also a showcase for *transformations*, *borrowings* and *reversals* between the two forms of socialite. For example, in part II, I describe in detail how the minority political community reframed and reversed the rhetoric of civic nationalism and its model of power sharing into the ethnicism and domination of one group (Bosniaks) in order to achieve its goals of political autonomy in its quest for self-preservation.

1.2. Education in B&H Before, During, and After the War

1.2.1. Education and Socialism

The education system in B&H reflects the dreadful consequences of the destruction of the war, the paradoxes of the Dayton Peace Agreement,

and the weaknesses of the B&H Constitution(s). Before the war, education in the former Yugoslavia was inspired by Josip Broz Tito's ideological regime. This education regime was similar to other socialist education regimes that served to promote socialist values and communist ideologies. Tito's government was also unique, however, particularly in terms of its "self-management concept".⁵ This system had many disadvantages and only a few advantages. For example, extreme decentralization slowed down the process of decision-making on educational issues in such a way that decisions could no longer be made efficiently. In addition, the system "recognized competing interests and desires" but also "dissolved them in consultation and collective responsibility" (World Bank, 1999:6). The strengths of the system were also numerous, including participation and knowledge dissemination (World Bank, 1999:7), as well as the elaborate system of adult education that focused on educating the working class. As a result of these efforts, the illiteracy rate decreased progressively, from 44.6 % in 1931 to 24.9 % in 1953 (Zarkovic 1954:511), continuing to fall until Tito's death in 1980.

Overall, education was one of Yugoslavia's most remarkable achievements. Through curricular and extracurricular instruction and rituals it engineered a socialist youth with a degree of a shared Yugoslav identity and emphasized the pride in the country's ability to incorporate diverse linguistic and cultural groups into a multicolored and vibrant Yugoslav nation.

1.2.2. Education and War

During the war, as the country was being torn apart through violence, the educational system became fragmented along ethno-national lines. Almost immediately, education was turned into a tool for the political control and advancement of nationalist ideologies. In a change from the single pre-war system, children and youth began to be educated according to the "tripartite pattern", which was based on the area in which people lived and the ethnicity to which they belonged (Conventions on the Right of the Child, B&H, article 28/247). Soon after the breakout of the conflict, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats adopted their corresponding curricula and textbooks from their neighbors – Serbia and Croatia, respectively, while the Bosniaks continued to use the old Republic of B&H curricula, albeit attempting to introduce the most necessary changes and modifications.

In many parts of the country, attending school during the war was a dangerous activity, since schools in B&H lacked adequate bomb shelters. As a result, schooling was sporadic, *ad hoc*, and frequently took place in the basements of better-protected houses. In some towns teachers would visit different neighborhoods on different nights, giving modified classes. Studying at home was also challenge since basic materials were scarce and there was a lack of basic infrastructure – electricity, water, heating etc.

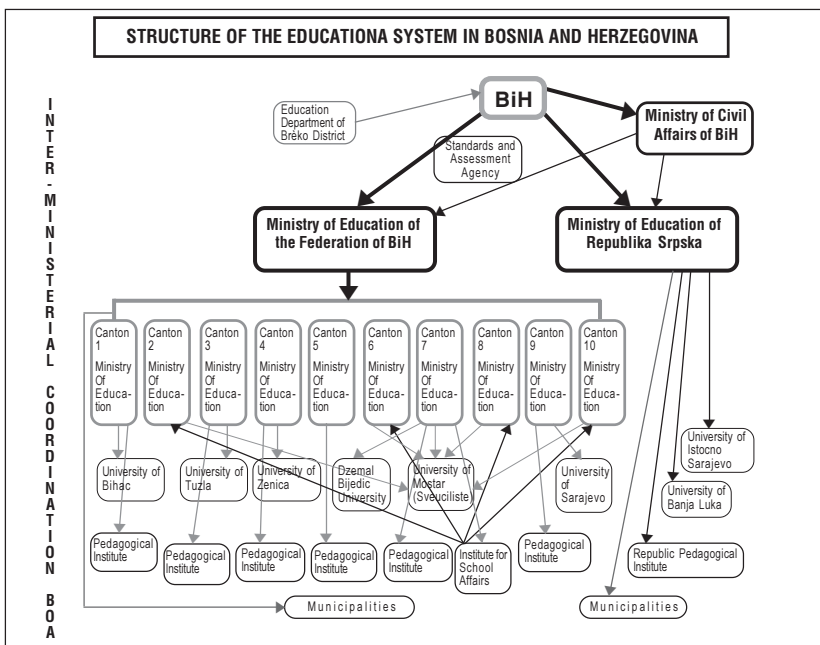
I was a second-year high-school student (equivalent to 10th grade in the US) in Bihać when the war started. Before the war my classmates had been of all ethnic backgrounds (Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks), all of whom coexisted peacefully in my town and my classroom. One day, in April 1992, I came to school to find many desks empty – all the Serb children had left our town, including my best friend Nataša. Many of my classmates and teachers had moved to the surrounding hills, and literally overnight they became the “enemies” who bombed our hometown for the next three and a half years.

I finished the last two years of my high school education under siege, with the other Bosniak, Croat, and a few Serb children who remained in the town. It was not rare for me to leave the classroom in the middle of a lesson to run home to take shelter, since the building did not offer any protection. With these irregular school conditions, obtaining good grades was not an easy matter. I remember how our teachers encouraged us to continue studying, saying that we could not stop learning “just because of the war.” Some even said they expected us to read and learn harder still, at a time when “the enemy” was trying hard to destroy our schooling and our future. “Your knowledge is the only possession you can take with you if you have to become a refugee,” one of my teachers once told us between the sounds of bombs exploding nearby.

1.2.3. Education and Post-Conflict Social Reconstruction

The Dayton Peace Agreement brought an end to the shelling of school buildings, but it also reinforced the fragmentation and decentralization in education created during the war. This fragmentation was a result of the dominant international approach to post-conflict social reconstruction in which “the need to address inequalities between members of different communities often leads government policy-makers to adopt an education

system that is premised upon segregation" (NICIE 2006:1). In other words, it is widely accepted that the transition from violence to peace depends, at least in part, on guaranteeing communities' control over their own internal affairs (Hadden and Craig 2000:23). B&H was designed on the basis of these models of segmental autonomy and power-sharing (Lijphart 1977; 1985; 1990; Horowitz 1985, 1990, 1991; Palmer 2005) and emerged from the Dayton Peace Accords as a weak and clumsy state containing three or four tiers of government, "13 parliaments, 13 executive branches, and about 180 ministries and ministers" (Bebler 2006:1). In other words, the state itself had almost no governing powers. The majority of its governing power, including in the matters of education, resided at the level of the two entities. Under the Dayton Accords, education in the FB&H was further delegated to the level of the ten cantons. This fragmentation in education is shown in the following diagram:



Structure of the Education System in B&H. Adopted from the OSCE PowerPoint presentation, *Education Reform in B&H: The Education Reform Process and OSCE's Co-ordinating Role*, 2005.

The ten cantons in FB&H fall into three groups: the five in which the Bosniaks form the majority population and where the so-called “Federal curriculum” is used, the three Croatian-majority cantons where the “Croat curriculum” is used, and the two “mixed” cantons which are divided between the two curricula (World Bank 1999).

Under the Dayton Peace Agreement, however, education policy-making in RS remained at the level of a single entity. The system of education here is thus highly centralized, with the “Serb curricula” being employed in all schools. This difference between a decentralized educational structure on the Federation side, and the exceedingly centralized structure in RS led to the creation of a complex, bureaucratically expensive, irrational, parallel, astigmatic, and asymmetrical structure (Pasalic-Kreso 2004) and discrimination in education, especially in the “mixed” cantons (World Bank 1999). In addition, the thirteen B&H constitutions barely mention how the thirteen Ministries of Education should effectively design, implement and coordinate educational policies. The result, with the exception of the constitution of RS, is the proliferation of *ad hoc* procedures motivated by political interest (see Pasalic-Kreso 2004).

The IC realized that the political authorities’ opposition to common regulations combined with a lack of basic legal conditions “hampered the development of educational policies in accordance with European standards”⁶ (Schmidtpott and Hermann 2001:107). In order to confront this problem, many international and local experts attempted to draw up bills that would provide new directions for primary and secondary education in B&H. As a result of these initiatives, a sufficient legal framework was established and multiple agreements and laws have been developed (Schmidtpott and Hermann 2001:107). The implementation of these bills and agreements, however, has been slow and beset by obstacles.

During the war, 70 % of all school buildings in B&H were damaged, destroyed, or requisitioned for military use (World Bank 2004). After the war ended, the IC contributed significantly to the reconstruction of B&H schools: in the two short years between 1996 and 1998, various international donors provided \$172 million for the rehabilitation of education in B&H (World Bank 1999:20). In 2000 in the FB&H alone, 239 primary school buildings were constructed or rehabilitated (UNESCO EFA 2000). Donor commitment to the rehabilitation of education in B&H has steadily declined, however: “total commitments for education were

\$110 million in 1995/96, \$49 million in 1997, and \$13 million in 1998" (ibid) and donations have been decreasing ever since.⁷ While the IC has provided much support for the reconstruction of schools since 1995, the reform of education was not high on the list of the IC's priorities. The main IC political actors involved in education – OHR, OSCE, UNESCO, UNCHR, the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the World Bank, and the USA Embassy/Civitas – only identified reform in education as important where it was instrumental in meeting their other goals – mainly the return of refugees and displaced persons to their original homes (Palmer 2005:60).

While there were no significant efforts by the IC to promote educational reform in B&H in the first years after the war, this changed significantly after 2002 when the OSCE took the lead and linked reform of education to EU accession (Palmer 2005). On the basis of the July 4 2002 mandate from the OSCE permanent Council in Vienna, the OSCE resumed responsibility for the coordination and realization of the IC's work in the field of education with the overarching goal of making B&H education more inclusive and closer to European standards. Consequently, the IC made the re-integration of ethnically segregated schools and reconciliation among ethnically divided young people the main goals of successful nation building in B&H. Under the plan 54 ethnically divided schools in Bosnia were to be reunified. To date, however, only in Vareš, Žepče, and Mostar (the Gymnasium Mostar) have the two schools merged officially to become one legal body with two components; in all the other cases the two schools have retained their separate legal identities (OSCE 2005:1). However, even the four "integrated" schools maintained separate ethnic curricula for the students of the three majority ethnic groups, thus preserving ethnic segregation. What this means in practice is that ethnically divided youth share the same schools but follow different curricula.

I.3. Ethnographic Setting: Mostar and the Gymnasium

I.3.1. City of Mostar

In July 2005 I set out to begin 16 months of multi-sited ethnographic research (Marcus 1998) in Mostar. I chose Mostar because it is often described as a microcosm of the Bosnian state. With over 100,000 inhabitants, it is the largest city in Herzegovina. During the Tito period,

Mostar, the city famous for its bridge, was a symbol of ethnic integration and coexistence in Yugoslavia. However, its history of mutual respect, heterogeneity, and intermarriage ended in 1992, when Mostar became the scene of one of the bloodiest conflicts of the Bosnian war. The Serb population is now almost completely gone, and Mostar is left with only its Muslim and Croat sides.

In January 2004, Lord Ashdown, the internationally appointed High Representative for B&H, reacted against the slow reunification of Mostar and combined Mostar's six municipalities into a single assembly. Regardless of the city's official reunification, Mostar is still a noticeably divided city. As the most popular B&H tourist destination, Mostar is very appealing when visited for a few days. Everyday life, however, is full of hardships. The tension and the difference between the two sides of the city are still very visible and they create an atmosphere of anxiety and insecurity. The East side, populated almost exclusively by Bosniaks, is poorer, dirtier, and nosier than its western counterpart. Several of my Croat informants as well as some Bosniak informants mentioned that the Bosniak side was filthy and neglected. Some of my Croat informants called it *ciganska strana* ("the Gypsy side") because of the high number of Gypsies that roam its streets. The Croat side, the West side, appears richer and more polished, with its wide and clean streets, and two well-stocked shopping malls. The two sides seem like two different cities, especially given their different urban geographies and economic asymmetries.

1.3.2. Gymnasium Mostar /Old Gymnasium

Of the nine secondary schools in Mostar before the war, all but two schools were located on the present-day Croat side of the city (OSCE 2005). Faced with the new and unexpected homelessness, Bosniak students and teachers established seven temporary secondary schools using the primary schools on the East side of town. This lack of space introduced some logistical problems: the number of school shifts was increased from two to three in most of the schools. For years the IC has tried to convince the Bosniaks in Mostar that they will be able their return to the original buildings, but the return never took place, and more than 2,400 high-school students have been studying in overcrowded and poorly equipped temporary schools for the past 15 years. Croat students,

on the other hand, enjoy the use of all but two high schools in the city (OSCE 2005:3).

Among the first schools to be integrated in Bosnia-Herzegovina was the Gymnasium Mostar, or *Stara Gimnazija* (The Old Gymnasium) as people in Mostar refer to the school. The symbolic importance of this step is immense and it is constantly being discussed in public. In the words of the professor of philosophy at the Gymnasium Mostar and leader of the union of Croat secondary school teachers:

In the year 2000 I got hold of the International Crisis Group report that said “the key to the B&H state’s survival is Mostar, and the key to the survival of Mostar is the Gymnasium Mostar”. This means that everything revolves around us, the country’s future depends on our success... in other words, we are the center of the world.

Although this comment was intended as irony, it still encapsulates the frenzy shaping the discourses surrounding the integration of the school. The school has a very special place in B&H, past and present. The Old Gymnasium is a historical institution and national monument. It was built in 1898 in the Austro-Hungarian orientalist style. The school was one of the most famous and academically prestigious educational institutions in the former Yugoslavia, and possibly the best in B&H. Many famous and primarily male youth revolutionaries, freedom fighters, world-famous artists, academics, and scientists attended this school. Given its illustrious history – and the fact that someone from almost every family in Mostar attended this school – a lot of emotion surfaces in conversations about the school and its future.

The school’s importance and symbolism is enhanced by its location in the very center of Mostar, on the West/Croat side of the main boulevard, the one-time front line. In pre-war Mostar, the boulevard was the center of economic, social, and cultural life:

You could not walk for two meters without meeting someone you knew... The whole world was there” (teacher’s comment). This image of the boulevard lives on only in the memories of the city’s older generation. Today, it is a ghostly strip of land, “a twilight border zone of hostile and uneasy separation between the two halves of the divided city (Wimman 2004:3).

In 1999, when the city was still divided into Croat and Bosniak municipalities, the Croat dominated city council transferred authority over the school to the Croat controlled Cantonal Ministry, which in turn transferred authority to the Croat Municipality South West (OSCE 2005:4). The Croats in Mostar almost immediately set about some small-scale repair work on five different classrooms, renamed the building “Fra Dominik Mandić”, and began teaching 257 students using the Croat curricula and Croat language (OSCE 2005:4). The school became a Croat school:

This school is located in Croat territory. In this area, the war started because nobody knew what belonged to whom. I want this to be a representative Croat school that will train and produce Croat intellectuals. (Jospi Milić, quoted in Wimmen 2004:8).

Meanwhile, the Bosniaks established a temporary high school, the “First Gymnasium”, in the 7th Primary School in an old neighborhood on the East side known as *Mahala* (OSCE 2005:4).

The process of nationalization of the Gymnasium Mostar by the local Croat community should be understood in the context of the Croat imagined community (Anderson 1983), which was shaped by the triad of relations between the emerging B&H state, the Croat national minority, and its external homeland, Croatia.⁸ For the Croats in Mostar, the Croat national community stretched between the Croatian border with Slovenia to the west and the boulevard in Mostar to the east, thus unifying the Croatian homeland with its national minority in B&H. Placed within this political field, the Old Gymnasium is seen as displaced from the center of the formerly united city to the frontline of national space at its southeastern frontier. This renders the school both marginal, in terms of its physical location, and central, in terms of its role in marking and preserving the political/national/ethnic boundaries of belonging. For Croats, the school is one of the “building-blocks, and possibly a linchpin, of a bulwark designed to seal off ‘nationalized territory’” (Wimmen 2004:5).

Some Croat youth described the school as located in the marginal, shady, and dangerous part of the town. This feeling was reinforced by several violent attacks at the school that took place prior to the school's

reunification. These acts included throwing stones at the building, robbery, and one especially violent act by a group of young Bosniaks. After hearing that one of their Bosniak friends had been attacked by a group of Croats in Kantarevac – a sports complex behind the school on the Croat side of the boulevard – these young men quickly formed a group and set off for the school with two pit bulls. After breaking into the school, they entered one classroom where class was in progress and began beating up a number of Croat students and their teacher (author's interview with one of the attackers). The teachers and students at the school still often recall this event:

A few years ago we had police come in and separate the students. Each side blames the other for the events. I do not know who started it, but from the boulevard there came stones and rocks flying...I do not know if it came from *Mahala*, I don't know where they came from. For that whole year the police guarded the school, from a car, like a police patrol (teacher's comment).

For many Croats the incident reinforced the perception of the school as located in the dangerous borderland between the Croat community and the rest of the world. For example, Dinko told me that several of his Croat friends refused to go to a nearby Pizzeria on the East side during the school breaks. However, it is the only such place where they can get a decent snack during the short break. Instead they sometimes pay other Croat students – those who do cross to the other side – to buy them a slice of pizza or a sandwich. These practices of (non)crossing create a unique logic of movement within and around the school best illustrated by the practice of “splitting” at the end of the school day. One day, at around 13:30 in early September 2005, I was waiting at the square in front of the school to observe what happened when the students finished their school day and left the building. Shortly after I heard the school bell announcing the end of the final period, a “mixed” student body, composed of some 300 young people, stormed out of the door. A few meters after leaving by the same door, this intermingled mass of youth started to split into two symmetrical, ethnically separate, snake-like shapes – one marching East, the other going West.

For the IC and a number of citizens of Mostar who refer to themselves as *pravi Mostarci* (“true” Mostar people) and who do not have *podjelu u*

glavi (division in their heads/minds), the Old Gymnasium continues to rank among the most important symbols of pre-war coexistence and post-war social reconstruction in B&H. The difference between *pravi Mostarci* – whose roots lie in the city, and who claim cosmopolitanism as their main character trait – and *dočljaci/dočlje/ovi sto su došli sa strane* – those who moved to the city from the surrounding villages and mountains during and after the war – was mentioned frequently by many of my informants, especially those who claimed to be in favor of integration and coexistence. While talking to these people about the recent bloodshed in Mostar, I noticed how each had a Croat/Bosniak who helped them during the war, often saving their lives or the lives of their family members. In other words, “it was those who came from elsewhere who committed the crimes; ‘true’ Mostar people could never commit such atrocities”. This difference, tension, and even straightforward antagonism between urban/modern/cosmopolitan and rural/backward/nationalist are common throughout B&H. The civic identity favored by the majority of the “true” inhabitants of the cities in B&H “simultaneously reflects nostalgia for the old life and a rejection of the boxes in which people find themselves” (Ćorkalo et al. 2005:147).

The emphasis on the school’s role in the process of social reconstruction and reconciliation held a central position in IC rhetoric, as shown in the OSCE 2005 report: “The importance of Gymnasium Mostar as a flagship for multi-ethnic education in B&H cannot be underestimated. The OSCE and the IC must continue to support and nurture this process” (OSCE 2005:6). In the Gymnasium Mostar, the IC saw an opportunity to reintegrate the school and “undo the Croat strategy of separation, to engineer the reunification of the city, and to establish a showcase example of the benefits of cross-communal coexistence and cooperation” (Wimmen 2004:5). However, by framing their project in the language of integration and pluralism, the IC “stumbled into a minefield of Croat national passions” (Wimmen 2004:5). Contested by an unforeseen level of resistance from the Croat political community, the IC had to adjust their visions and language of integration in order to continue to negotiate social reconstruction with the local communities and their diverging agendas.

PART II: DISCOURSES OF INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATION

II.1. Discourses of Integration

II.1.1. The IC's Demands for Integration and the Croat Responses

The first concrete stimulus for the integration of the Gymnasium Mostar came from the USA government, when it offered \$1 million in assistance to the school under the condition that 392 students in the temporary Bosniak Gymnasium be reintegrated (OSCE 2005:3). The Bosniaks accepted this proposal immediately, since they wanted to return to the school and end their forced exile in the primary school in *Mahala*.⁹ The Bosnian Croats, however, initially refused the offer. Eventually, under pressure from the IC, the Croat political representatives started to negotiate different types of integration. The reactions of the local Croat political community bordered on the “hysterical” in claiming that “cultural genocide had been carried out against the Croat people”, calling the Croat representatives who agreed to integration “traitors of the nation, if they support the project” and “evoking images of ‘new janissaries’ being created from Croatian youth” (Wimmen 2004:7). Wimmen (2004) explains this reaction in terms of the behavior of a “trapped minority”, a phrase first suggested by the Israeli anthropologist Dan Rabinowitz (1999).¹⁰ Seen through the lens of the trapped minority,¹¹ integration unleashed an unnatural and dangerous fragmentation of the Croat nation (Wimmen 2004:7). Politically speaking, integration was understood as a forced incorporation and assimilation of the Croat population into a seemingly equal power-sharing pluralist B&H state, which, for most Croats, is experienced as one of Bosniak hegemony.

The stance articulated by the Croat “trapped minority” arose within the dynamic field of various intersecting and often conflicting positions. On the one side was the IC, with a clear mandate, agreed in Dayton, to challenge the ethnic segregation and segmental autonomy itself given to the ethnic political communities by Dayton. On the other side were the discourses infiltrating from neighboring Croatia and Serbia that challenged the IC's approaches.

The overarching position of the Croat national minority, which emerged as a reaction to the aforementioned political stance of the IC, stressed that B&H and FB&H were political arenas for the ethnic dominance of the Bosniaks. This ethnocracy had been hidden, they claimed, behind

the language of the liberal politics of power-sharing and coexistence. This apparently democratic process of integration was threatening the segmental autonomy of the Croats in B&H:

As Robert Hayden (199, 79) rightly observes, “the rhetoric of democracy that adorns the state defined by constitutional nationalism can be used to delegitimize minority protests to the majority community. If all are putatively equal, even if actually unequal, resistance to institutionalized inequality can be represented as hostility to the dominant (ethnic) nation and not to the constitutional nationalist state”. But as the example of Mostar serves to show, this observation can also be turned around: imputed inequalities can be used to delegitimize a democratic state as governed by an ethnic group through a system of constitutional nationalism, to represent the workings of its institution as hostile by the dominant (ethnic) nation, and to justify minority resistance in the language of human rights...(Wimmen 2004:5)

What Wimmen’s discussion reveals is the process by which the self-perceived political minority encumbered with ethnonationalist sentiments of a “trapped minority” turns civic society and democratic postulates “inside-out” so that they appear as ethnic, primordial, and ascribed nationalisms (i.e. the domination of the Bosniaks). At the same time, the national minority appropriates and revives the language of democracy and minority rights in order to resist integration into a state based on the principles of power-sharing and ethnic pluralism which they do not trust. It is important to stress that the politics of the Croat ethnic community, and for that matter also other popular ethnic politics in B&H, was a politics of modern nationalism, and not of a primordial nature. Many great thinkers in the past have addressed the tensions between “new states and old societies” (Geertz 1963), which emphasize the modern-day conflict between the universal ideas of civic nationalism on the one hand, and the popular ethnic politics on the other (Anderson 1998, Urban 2002). What is missing in existing analyses, however, are illustrations of transformations, reversals, and borrowings within and between the two forms of nationalism. What the example of the Croat resistance to integration into a pluralistic democratic society shows is how popular ethnic politics can take the form of *modern* and *contingent* nationalism (Brubaker 1996), something not properly understood within the old frameworks of pre-modern communities, primordial belonging, and tribal politics.

The example I use in this paper shows how the Croat ethnic minority became suspicious of liberal forms of integration and citizenship, which they saw as “ideological masks for substantively nationalizing and ethnocratic forms of rule, as assuring the cultural predominance and political autonomy of the dominant nation” (Brubaker 1996:50) – in this case the Bosniaks. In the politics of mistrust, liberalism and ethnic pluralism become facades for ethnocracy, in other words for a Bosnification or even Turkification of the state. There are many cases that illustrate the workings and consequences of this reversal. For instance, the fact that less than 40% of Croats in Mostar have visited the Old Bridge since its reconstruction in 2004 is the cause of much confusion among much of the IC, which sees the Old Bridge as a symbol *par excellence* of post-conflict reconciliation. However, this makes perfect sense if one accepts that, in the eyes of the Croat political community, this “symbol of reconciliation and integration” is construed as a “Turkish bridge”, signifying the dominance of the past Ottoman and the present-day Bosniak social and political formations:

I: Have you seen the new Old Bridge?

Mia (Croat university student): All this discussion about the bridge! It is ridiculous how much money *they* spent on it, the money that went into nothing, at times when people need jobs. To me, it was a day like any other – only the police presence and the fireworks showed that something was happening. I have no feelings for the bridge because I was nine when the war started and I do not remember the bridge from before. And I really do not like how they had a Turkish band marching all over the city.

As Croat fury about the integration of the school continued to grow, it became obvious that the IC had not fully realized the importance of the Gymnasium Mostar for the Croat community. The messages sent by the IC – such as “integration does not mean assimilation”¹² – did not convince the Croat population. In addition, the IC’s vague definition for the integration of schools enabled manipulation of the term and its meanings.

II.1.2. The “Integrated School” Concept

“An integrated school” is an educational concept with a long history in conflict-ridden societies; it is most frequently associated with Northern Ireland, and more recently Israel.¹³ It is one of a whole range of attempts

made to bridge the divides between Protestant and Catholic children in Northern Ireland, and Palestinian and Israeli children in Israel. Although Northern Ireland has been nurturing 58 integrated schools since 1981, the meaning of integration has remained ambiguous for a long time (see Dunn 1989) and still means different things in different schools (Gallagher, personal communication).

The IC in B&H considered integrated education as a norm that would bring about political and educational improvement, something that is clear from the IC's numerous declarations – e.g. “without integration you will never become part of Europe” (Keiffer quoted in Farrell 2001:17). In addition, discourses of integration produced by the IC in Mostar were initially unclear. The OSCE education officer in charge of integration explains:

We had an idea – we wanted Bosniaks back in schools, and we wanted to see them [Croat and Bosniak students] in the same classes. Initially, the OSCE was pushing for integration. And frankly, there is absolutely no reason why they should not be together. [However,] We did not succeed in fully integrating the Gymnasium Mostar. Despite our constant repetitions to the locals that it is much more complicated and expensive to work separately and stay segregated, it did not work... We made a mistake because at the beginning of our “campaign” for the integration of the Gymnasium Mostar, we talked so much about the “common curricula” for non-national subjects. That integration was understood as a conflict of Croat national interests.

The quotation above shows how the discourse of integration produced by the OSCE had two main components: the return of Bosniaks to the building and the integration of classrooms and curricula. It is the latter that spread panic among the Croat community. Understood from the standpoint of the Croat political community, the “integrated classroom” agenda contained many dangers for the Croat people, such as blurring the boundaries of the Croat imagined community or, worse still, assimilation into the “Bosniak state”. This political agenda of boundary-maintenance and self-preservation through segregation, however, was framed in the public sphere in terms of the fear of obliteration of the Croat language, the essence of Croat peoplehood.

The integration of classes, as envisioned by the OSCE, meant that students of both ethnic groups would together attend “shared subjects”

deemed less controversial. These included psychology, philosophy, sociology, biology, chemistry, mathematics, physics, art, and sports education. The instruction of “national group” subjects, including language, geography, literature, musical education, and history, however, were to remain separate. While this idea seemed to accord with the existing education bills that promoted inclusive, democratic, non-discriminatory education that was open to all, the OSCE leadership initially failed to understand what integrated classes meant for the Croat community. While the Croat national minority accepted that Bosniak students would most probably return to the school, the boundary between *Us* and *Them* in the school had to be maintained in order to protect political boundaries and the essence of the Croat nation. In order to justify its position, the Croat leadership used the language of the Dayton accords, which guaranteed the control of ethnic groups over their internal affairs, including education. In addition, the Croat principal of the school used the example of other European countries which lack complete integration:

The OSCE and I understand each other well. Eventually, they understood why we need two curricula, for two constituent peoples. It took them some time, but they get it now. The International Community constantly complains that “they [the students] are not together.” Well, other Europeans are not [together] either! Look at Switzerland, what about them...is that not a problem?The IC wants to impose their ideologies on us but they do not understand the situation on the ground, among the people.

The Croats in Mostar also stressed the parts of the B&H constitution that legitimize the ideas of political belonging based on ethnic membership. The constitution grants rights to the constitutional peoples to protect their community’s rights, including the education of Croat youth using Croat curricula, in Croat classrooms, and especially in the Croat language. It is the language of instruction that became the battleground between the sociopolitical forces of integration and the practices of segregation.

II.1.3. Discourses of Croat Language, Integration, and Segregation

In education and in current linguistic practice there are three official languages in use in B&H: Croat, Serb, and Bosnian. The standard language in B&H during the pre-war period was Serbo-Croatian, or Croato-Serbian.

This language in its practice, grammar, and orthography respected two language variants: the eastern and the western (Conventions on the Right of the Child, B&H, article 28/252). Since the start of the war, political leaders and many lay people on all three sides insisted they speak three different languages, a claim constitutionally acknowledged in Dayton (Farrell 2001:5).

Regardless of the political motivations behind the resistance to integration, it was the Croat language that emerged as the key marker of Croat identity and the social glue that held together all Croats in the region. Seen from these two perspectives, survival of the language meant the Croat's survival as a people. Furthermore, education became an especially sensitive issue for the Croats – it is the main vessel for transmitting the Croat language and culture to the new generation. Having students of the two ethnic groups in the same classroom, taught by both Bosniak and Croat teachers, in the Bosnian and Croatian languages, was therefore unacceptable to the Croats (Farrell 2001:8).

This integrationist model could lead to a “mixing” of languages, which is seen as a dangerous first step on the road to national destruction. Mixing of languages is especially forbidden in the context of ethnic segregation, protectionism, and national purity. For most Croats, the “mixed” Serbo-Croat language symbolizes the legacy of the Serb hegemony in the former Yugoslavia.¹⁴ Croat language policy since 1991 thus attempted to keep the language “pure”, cleansed of Orientalisms, Serbisms, and other linguistic impurities.¹⁵ The Croat language, in this framework, was elevated to the throne of Croat peoplehood and its very existence as *narod* (a people). The former principal of the Gymnasium Mostar explains:

The IC forced, I don't want to say violently, but still pushed for full integration...and the local political parties that were in power – they also pushed for this, because of their own interests. But the IC did not understand the complexity of the situation for the Croats. The problem [of integration] becomes most obvious when we talk about language. Our local languages are similar in some ways, but they are mostly different. And *narod* without language is not *narod* at all. Which language would students listen to at school? Parents fear that the Croat language will be destroyed... this is bigger than politics; it's about society and about culture.

In February 2006, I met the head of the Croat Institute of Education (*Zavod za Čkolstvo*), the agency in charge of developing curricula,

creating standards, and evaluating the quality of education in five Cantons with a significant Croat population in B&H. Before we began the interview, he asked me not to record or take notes of his answers. The reason for this became clear when we started talking about language as a barrier in the development of the “common curricula” and integrated classrooms. After leaving his office, I quickly made notes of the interview, a paraphrased version of which appears below:

M: You see... I don't want you to record or write down what I say because, in that case... I would have to cleanse my speech... because if you cite me later, it has to be clean... You and I are now talking *mješanac* (mixed language) so that we can understand each other. We have to recognize the fact that both of us were educated under the old system, in the old language, Serbo-Croatian, or Croato-Serbian. That is how we learned. But that was an artificial language, neither Serb nor Croat. If one were to write an essay in that language today, it would be illiterate...you know, language is a very intimate thing...We are speaking *mješanac* now, but the children today, they'd have problems, they wouldn't understand each other. Go to Split [harbor in Croatia] today and you will not understand much. It's a different syntax they use! And if you teach these kids a little bit in this language, a little bit in that language.... A little bit this way, little bit that way... use some of these words, and then some of the others... these kids would be illiterate, because they wouldn't speak any language, but a mixture of languages... and that is not OK because that means illiteracy.

I: But... speaking this *mješanac*, as you call it, twenty years ago, was a pre-requisite for literacy!

M: That's true, but that artificial country and its artificial language collapsed, violently. That means it was no good. Maybe in the future we will look for new versions, with new types of integration, but for the time being, whoever speaks *mješanac* is illiterate.

I: But language...

M (red in the face, voice rising): Please, do not speak about language any more... language is sacred... it's intimate. Let's not take it so easily.

I have provided this lengthy transcription of the interview I conducted with one of the most powerful people in education in the Croat community in order to demonstrate what is at stake. For the Croat community, integrated classrooms meant the exposure of Croat students to the Bosnian language, which, to many, is very similar to the Serbo-Croat language of the past – where the language of the past was one of Serb hegemony, today's is of Bosniak hegemony. The purity of the Croat language was to

be protected from “mixing” by any means, since it is at the border between the Croat, Serb, and Bosnian languages that the political, social, cultural, and economic boundaries between *US* and *Them* are disputed, designed, sealed, and guarded.

The Croatian leadership used the community/minority rights discourse to claim their right to preserve Croatian language instruction in schools. This automatically led to protectionism and the politics of segregation for the Croat language/people from Bosnian language speakers, even though the two languages are mutually understandable. The president of the School Board of Gymnasium Mostar captured this linguistic tension well when he said:

Language is a medium of communication, not of isolation. We all have a right to speak our own language – that is only democratic. But if I have a right to use my language, does it mean that only Bosnian words can enter my ear? That is what the other side is asking for.... If the other side uses democratic rhetoric to ask to hear only the Croat language, then I lose my democratic right to speak my language, you see? So you cannot ask that.... that only one language can enter your students’ ears because other languages will contaminate your language – you have to be more inclusive... because in that case M. [OSCE], when he comes to visit the school, would have to speak in the Croatian language... see what I mean... you see, one of our most famous authors said that we, the people in B&H are unique in Europe because by being born in this country we have passive knowledge of three languages – which one I speak is my choice.

The political stance that framed exposure to local languages other than Croatian as a threat to national identity became embedded in many Croat youths’ vision of school and life. The following two examples show different aspects in which this ideology of ethnicity through language policy operates among youth. The first example comes from part of an interview I conducted with a young male Croat student called Ivan at the Gymnasium Mostar. He constantly expressed his Croat nationalism but at the same time had quite a few Bosniak friends at the school. He established some of these friendships during a joint trip to the USA.¹⁶

You know what, to me... this is not segregation... like “you will never accept each other if you do not sit classes together”. Absolutely not! I have mine, and Lejla [friend and Bosniak student next door] has her classes, and we can go for coffee afterwards. And we can be in the Student Council

together, and during the break. But simply, I mean.... I'm very happy that I'm a Croat, and that I study the Croat language, and that I study history from the Croat point of view... and I love some words like *toèno* ("exactly" in Croatian) and I do not know, I am so happy about it.

This student's comments encapsulate the multiple attitudes I heard among Croat teachers and students. He stressed his right, his wish, and his need to have his classroom instruction only in the Croat language. That is why the proposal to have joint classes, in which the teachers would be obliged to use Croat and Bosnian variants, was not acceptable to them. This right – the right to hold classes exclusively in the Croat language – created multiple boundaries between Ivan and the others who did not "speak" his language, including his friends Lejla, Alma, and Aida.¹⁷ Consequently, this right defined new, post-conflict parameters of social distance which were necessary for the purity of language and political society to survive. This new form of social distance is clearly reflected in the new geography of the reunited school as well. Interestingly, informal activities, such as smoking in the toilets during breaks between classes or after school, seemed to pose less of a threat to this particular Croat student. This is because these activities are all informal, and the slang used by youth is separate from the official register used in classrooms, at conferences, or in professional environments. Similarly, in their study of social reconstruction in Vukovar, Prijedor and Mostar, Ćorkalo *et al.* (2005:152) conclude:

Social reconstruction is not a linear process. While being significantly improved in some aspect of the social world, in others the "social tissue" or social network can be remarkably weaker or even non-existent. For example, an improvement in business or work relations between members of different ethnic groups may not necessarily be present in private, social encounters.

The next example demonstrates the shrinking space for "bilingual" interaction caused by the fear of language contamination than can lead to personal failure. In this short excerpt from my field notes of September 10 2005 I illustrate the narrowing of the shared social space. During that weekend, I spent many hours documenting the interaction between student council representatives from the largely segregated small town of Vitez in central Bosnia. These students were attending a workshop at the

Gymnasium Mostar. In their own school building in Vitez there were two schools that shared the same building but nothing else. By bringing Vitez students together at the Gymnasium Mostar, the OSCE was hoping to achieve two goals. The first goal was to introduce students to each other so that they could recognize how much they have in common. The second goal was to expose the students to the unusually prosperous (thanks to IC donations) and newly renovated, well furnished, well-equipped, reunited Gymnasium Mostar, which achieved this prosperity upon its reunification.

I walk into the student lounge. It is quiet, colorful, spacious, and nicely lit. The OSCE employee in charge of the workshop is not there yet. While we wait for him to come back from lunch, the students lean back in their chairs, arranged in a semi-circle, and start talking:

X (Bosniak): You see how they [Gymnasium Mostar] can cooperate and have one roof, one school. Look at this fancy student lounge they got!

A (Bosniak): That is what I have been saying all this time, we need one joint Student

Council, not two... we need to unite.

Y (Croat): That will never happen with us.

X: Yes it will, why not?

A (quietly): Not if it continues like this.

Z (Croat): How would we do it, with two different languages?

D (Bosniak, raising his voice): Is it really important which language it will be? I speak now and you understand me, we all understand each other! That is all that matters.

M (Croat): Well it is important to me. I do understand you and it is OK for this kind of thing, ... but if I spend time with you and I hear your words, and if I use those words in my exam at the University of Zagreb, I will fail!

Silence.

In this case, the idea of integration is interpreted as a road to personal failure in the demonstration of "Croatness" in the capital of the imagined national community, Zagreb. Because the majority of young Croats from B&H tend to study in Croatia, they feel pressure to prove they are "true" Croats, and one way to do so is by speaking perfect Croatian. This is accentuated by the fact that the "true" Croats in Croatia tend to dislike the Croats from Herzegovina due to their supposedly backward ways and their wealth (Wimman 2003, Loverenović 2002). In order to be a perfect Croat, one has to keep one's language free from other local language variations. This can only be ensured if the teachers speak Croatian and if all books are in Croatian. On several occasions I witnessed students

correcting their teachers mercilessly where “Bosnian/Serb” words slipped into their speech. The following Bosniak teacher, who teaches the Croat curriculum, was a frequent target of such corrections:

A student came up to my desk and said, “Why did you underline this word professor?” pointing to a part of the homework I had just returned to him. I said, “because it is not *tačno* [Bosnian version of ‘correct’], son”. Then I heard someone in the last row say *točno* [Croat version]. And I said, “You know what, if you write this *tačno*, it will be *točno*!

...Another time, I think it was '93, I was in class and I said *sedmica* [Bosnian for “week”] and someone immediately shouted *tjedan* [Croat version]. I got up and wrote on the blackboard: *tjedan=sedmica=nedjelja*[Serb version]=*hefta* [Bosnian, colloquial]. As I wrote *hefta*, they cried, “Oooooo!” I said, “Yes, yes, *hefta* means seven in Greek. The more languages we know, the more we are worth, right? They responded, “Right.”

She looks at me, sighs, and says: “You have to make it funny, so that you don’t get overwhelmed with sadness and start crying right there, among them.” This Bosniak teacher, in order to avoid humiliation at the hands of the students or punishment by the Croat educational authorities, had to “sit down and learn those 20 main Croat words, such as *tisuća*, *kolodvor*, *tjedan*, etc.” (Author interview with the teacher).

Teachers of the Croat language were also under considerable pressure. A Croat teacher described the challenges she faced when teaching the Croat language in an ethnically segregated society:

I had to study it [Croatian] myself, even though I knew the two variants of the language from before, there were always alternatives offered to us at the University of Sarajevo. We studied both Serbo-Croatian, and Croato-Serbian. Maybe I used more Serb variants in the past, but luckily, after the changes, I was able to learn all the new vocabulary quickly, maybe because I have a talent for language. But I have to prepare more now, and I have to learn as I go. Now, I always double-check everything to make sure I know all the new grammatical terms. I spend more time on language now, and less on literature. In the past I did much more literature... Once I was in a very uncomfortable situation: I had just begun teaching Croatian Language at the Gymnasium Mostar, and we were reading Meša Selimović [a world-famous Bosniak author] and one student walked out of class and said he didn’t want to read this author. I felt terrible. I didn’t know how to

react. I stayed calm, and after the class I went to the staff room and told my colleagues what had happened. They didn't react at all.

These examples demonstrate how language emerged as a tool of political and social boundary-making between the two communities, and how teachers had to develop unique ways to cope with the situation in shifting classroom environments. In short, education was critical to the perpetuation of the Croat language and Croat culture, and the integration of the school threatened this process. Consequently, a reunified school became a salient political issue and a contested space of multiple opposing stances.

II.1.4. From Integration to Reunification

The IC approached the Gymnasium Mostar as a showcase for post-conflict reconciliation that favored integration as a form of social reconstruction. This approach stressed the need not only to protect communities in order to manage conflict, but also to reconcile them in order to ensure that conflict does not recur. This kind of policy favors the adoption of an education system that promotes integration (NICIE 2006). The OSCE, however, initially misunderstood the depth of the integration issue for the Bosnian Croats: the IC's first approach to the problem of the resistance of the Croats was to see it as a political issue that could be resolved by pressuring the nationalist parties in power, especially the Croat Democratic Community (HDZ). However, when challenged by the "hysterical" reaction of the Croat political community, the OSCE and the IC in general understood that the issue was much deeper; in other words, they understood that "it was a social issue" (Author interview with the Education Officer, OSCE). This new understanding facilitated a shift in the integrationist discourse of the IC. The IC employees working in and around the Gymnasium Mostar learned not to use the term "integration" when dealing with local subjects. An international volunteer from the United World College working at the Gymnasium Mostar explains:

I would like to be involved in helping to create joint extracurricular activities at the school, because this is our [United World Colleges] mission as well—integration! It is integration that we want... we always talk amongst ourselves about integrated students and integrated classes at the

Gymnasium. But integration is a rude word out here. When we talk about our project and mission with the local students and teachers, we explain it without using that word because we feel the people won't react well to it. We avoid the word 'integration', as if it were some terrible disease.

Similarly, the OSCE education field office shifted its focus from integration to other concepts, such as reunification and the return of Bosniaks. I asked the OSCE Education Officer in Mostar about the shift in the discourse of integration:

I: When do you use word 'integration' in your work?

M.: We tend not to use 'integration'... not any more... actually we use it when we present the project to the IC, to the donor community, but in the local context and when talking to local officials we use 'unification' of the two schools. We just avoid the term 'integration' – it has too much baggage. And as soon as you mention the word... I mean, it could be the integration of the curriculum, or the integration of classrooms, I mean ... it's too much, it's too open ended. We say 'unification'. I would even say that we usually say 'administrative unification'. I think it's much more specific and doesn't allow for manipulation and misunderstanding of the term.

When faced with the response of the national minority, which used the politics of minority rights to support its quest for segmental autonomy and self-preservation, the liberal discourse of integration was transformed into the policy of "administrative unification." Administrative unification discourse retained the "return of Bosniaks" component of the formal integrationist discourse but dropped the "common curriculum" and "integrated classroom" ambitions. The IC had learned that it had to listen far more attentively to the local political communities:

What we have learned is that this is a social problem... it is like the Gymnasium Mostar, you cannot be so out of step with the people's attitudes... you have to stay in step with the attitudes of the people. You can be slightly, maybe one step ahead, but you cannot be two steps ahead. And that is what we tried to do. It is a broader social issue with the Croats feeling so insecure regarding their status in B&H... Maybe, if there is a constitutional reform that would get them more representation at the state level, and if there are structures that would make them feel more secure about their place in B&H, maybe then, only then can we make further progress (OSCE Education Officer).

This quotation hints at the limits of education in resolving the wider social problems while at the same time showing the close link between education and its socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts. It also accords with the results of the research into integrated education in Northern Ireland, which shows that:

In the absence of inter-communal trust or of movement forward from sectarian politics, the majority parents opt for single-identity schooling for their children. To prescribe integrated education in such a situation, besides overriding a right of parents which is recognized in international law, risks being counterproductive. The promotion of integrated education, as an option, can contribute to social cohesion but cannot, whether through being mandated or as an option, compensate for lack of progress towards political structures which accommodate diversity (Farrell 2001:17).

After several years of heated negotiations, shifts of discourses, demonstrations, petitions, and the investment of large sums of money in reconstruction, the school was finally reunited on an administrative level in February of 2004. In September of the same year, and for the first time since 1991, Bosniak and Croat students began attending the same school (OSCE 2005:5). The two schools became one administratively unified school but with separate instruction in national subjects (Wimmen 2003:3). In practice this means that reunification has maintained separate national curricula for the students of the two ethnic groups, thus preserving ethnic segregation through unification.¹⁸

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that the “failure” of the IC to fully integrate the Gymnasium Mostar has to be understood in terms of the contested space of the IC’s quest for integration and the national minority’s search for segmental but legitimate autonomy. The Croat political community, through segregation, used education to achieve protection for its community, language, and culture. The IC, when challenged by the rage and resistance of the local ethnic community in claiming its right to segmental autonomy, was forced to modify its rhetoric of integration by shifting to a rhetoric of “reunification” of the school. This collision, reversal, and transformation led to the development of a new educational

phenomenon in B&H: an administratively unified school with two separate curricula. The school now has unified management, while preserving ethnic segregation and the ethos of segmental autonomy. This materialization of a new type of school and youth that is concurrently “shared” and “separated” created a new type of school geography in B&H, one based on the ideology of ethnic symmetry (Bekerman 2002) and ethnic polarization with limited “mixing” among the youth of different ethnic backgrounds.

NOTES

- ¹ I gratefully acknowledge the help of Helen Cunningham with regards to various parts and versions of this paper.
- ² There is another sense in which the phrase "International Community" functions in B&H, however. "International Community" exists also as a metaphor that indexes a powerful, imagined, desired, fantastic, and ambiguous force that can be captured by the term "empire". The feeling of being at the mercy of the empire creates a sense among the local population that the "International Community" is there primarily to serve its own interests, even when attempting to help the local population. In other words, Bosnians see this as a new form of a colonial relationship, suitable for the Global Age.
- ³ The position of the High Representative was created under the General Framework Agreement for Peace in B&H, and the mission of the High Representative, who is also European Union's Special representative, is to "work with the people of B&H and the IC to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a peaceful, viable state on course to European Integration" (<http://www.ohr.int>). It is important that in addition to the coordination and monitoring, the High Representative "is the final authority in the political theatre of B&H, while it has no authority over the military operations in the country which are under the control of multinational military Implementation Force" (see Article X, Dayton Peace Agreement).
- ⁴ For an explanation of "civic" vs. "political" forms of sociality see Chattarjee 2004:37. For an ethnographic study of these processes, see Lukose 2005a:508.
- ⁵ Since the early 1950s implementation of this concept attempted to avoid Stalinist bureaucratization of power, retain communist hegemony, and empower the workers (World Bank, 1999:5). This concept of government was also applied to education, beginning in 1951 (*ibid.*). This resulted in a complex education scheme, which was based on decentralization, but, paradoxically, in practice often returned to centralization.
- ⁶ For a good discussion on the ambiguous nature of the phrase "European standards" and the discrepancy between international policy and practice in B&H regarding inter-ethnic education, see Farrell 2001:11-14.
- ⁷ In March of 2006 I contacted the OSCE offices in Mostar and Sarajevo to find out the total amount of the financial contribution that was directed to the rehabilitation of B&H education since the end of the war. Both offices reassured me that no one could give me the exact numbers.
- ⁸ For an inspiring analysis of the workings of the triadic relationship between 'nationalizing states', 'national minorities', and their 'external national homelands', see Brubaker 1996.

- ⁹ Generally speaking, Bosniaks almost always agreed on the IC's pro-integrationist policies in FB&H where they represent a clear majority (roughly 70 %), but their politics shifted in situations when their numeric dominance was questioned by integration (see Wimmen 2003:5-6).
- ¹⁰ For an extensive discussion of the "trapped minorities" phenomenon, see Rabinowitz 1999. For a discussion of the Croat minority in B&H see Lovrenovic 2002, and for an analysis of the Croat community in Mostar see Wimmen 2004.
- ¹¹ In the FB&H, the Croats politically speaking are not a minority because they are one of the two constituent peoples. Numerically, however, they represent roughly 30% of the total population, and comprise about 15% of the total population of the country.
- ¹² Dr. Falk Pingel, Head of OSCE Department of Education.
- ¹³ For integrated schools in N. Ireland see Moody and Becket 1959; DENI 1988; Murray 1985; Dunn 1989; Gallagher, Smith, and Montgomery 2003; Smith, 2001, 2003; Montgomery *et al.*, 2003, McGlynn 2003, Gallagher 2002, 2003. For studies that focus on bilingual education in Israel see Bekerman 2002, 2005b and Feuerverger 2001.
- ¹⁴ I was often told by Croat education leaders, including the head of the Croat Institute of Education, that the Bosnian language is in face only the old Serbo-Croat language with a few extra Turkish words added to its vocabulary.
- ¹⁵ For the importance of language in the case of Mostar, see Wimmen (2004).
- ¹⁶ One of his Bosniak friends told me how she liked him, but his need to stress everything Croatian annoyed her: "I do not understand him. When we went on the school trip to the USA together, one day our hosts took all the Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs to a cave... There is a part of the cave where you are allowed to write on the walls. We all wanted to leave, but Ivan would not leave until he wrote his comment on the cave walls. When he turned back, we saw he had written CROATIA in capital letters. Come on! We were all there together because we were from B&H, we came to the USA to meet and learn about each other, and now on the walls in the USA he writes Croatia. I just don't get it!"
- ¹⁷ This excludes those who are not Croatian but who want to be educated in the Croatian language. There were four non-Croat students in "my" Croatian class who fit this category.
- ¹⁸ This type of school is not unique to B&H. Similar schools exist in Scotland where they are known as "shared schools" (Tony Gallagher, personal communication). In addition, a new direction in education policies in Northern Ireland argues in favor of seeing education as a continuum from segregation to integration, with several possibilities in between, including shared schools and the federation principle school (David Russell, personal communication).

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURAL REFORM IN BULGARIA AND ROMANIA AND ITS EFFECT ON EUROPEAN UNION MEMBERSHIP

General Comparison of Bulgaria and Romania

Bulgaria and Romania are two neighboring Danubian post-communist countries situated in the Southeastern part of the European continent. Bulgaria has a total surface area of 110,994 km² and will be the eleventh largest Member State in terms of surface area in the EU-27. Romania is more than twice the size of Bulgaria with 238,391 km², placing it in ninth position among the EU-27. The total population of Romania (21,698,200 people) is greater than that of Bulgaria by a factor of 2.75. Total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Romania is almost three times higher than in Bulgaria. However, both countries have similar GDP per capita indices: Bulgaria has a purchasing power parity (PPP) of €6,234 while Romania has €7,000. GDP per capita in both countries has remained relatively low throughout the transition period: in Romania it is equivalent of only 35% of the EU-25 average, while in Bulgaria the figure is lower still, at 32% of EU-25 average in 2005.¹

Due to its lower population (relative to Romania), Bulgaria has a relatively large urban population, with almost 70% of Bulgarians living in towns. By contrast, in Romania some 45% of inhabitants live in villages. Both Bulgaria and Romania have comparatively low crude birth rates and high crude death rates, giving rise to a negative natural increase. These demographic processes, in combination with the effects of external migration, have resulted in constant decreases in population during the transition period. Since the start of the 1990s Bulgaria's population has fallen by over than 10% and Romania's by 6.5%. Both countries have similar life expectancies at 72 and 71 years for Bulgaria and Romania respectively. On the other hand, Romania has a significantly higher crude marriage rate at 6.2‰ compared with Bulgaria's 3.9‰.

The Human Development Index (HDI) calculated by the UNDP for Bulgaria is 0.81 and 0.79 for Romania. This places Bulgaria in 55th and Romania in 64th position in the world (Human Development Report, UNDP, 2005). Interestingly, the UNDP report categorizes Bulgaria as a country with a high human development index, while Romania is grouped with countries with medium human development indices, despite the minimum difference between their respective HDI values.

Bulgaria and Romania are both considered functioning market economies. Both continue to enjoy relatively high levels of economic development. Real GDP growth for both countries – at 5.6% for Bulgaria and 8.3% for Romania – was strong in 2004 and this trend continued broadly in the first half of 2005 (Communication from the Commission, Comprehensive monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania, 2005). Romania has relatively low unemployment, at 6.8%, compared with Bulgaria's 11.9%, but its rate of inflation is significantly higher than in Bulgaria (11.9% compared with 6.1%). There is one overriding negative feature of the macroeconomic performance of these countries: both countries have significant levels of external debt (Bulgaria: 55.9% of GDP, Romania: 18.5% of GDP).² The post-communist period has seen a process of economic restructuring and privatization in both states. The European Commission says that the private sector in Romania has increased gradually due to privatization and entrepreneurial activity. About Bulgaria it says it has made substantial progress in restructuring the economy and its privatization process is nearing an end after a large number of state-owned enterprises were sold off or liquidated, although there still remain several important companies awaiting privatization (Regular Report on Bulgaria's progress towards accession, 2004 and Regular Report on Romania's progress towards accession, 2004).

The political changes that took place in Bulgaria and Romania at the end of 1989 led to profound social and economic reforms. The replacement of political leaders – Thodor Zhivkov in Bulgaria and Nicolae Ceausescu in Romania – put an end to the communist epoch in both countries. The long periods of communist government had a huge impact on the society, economy and culture of Bulgaria and Romania, and more than a decade was needed to overcome this. The political transformations in both countries created the foundations for transition to a pluralistic democracy and market economy. Deep structural reforms in all economic areas were carried out to facilitate the conversion to functioning market economies.

Agriculture, as an important sector in both countries' economies, has also been thoroughly affected by far-reaching reform.

Concept of Land Reform, Agrarian Reform and Agricultural Reform

There are numerous publications dealing with land, agrarian and agricultural reform around the world. Most focus directly on the issues of reform and make use of terminology without discussing it. However, some authors have attempted to define the concept of *land* and *agrarian reform*.

In 1969, the Special Committee on Agrarian Reform, appointed by the Director General of the FAO, defined the concept of agrarian reform as "all aspects of the progress of rural institutions and covering mainly changes in: tenure, production and supporting service" (Cox *et al.*, 2003). Lachman (1970) accepts the term land reform as synonymous with land tenure reform, meaning 1) land ownership redistribution; and/or 2) granting land users secure, long term tenancy. He believes that land reform can be considered in the broader context suggested by the term agrarian reform. However, he claims that the latter designates not only land tenure changes but also those measures designed to develop the agricultural system of a particular region. Bruce (1998) defines agrarian reform as a broad term covering attempts to change agrarian structures, including land reform, land tenure reform, and other supportive reform measures, and the reform of credit systems. He defines land reform as the attempt to change and thereby improve the distribution of land among landholders. Prosterman *et al.* (2003) define post-communist land reforms as "second generation" reforms and explains how many countries that previously conducted collectivized land reforms are now undertaking "second generation" reforms aimed at reorganizing state and collective farms into family-sized units and introducing market-oriented land systems. The terms land reform and agrarian reform when referring to the former communist European countries have also been differentiated by Swinnen (1999), who claims that, "in all Central and East European countries (CEECs) land reform was a key part of the overall agrarian reforms."

Some Bulgarian authors have offered their own definitions for the reforms carried out in the post-communist European countries in the 1990s.

Kanchev (1995) defines agrarian reform in terms of the three main problems it sets out to solve: 1) settlement of ownership issues; 2) liquidation of old organizational structures in the sector, and 3) establishment of market type agricultural holdings. Ianakieva (2000) accepts that "land reform is the core of agrarian reform, especially in Bulgaria at present because it is related to the subject of ownership." Most Bulgarian authors (Kanchev, 1995; Rissina, 2000; Madjarova, 2000; Ianakieva, 2000; Patarchanov, 2001, etc.) agree with the concept that land reform is the essence of agrarian reform. However, some scholars define agrarian reform in a narrower sense. Mihailov (2001) claims that agrarian reform consists of accomplishing the change from public ownership to private ownership of land. Petrov (1975), on the other hand, states that agrarian reform means the legislative regulation of land ownership rights and land relations in agriculture.

After taking into consideration the theoretical background, and from the fieldwork performed, we agree that the terms *agrarian reform* and *land reform* are closely related but not identical. Agrarian reform has a broader meaning and includes measures that also characterize land reform. *Agrarian reform* can be defined as regulated state changes in land tenure which lead to shifts in land use and have an impact on the entire structure of the agricultural sector.

Bulgaria and Romania have undergone unique reforms of their agriculture sectors during the post-communist period. As well as changes in land tenure and the process of de-collectivization, both countries have had to take the appropriate measures to bring their agricultural sectors into conformity with the membership requirements of the European Union (EU). We argue that post-communist *agricultural reform* in Bulgaria and Romania includes transformations in agriculture for the restoration of private property and the liquidation of state-owned farms, as well as reform of the sector to bring it into conformity with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) requirements necessary for EU accession.

Post-communist Agricultural Reform in Bulgaria and Romania and Accession to the European Union

Researchers from various academic fields have examined different aspects of post-communist agricultural transformation in the former communist countries. There are a large number of case country studies of

the implementation of agrarian reforms in Bulgaria (Ilieva, 1997, 2002, 2003; Boiadjiev, 1998; Mishev *et al.*, 1998; Kaneva, 1999; Ianakieva, 2000; Madjarova, 2000; Rissina, 2000; Mihailov, 2001; Patarchanov, 2001; Swinnen, 1997; Davidova *et al.*, 1997; Begg *et al.*, 1998; Howe, 1998; Hanisch, 2000, etc.) and Romania (Lazar, 1996; Sarris and Gavrilescu, 1997; Turnock, 1998; Tesliuc, 1999; Mihailescu, 2000; Rizov and Swinnen, 2003; Bordanc, 2006), as well as comparative studies examining post-communist agrarian reform in Central and Eastern Europe (Swinnen, 2000; Hartell and Swinnen, 2000; Nemenyi, 2000; Kooten *et al.*, 2001; Sharman, 2003; Rembold, 2003). However, most of these concentrate on the agrarian reform itself, the methodology and policy of its implementation, and less on its impact on agricultural performance and production. We shall therefore try to examine the consequences of post-communist agricultural transformations on the contribution of agriculture to GDP and employment; the areas with different agricultural crops and their production levels; the number of livestock; and the reforms aimed at bringing Bulgarian and Romanian agriculture into compliance with the principles of the CAP.

Post-communist Agrarian Transformations in Bulgaria and Romania

The transformation of the agricultural sectors in Bulgaria and Romania was initiated at the same time as these countries' transition from centrally planned economies to market democracies at the beginning of the 1990s. However, the official start of post-communist agrarian reform is considered in both countries to be 1991 at the time of the adoption of legislation for the restoration of private property on agricultural land and measures of de-collectivization in agriculture. Land Law 18/1991, defining Romanian post-communist agrarian reform, was published in Romania's *Monitorul Oficial nr. 37* on 20 February 1991, and a few days later (1 March 1991) the Law on Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land, defining the official transformation of Bulgarian agriculture, was published in Bulgarian State Gazette. The first similarity between the post-communist agricultural reforms in Bulgaria and Romania is their very close date of official commencement (end of February 1991 in Romania and start of March 1991 in Bulgaria). The initial conditions for economic reform in both countries were unfavorable for reasons including the legacy of

over-centralized management, the state ownership of the means of production, inefficient production structures, and an irrational distribution of employment (Nemenyi, 2000: 3).

Initially, the general goals of agricultural reform in both countries were the restoration of private property on agricultural land and the restructuring/dismantling of the old agricultural structures. A few years later, after Bulgaria and Romania had both set EU accession as a major political priority, the scope of the agricultural reforms was enlarged to include the transformation of agriculture to bring it into compliance with the requirements of the CAP. The common main objective of post-communist agricultural reform is another similarity between Bulgaria and Romania.

In both countries, land reform, as an important part of the post-communist agricultural reforms, aimed at the restoration of private property on agricultural land to its former owners. In Bulgaria agricultural land was given back to former owners "within the real boundaries of the land owned, where these still exist; where boundaries of land no longer exist, reinstatement of ownership would be made within the real boundaries of farm land of equivalent area and quality, in compliance with a plan showing land division" (Mishev *et al.*, 1998). By 2000, some 99.8% of the land approved for restitution in Bulgaria had been returned to its former owners. The majority (4,171,800 ha) of the land returned was distributed according to the land division plans that were coming into force, and only 26.5% of the land returned respected still existing or repairable past boundaries.³ Romania adopted the *restitutio in integrum* principle in its reconstruction of the new private agricultural sector (Bordanc, 2006). Bordanc (2006) says that the Land Law "was being applied exclusively by the second half of 2000" and "the returned surface area under Law 18/1991 represented 84.6% of the total surface to be given back (9,366,349 ha) and the property titles issued 76.7% of the total of 4,330,582 titles." Land reform in Bulgaria and Romania had made significant progress by the beginning of the new millennium: in Bulgaria the restitution of privately owned land was near to completion, while in Romania more than three quarters of owners had received their ownership titles. In both countries, therefore, the post-communist land reforms had been completed by the onset of the new century.

Another interesting issue in the restoration of private ownership of land is the comparison between Bulgaria and Romania in terms of the legal limits on the amount of agricultural land that could be returned to

a former owner. At the beginning of the 1990s, Bulgarian legislation was comparatively liberal, setting a limit of 20 ha (for Dobrudzha 30 ha) compared with Romania's limit of 10 ha per household. However, the Bulgarian Law on the Ownership and Use of Agricultural Land was labeled by experts as anti-constitutional in its setting of a limit on the amount of land to be returned to former owners, but the Constitutional Court decided that the law did not violate the Bulgarian Constitution and the limit remained in force. In Romania, Law 1/2000 was introduced at the start of 2000 to amend the Land Law and increase the limit on the amount of land for restitution to a single household to 50 ha. In Bulgaria and Romania there was a tendency towards liberalization of the legislation on returned land over the period of land reform. At the beginning of the reform, legislation in Romania was strict: "from 1991 to 1998 there was a ban on the sale of all returned land" (Tesliuc, 1999: 102). However, over the course of the transformation, the legislation was gradually relaxed such that, apart from transactions between Romanian citizens, land can now be also sold to foreign citizens. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the ban on the sale of agricultural land to foreign persons remained. In 2005, however, the Constitution was amended so that "foreigners and foreign legal persons may acquire ownership of land under the conditions ensuing from Bulgaria's accession to the European Union or by virtue of an international treaty that has been ratified, published and entered into force in the Republic of Bulgaria, or through legal inheritance" (Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, Art. 22). This amendment comes into force at the same time as the entry into force of the Treaty concerning the Accession of the Republic of Bulgaria to the European Union. Until that time, therefore, no foreign person or foreign legal person is able to acquire ownership of land, except through legal inheritance law.

The results of post-communist agricultural reform can be seen in its direct effect on the contribution of agriculture to GDP and employment; the agrarian structure of the sector; the alteration of areas with agricultural crops, production and yields; and number of livestock etc.

Agriculture has always been an important part of both the Bulgarian and Romanian economies. The contribution of Bulgarian agriculture to GDP varied in the period 1992-1997 between a low of 10.0% and a high of 23.8% (1997). Romanian agriculture has never reached the same level of GDP as was seen in Bulgaria in 1997. However, its performance was more evenly distributed over the period of reform by comparison with Bulgarian agriculture (Fig. 1). Bulgarian agriculture was only stronger

than Romanian agriculture in terms of its contribution to GDP for a four-year period (1997-2001). Its financial importance during this period was due to its improved performance as well as the heavy industrial decline in 1997. Although in absolute terms Bulgarian agriculture's contribution to GDP did not fall, as a percentage it dropped from 11.9% in 2001 to 9.4% in 2004 due to the financial growth of other sectors of the economy. In 2004 Bulgarian agriculture generated 3,581 million BGN. Of this more than 98.5% can be attributed to the private sector, demonstrating the enormous importance of private property in agriculture in the post-land-reform period. The share of agriculture in Romanian GDP decreased gradually over the period 1990-2003. At the start of this period it represented 21.8% of GDP, while thirteen years later this had fallen to 11.7%. Romanian agriculture did not witness a large surge as did Bulgaria in 1997, but its contribution to GDP remained significantly high, particularly at the beginning of the reform period.

The agrarian reforms and economic transformations in Bulgaria and Romania had a large impact on the number of people employed in the agricultural sector. In both countries, there is a significantly higher share of the population working in agriculture than in economically developed countries. The agricultural sector is therefore of great importance for these two countries, both economically and socially: it represents over one quarter of total employment in Bulgaria and over 34% in Romania (Fig. 2, 3 and 4). Agriculture in Romania has always been more important in terms of employment than in Bulgaria. Post-communist agricultural reform, combined with the deep industrial crises suffered by both countries, gave a significant boost to employment in agriculture and increased appreciably the importance of agriculture in total employment. During Bulgaria's and Romania's transition period agriculture was perceived as a buffer against rising unemployment: in Bulgaria "small private agricultural enterprises became the refuge of all those made redundant or threatened by unemployment" (Ilieva, M. *et al.*, 2003: 100) and in Romania "agriculture played the role of an employment buffer, providing a shield against extreme poverty for many unemployed who used to commute to towns before 1989, and for other rural households" (Tesliuc, 1999: 94). The effect of the agricultural reform in terms of increased employment in the sector was seen positively as counterweight to increasing national unemployment and as a way of ensuring food to the employed and their families. On the other hand, the increase in employment in the agricultural sector led to a reduction in labor efficiency and discouraged mechanization.

Post-communist agricultural reform, in terms of the land reform measures implemented, had an enormous impact on the agrarian structure of both Bulgaria and Romania. The process of land restitution, privatization of other agricultural assets, and the dismantling of the cooperatives brought about dramatic changes to agrarian structures. Bulgaria, a country known to have some of the most consolidated agricultural land in the world during the communist period, was left with a relatively scattered agrarian structure after the post-communist land reform. However, the current agrarian structure of both countries is comparatively dualistic, since the dimensions of agricultural holdings differ significantly according to their legal status. In the period 2002-2003, there were 654,808 agricultural holdings with 2,904,479.63 ha of utilized agricultural land in Bulgaria, while Romanian land management was even more fragmented, with a cultivated area some 4.8 times larger and over 4.2 million agricultural holdings (Table 1).⁴ The average size of an agricultural holding utilizing agricultural land in Bulgaria was 4.4 ha and, smaller still, 3.2 ha in Romania (Tables 2 and 3). However, individual agricultural holdings – smallest holdings that cultivated land in both countries – were larger in Romania, at 1.8 ha, than Bulgaria (1.4 ha). More than 76% of all agricultural holdings in Bulgaria were less than 1 ha in size. In Romania the situation was slightly better with only 50% agricultural holdings under 1 ha. In both countries, these holdings cultivated less than 10% of the utilized agricultural area. After accession to the EU this agricultural land will not be eligible for aid under the Single Area Payment Scheme (SAPS) since the CAP rules stipulate a minimum size of between 0.3 and 1 hectare. Bulgaria and Romania need to make strategic political decisions concerning the minimum size of agricultural holdings eligible for aid. In fact, all new Member States applying for SAPS have set this limit at 1 hectare, and it is most likely that Bulgaria and Romania will also exclude holdings of less than 1 hectare from applying for support through direct payments. This means that after accession to the EU, 501,744 agricultural holdings in Bulgaria and 2,169,257 holdings in Romania will not be eligible for financial aid under SAPS, with the number of holdings eligible for direct payments at approximately 153,064 for Bulgaria and 2,130,104 for Romania. As direct payments under SAPS are determined and paid on the basis of the amount of utilized agricultural area, it is more important to access the land eligible for subsidy. The amount of agricultural land maintained in good agricultural condition eligible for direct payments is around 2,711,887 ha in Bulgaria and 13,171,895 ha in Romania. Setting

the minimum size of farm that can receive direct payments at 1 ha will have dramatic social effects since a large number of farmers in Bulgaria and Romania will then be excluded from the scheme: they will not receive financial aid through the direct payments granted to EU member countries. This will make them less competitive on external and internal markets, and will reinforce their semi-subsistence and subsistence nature. A strong direct adverse economic effect is not expected, because only 5.4% of the utilized agricultural area in Bulgaria and 6.6% in Romania comes from farms of less than 1 hectare.⁵

The post land-reform dualistic agrarian structure of Bulgaria and Romania comprises extremely small individual agricultural holdings and significantly larger commercial holdings managing land. In 2002-2003 more than two thirds of utilized agricultural area in Bulgaria was from agricultural holdings of over 100 ha, however these farms represented less than 1% of all agricultural holdings in the country. The majority of agricultural holdings fell into the categories for utilized agricultural area of 0 to 2 ha and 0 to 5 ha in Bulgaria and in Romania, respectively. However, in Bulgaria, the majority of agricultural land fell into the over 100 ha category, while in Romania the majority of agricultural land came under the categories of 2 to 10 ha and over 100 ha (Table 1). From this we conclude the existence in Bulgaria of two completely different types of agricultural holding in terms of size: subsistence farms and large agricultural holdings. The former is made up of small farms managed by a large number of small scale owners, who cultivate their privately owned land and practice subsistence agriculture. The latter comprises agricultural holdings that use their own as well as leased land, and practice modern farming, producing mainly for the market. Bulgarian agriculture has a dual nature. On the one hand, the majority of peasants cultivate their own land, which is highly fragmented and small scale. They will not be eligible for financial aid in terms of EU direct payments, but this will not have a strong adverse effect on them as their production is mainly for own consumption. On the other hand, there are the large holdings specialized in grain and livestock. Most of these will receive direct payments, but their production costs are also likely to increase as the cost of the leased agricultural land will rise after EU accession. In Romania, there is a middle group of semi-subsistence agricultural holdings, which produce for their own consumption and then sell any surplus production. Utilized agricultural area in Romania is fairly evenly distributed between the three types of agricultural holding: 5.3 million ha,

4.3 million ha, and 4.3 million ha for subsistence, semi-subsistence and large agricultural holdings respectively.

In 2002-2003, the majority of farms in Bulgaria and Romania were individual agricultural holdings (Tables 2 and 3). Commercial holdings accounted for 1% and 0.5% of the total farms in Bulgaria and Romania respectively. However, these managed almost 70% of the utilized agricultural area in Bulgaria and 45% in Romania, and their average size was significantly higher than that of the individual holdings. In Romania individual and commercial agricultural holdings were of almost equal significance in terms of utilized agricultural area, while in Bulgaria commercial holdings were more important. The average size of individual agricultural holdings in both countries was less than 2 ha, making them subsistence or semi-subsistence farms. Co-operative farms were the most important agricultural form in Bulgaria because they cultivated more than 40% of the land and had the largest average size. In some villages in Bulgaria, cooperatives managed the entirety of land belonging to a village. Peasants who made available their land to the cooperatives received rent or a share of production. The growth of cooperatives was the result of a number of factors. First, land was given back to relatively old owners, unable to cultivate it themselves, or to people living far away. Second, most peasants do not own the right agricultural machinery. Third, the effects of the fragmented agrarian structure and the higher production costs associated with maintaining small plots. In Romania, co-operative farms were less important than in Bulgaria. Indeed, individual agricultural holdings were the most important agricultural form in Romania in 2002-2003. This was the result of the relatively larger number of rural population and number of people working in agriculture. Post-communist land reform had a large impact on the agricultural sector in both Bulgaria and Romania, however its further reconfiguration resulted from other factors, with agricultural reform and agrarian structure being the main agents affecting agricultural production.

The main results of the post-communist agricultural reform in Bulgaria and Romania are seen in the analysis of the changes in harvested areas, production and crop yields, as well as the shifts in the number of livestock. The main area, production and yield indicators for 22 agricultural crops (wheat, barley, oats, maize, beans, soybean, sunflower seeds, sugar beet, tobacco, potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green pepper, onions, cabbage, grapes, apples, apricots, cherries, peaches, pears and plums) in Bulgaria and Romania for the period 1988 to 2005 have been calculated.⁶ The

year 1990 has been accepted as a model year (1990 = 100) and indexes for the values of main indicators concerning these agricultural crops for the whole period have been estimated.

Wheat was the most important cereal crop for both Bulgaria and Romania. In 1990 the area of wheat harvested was 1,162,775 ha. In Romania this area was almost twice the size at 2,253,213 ha. On the other hand, for the same year, Romanian wheat production was not double that of Bulgaria's, with Bulgaria producing 5.3 million metric tons and Romania 7.3 million metric tons. This implies that Bulgaria saw larger yields than Romania. In 1990, Bulgaria harvested 4,551 kilograms of wheat from one hectare, while Romania harvested only 3,235 kilograms per hectare. In the post-communist period, wheat output for both Bulgaria and Romania decreased significantly, despite there being no considerable change in harvested areas (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). This was mainly due to reduced yields. In Bulgaria there were many years during which wheat areas were increased (1994, 2001, 2002) but the production was still much lower than prior to the agricultural reform. When yield reductions coincided with the decrease in areas harvested, production declined significantly, as seen in Bulgaria in 1996 and 2003 and in Romania in 1992, 1996 and 2003, when wheat production was less than fifty percent of the pre-reform level.

Both Bulgaria and Romania reduced their cultivation areas and production of barley during the reform period. In 1996 and 2003, barley production in both countries was 42% of the 1990 level. Bulgaria had a larger output than Romania in 2003 and produced less barley during the rest of the period.

Oat cultivation increased considerably in terms of areas and production in Romania in the post-communist period. From 1992 to 1994, the country doubled its output of oats, and production was significantly higher during the whole period. Bulgaria's performance was not as good as Romania's. Bulgarian oat output fell between 1995 and 1998. In 1990 oat yields were higher in Bulgaria, but in 2005 Romania was cultivating higher amounts of oats per hectare. This implies that oats production has been positively influenced by the post-communist reform in Romania.

Maize was another crop more positively affected by the agricultural reform in Romania than in Bulgaria. Romania increased cultivated area, production and yields of maize in the post-communist period (Fig. 8). In 1990, Romania was using 2.5 million hectares of land for maize production, while the amount was almost six times less in Bulgaria

(424,000 hectares). In this same year, Bulgaria produced 1.2 million metric tons of maize, and Romania 6.8 million metric tons. However, Bulgaria had larger yields (2877 kg/ha) than Romania (2760 kg/ha). Maize output varied in Bulgaria, falling overall to 804,134 metric tons in 2000, from a level of 2.8 million metric tons in 1991. Romanian production only fell below the pre-reform level in 2000, while Bulgarian production was lower than the pre-reform level in 1993, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2003 (Fig. 7). At certain times, Romania enjoyed significantly high maize yields. Agricultural transformations in Romania had a positive effect on maize production, while in Bulgaria the trend was not unidirectional.

Cultivated area and production of beans shrank in Bulgaria and Romania in the post-communist period, while yields increased. From 1990 to 2000, output in Bulgaria increased slightly, but then fell to less than 40% (of the 1990 base) in 2005, as a result of a reduction in harvested area. In Romania there was also a constant decline in bean production, albeit not as sharp as in Bulgaria. In 2005 Romania produced 50 thousand metric tons of beans, the equivalent of 86.9% of the 1990 harvest. Yields in both countries increased significantly over the entire period, with the exceptions of 2004 and 2005, when Romania had an extremely low average bean production per hectare.

Cultivated area and production of soybeans declined more notably in Bulgaria than in Romania. After 2002, output in Romania increased, while Bulgarian soybean production almost ceased: in 2005 total Bulgarian soybean production was only 604 metric tons from 272 ha. Romania almost doubled its soybean output in the period 2002-2005, although the harvested area remained lower than the 1990 level. This was the result of the growth in yields, and possibly also the introduction of genetically modified soybeans.

The sunflower crop benefitted most from the post-communist agricultural reform, in terms of area cultivated and production, in both Bulgaria and Romania (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10). In 1990, Bulgaria had a sunflower crop of 280,200 hectares, and Romania some 394,800 hectares. This increased to 635,000 hectares and 950,000 hectares in Bulgaria and Romania respectively, due to increased demand for sunflower seeds on the domestic markets of both countries. Production of sunflower seeds in Bulgaria rose from a level of 388,600 metric tons in 1990 to 934,900 metric tons in 2005. In Romania output rose from 556,200 metric tons in 1990 to 1,257,000 metric tons in 2005. However, there was no growth in crop yields, which for most years maintained 80-90% of their 1990 level.

Sugar beet was one of the crops most negatively influenced by the reforms in Bulgaria and Romania (Fig. 11 and Fig.12). In 2005, Bulgaria had almost liquidated its sugar beet production. The cultivated area of sugar beet decreased to 1,300 hectares in 2005, compared with 36,500 hectares in 1990, due to the decline in domestic demand resulting from the crisis in the Bulgarian sugar industry. Romania saw a lesser decrease by comparison with Bulgaria. Production of sugar beet in both countries dropped significantly. Sugar beet output decreased from 583,700 metric tons in 1990 to 24,700 metric tons in 2005 in Bulgaria, and, for the same years, from 3,277,700 metric tons to 694,000 metric tons in Romania. However, yields increased from 20,148 kg/ha in 1990 to 32,372 kg/ha in 2004 in Romania. Bulgarian average output per hectare also rose during the post-communist period, though it remained lower than Romanian harvests. The reduction of harvested areas and production of sugar beet was a result of the crisis in both countries' sugar production, as well as a reflection of the principles of the CAP on the acceding countries' agricultural sectors. The sugar sector in the EU is highly subsidized due to the difference between sugar prices on the world market and the Community market. For this reason, the EU wants new member states to have lower sugar production, and this has been seen in sugar beet production in Bulgaria and Romania in the post-communist period.

Tobacco production is more developed in Bulgaria than Romania due to the more suitable pedo-climatic conditions and social traditions in this sector. Harvested areas of tobacco crop in Bulgaria exceeded by a factor of three those in Romania, and production was five times higher in Bulgaria in 1990. During the reform period, there was a decrease in area cultivated, production and yields of tobacco in Bulgaria, most notably in 1994-95. Ten years later, however, tobacco production in Bulgaria had enjoyed a strong recovery, stabilizing at 81% of the 1990 level. Romanian tobacco production declined significantly at the end of the research period. Tobacco yields in Romania increased, while the average output per hectare in Bulgaria decreased between 1990 and 2005. However, in 2005 yields in Bulgaria remained larger than in Romania, due to the higher base level at the beginning of the period.

There was a slight rise in potato production in both Bulgaria and Romania. In Bulgaria this was due to an increased cultivated area, while in Romania this was the result of increased yields. In 2005, the potato harvest amounted to 3,990,000 metric tons in Romania (from

285,000 hectares), while in Bulgaria the level was almost ten times lower, at 420,000 metric tons (from 25,400 hectares).

Production and yields of tomatoes dropped significantly in Bulgaria between 1990 and 2005. There were large fluctuations in the size of cultivated area of this crop in Bulgaria, exceeding the 1990 level in 1995, 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001. In Romania there was a slight but constant fall in cultivated area. Contemporary agricultural reform influenced tomato production in Bulgaria more negatively than in Romania. In 1990, the tomato output in Bulgaria (846,000 metric tons) was larger than in Romania (813,000 metric tons), despite the fact that the area cultivated in Romania was almost twice the size of that of Bulgaria. In the course of reform, Bulgaria saw a twofold decrease in production, while Romania achieved its 1990 level in 2005.

Romania increased production and yields of cucumbers, green pepper, dry onion and cabbage from 1990 to 2005, while the same indicators showed a decline in Bulgaria over the same period. Vegetable production was more developed in Bulgaria than in Romania during the communist period. By the beginning of the contemporary agricultural reform, one hectare of cucumbers in Bulgaria resulted in a 31,923 kg harvest, compared with 8,708 kg in Romania. The average output of green pepper in Bulgaria was 13,460 kg/ha, against 7,896 kg/ha in Romania in 1990. The production and yields of vegetables dropped significantly in the post communist period due to unsuitable agricultural policies, the decline of mechanization and irrigation in Bulgarian farming, as well as the high production costs, which outgrew the market prices. Romanian vegetable production caught up with Bulgarian farming, even beating it on most of the indicators. In 1990 Bulgarian yields of cucumbers, green pepper and cabbage exceeded Romanian average production per hectare (Fig. 13). However, some fifteen years later, the situation had radically changed: Romania now had larger yields of green pepper, dry onions and cabbage, while Bulgaria had only retained its leading position for tomatoes and cucumbers.

In 1990 there were 140,300 hectares of vineyard in Bulgaria and 223,600 hectares in Romania. However, Romanian grape production (954,000 metric tons) was not much larger than in Bulgaria (731,400 thousand metric tons) due to higher yields in the latter. Fifteen years later, Bulgaria had seen a decline in grape cultivated area of 20%, in production of 50% and yields of 40%. Romanian vineyards saw an

insignificant decline (3%). In 2005 Romanian grape production and yields were larger than at the beginning of the period. The grape harvest amounted to 1,027,600 metric tons at a rate of 4,735 kg/ha.

Fruit production declined significantly in Bulgaria during the reform period. Production and yields of apples (Fig. 15), apricots, cherries, pears and peaches decreased steadily in Bulgaria during the post-communist period. By 2005, Bulgaria had almost liquidated its apple production, performing at less than seven percent of its 1990 level. At the beginning of the post-communist period Bulgaria produced 410,900 metric tons of apples and was a large exporter of this fruit. Now Bulgarian apple output (27,000 metric tons) does not even meet the demands of the domestic market, and the country imports large quantities of apples for its own consumption. The area of cultivated perennial crops also declined in Bulgaria, but less notably than production and yields. There was a slight increase in the area of certain fruit trees (apricots, cherries, plums) in the last few years. Romanian fruit production was less negatively influenced by the reform than in Bulgaria. In Romania, apple trees areas maintained their 1990 level throughout the whole reform period (Fig. 16), while plum orchards increased in size. Romania enlarged its cherry production and yields of pears and cherries (Fig. 14). Outputs of peaches, plums and apricots decreased.

Contemporary agricultural reform in Bulgaria and Romania has strongly influenced both countries' vegetal sectors. Negative effects were less evident in Romania than in Bulgaria. Production of wheat, barley, oats, beans, soybeans, sugar beet, tobacco, tomatoes, cucumbers, green peeper, grapes and fruits declined significantly in Bulgaria during the post-communist period. In Romania, drops in output were observed for a smaller number of crops – wheat, barley, beans, sugar beet, tobacco and fruits. Romania increased its vegetable production while Bulgaria's decreased. Sunflower seeds and maize were positively affected by the reform, which led to enlarged cultivated area and production in both countries. Soybean production in Romania grew, while it was almost wiped out in Bulgaria. Negative effects of the reform were more notable in Bulgarian fruit production than Romanian output.

Post-communist agricultural transformation had a strong impact on the livestock sector in Bulgaria and Romania. Cattle numbers in Bulgaria decreased to 671,600 in 2005, as compared with 1,575,000 in 1990 (Fig. 17). In Romania, by 2005 cattle numbers had fallen to less than 50% of the 1990 figure. In the post-communist period, the number of

cattle, pigs, sheep, donkeys, chicken and beehives declined both in Bulgaria and in Romania. However, goats and horses increased in number (Fig. 18). This should not be seen only as a positive effect of the contemporary agricultural reform, because it also highlights an increase in poverty: goat breeding was widespread among the Bulgarian rural population because it was less expensive than cattle breeding. Peasants used the goat milk mainly for their own consumption and practiced a subsistence type of agriculture. The number of horses in Romania grew from 663,000 in 1990 to 900,000 in 2005, due to the increased demand for these animals as a mechanical force in the vegetal sector.

Post-communist agricultural reform resulted in a reduction in the level of mechanization in Bulgarian agriculture (Fig. 19). Romania slightly increased its number of tractors, from 165,100 in 1988 to 169,177 in 2003. The amount of irrigated agricultural land declined significantly in Bulgaria, while it remained almost unchanged in Romania (Fig. 20). Both Bulgaria and Romania saw their consumption levels for fertilizers fall (Fig. 21).

Transformation of Agriculture in connection with Accession to the European Union

Accession to the European Union is one of the main priorities for the countries of Bulgaria and Romania, as acknowledged by their respective societies, governors and politicians representing the majority of political parties. Numerous programs, plans and strategies have been drawn up to facilitate the achievement of this goal in both countries. The importance of accession is well appreciated in Bulgaria, which has stated that its “main priority ... is membership of the EU, which has the support of the majority of Bulgarian society and total political consensus” (Master Plan – Bulgaria, 2006: 7), and in Romania, which has said that “European integration is the strategic objective of the Government” (Tariceanu, 2006) and “integration into the European Union is one of Romania’s key foreign policy priorities” (Csaki, 2005: 26).

Agriculture was one of the most important issues discussed during negotiations over Bulgaria’s and Romania’s accession to the EU. It is the largest of the negotiation chapters as well as one of the most controversial. Bulgaria and Romania must adopt all the principles of the CAP and observe them strictly after joining the EU. Bulgaria opened Chapter 7 (Agriculture)

for negotiation in March 2002, and a few months later, in November 2002, Romania followed suit. Talks between both countries and the Council continued for two years and “ended on 4 June 4 2004 with the two countries getting basically the same agreement as the recently acceded 10 New Member States” (Gain Report, 2004: 1). Bulgaria and Romania closed the agricultural chapter in December 2004. The conditions of Bulgaria’s and Romania’s accession were laid down in an Accession Treaty, signed in April 2005 between the 25 Member States and both countries, which both Bulgaria and Romania, as well as 14 other Member States, have already ratified. According to the Treaty, Bulgaria and Romania will both join the EU on 1 January 2007, unless the Council decides, upon a recommendation from the Commission, to postpone the accession of either country until 2008 (Communication from the Commission, 2006: 2). Bulgaria and Romania have to achieve significant transformations of their agricultural sectors to prepare for membership of the EU. Some of the reforms have already been completed, while others are still underway. Prior to accession, Bulgaria and Romania must adopt and implement the entire “*acquis communautaire*” for all chapters. Agriculture comes under chapter 7, which is one of the most important stages in the preparations for accession. The European Commission’s main recommendation to acceding countries is to bring their agricultural sectors into conformity with the principles of the CAP. We consider the transformation of Bulgarian and Romanian agriculture in respect of EU membership as a part of the post-communist agricultural reform. There is mutual interaction between agriculture in both countries and their accession to the EU. On one the hand, contemporary agricultural reforms and recent agricultural development have a strong impact on the state of preparedness for EU membership. On the other, in the post-accession period, the agricultural sectors of both countries will be affected by the CAP in form of direct payments, market support, and support for rural development, as well as their association with the Common Market. Bulgaria and Romania must have accredited and fully operational payment agencies for handling direct payments to farmers and operators under the CAP by the date of accession. This is one of the main challenges facing the agricultural sectors of both countries, since, with only a couple of months to go before the scheduled accession, there is still a lot to be done before the payment agencies become operational. Romania has decided to establish two Paying Agencies: one responsible for rural development measures and built on the existing agency of the

Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development; another responsible for market measures and direct payments. Bulgaria will have a single Paying Agency. To ensure the proper functioning of the payment agencies, Integrated Administration and Control Systems (IACS) must be set up in both countries. Each integrated system shall comprise the following elements: (a) a computerized database; (b) an identification system for agricultural parcels; (c) a system for the identification and registration of payment entitlement; (d) aid applications; (e) an integrated control system; (f) a single system to record the identity of each farmer submitting an aid application (Council Regulation 1782/2003: 11). The Land Parcels Identification System (LPIS) is an important part of each IACS. For setting up proper IACS Bulgaria and Romania have to create comprehensive LPIS. The main actions of the competent authorities in both states regarding the proper transformation of agriculture connected with the EU accession are creation of LPIS (comprising digital maps based on aerial orthophoto images and/or satellite images), setting up proper IACS and establishment of fully operational paying agencies by the end of 2006. Failing to comply with these particular requirements would hardly lead to postponement of membership with one year. However, this would have strong negative effect on farming in both countries because without accredited and functioning paying agencies Bulgaria and Romania will not be granted even a single euro from the CAP-related budgetary allocations negotiated during the pre-accession talks. "The Commission, in its capacity to execute the budget, will not release funds from the EU budget if, for example, a new Member State does not offer the necessary guarantees on proper spending of EU funds as required under the Common Agricultural Policy or under the Structural Funds" (Communication from the Commission – Comprehensive monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania, 2005: 12). Establishment of paying agencies with proper IACS is a crucial goal of Bulgarian and Romanian contemporary agricultural transformations. Membership of the EU would provide certain budgetary allocations to agriculture of both states. Bulgaria has negotiated a financial framework for its agricultural sector of EUR 1,552 million (EUR 431 million for direct payments, EUR 388 million for market measures and EUR 733 million for rural development)⁷ and Romania has stipulated a significantly larger amount of EU budgetary allocation – EUR 4037 million (EUR 881 million for direct payments, EUR 732 million for market support and EUR 2424 million for rural

development)⁸ for the first three years after accession to the EU. The common market and the principle of free movement of goods in the Community would have a strong impact on farming in Bulgaria and Romania after they become members of the EU. Financial support allocated by the EU funds is expected to soften the negative effects of accession on the countries' agriculture. It would enhance the competitiveness of Bulgarian and Romanian agricultural products and promote development of rural areas. That is why the establishment of functioning paying agencies with proper IACS is a main priority of Bulgarian and Romanian contemporary agricultural policy. The European Commission has advised its decision in case that both countries fail to meet this requirement – "in the area of agriculture, accredited paying agencies as well as a proper Integrated Administration and Control System (IACS) are necessary for handling direct payments to farmers and operators. In Romania, the paying agencies are not fully operational and accredited. There is also no proper IACS in Bulgaria and Romania. If this situation is not remedied, in addition to the existing mechanisms, the Commission may take measures based on Article 37 of the Act of Accession to withhold payments to Bulgaria or Romania" (Communication from the Commission: Monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania, 2006: 9).

A few months before their expected accession to the EU, Bulgaria and Romania still face some serious concerns requiring urgent action. In May 2006, the European Commission was more critical towards Bulgaria than Romania. It defined six critical issues in Bulgaria's preparations for accession, and only four "red flags" for Romania. However, it seems the Bulgarian agricultural authorities have been more successful overall, since they were criticized on two counts, whereas Romania was criticized on three. It was recommended that Bulgaria take immediate action in setting up a proper IACS and solve some veterinary issues: namely "setting up a proper Integrated Administration and Control System (IACS) in agriculture, building on progress made (acquis chapter 7) and building-up of rendering collection and treatment facilities in line with the acquis on TSE and animal by-products (acquis chapter 7)" (Communication from the Commission: Monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania, 2006). Romania received the same criticism with an additional recommendation concerning its paying agencies: namely "accrediting fully operational paying agencies for handling direct payments to farmers and operators under the common

agriculture policy, building on progress made (acquis chapter 7)" (Communication from the Commission: Monitoring report on the state of preparedness for EU membership of Bulgaria and Romania, 2006). Bulgaria and Romania face similar agricultural problems in respect of their accession to the EU and will experience similar consequences of membership in their respective agricultural sectors.

New Tendencies and Perspectives for Bulgarian and Romanian Agriculture

Agriculture has been deeply influenced by new tendencies, such as the introduction of genetically modified organisms (GMO) and the implementation of organic farming principles. Bulgarian and Romanian agriculture cannot avoid these developments. The introduction of GMO and organic principles in these countries will have both positive and negative results. These effects cannot be characterized partially, as merely positive or negative.

Bulgaria and Romania can reduce agricultural spending on pesticides, herbicides and fertilizers by introducing GM crops. However, this brings with it the risk of the appearance of "superweeds", resulting in an increased need for herbicides. A lower prime cost of farm production, increased yields and a decrease in labor consumption would be other positive effects of planting GM crops in Bulgaria and Romania. However, there are also some negative consequences, such as the possible loss of foreign agricultural markets (especially in the EU) and increased prices for GM seeds compared with conventional seeds. The introduction of GMO would have a beneficial financial effect on the agricultural sector because it would lead to a reduction in capital and labor spending and would increase the productivity of crops and animals. However, introducing GMO in Bulgaria and Romania would result in a significant loss of international agricultural markets due to the refusal of the majority of the European population to consume GM foods. This new technology would not lead to a serious fall in domestic agricultural market because Bulgarian consumers still remain more sensitive to price of a product than quality. Bulgarian law on GMO prohibits the introduction in agriculture and the market of the following GM crops: tobacco, vine, cotton, roses, wheat, all vegetables and fruits, as well as GM animals.

The genetic modification of roses, vines and cotton is entirely forbidden in Bulgaria.

Developing organic farming in certain regions in both countries could increase new international markets given that demand for organic products has grown in recent years. Consumption of these types of agricultural products in both countries would be limited by their higher price. An increase in demand for organic foods in Bulgaria and Romania is expected in the future, however, due to rising incomes and increased access to information concerning healthy living. The introduction of GMO in Bulgaria and Romania cannot be avoided – however, it is necessary that some parts of the country be declared GMO-free regions that practice organic farming. Bulgaria and Romania can then create an image of being countries that also practice natural agricultural production. The most important thing for Bulgarian and Romanian agriculture today is to strike a balance between conventional farming and new technologies.

Conclusions

The post-communist agricultural reforms in Bulgaria and Romania have many similarities. The shared agricultural heritage (from the communist period) and the pairing of the two countries in their EU accession ambitions are the main reasons for the resemblance of the processes in both countries. The similar dates for official commencement of post-communist agricultural reform in both countries provide one of the similarities in terms of their agricultural performances. Reform in Romania started at the end of February 1991, with Bulgaria following suit at the beginning of March 1991. The reforms in Bulgaria and Romania had the same objectives: restoration of private property situated on agricultural land and the restructuring/dismantling of old agricultural structures. When Bulgaria and Romania defined their accession to the EU as a major political priority, the scope of the agricultural reforms was enlarged to include the transformation of agriculture in order to bring it into compliance with the requirements of the CAP.

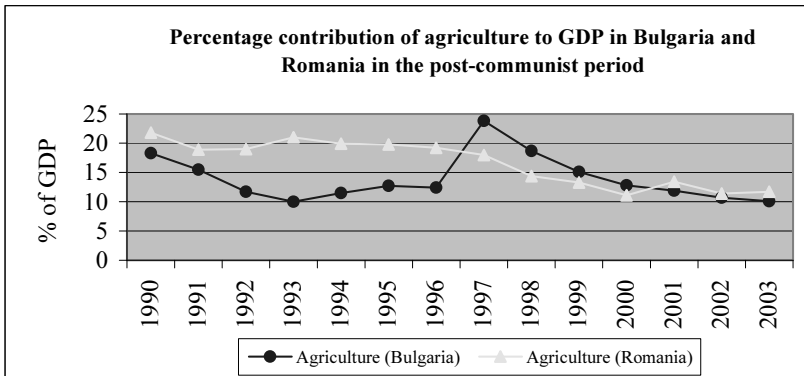
Agriculture is one of the most important economic sectors in terms of GDP and employment for both Bulgaria and Romania. However, its social and economic influence is more noticeable in Romania than in Bulgaria.

The restitution of land ownership has had an impact on agricultural structures in Bulgaria and Romania. The fragmentation of land led to an

increase in the cost of cultivation and gave rise to a subsistence type of agriculture. Most agricultural crops in Bulgaria and Romania saw their yields and production decrease during the post-communist period due to a fall in mechanization, irrigation, and the use of fertilizers, as well as land fragmentation. Land consolidation will be one of the most important tasks of contemporary agricultural policy in Bulgaria and Romania.

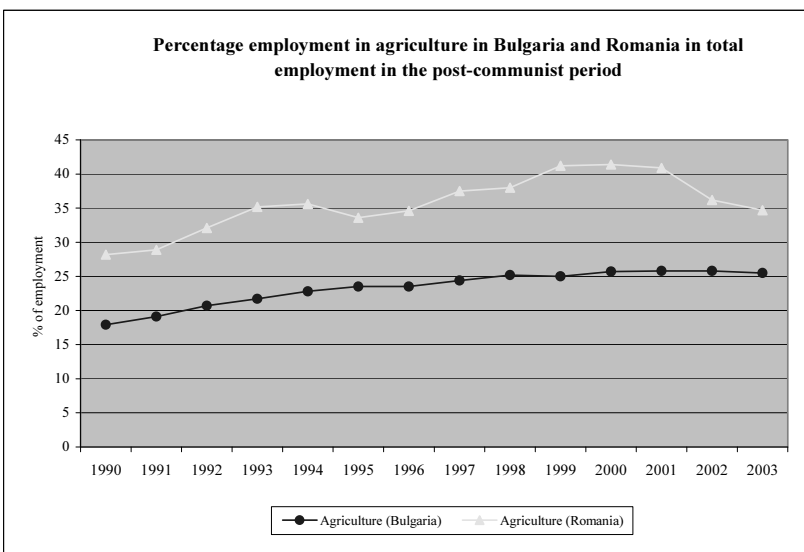
Agriculture and accession to the EU are two interconnected phenomena in Bulgaria and Romania. On the one hand, agriculture was one of the most important chapters in the accession negotiations. On the other, EU membership will have a strong impact on the development of agriculture in Bulgaria and Romania.

Fig. 1



Source: Own calculations based on figures from National Institute of Statistics (Romania), Statistical Yearbook of Bulgaria (1994, 1997, 2001) and Statistical Manual of Bulgaria (2005)

Fig. 2



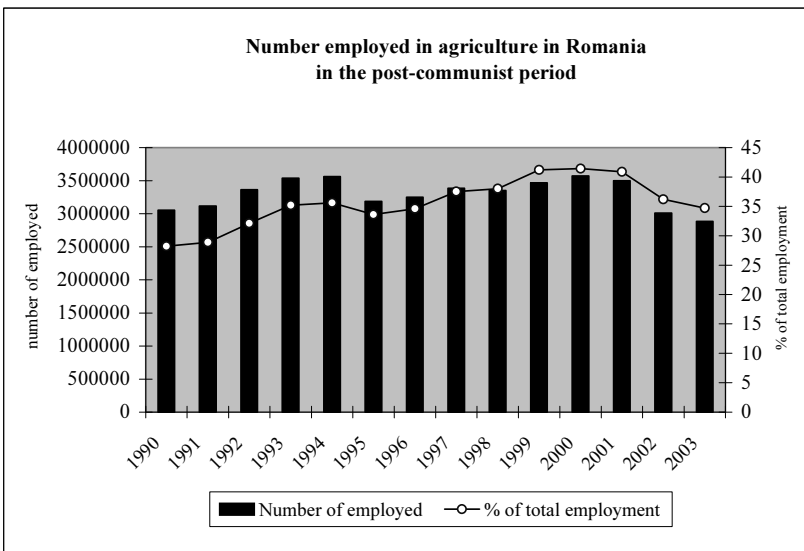
Source: Own calculations based on figures from National Institute of Statistics (Romania), Statistical Yearbook of Bulgaria (1994, 1997, 2001) and Statistical Manual of Bulgaria (2005)

Fig. 3



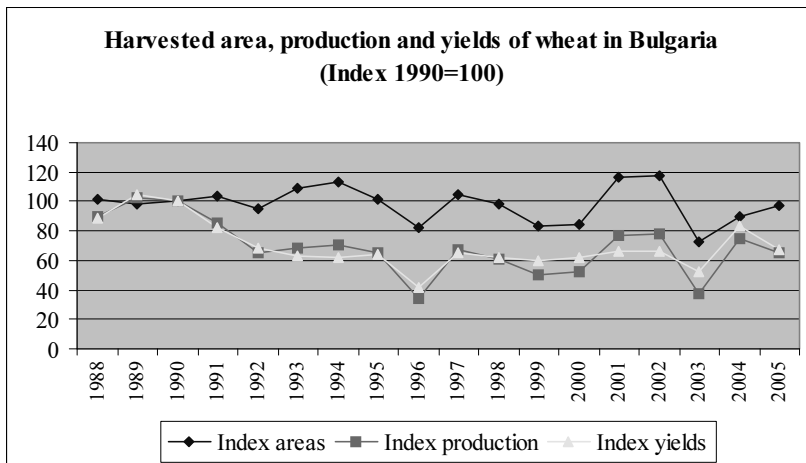
Source: Own calculations based on figures from Statistical Yearbook of Bulgaria (1994, 1997, 2001) and Statistical Manual of Bulgaria (2005)

Fig. 4



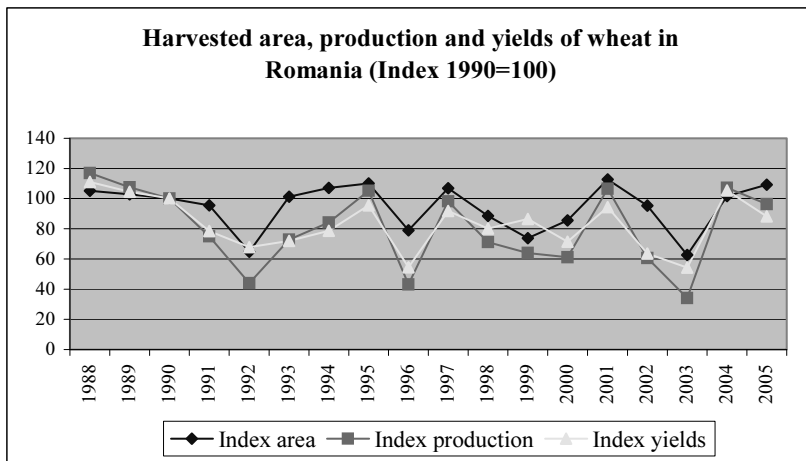
Source: Own calculations based on figures from National Institute of Statistics (Romania)

Fig. 5



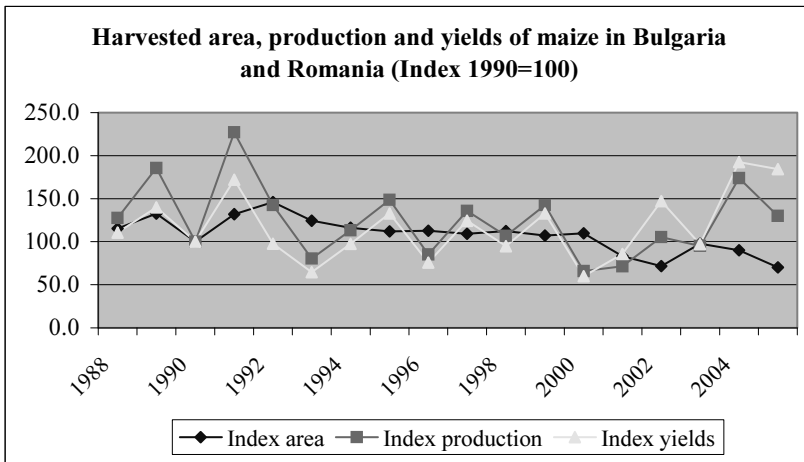
Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –
<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

Fig. 6



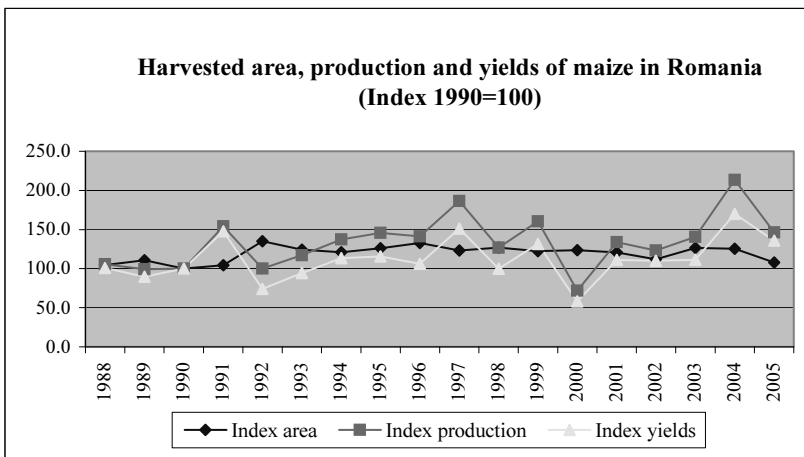
Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –
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Fig. 7



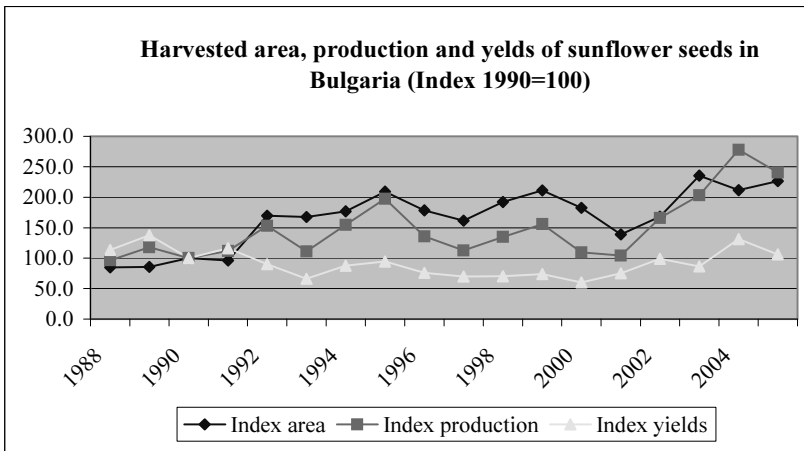
Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –
<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

Fig. 8



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –
<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

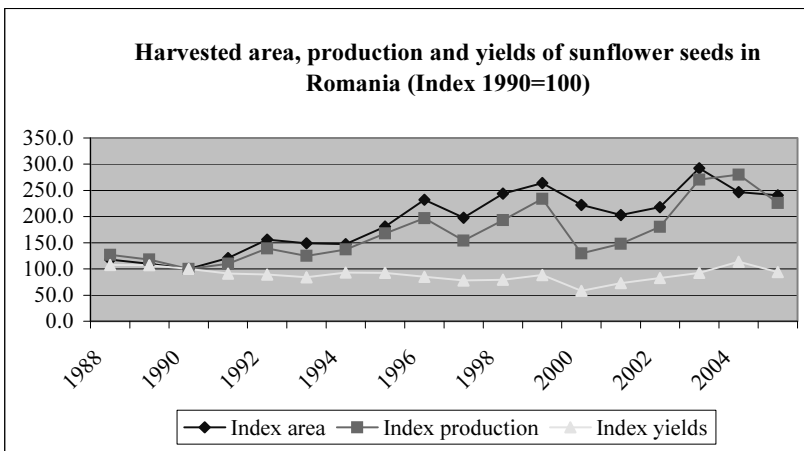
Fig. 9



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

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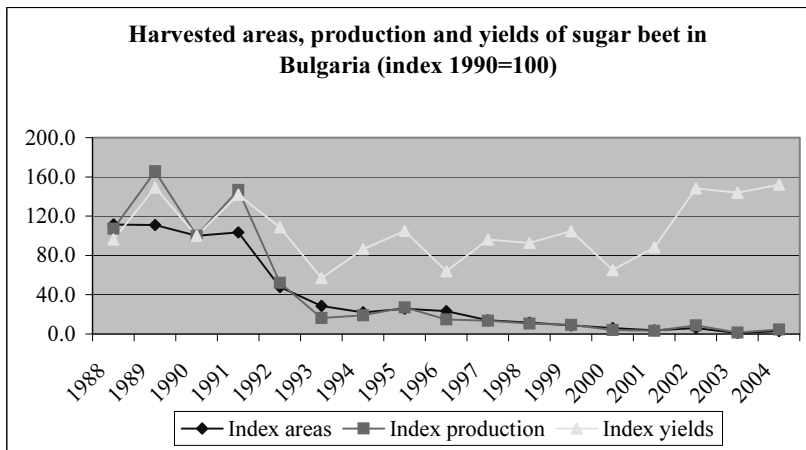
Fig. 10



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

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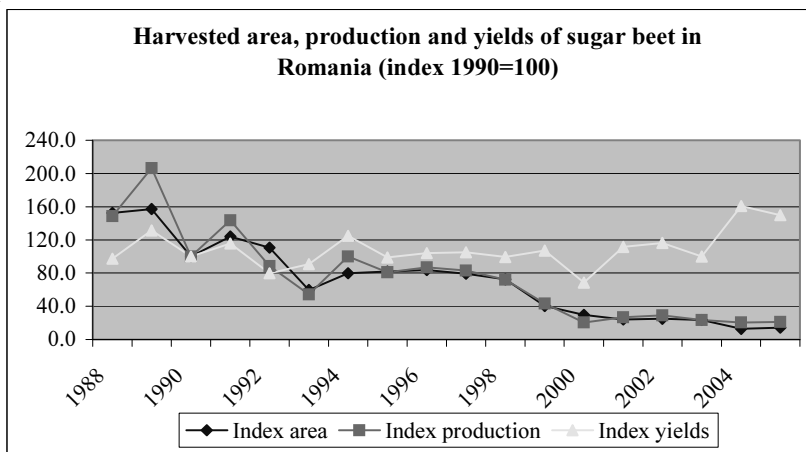
Fig. 11



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

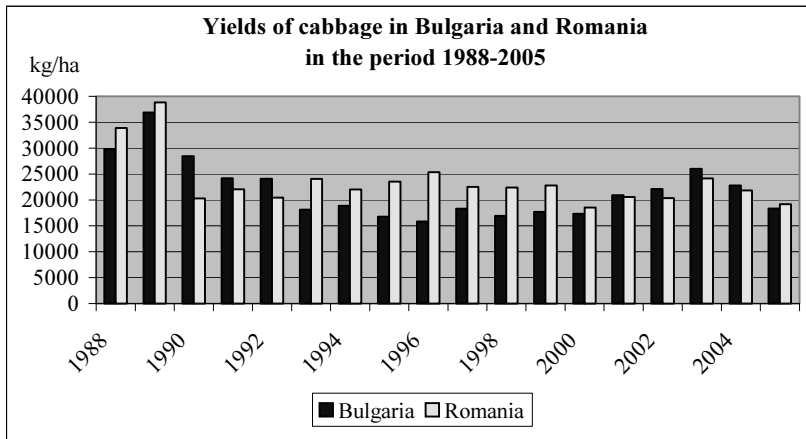
Fig. 12



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

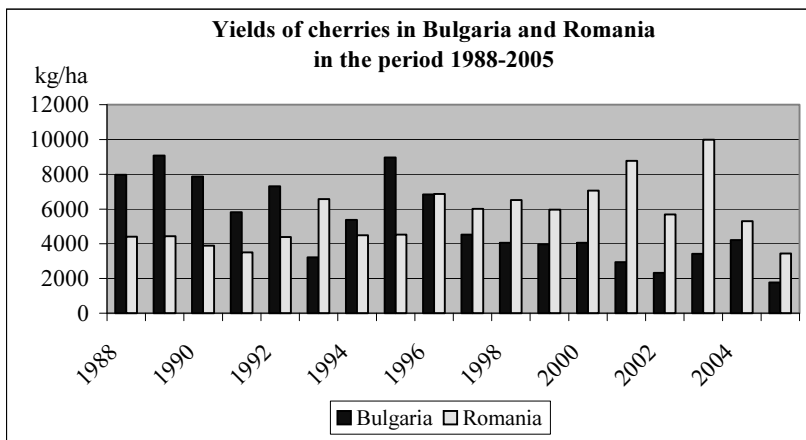
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Fig. 13



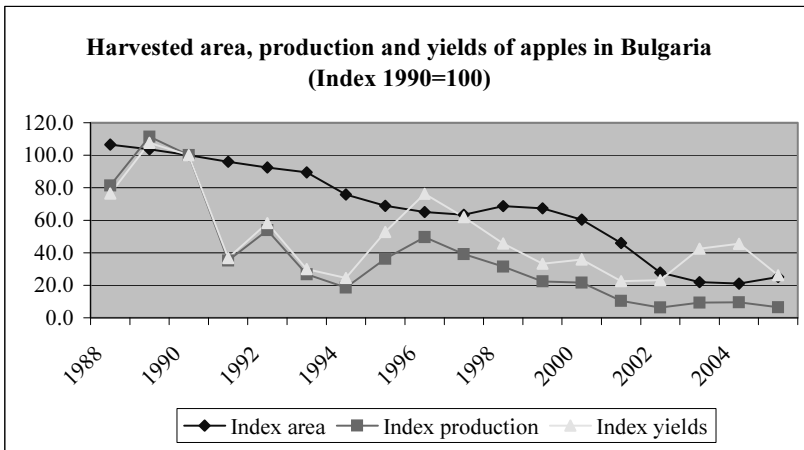
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<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

Fig. 14



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –
<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

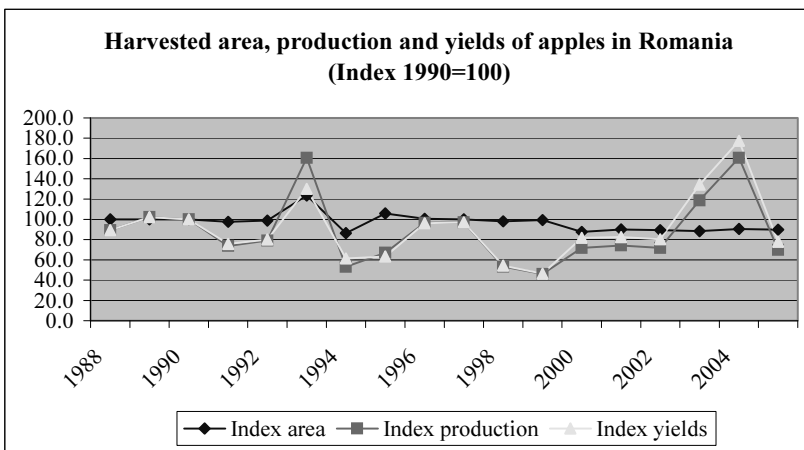
Fig. 15



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

<http://faostat.fao.org/faostat/collections?version=ext&hasbulk=0&subset=agriculture>

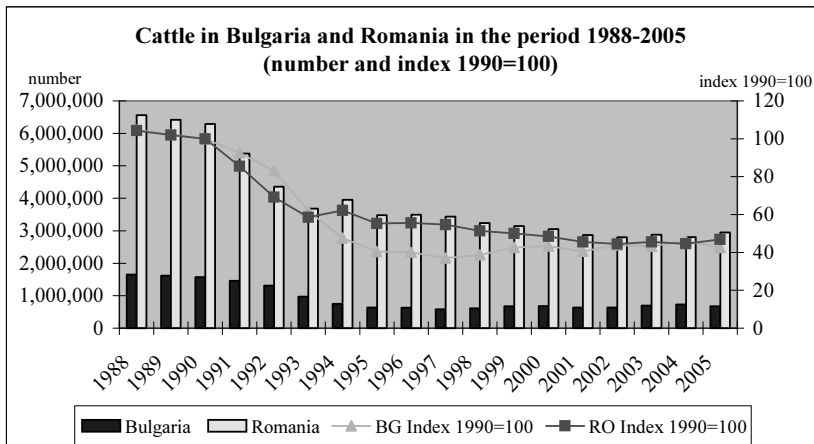
Fig. 16



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

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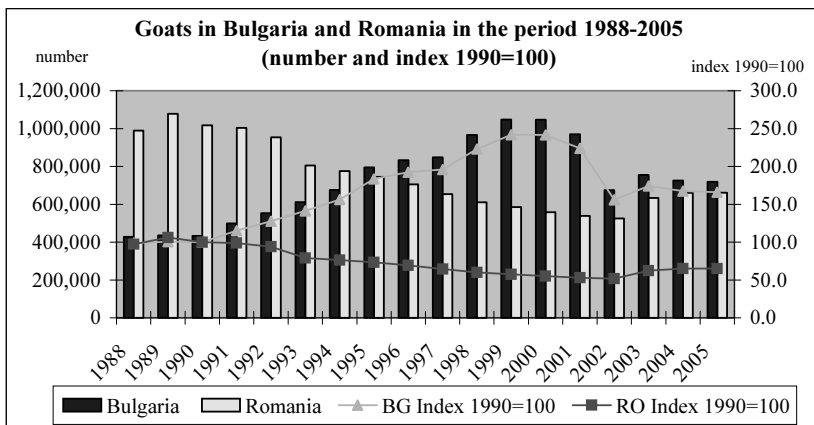
Fig. 17



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

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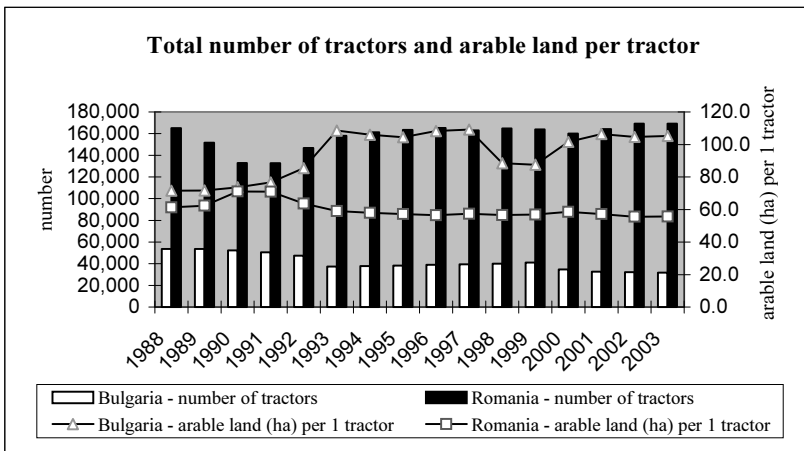
Fig. 18



Source: Own calculations based on data from FAOSTAT –

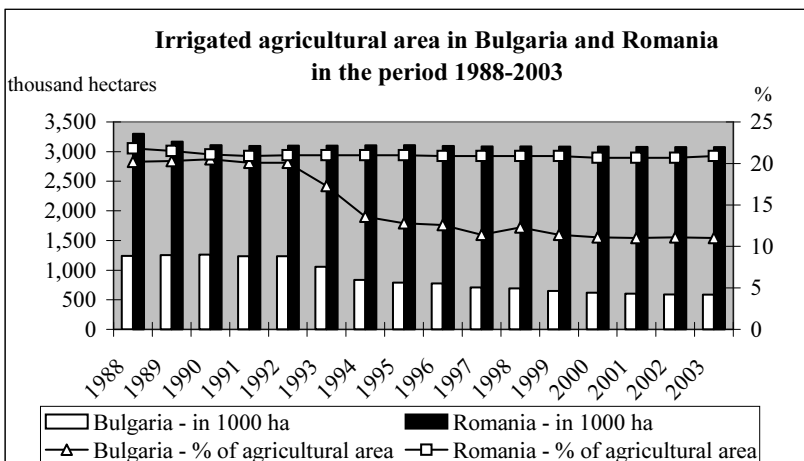
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Fig. 19



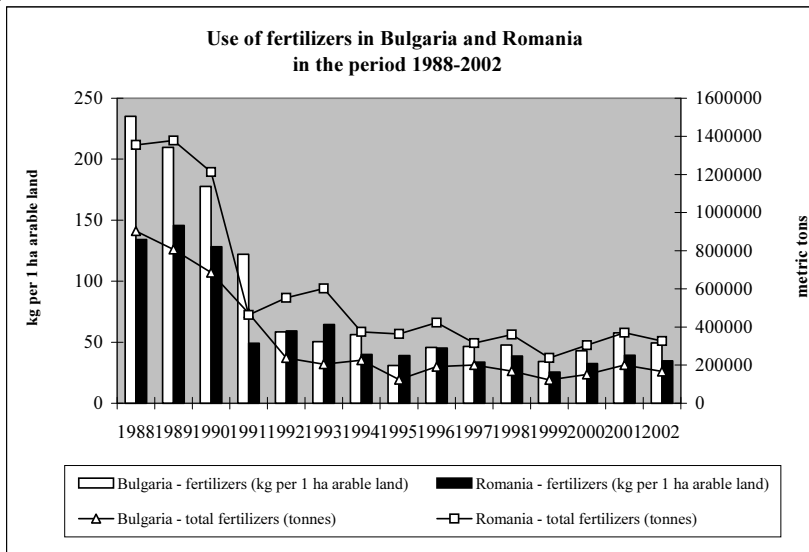
Source: FAOSTAT and own calculations

Fig. 20



Source: FAOSTAT and own calculations

Fig. 21



Source: FAOSTAT and own calculations

Agricultural holdings and utilized agricultural area by size of utilized agricultural area

Table 1

Size categories for utilized agricultural area (hectares)													
	under 0.1	0.1-0.3	0.3-0.5	0.5-1.0	1.0-2.0	2.0-5.0	5.0-10.0	10.0-20.0	20.0-30.0	30.0-50.0	50.0-100.0	over 100.0	TOTAL
<i>Agricultural holdings - number</i>													
Bulgaria	60687	146046	125465	169546	89964	41857	9719	3976	1264	1188	1217	3879	654808
Romania	539893	581365	323452	724547	897891	952395	218880	37408	5527	3950	3850	10203	4299361
<i>Agricultural holdings - %</i>													
Bulgaria	9.27	22.30	19.16	25.89	13.74	6.39	1.48	0.61	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.59	100.00
Romania	12.56	13.52	7.52	16.85	20.88	22.15	5.09	0.87	0.13	0.09	0.09	0.24	100.00
<i>Utilized agricultural area - ha</i>													
Bulgaria	2709.67	26021.50	47774.24	116086.24	120203.28	121714.49	64212.43	52719.53	29796.72	44346.32	83099.74	2195795.47	2904479.63
Romania	23899.50	103709.40	124745.42	506460.76	1272610.64	2907957.69	1440944.55	471097.55	131583.66	149588.43	258042.66	6540069.84	13930710.10
<i>Utilized agricultural area - %</i>													
Bulgaria	0.09	0.90	1.64	4.00	4.14	4.19	2.21	1.82	1.03	1.53	2.86	75.60	100.00
Romania	0.17	0.74	0.90	3.64	9.14	20.87	10.34	3.38	0.94	1.07	1.85	46.95	100.00

Source: Bulgarian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry; Romanian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development – data from agricultural censuses 2002-2003 and own calculations.

Agricultural holdings, utilized agricultural area and average size of utilized agricultural area by agricultural holding and legal status of the agricultural holding in Bulgaria, 2002-2003

Table 2

Legal status of agricultural holdings	Number of agricultural holdings*	Utilized agricultural area (<i>hectares</i>)*	Average of utilized area (<i>hectares</i>)*
Individual agricultural holdings	648274	879677.8	1.36
Commercial holdings:	6534	2024801.8	309.89
Agricultural holdings	2870	340861.4	118.77
Trading companies	1331	469197.1	352.51
Co-operatives	1973	1169309.5	592.66
Public administration and other types	360	45433.9	126.21
TOTAL	654808	2904479.6	4.44

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (Bulgaria), General Agricultural Census.

*Data refers only to agricultural holdings utilizing agricultural area; farms without utilized agricultural area are not included.

Agricultural holdings, utilized agricultural area and average size of utilized agricultural area by agricultural holding and legal status of the agricultural holding in Romania, 2002-2003

Table 3

Legal status of agricultural holdings	Number of agricultural holdings*	Utilized agricultural area (<i>hectares</i>)*	Average of utilized area (<i>hectares</i>)*
Individual agricultural holdings	4277315	7708757.6	1.80
Legal units:	22046	6221952.5	282.23
Legal personal agricultural holdings	2224	975564.3	438.65
Trading companies	5706	2168792.0	380.09
Public administration	5618	2867368.4	510.39
Co-operatives	77	2365.1	30.72
Other types	8421	207862.7	24.68
TOTAL	4299361	13930710.1	3.24

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development (Romania), General Agricultural Census.

*Data refers only to agricultural holdings utilizing agricultural area; farms without utilized agricultural area are not included.

NOTES

- ¹ The figures for GDP per capita for Bulgaria and Romania are based on data from the European Commission (EUROSTAT).
- ² The economic statistics based on figures from the European Commission (http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/romania/economical_profile.htm and <http://ec.europa.eu/comm/enlargement/bulgaria/index.htm> accessed on 18 June 2006).
- ³ The data on restituted land are based on information from the Statistical Yearbook 2001, National Institute of Statistics (Bulgaria), p. 255.
- ⁴ When discussing the agrarian structure we include only agricultural holdings utilizing agricultural area; farms without utilized agricultural area are excluded.
- ⁵ The calculations and assessments on the number of agricultural holdings and utilized agricultural area were made on the basis of data from the Agricultural Censuses in Bulgaria and Romania, 2002-2003. This included only agricultural holdings utilizing agricultural area; farms without utilized agricultural area were excluded from the estimations.
- ⁶ The statistical data concerning harvested area, production and yields of the 22 agricultural crops mentioned are based on figures from FAOSTAT. I have estimated area, production and yields indexes (1990=100) for all crops for each year in the period from 1988 to 2005.
- ⁷ This information was provided by MAF (Bulgaria).
- ⁸ The financial data for Romania is based on Csaki and Kray (2005: 27,28).

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Several articles on economic, administrative and social transformations in the 19th century published both in Turkey and abroad, with a special focus on three topics: the way in which the nineteenth-century central administrations collected administrative and statistical data; how different social groups reacted to these types of administrative interventions; how conflicts were governed in the administrative sphere.

POLITICS OF PROPERTY REGISTRATION: THE CADASTRE OF IZMIR IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

On 14 March 1850, the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs drew up a regulation to guide Ali Nihad Efendi, an official from the Chamber of Translation of the Sublime Porte, who had been sent to Izmir as an imperial commissioner with a particular mission.¹ The first part of the regulation explained the historical context of the affair Ali Nihad Efendi had been charged with solving in Izmir. A problem had arisen in connection with the existence of property attributed to the wives and dependents of foreign subjects in and around Izmir: although all existing property and income in Izmir was taxed under the new fiscal regime introduced by the reforms of 1839, the taxes levied on this property – 32% of the total – could not be collected.² Consequently, in 1848, a special commission,³ composed of both foreign and Ottoman residents of Izmir, was established by the Ottoman administration to rectify this situation, in which Ottoman subjects were paying their taxes but foreign subjects were not. Both the commission and the city council, which included the representatives of the foreign consuls and accepted universal and general taxation of property as the basis of equity, argued that since not all property had been recorded in the previous cadastral survey, the imposition and apportionment of taxes under the new fiscal regulations was not just. They therefore decided to conduct a new survey that would record the capital value (*kıymet-i hakikileri*) of property as well as income (*temmetuat*) derived from commerce, crafts, movable and immovable property and the respective apportionment of taxes. And it was Ali Nihad Efendi the Ottoman administration appointed to be in charge of this survey.

In this article I will discuss the “politics of property registration” in general and “the cadastre of Izmir in the mid-nineteenth century” in particular. I began by looking at the cadastre regulation because I believe the regulation and the questions it embodies serve well to describe the

basic administrative and social tensions at work in the Ottoman state in the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, the nineteenth century saw the radical transformation not only of the administrative apparatus and practices but also the economic and social framework within which societies functioned. Cadastres, censuses, and statistics became the administrative tools of the new regimes and represented new interventions in social and economic life. However, they also became an area in which different social groups responded, in a variety of ways, to these economic and social changes. Therefore, when I say the “politics of property registration”, I refer, on the one hand, to the encounter, negotiation and reconciliation of diverging interests in respect of the introduction of new administrative practices by the administrative body and different social groups, and, on the other hand, the managing of these diverging interests in the administrative sphere. Because the survey I will be discussing was run at a local level by a commission made up of an official from the central administration, a number of local officials, local notables and foreign subjects, the stage on which these different interests were played out was that of the local commission. The commission, therefore, as much as the survey, is the principal subjects of this article.

I will outline my research by describing three main issues: the perspective and method used by the nineteenth century Ottoman central administration to collect fiscal information in an urban setting; the way different groups reacted to these administrative interventions; and the way conflicts were governed within the administrative sphere. In the first section of this paper I will analyse the Ottoman reforms of 1839, emphasizing their universal and general character. I will then discuss the implementation of the fiscal reforms in Izmir in 1840 and the administrative problem that arose as a result of the resistance by a privileged group of the Ottoman ancien régime: the question of property owned by foreign subjects. The third section will look at the negotiation process, begun in 1843, between the Ottoman central administration and the foreign subjects represented by foreign embassies and consuls. Because the administrative problem in Izmir resulted not only from the foreign ownership of property but also the resistance of the local Ottoman population, in the following section I will focus on the strategies of the local population to lessen tax imposition through manipulation as well as the administration's efforts to block them. This is followed by an examination of the introduction of a commission by the central administration as an institution of negotiation and a way to manage

conflict in Izmir. After discussing the creation of the commission, I will focus on the mission of the imperial commissioner, Ali Nihad Efendi, and the workings of the commission. In the final section, I discuss the results of the Izmir cadastral survey and provide a summary of the principles of the new property and fiscal regulation of the Ottoman administration. The article ends with some concluding remarks on the politics of property registration in the nineteenth century.

The Ottoman Reforms of 1839

Looking at the general context of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century, we observe that administrative, fiscal and military reforms had succeeded each other, one after the other, since the disbandment of the Janissary corps in 1826, reaching a peak with the declaration of the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane in 1839.⁴ What does this imperial rescript contain?⁵ Firstly, the rescript announced that while respect for security, honor and status would guarantee social harmony and loyalty to the government, security in terms of property and fortune would help develop public wealth. Consequently, from this point on, everyone would be able to own property, of any nature, and benefit from it in total liberty and free from any hindrance. In this context, I believe the concept of property has a double meaning in the political and economic thought of the nineteenth century: a political meaning and an economic/fiscal meaning. Emphasizing the idea of property and proprietors introduced a universal political basis in society by suppressing the privileges of the ancien régime; and defining taxpayers, not in terms of privileges, but in terms of property owned, gave them the right of representation in local councils. This was the political meaning. Owning property, on the other hand, implies investment and the search for increased productivity on behalf of the owner. Increased productivity meant increased public wealth from which the administration could generate tax and finance the state apparatus. This was the economic/fiscal meaning.

Secondly, the imperial rescript announced the elimination of tax farming in state finance. In the eyes of the reformists, tax farmers were not only a power group that rivaled the central administration; they were also the actors of an oppressive fiscal system. They were an incarnation

of the privileged classes of the Ottoman ancien régime – the *timar*- (fief) and *waqf*-holders, and local notables – and therefore opposed to universal taxation. After tax farming was abolished, the reformers promised to replace the customary direct taxes with a new tax based on the wealth and estate of the individual. The imperial rescript, therefore, announced the passage to a universal and general taxation system.

But what did the principles set out in the imperial rescript of 1839 actually represent? In the Ottoman ancien régime, administrative regulations and institutions were established by specific agreements negotiated locally and individually between state officials and members of different social groups. Pre-modern regulations and cadastral surveys distributed material sources and usufruct rights among different claimants. This implied the recognition of privileges – tax exemption, exemption from military obligations – and allowed for the satisfaction of multiple interests between groups. In this political context, the central state defined itself in terms of its ability to guarantee social harmony. However, this system began to be undone in the seventeenth century, when, with the intensification of political and military rivalry among the European states, the Ottoman state looked to increase its revenues to meet growing expenditure on the army and its bureaucracy. With Ottoman territorial expansion reaching its limit, and even the loss of certain territories, revenues from territorial conquests, which were distributed among the different power groups, soon disappeared. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were thus characterized by a constant battle – fought between central government and the local notables, old military groups and religious authorities – over the distribution of material resources. In the nineteenth century, the Imperial Rescript of Gülhane served to confirm the idea that administrative practices, regulations, and institutions should obey the principles of uniformity and generality. The administration looked to exclude all ancien régime groups from the spaces of negotiation and to subject all groups in a fair manner to taxation and military service. Regulations and institutions thus became the spaces of negotiation among the new interest groups, who were redefined as individual proprietors, taxpayers and tenants. This change to the point of reference in terms of negotiations allowed central government to distance itself from particular and individual interests and to negotiate more effectively between the various interests in order to reinforce a uniform administrative practice. At the same time, the self-definition of the new administration was based on its ability to satisfy not individual but the public interest.⁶

Reinforcing the concept of property and universal taxation, in 1840 and 1845, the Ottoman administration conducted two empire-wide surveys to assess the resources available to the central state and to rationalize its fiscal administration.⁷ The surveys set out to record all property, livestock and annual incomes in the entire Empire (excluding the Arab Provinces). They were conducted at village or district level by the local councils (composed of both Muslim and non-Muslim populations that were subsequently defined as proprietors) and were intended to aid the establishment of a universal and general taxation system that would replace the system of tax farming in which particularities and privileges were dominant. Nevertheless, the first survey of 1840 failed to achieve its goals in most of the provinces due to resistance from the privileged groups of the ancien regime – tax-farmers, bankers, tradesmen and local notables. This led the administration to introduce a new survey in 1845 that had been made more moderate through negotiations with and the granting of concessions to the old privileged groups: tax farming was re-integrated into the system; survey categories were modified; and tax-farmers became official members of the local councils. This policy of accommodation worked, and, with few exceptions, the survey was conducted successfully throughout the Empire.

The Implementation of Fiscal Reforms in Izmir: The Question of Property owned by Foreign Subjects

As *le petit Paris de l'Orient*, and the most important port-city of the Levant since seventeenth century, Izmir's seemingly limitless environment of material and cultural exchange attracted an increasingly dynamic and plural society throughout the nineteenth century.⁸ Local and external structures overlapped and interbred in a melting pot of contradictions. In this context of varied urban texture, the reforms of 1839 and the subsequent new administrative configuration transformed the social and political life of the city.

The problem of foreign-owned property⁹ was faced by the central administration at the very beginning of the process of implementing the fiscal reforms, in March 1840. The general collectors (*muhassıl*), who conducted property and income surveys and subsequent imposition processes in Izmir and its surroundings, were experiencing difficulties with some property holders.¹⁰ According to an official report, most foreign

subjects living in Izmir had married Ottoman women and registered their property in the names of their wives, or mothers-in-law, and thereby obtained title deeds or property certificates.¹¹ Almost all the shops in the city of Izmir were owned in this way, albeit the same situation existed in nearly all other Ottoman port cities. These property owners were resisting the survey process and the imposition of taxes on their property. However, according to the Ottoman fiscal administration, they should be forced to become Ottoman subjects, and pay their taxes, or remain foreign subjects and renounce and sell their property. In fact, foreign subjects had no right whatsoever to own property under Ottoman law.¹² The report asked the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs to inform the foreign consuls of the illegality of the practice.

Let us now search the French archives to discover the other version of the story: in a letter dated 6 July 1841 and addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the French head consul in Izmir reported the undertaking of the property survey and the fiscal changes in the Ottoman administration.¹³ He cited the circular sent by the city council requiring his collaboration with the survey and the imposition process and stating the amount of tax due by the French colony in Izmir (53,702 *guruş* at a time when the total amount imposed on the city population was 1,200,000 *guruş*):

Il est oiseux de rappeler que les sujets des gouvernements amis de la Porte Ottomane, n'ont, en vertu d'aucun traité, le droit de posséder des immeubles et des terres dans son Empire. Il est en outre bien convenu que les Européens qui exercent en Turquie, art ou profession quelconque, devraient naturellement être soumis aux mêmes taxes que les sujets indigènes, membres des corporations des arts et métiers. Or la Sublime Porte a donné l'ordre de faire le relèvement des propriétés que les Européens possédant à Smyrne et des industries qu'ils y exploitent aux fins de régler et de percevoir les redevances dont ils seraient possibles soit comme propriétaires soit comme artisans. Ce travail a été fait et l'on a fixé ce que chacun doit payer pour sa quote part sous l'impôt foncier, qui amène au montant des taxes concernant les arts et métiers.

Signé par Osman Paşa, Muhassıl de Smyrne ; Muhammed Hilmi, Mollah de Smyrne ; Esseyid Ahmed Suphi, Müfti ; Esseyid El Hac Ibrahim ; Süleyman El Vehbi ; Esseyid Raşid ; Théodoraki Baltazzi ; Yanako, veled Spiro ; Aghasar ; Salomon.¹⁴

The head consul found the circular sent by the city council confusing. He accepted that foreign subjects (Europeans) had been able to purchase

property thanks to the tolerance of the Ottomans. Nevertheless, he maintained, even if the imposition of a tax on property was incontestable, the way the measure was implemented was not appropriate. The head consul stated that, apart from the circular sent by the city council, which mentioned the new tax imposition only vaguely, they had not received any other information about a decree on this matter, which inevitably would affect the economic situation of the Europeans and, consequently, their relations with the administration. He proceeded to ignore the principles of imposition, the method of tax collection, and the composition and competence of the local commission charged with dealing with this question. He assumed that this fiscal task had been given to a commission composed of members of the local council and would operate *à huis clos*. Complaining of the lack of representation of foreign representatives in the commission, he argued that the imposition process would be open to the arbitrariness of the local authorities. The head consul proposed that taxation should be based on fixed principles, and, for this reason, the participation of foreign subjects in the commission should be obligatory.

Although the French consul was in favor of accepting the idea of a tax on property, a look at consular correspondence highlights their fear of injustice and inequity in the apportionment of taxes, not only vis-à-vis Ottoman subjects, but also other foreign colonies resident in Izmir. The French consul was also suspicious of the bases of the apportionment, such as the nomination of taxpayers, the levels of taxation, the share of each taxpayer etc.¹⁵ In a letter he noted that while in the district in which the Europeans were living houses were taxed at 11% of their evaluated capital value, in other quarters the taxation varied from between 5% and 10%.¹⁶ Additionally, he observed how houses inhabited by their proprietors were exempted from taxation. Because Ottoman subjects were mostly proprietors of their own houses, the consul supposed that this principle was a way of exempting them from taxation. Given that there was no common base for the imposition of houses of foreign proprietors, he saw this exemption as nothing more than increasing the tax burden of foreign subjects. Despite all this, the French ambassador in Istanbul, being more prudent by nature, recommended to the consul that he collaborate with the local authorities.

We also learn from the French correspondence that the Russian consul had also complained about over taxation and that the representatives of Great Britain were opposed to this fiscal reform, refusing any form of collaboration with the local administration.¹⁷ In fact, the categorical

refusal of the imposition by some foreign subjects and consuls was based on the fiscal immunities of foreign subjects living in the Ottoman territories, as provided by the Capitulations signed a long time before.¹⁸ They constituted a specific privileged group in the Ottoman ancien régime. However, the issue was not quite as simple as this: while foreign subjects were entitled to benefit from the provisions of Capitulations, they were at the same time holding properties illegally in the Ottoman territories.¹⁹ From the Ottoman point of view, although the government was obliged to recognize the provisions of the Capitulations vis-à-vis foreign subjects, the central and local administrations were fighting over the establishment of the basis for a universal fiscal system free from privilege in terms of wealth, status or religion. The categorical refusal was the cause of endless, albeit dead-end, discussions.²⁰ This paper thus focuses more on the process of negotiation between the foreign subjects, who were one of the privileged groups of the ancien régime, and the Ottoman administration.

After the failure of the fiscal reforms in 1842, on analyzing the fiscal situation of the city of Izmir, the High Council of Justice reported that of the approximately 1,100,000 *guruş* in annual tax obligations for Izmir, some 300,000 *guruş* (one third of the total) was due from the foreign subjects residing in the city.²¹ Although a part of this sum was in fact paid, thanks to the cooperation of the Russian consul, almost all other foreign consuls and subjects had been resisting payment of their tax obligation since 1840. The High Council reported the problem again to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but it remained unsolved.

The Negotiations of the Issue in 1843

In 1843, the reformist Sadık Rifat Mehmet Paşa was brought back into the Ottoman government²² as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Owing to his influence in the area of fiscal and economic policy reform, the fiscal question in general, and the question of property in particular, again began to be dealt with. As to the problem of administering property in Izmir, the transformation in government composition occasioned a more conciliatory policy. As a result, in November 1843, a memorandum of the Ottoman government included certain foreign representatives into the local council.²³ The memorandum stated first that taxation would be annual and also imposed on property, as well as the production resulting from it, and, second, that there would be no taxation of property registered

in the name of the wives and parents of foreign subjects without the approval of the foreign representatives in the council.²⁴ Although with this the affair appeared to have been settled, new discussions arose in terms of the functioning of the local council. The first such discussion related to the issue of an eventual separation of the taxes imposed on foreign and Ottoman subjects. Foreign representatives were keen to win tax exemption for property held and inhabited by foreign subjects, as was the case for Ottoman subjects. They thus proposed a 5% tax on houses uninhabited by the proprietor and any income resulting from houses, shops or land.²⁵ Following negotiations, the Ottoman government conceded in July 1844 the principle that houses and shops that were occupied by their proprietors would not be liable to pay tax.²⁶ The second discussion concerned the apportionment of taxes, and here cooperation between foreign and Ottoman subjects seemed impossible. The head consul believed that Ottoman subjects, who were already overtaxed, were attempting to transfer some of their tax burden to foreign subjects through collaboration with the local authorities.²⁷

The Question of Foreign-held Property and the Resistance of the Local Population

This question could not be resolved in the commission, and, on 6 September 1845, the central administration wrote to Reşid Efendi, the general collector (*muhassıl*) of Izmir, to explain that the taxes imposed on foreign subjects living in Izmir between 1840 and 1843 had not been collected, though not for lack of effort.²⁸ Even the Ottoman central administration realized in the same year that the local population and some people from the city council had attempted to benefit from the resistance of the foreign subjects, thereby confirming the observation of the French consulate. The High Council of Justice announced that the city's uncollected tax obligations were even being apportioned to the dead and foreign subjects.²⁹ Tax apportionment in this way would clearly reduce the tax burden for certain groups. Nevertheless, the logic behind the operation speaks of the seriousness of the matter: it was clear that not only the dead but also foreign subjects would not pay their tax obligations.

When, in April 1845, Muslim and non-Muslim representatives of each Ottoman province were called to the capital to discuss the economic situation and economic policies of each locality, the central administration

paid particular attention to the anti-fiscal resistance in Izmir, and in particular to the administration of property held by foreign subjects.³⁰ After discussions with notables and religious leaders of the city, the question was presented to the Council of Finance and then, in the presence of the representatives, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.³¹ To find a solution to the problem, official letters relating to the matter were sent to each foreign embassy. Among the letters sent in response to the Ministry, the one sent by the French Embassy shows how the discussion of the taxation of property inhabited by the proprietor would not be concluded by the commission established in 1843. According to the French representatives, taxing both the house in which a foreign subject was living as well as his income would mean double taxation: tax should either be imposed on the house or the income, but not both.³² The Ottoman authorities argued, however, that the houses in which foreign families were living were not owned by only one family. For example, a family living in three rooms of a house would rent other rooms to create income from their house. Moreover, most houses were above shops that generated income, and the taxation thereof could be opposed by no one. Foreigners who did not own houses or shops and were renting would only pay based on their income. Given the delicacy of the problem, the central authority concluded that apportionment and collection of the taxes, including previously uncollected amounts, should be preceded by collaboration and negotiation with local notables, religious leaders and members of the city council.

On the other hand, as the French consulate and Ottoman administration realized, some Ottoman subjects in the city were also trying to benefit from the situation. They were not only refusing to pay the taxes levied on their property and income, but also all kinds of direct taxes imposed on them (e.g. the poll tax imposed on the non-Muslim population of the Empire) by claiming to be either foreign subjects or the protégés of European countries. The local administration thus had both to convince the foreign subjects to pay their taxes and to prevent Ottoman subjects from representing themselves as foreign subjects and therefore benefiting from the Capitulations. This led central government to perform a census exclusively for Izmir in order to establish the different population categories. The census was to differentiate between Ottoman and foreign subjects, who would then be able to administer their property and fiscal obligations more efficiently.³³ The census began in 1845, and the central administration appointed Hacı Raşid Bey to perform the census for

Ottoman subjects (Muslim and non-Muslim) and Ahmed Vefik Efendi³⁴ for the foreign subjects. The census of foreign subjects was disrupted by a fire in the city center,³⁵ but showed that the old difficulties survived: foreign subjects resisted the census by not registering, and the consuls took on more than a thousand Ottoman subjects as protégés. The census of the Muslim population was completed, but the census of the non-Muslim population of the city was also disrupted by the fire.³⁶ Despite the difficulties, the census was completed in one way or another and an archival document resulted. Bearing in mind the resistance of the population and the “politics of numbers” at play in terms of the fiscal question, the male population of Izmir³⁷ was as follows:³⁸

Table 1. Population of Izmir in 1847

Married men	Unmarried men	Total	% of the total
Muslim	5,645	1,800	7,445
Greek	3,665	1,267	4,932
Armenian	1,408	334	1,742
Persian³⁹	203	21	224
Jewish	4,348	48	4,396
Sesame	38	33	71
Total Ottoman subjects		18,810	67
British			2,175
French			374
Flemish			73
Swedish			0
Belgian			1
Neapolitan			124
Portuguese			0
Danish			13
Tuscan			57
Prussian			25
Sardinian			325
Iranian			42
Austrian			475
Russian			220

Hellenic⁴⁰		1917	
Total foreign subjects		6,196	33
Total		25,006	

The Mixed Commission as an Institution of Negotiation

The general fiscal survey of 1845 and implementation of the universal principles of fiscal reforms was successful throughout the Empire as a result of the conciliatory policies of the Ottoman central administration towards local notables, tax-farmers and old privileged groups. Nevertheless, the city of Izmir, where the question of foreign property had not been resolved, was not surveyed in 1845. The General collector of Izmir, Şakir Bey, reported on 12 August 1847 to the Sublime Porte that the foreign subjects were not only continuing to refuse to pay tax for the previous years, but were now also refusing to be taxed at all.⁴¹ This exception, he said, was continuing to motivate Ottoman subjects to enter under the protection of other countries to avoid their tax obligations. The general collector therefore negotiated with and convinced the local notables of Ottoman and foreign origin to pay the uncollected taxes.⁴² The High Council of Justice and the Council of Ministers then proposed a system of payment in installments and the establishment of a special commission, in which notables of foreign subjects would participate and negotiate the question of foreign property and its fiscal administration.⁴³

Table 2. Uncollected taxes from foreign subjects living in Izmir⁴⁴

Year	Amount
1256 (1840/1841)	345,858 grş.
1257 (1841/1842)	368,958 grş.
1258 (1842/1843)	379,692 grş.
1259 (1843/1844)	383,000 grş.
1260 (1844/1845)	383,000 grş.
1261 (1845/1846)	383,000 grş.
1262 (1846/1847)	383,000 grş.

A memorandum, including the decision to establish a new special commission to fix and apportion taxes on property held by wives and dependants of foreign subjects and information on the nomination and election of its members, was sent on 23 January 1848 to the city council of Izmir, to the foreign embassies in the Ottoman capital, and, through the embassies, to each consul in Izmir. The commission was to be composed of members of Ottoman origin and those chosen by the consuls:⁴⁵

M. l'Ambassadeur sait bien que tous sont égaux en matière de propriété et que les étrangers propriétaires sont regardés comme sujets de la Sublime Porte. Il n'y a donc pas d'exception à faire en leur faveur. Le gouvernement turc, en proposant, cependant la formation d'une commission mixte et en remettant jusqu'à aujourd'hui la perception de tant de revenus arriérés, a donné une nouvelle marque de sa consideration pour les cours dont ces étrangers relèvent.⁴⁶

The commission, made up of 30 foreign representatives, first met in 1849, one year after the memorandum. The Ottoman government appointed Emin Efendi, interpreter to the Imperial Council, to administer the workings of the commission. Although he managed to gather all the commissaries of Ottoman and foreign communities, the Russian, Austrian and Greek consuls did not participate in the first meeting: the Greek consul was in a delicate position due to the absence of Capitulations signed with his country; the Austrian consul claimed he had not received the order from his embassy to collaborate with the commission.⁴⁷ After the first meeting, the city council reported on 31 May 1849 that, despite the opposition of the representatives of Austria, the members that were foreign subjects found the propositions of the Ottoman government to be legitimate and accepted renewal of the property survey. The report by the city council cited the fact that the houses in which the owner was living had not been surveyed and were thus exempted from taxes as the main cause for the renewal of the survey. The capital value of the property would therefore need to be re-evaluated in order to fix and apportion justly and equitably the amount of tax. Owners of property would be taxed according to the value of their property, and subjects with no property would be taxed on the basis of their income.⁴⁸ Although there

were no contradictions in the information provided, the French consul in Izmir reported to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs three conclusions from the first meeting of the special commission: firstly, the necessity of re-evaluation of income resulting from landed property, commerce and industry – in other words, the evaluation of income resulting from movable and immovable property found in the city; secondly, the surrender of the older concession of tax exemption for houses, shops and stores occupied by their proper holders; and thirdly, tax exemption on charges paid by private individuals to pious foundations.⁴⁹

The High Council of Justice discussed the decisions of the commission and approved the renewal of the property survey. It decided to write to the Austrian Embassy about their participation in the workings of the commission. The Council regretted that the problem of properties held illegally by foreign subjects could not be resolved. According to the proceedings of the Council, because foreign subjects living in the Ottoman territories had already gained ownership of property, by registering in the names of their wives and dependents, it would be difficult to find an immediate solution to this problem. Although a regulation on the transfer and heritage of property did exist, the real-life situation seemed to be far from any possible resolution. Consequently, the administration restricted itself for the time being to resolving the fiscal question of the universal and general basis of the fiscal reforms arising from this property.⁵⁰

In fact, the question of the property held *de facto* by foreign subjects and its accompanying fiscal problem was not limited to the case of Izmir. This was an administrative problem for the Ottoman government in most of its port cities: Thessalonica, Cyprus, Beirut, Tripoli etc.⁵¹ However, the developments in Izmir, the most important port in the Empire and the port with the largest foreign population, provided the central administration with an example. In seeking and finding a solution for Izmir, the administration had designed a general administrative policy that could be applied to the whole Empire.⁵² In the first months of 1850, therefore, the government sent three officials from the Translation Office with special missions to Izmir, Thessalonica and Cyprus to resolve the question of property. All three were to introduce the solutions being implemented in Izmir, that is, a new survey of properties conducted by a mixed commission.

The Imperial Commissioner and Workings of the Mixed Commission

As mentioned in the introduction, the official appointed by the government to conduct the property survey in Izmir was Ali Nihad Efendi. Shortly after his arrival in Izmir, he consulted the city council and the governor of Aydın province, Halil Paşa,⁵³ and concluded that the preceding commissions designed to resolve the affair had consisted of so many members that they had not been able to function properly. Moreover, the proprietors, who, of course, were also members of these commissions, had done everything in their power not to advance in the resolution of the affair. Consequently, he proposed the creation of a commission consisting of 20 members – 14 Ottoman subjects and 6 foreign representatives – all of whom would be subject to the approval of the city council. He immediately sent out circulars to the consuls in Izmir to arrange the election and nomination of 6 foreign members of the commission. With the exception of the Russian consul, who was unable to attend, and the Austrian consul, who declared that he would accept all the decisions taken, all the foreign consuls then came together in the presence of Ali Nihad Efendi to discuss the nomination of 6 members. At this meeting, the French and British consuls opposed the limitation of the number of foreign representatives, arguing that the presence of 14 Ottoman members and 6 foreign members would endanger the principle of majority voting. In response, Ali Nihad Efendi pointed out that the members should not be chosen according to the number of consulates but according to the proportion of Ottoman to foreign proprietors. Secondly, he made it clear that the new commission sought nothing other than to conduct the survey, from beginning to end, and that the conducting of the survey had nothing to do with the principle of majority voting. Finally, he explained that if the number of foreign members was accepted at 30, the number of Ottoman subjects in the commission would have to be 60, twice their number. Even if a meeting place could be found, as with the European parliaments, the working of the commission in Izmir with this huge number of representatives would be impossible. It was therefore concluded that 16 foreign consuls of Izmir would nominate 6 foreign members and the city council would not accept any other representatives to the commission. After negotiations were concluded among the consuls, and despite the reservations of the Austrian consul, the commission was finally composed of French, British, Russian, Austrian, Sardinian and Hellenic subjects.⁵⁴

The imperial commissioner, who was hopeful that the commission would work well, then reported to the government that, after the commission had completed the survey, the total capital value of the property would be three times higher than the current value, thereby raising the total amount of tax for collection.⁵⁵

The regulation I mentioned at the beginning of this paper was sent in response to this first report by the official Ali Nihad Efendi. But what were the responsibilities of the imperial commissioner as described in the regulation?⁵⁶ First, during his office he was to liaise with the governor of Aydın, the province of which İzmir was part at that time, and with the local council. This coordinating body would decide on the procedures and details of the execution of the survey of movable and immovable property, and would choose the officials to be used for the survey. Second, during the survey all kind of income and capital values of property were to be registered without exception and the respective tax imposed justly and equitably. In the survey of property held by foreign subjects, the official was to pay special attention to the registration of the property and the evaluation of the respective capital value and income, so that no sedition would again occur. Third, after the surveying process, he would also be responsible for the apportionment of the taxes in the city on the basis of the regulations and decisions of the central administration. In office, he would visit the capital whenever necessary. His final responsibility related to property that was registered in the name of Ottoman subjects but held by foreign subjects, a situation of which the Ottoman government was very well aware. Although the administration of these properties was normally subject to Ottoman legislation, the foreign subjects had resisted any kind of administrative procedures, arguing that they should not be treated like Ottoman subjects. If any such claims were to be made in İzmir, the official was not to accept any of them.

In addition to the regulation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the High Council of Justice, the principal administrative body of the Ottoman State, sent a second regulation to Ali Nihad Efendi.⁵⁷ This regulation, in accordance with the principles of the reforms of 1839, insisted on the universality and generality of the fiscal reforms in the whole Empire and refused the application for fiscal exception in İzmir. Accordingly, any imposition that did not take into consideration the income and movable and immovable property of households was unacceptable. Thus, as a first principle of the new survey, all immovable property, belonging to all Ottoman and foreign subjects, was to be surveyed and registered, both

qualitatively and quantitatively. Taxes would then be imposed on the basis of a percentage calculation of the value of the property. The previous survey also had an important weakness in the area of the recording of income and income-generating immovable property. Owing to the fact that property held by families of foreign origin had been registered irregularly, and sometimes without mention of its capital value, the income resulting from rented property could not be taxed. Moreover, the income of foreign artisans and tradesmen was not being taxed. Therefore, as a second principle of the new survey, all kinds of income – from crafts and commerce and especially from property rental – were to be registered and taxed on the basis of a percentage calculation. These two fiscal principles in fact underlined the transformation of the system of tax imposition: the transformation of the older tax of apportionment (*impôt de repartition*) into the tax of *quotité*. To conclude, the second regulation also insisted on the principle of also taxing public properties, such as schools and hospitals. Consequently, any income generated by public properties, whether agricultural or industrial production, was also to be taxed.

Armed with these two regulations, the special commission met for a second time on 4 June 1850 under the presidency of Ali Nihad Efendi. This second meeting was used to establish the principles of the property survey, or, as the commission called it, the cadastre, that was to be conducted:

Seconde séance du 4 juin 1850⁵⁸

Les vingt délégués soussignés des différentes nationalités de propriétaires remis au Palais du Gouvernement local présidés par Ali Effendi Commissaire impérial chargé de procéder à la formation du cadastre pour les propriétés foncières de la ville du Smyrne et de ses dépendances sont tombés d'accord à l'unanimité

1- que l'opération du cadastre commencerait immédiatement en divisant la ville par quartier, rues et numéro des maisons d'après le plan général dressé par l'ingénieur nommé ad'hoc.

2- Monsieur le Commissaire accompagné par les trois estimateurs nommés d'officier et un des délégués par chacune des nationalité intéressées dans cette affaire commencera l'estimation de la valeur de toutes propriétés d'après la réelles de chacune d'elles, et en insérant dans le susdit cadastre la valeur et la rente de chaque propriété qui ont été arrêtés d'après la base ci-dessus.

The Cadastre of Izmir and its Generalization

The work of the special commission produced its first results in 1854. It had registered and estimated the value of each property and subsequently fixed and calculated the amount of tax to be paid. Luigi Storari, an Italian engineer who was supposed to be a Carbonari, drew up cadastral plans and the map of the city.⁵⁹ The commission finally produced the Organic Statute, dated 29 April 1856, embodying restrictions and guarantees for both the future guidance of the Ottoman administration and the contributors to the new tax.⁶⁰ In the central bureau for the cadastre, all landed property held by foreigners was registered as such, with each nationality in the official register being recorded on separate sheets, with headings such as "Property held by Frenchmen", "Property held by Austrians" etc.

Table 3. Foreign Proprietors and Tenants Registered during the Cadastre of Izmir⁶¹

	Number of proprietors	Number of tenants	Nb information available	Total capital value of properties	Total amount of annual rent
Austria	90	120	95	2,792,871	309,844
Genoa	25	28	43	427,670	56,382
Denmark	9	4	6	87,779	10,241
Flanders	13	7	14	461,641	68,641
France	96	107	94	2,412,263	245,817
Great Britain	187	279	484	4,817,744	456,120
Naples	5	22	19	33,368	3,792
Prussia	2	3	2	97,560	13,590
Russia	49	34	46	1,856,684	198,451
Sardinia	13	12	12	328,850	36,725
Tuscany	29	59	12	168,439	28,415.5
Greece	124	225	367	860,959	114,733
Total	642	934	1,096	14,035,093	1,542,762

According to the Organic Statute, with the amount of tax fixed by the Sublime Porte for the city of Izmir and its villages at 1,200,000 *guruş*, the mixed commission decided that a sum of 1,400,000 *guruş* would need to be levied in order to be able to send the total sum to the Treasury, pay the administrative costs of the collection bureau and apportion some money to the public works needed in the city.⁶² It apportioned the tax as follows:

1. 800,000 *guruş* to be levied on the immobile property of the city;
2. 400,000 *guruş* to be levied on industry, crafts, retail trade and local internal trade. This was to be applied to all residents of the city, irrespective of nationality (subjects of the Sublime Porte or foreign subjects);
3. 200,000 *guruş* to be levied on the ten villages and their dependencies under the jurisdiction of the city of Izmir. This sum was to be levied on immobile property, industry and crafts.

The tax on the city of Izmir of 800,000 *guruş* was based on the capital value of the immovable property recorded in the cadastral registers, which amounted to 200,000,000 *guruş*, and the commission therefore decided that each immovable property should pay 4 *guruş* for every thousand *guruş* of capital value estimated in the cadastral registers. The tax of 400,000 *guruş* on industry, crafts, retail trade and local internal trade was to be collected from resident proprietors and non-proprietors alike by means of *patente* for the different trade categories established by the mixed commission following an evaluation of the wealth of each proprietor or non-proprietor, without taking into consideration the tax on immovable property.⁶³ Tradesmen engaged in wholesale trade as well as those in retail trade were to pay a *patente* tax. Tradesmen who, due to their nationality and their category of trade, benefited from the immunities and privileges accorded by the Capitulations would be exempted from the *patente* tax.

Nevertheless, in the regulation of 2 October 1856, which was drawn up by the central administration on the basis of the Organic Statute of 29 April 1856, there was a slight change concerning the imposition of tradesmen: "It is also agreed that, like Ottoman subjects, tradesmen, whatever their nationality, who are engaged in internal wholesale retail trade will pay a *patente* tax. Foreign tradesmen engaged in external

trade under the treaties will be exempted from the *patente* tax, however this exemption only applies to their external trade."⁶⁴ Clearly, this change, which blurred the limits established by the Capitulations, was not welcomed by the foreign governments.⁶⁵

Although the Ottoman administration had reached a conciliatory solution for the question of foreign property in Izmir, the demands made by foreign subjects, with the backing of their governments, that they be allowed, legally, to own property in the Ottoman territories began to increase, especially after the Crimean War (1854). The Ottoman administration, however, was not keen to legalize the property held by foreign subjects and continued to send out ordinances to the local authorities to prevent the transfer of property to foreign subjects.⁶⁶ After the reforms of 1839, the Ottoman administration was afraid of the fiscal and legal immunities provided by the Capitulations. If it legalized the properties, it would be difficult to subject them to the taxation and legal procedures because of the Capitulations, as we have seen in the case of Izmir. In fact, withholding from foreign subjects the right to own property can be interpreted as means of getting rid of the clauses of the Capitulations, which in effect accorded privileges. The definitions of proprietor and property, as specified in the reforms of 1839, implied the existence of universal and general categories. Consequently, having no definition, no privileged group could have the right to exist in the new administrative system. Despite this consideration, the increasing presence of foreign capital and foreign entrepreneurs in the Empire, combined with the Ottoman foreign debt created by the Crimean War, forced the Ottoman government to change its property legislation. In the Imperial Rescript of 1856, therefore, the Ottoman government found itself promising to grant property rights to foreign subjects. Finally, with an ordinance issued on 8 June 1867 and the suppression of some of the immunities provided by the Capitulations, the Ottoman government granted foreign subjects the right to hold property.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, administrative conflicts over the taxation and legal procedures applied to these properties continued to crop up in an Empire in which the central administration were losing ground to foreign powers as a result of increasing foreign debt.

The administrative procedures in Izmir then became more generalized through the creation, in 1856, of a municipal commission in the sixth municipal district of Istanbul (containing Galata and Pera), which was to operate in the same way as the mixed commission of Izmir. In addition

to the new regulations on urbanism, the municipal commission also aimed to perform a cadastral survey of immovable property.⁶⁸ In terms of the Ottoman property and fiscal system, the central administration drew up a land law in 1858,⁶⁹ and the principles of property taxation contained in the Organic Statute of 1856 were generalized in 1858 by the Ottoman administration in the form of a new property regulation that was to form the basis of a cadastre. The 1858 regulation proposed a survey of all immovable property in the Empire, both in rural and urban settings, which was to be performed by the local commissions. The survey was to record both capital value and the annual income in respect of immovable property. In addition, the occupation and income of each subject, whether a proprietor or not, was to be recorded in return for a tax population receipt. In terms of the imposition of tax, there was a generalization of the *quotité* tax: immovable property was to be taxed at 4 *guruş* per thousand *guruş* of capital value; income resulting from immovable property was to be taxed at 4 per cent of the annual amount; the non agricultural income of workers, craftsmen and tradesmen, in urban as well as rural settings, at 3 per cent of the annual amount.⁷⁰ After this regulation came into force, the general cadastre of the Empire began to be administered by the local commissions – first, starting in 1858, in Bursa and Ionia (Yanya), and then in the other provinces, starting in 1860.⁷¹

Conclusion

I have argued that the conflict and process of negotiation in respect of the survey and taxation in Izmir enabled the Ottoman government to design a sound taxation system in the second half of the nineteenth century. Interestingly, this was made possible by the confusion and discussion surrounding the issue of the taxation of owner-occupied property. Despite the fact that, throughout the decade of 1840 to 1850, the French consuls had claimed that property held by Ottoman subjects was exempt from taxation while that held by foreign subjects was not, there had in reality never been any exemption for this type of property. In fact, until the Organic Statute of 1856, there had never been any tax imposition of immovable property by the Ottoman administration. Until then, the tax base had in fact been calculated on the income of the household and not the capital value of the immovable property.⁷² While both the capital value of property and annual income were recorded in

the 1840 survey, only the annual income of a household was taxed at a fixed rate of 20%. But why this misconception by the foreign consuls? First, the average income level of a foreign subject living in Izmir was higher than that of the average Ottoman subject, and foreign subjects were thus asked to pay more tax than others. The local population and the authorities, knowing they would resist the taxation, transferred a part of their tax burden to them, which, again, caused them to be asked to pay higher amounts of tax. Second, with no representation in the city council, foreign subjects knew nothing of the process of apportionment. Third, they had observed that the capital values for properties had been registered during the survey of 1840. Consequently, the combination of the higher level of taxation, ignorance of the apportionment system and the registration of capital values of their property allowed them to resist the taxation system. This resistance created an opportunity for the Ottoman administration, which was trying to establish a system of property, to introduce a new tax on immovable property in addition to the tax on annual incomes. The question of who benefited from this situation is easy to answer: both the Ottoman administration and the foreign subjects of Izmir. While the Ottoman administration was able to raise more in tax through the taxation of the property (based on capital value), foreign subjects saw their tax obligations decrease in a system of apportionment.

In general, a cadastre is thought to be merely a technical and fiscal affair. But in fact it is a political issue in which different conflicting interests and administrative priorities are represented, articulated and negotiated. The modern administration of the nineteenth century sought to record all economic wealth and apportion accordingly the taxes imposed on the rural and urban population, rich and poor, who, whether, actively or passively, resisted this intervention. In this light, we can say that the dialogue/negotiation between the administration and the different social groups shaped the cadastre. The cadastre thus became a process of accommodation, and the ability of the administration to legitimize it rested on the mediation and arbitration effected through its administrative practices. An example of such an administrative practice is given in Izmir by the establishment of a special commission to conduct the cadastral survey. The central administration, faced with the difficulty of imposing and collecting taxes on the city, decided to set up such a special commission into which were integrated different representatives of the city, including the Europeans resident in Izmir. The commission then became an arena in which individual and administrative interests met

and were negotiated. The cadastre was then performed at the initiative of this commission.

From this I conclude that the local councils and commissions were the key administrative institutions of the nineteenth-century Ottoman governments. Most of the administrative practices of the nineteenth century, especially the property surveys, were conducted by local councils or commissions made up of state officials, local administrators and local notables. In fact, by integrating local administrators and notables, the councils and commissions were designed not only to conduct but also legitimate the surveys vis-à-vis the population, who feared a possible increase in their tax burden and therefore resisted any form of survey. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that surveys sought to impose general and uniform categories by erasing the privileges of certain power groups, the governments needed to make surveys acceptable not only to the simple population but also to the privileged groups of the ancien régime. Therefore, the presence of the local people transformed the councils and commissions into political arenas in which interests clashed and were negotiated during the process of institutionalization of the new administrative system in the nineteenth century.

NOTES

- ¹ From the Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry (OAPM), *Irade-i Dahiliye*, no. 12308, 29 *Rebiülahir* 1266/14.03.1850.
- ² The taxes raised from property and income amounted 1,200,000 *guruş* of which 380,000 *guruş* came from the taxation of the property and income of foreigners living in Izmir (OAPM, *Irade- Dahiliye*, no. 12308).
- ³ *Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères* (AMAE), série "Correspondances consulaires et commerciales (CCC)", Smyrne, no. 48, *Mémoire de la Sublime Porte du 23 janvier 1848* and OAPM, *Hariciye Tercüme Odası*, no. 139/24, 01.02.1848. See also OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 2345, 20 *Şevval* 1263/01.10.1847 and 25 *Ramazan* 1263/06.09.1847 on the idea of establishing a special commission to administer fiscal matters and property in Izmir.
- ⁴ For the fiscal reforms prior to 1839 see Alp Yücel Kaya (2005a), *Politique de l'enregistrement de la richesse économique: les enquêtes fiscales et agricoles de l'Empire Ottoman et de la France au milieu du XIXe siècle*, unpublished PhD thesis, EHESS, Paris, 291-307.
- ⁵ Kaya (2005a: 309-314). For the text of the rescript, see M. Belin (1840), "Charte des Turcs", *Journal Asiatique*, série 3, tome 9, pp. 5-29 and Ubicini, Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme (1853), *Lettres sur la Turquie, ou tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commerciale, etc. de L'Empire Ottoman depuis le khatti-cherif de Gulkanè (1839)*, 1^{er} partie: les Ottomans, Paris : J. Dumaine, pp. 527-530.
- ⁶ Huricihan Islamoğlu (2000), "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858", in Roger Owen (ed.), *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Huri Islamoğlu (2001), "Modernities Compared: State Transformations and Constitutions of Property in the Qing and Ottoman Empire", *Journal of Early Modern Studies, Special Issue : Shared Histories of Modernity in China and the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 352-386; Huri Islamoğlu (2004), "Politics of Administering Property : Law and Statistics in the Nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire", in Huri Islamoğlu (ed.), *Constituting Modernity, Private Property in the East and West*, New York : I.B.Tauris.
- ⁷ Kaya (2005a).
- ⁸ For studies on Izmir, see Necmi Ülker (1974), *The Rise of Izmir, 1688-1740*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan; Daniel Goffman (1990), *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, Washington: University of Washington; Daniel Goffman (1999) "Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City" in Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (eds), *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Elena Frangakis-Syrett (1992), *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1820)*, Athens: Centre d'études

d'Asie Mineur; Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (2006a), *Une société de soi, Identités et relations sociales à Smyrne aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Collection Turcica, vol. X*, Louvain: Peeters; Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.) (2006b), *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? 1830-1930, Mémoires d'un grand port Ottoman*, Paris: Autrement, Collections Mémoires; Cana Bilsel (1996), *Cultures et fonctionnalités: l'évolution de la morphologie urbaine de la ville d'Izmir au XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Paris X-Nanterre; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu (2000), *Izmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, Izmir: Izmir Yayınları.

- 9 OAPM, *Irade-i Hariciye*, no. 116, 27 Zilhice 1255/02.03.1840. In two pioneering articles, Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu discusses this question from a different perspective. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu (1992), "Tanzimat Devrinde Yabancıların İktisadi Faaliyetleri", in Hakkı Dursun Yıldız (ed.), *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Ankara: TTK and Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu (2000a), "Izmir Temettü Sayımları ve Yabancı Tebaa" in here *Izmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, Izmir: Izmir Yayınları. While the former discusses the question in the context of the economic activities conducted by foreigners in the Ottoman Empire, the latter presents the data from the cadastral registers compiled between 1850 and 1854, after first giving a brief introduction to the question. For a general discussion on property held by foreign subjects in Izmir, see Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (2006a).
- 10 For related correspondence by the general collectors with the central administration, see OAPM, *Kamil Kepeci Muhassıllık Defterleri*, no. 11, 1256/1840-1841 and no. 5813, 1257/1841-1842.
- 11 On the foreign subjects or Europeans living in Izmir, see Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (1999), "Les Européens et leur implantation dans l'espace urbaine de Smyrne (1750-1850)", in Jacques Bottin and Donatella Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville, minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, Paris: Editions de MSH and Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (2003), "Coexistence et réseaux de relations à Smyrne au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 67, Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de la Méditerranée moderne et contemporaine de l'Université de Nice: "Du cosmopolitisme en Méditerranée (XVIe-Xxe siècle)", pp. 111-123.
- 12 For discussions on this subject with respect to the Ottoman legal system, see Cevdet Paşa (1980), *Maruzat*, İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, pp. 194-196; Ömer Lütfi Barkan (1980), "Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat ve 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi" in his *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, Toplu Eserler 1*, İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, pp. 350-351; Ebulula Mardin (1947), *Toprak Hukuku Dersleri*, İstanbul, pp. 26-31.
- 13 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 46, *Lettre du Consul gérant A. Devoize au Ministre, le 6 juillet 1841*.
- 14 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 46, *Traduction de la lettre du conseil d'administration de Smyrne au consul français annexé au lettre du Consul gérant A. Devoize au Ministre, le 6 juillet 1841*.

- 15 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 46, *Lettre d'Alexandre Chevage, Consul de Smyrne, au Ministre*, le 9 décembre 1841. Even the French consul who examined the problem in 1848 had questioned the base of apportionment. The total amount of direct tax imposed on the city was 1,200,000 *gurus*, which was divided by the commission responsible for the apportionment into 105,000 parts. After evaluation, in what the consul called a hypothetical way with no rational basis, the French colony of Izmir received 4881 parts, corresponding to 53,702 *gurus*, AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 48, *Copie de la lettre du consul à l'ambassadeur*, le 2 février 1848.
- 16 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 46, *Lettre d'Alexandre Chevage, Consul de Smyrne, au Ministre*, le 29 décembre 1841.
- 17 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 46, *Lettre d'Alexandre Chevage, Consul de Smyrne, au Ministre*, le 9 décembre 1841.
- 18 On the Capitulations, see Halil Inalcık (1971), "İmtiyazat", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 3, pp. 1179-1189.
- 19 In fact, the position of foreign governments on the property issue was open to interpretation and confusion. According to the French ordinance of 1781, title II, article 26: "*Défend sa majesté à ses sujets établis dans les échelles du Levant et de la Barbarie, d'acquérir aucunes biens-fonds ou immeubles autres que les maisons, caves, magasins et autres propriétés nécessaires pour leur logement et pour leurs effets et marchandises, sous peine d'être renvoyés en France*"; Article 28: "*Défend sa majesté à tous ses sujets de prendre des biens-fonds et autres objets en concession, soit du Grand Seigneur, soit des princes de Barbarie ou de leurs sujets, ni de faire des associations avec les fermiers, douaniers et autres, sous peine d'être renvoyés en France*", Gatteschi (1867), *Des lois sur la propriété foncière dans l'Empire Ottoman et particulièrement en Egypte*, Paris: Auguste Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, p. 34 (Extrait de la *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, no. sep.-oct. 1867).
- 20 For the evolution of the question in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Kütükoğlu (1992); Abdul-Karim Rafeq (2000), "Ownership of Real Property by Foreigners in Syria, 1869 to 1873", in Roger Owen (ed.), *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Fikret Adanır (1999), "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Yabancıların Toprak Sahibi Olmaları Konusunda Osmanlı Kaygıları", in Güler Eren, Kemal Çiçek and Cem Oğuz (eds.), *Osmanlı*, vol. 2, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları.
- 21 OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 763, 21 Cemazi'ülevvel 1258/30.06.1842.
- 22 On the Sadık Rifat Mehmet Paşa, see Şerif Mardin (2000), *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, pp. 169-195; Necdet Kurdakul (1997), *Tanzimat Dönemi Basınında Sosyo-Ekonomik Fikir Hareketleri*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 59-85, 215-235 ; Ahmet Güner

- Sayar (1986), *Osmanlı İktisat Düşüncesinin Çağdaşlaşması*, (Klasik Dönem'den II. Abdülhamid'e), İstanbul: Der Yayınları, pp. 217-235.
- 23 *Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Constantinople, correspondences avec Smyrne, carton 41, lettres du consul à l'ambassadeur, le 2 novembre 1843 et 12 décembre 1843.*
- 24 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 48, *Lettre de Th. Pichon au ministre, le 15 février 1848.*
- 25 *Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Constantinople, correspondences avec Smyrne, carton 41, lettres du consul à l'ambassadeur, le 2 janvier 1844.*
- 26 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 48, *Copie de la lettre du consul à l'ambassadeur, le 2 février 1848.*
- 27 AMAE, série CCC, Smyrne, no. 48, *Lettre de Th. Pichon au ministre, le 15 février 1848.*
- 28 OAPM, *Cevdet Hariciye*, no. 4497, 4 Ramazan 1261/06.09.1845. The sum of uncollected taxes for these three years amounted to 1,116,568.5 *guruş*. For difficulties in tax collection in İzmir, see also OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala Iradeleri*, no 1117, 1260/1844.
- 29 OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 1117, 1260/1845.
- 30 For the meetings of central government and local representatives, see Kaya (2005a: 368-376).
- 31 OAPM, *Cevdet Hariciye*, no 4497, 4 Ramazan 1261/06.09.1845. In the minutes of the meetings the question was titled as "Explications of the representatives of foreign subjects," *teba'a-i ecnebiye da'ir ifade-i surre*, and it was noted that owing to the delicacy of this article it would be negotiated, *bu madde umur-ı nazikeden olmagla icabı derdest müzakere idüğü*, OAPM, *Irade-i Mesalih-i Mühimme*, no. 58, 1845.
- 32 OAPM, *Cevdet Hariciye*, no 4497, 4 Ramazan 1261/06.09.1845.
- 33 The preparation of a passport regulation in the Ottoman Empire in 1867 bore strong relation to the question of property and the fiscal question accompanying it. For the passport regulation, see Musa Çadırcı (1990), "Tanzimat Döneminde Çıkarılan Men'i Mürur ve Pasaport Nizamnameleri", *Belgeler*, vol. 15, no. 19, pp. 169-181.
- 34 In his later career he was known as Ahmed Vefik Paşa, the famous Ottoman intellectual and bureaucrat of the second half of the nineteenth century, Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu (2000a: 36, n. 6). For more on the implementation of urban and fiscal reforms in Bursa during the governorship of Ahmed Vefik Paşa, see Béatrice Saint Laurent (1989), *Ottomanization and Modernization, the Architectural and Urban Development of Bursa and the Genesis of Tradition 1839-1914*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Harvard University.
- 35 For more on the fire that occurred in the city and the reorganization of the districts damaged, see OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 2110, 21 Rebi'ülevvel 1263/09.03.1847; A.MKT.MVL, no 2/39, 25 Zilhice 1262/14.12.1846; *Cevdet Belediye*, no 5078, 19 Receb 1261/24.07.1845; *Cevdet*

Belediye, no. 5301, 4 *Zilkade* 1261/04.11.1845. See also Kemalettin Kuzucu (1999), "1845 İzmir Yangını", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 62, pp. 20-25 and Nahide Şimşir (2002), "1845 İzmir Yangını", in *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4-8 Ekim 1999, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. III, part 1, TTK: Ankara, 255-277.

³⁶ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 2379, 16 *Ramazan* 1263/28.08.1847. See also Kütükoğlu (2000a : 36-7).

³⁷ In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman administration only counted the male population.

³⁸ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 2074, 1263/1845. For the nineteenth century, the size of the city population was mostly based on approximations made by travelers or researchers. An article by Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu sheds more light on the population of İzmir over the centuries, Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu (2000b), "İzmir Nüfusu Üzerine Bazı Tespitler", in her *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler*, İzmir: İzmir Yayınları, pp. 11-33. For more on the population of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, see Kemal Karpat (1985), *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

³⁹ This group consists of Catholic Armenians of Nakhichevan origin. For more information on this community, see Anahide Ter Minassian (2006), "Les Arméniens: le dynamisme d'une petite communauté", in Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? 1830-1930, Mémoires d'un grand port Ottoman*, Paris: Autrement, Collection Mémoires.

⁴⁰ The community of Hellenics consists of subjects of the Kingdom of Greece as opposed to Greeks that were Ottoman subjects. On the Greek communities of İzmir, see Vangelis Kechriotis (2006), "La Smyrne grecque: des communautés au panthéon de l'histoire", in Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? 1830-1930, Mémoires d'un grand port Ottoman*, Paris: Autrement, Collection Mémoires.

⁴¹ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 2345, 29 *Şaban* 1263/12.08.1847. For the correspondence of the collector general see also Kütükoğlu (2000a: 35-36).

⁴² OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 2345, 16 *Ramazan* 1263/28.08.1847; 25 *Ramazan* 1263/06.09.1847.

⁴³ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 2345, 20 *Şevval* 1263, 01.10.1847, 25 *Ramazan* 1263/06.09.1847.

⁴⁴ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no. 2345.

⁴⁵ OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 4104, 9 *Receb* 1265/21.05.1849; *Hariciye Tercüme Odası*, no. 139/24, 01.02.1848; AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Mémoire de la Sublime Porte du 23 janvier 1848*.

⁴⁶ AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Mémoire de la Sublime Porte du 23 janvier 1848*.

⁴⁷ AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Lettre du consul Th. Pichon au ministre*, le 16 mai 1849.

- 48 OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 4104, 9 Receb 1265/21.05.1849.
- 49 AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Lettre du consul Th. Pichon au ministre*, le 16 mai 1849.
- 50 OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 4104, 10 Şaban 1265/01.07.1849. The same arguments are cited in the draft of the regulation drawn up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; see OAPM, *Irade-i Dahiliye*, no. 12308, 1266/1850. In terms of the French counterpart in the affair, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved the participation of its consul in the special commission and “the spirit of liberalism and equality that directed himself in this affair” AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Minutes, Dépêche brouillons du Ministre au Consul*, le 27 juillet 1849.
- 51 Marc Aymes (2005), “A l’échelle de Chypre: ‘Européens indigène’ et réformes Ottomans au XIXe siècle”, *REMMM*, no. 107-110, pp. 297-322.
- 52 For the implementation of the principles established by the Izmir commission in Cyprus, see OAPM, A.MKT.UM, no 6/62, 5 Rebi’ülevvel 1266/19.02.1850; in the Thessalonica, see OAPM, A.MKT.MVL, no 18/63, 1 Cemazi’ülahir 1265/24.04.1849.
- 53 OAPM, *Hariciye Mektubi*, no 33/87, 27 Cemaizülahir 1266/10.05.1850.
- 54 Consuls nominated also 6 substitutes: an Ionian, a Dutch, a Russian, a Austrian, a Sardinian, a Hellenic and a member whose nationality is not known. AMAE, série CCC, *Smyrne*, no. 48, *Lettre du consul Th. Pichon au ministre*, le 16 mai 1849.
- 55 OAPM, *Hariciye Mektubi*, no 33/87, 27 Cemaizülahir 1266/10.05.1850.
- 56 OAPM, *Irade-i Dahiliye*, no. 12308, 29 Rebi’ülahir 1266/14.03.1850.
- 57 OAPM, *Irade-i Dahiliye*, no. 12308, 29 Rebi’ülahir 1266/14.03.1850.
- 58 OAPM, A.M. no. 8/45, 24 Receb 1266/04.06.1850
- 59 For more information on Luigi Storari see Bilsel (1996); Stéphane Yerasimos (1995), “Quelques éléments sur l’ingénieur Luigi Storari”, in *Architettura e architetti italiani ad Istanbul tra il XIX e il XX secolo*, Istanbul: Istituto Italiani di Cultura; Zeynep Çelik (1990), “The Italian Contribution to the Remaking of Istanbul”, *Environmental Design, Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Center*, pp. 128-133 and Zeki Arıkan (2000), “Ali Paşa, İzmir ve Kapitülasyonlar”, in Alaaddin Aköz, Bayram Ürekli and Ruhi Özcan (eds.), *Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıldönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi, 7-9 Nisan 1999, Bildiriler*, Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi. For the plans he prepared for İzmir, see OAPM, *Irade-i Dahiliye*, no 16128, 28 September 1852; Luigi Storari (1857), *Guide du voyageur à Smyrne, ou Aperçu historique, topographique et archéologique, accompagné du plan de cette ville, levé en 1854*, Paris: Castel; Çınar Atay (1998), *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e İzmir Planları*, İzmir: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, pp. 23-25.
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- 61 Kütükoğlu (2000a: 46).

- 62 For the development of urbanism in the nineteenth century Izmir, see Bilsel (1996) and Cana Bilsel (2006), "Vers une métropole moderne de la Méditerranée", in Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), *Smyrne, la ville oubliée? 1830-1930, Mémoires d'un grand port Ottoman*, Paris: Autrement, Collections Mémoires. For the development of the municipality of Izmir, see Erkan Serçe (1998), *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir'de Belediye (1868-1945)*, Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları.
- 63 For the lists of occupations, each divided into four tax categories, and the corresponding taxation as evaluated by the mixed commission, see OAPM, *Maliye Nezareti Defterleri*, no 771, Mart 1271/April 1855.
- 64 OAPM, *Irade-i Meclis-i Vala*, no 15797, 3 Safer 1272/02.10.1856.
- 65 *Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, Constantinople, correspondences avec Smyrne*, carton 50, *Mémoire américain sur la propriété immobilière*, le 20 juillet 1872, pp. 9-11.
- 66 According to the ordinance issued on 29 August 1850 and sent out to the sub-governors (*kaymakam*) and district councils, the property officials were required to control the title deeds and property certificates of Ottoman subjects, so that they could not transfer their property to foreign subjects, OAPM, A.MKT.UM, no. 28/62, 20 Şevval 1266/29.08.1850.
- 67 Baron de Testa (1892), *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottomane*, vol. 7, Paris: E. Leroux, pp. 729-756.
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In order to delineate the politics of registration and taxation during the first years of *Tanzimat* period, i.e. in the 1840s, it is useful to analyze the fiscal categories in the survey and compare the categories used in 1840 with those of 1845. In the first survey, in 1840, all population categories were taxed 20% on annual income. However, the first attempt at reform failed. In the second attempt, in 1845, the criterion for imposition was altered, and emphasis was transferred to the patience of the subjects to carry the burden of the new tax (I translate this as power of negotiation). Given the upheavals in the Balkan Provinces, and the resistance from different privileged social groups throughout the Empire, it can be concluded that the design of policy by the Ottoman governments was severely limited by their concern for legitimizing the reforms in the eye of the populace. Therefore, although the apportionment was a vital part of the surveying process, in the survey of 1845 the criterion of apportionment varied from one locality to another, even from one individual to another. Although the principle of taxation was universal, the political and economic standing of each individual and his bargaining power in the locality were decisive factors in the imposition process. For a more detailed analysis, see Kaya (2005a: 382-415) and Alp Yücel Kaya (2005b) "L'économie politique des tanzimat: la réforme fiscale et la résistance antifiscale dans la region de Bayındır (Izmir) au milieu du XIXe siècle", in Mohammad Afifi, Rachida Chih, Brigitte Marino, Nicolas Michel and Işık Tamdoğan (eds.), *Sociétés rurales Ottomans/Ottoman Rural Societies*, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.



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PANOPLIA DOGMATIKE
BYZANTINE ANTI-HERETIC ANTHOLOGY IN
DEFENSE OF ORTHODOXY IN THE
ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

To begin a study of the *Panoplia Dogmatike* (hereafter PD) in the Romanian Principalities at the turn of the seventeenth century is to present in reverse order a long history of text transmission. This means taking as point of departure the first printed edition of anti-heretic anthology, made at the behest of Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus somewhere around the year 1110. Though this is unusual, it is justified because the Tirgoviște edition was not only the fruit of antiquarian interest but also deeply connected with current affairs. Constantin Brâncoveanu and Antim of Iviron, the ruler and metropolitan of Wallachia respectively, supported the enterprise as patrons. Without making significant changes to the original content, they once again recruited the *Panoplia* to the fight against heresy. This was possible only in a culture permeated by the language of values of Byzantium, which was far away yet always present in the Medieval Romanian Principalities. It is these clear echoes of Byzantium that will be the main focus of this article.

Had this edition of the PD appeared today, it would most likely have been welcomed on scholarly grounds. Nonetheless, the publication of the PD as a genuine authority in the fight against heresy was only possible because the Romanian Principalities were once part of the Byzantine Commonwealth: a group of nations that were politically autonomous but enjoyed strong and durable connections. Undoubtedly, Church and Orthodoxy formed the strongest bond between these people and continued to be a binding element long after the fall of the Empire.¹ In this light, the PD offers the possibility to trace the development of one of the flexible cultural nerves which made and sustained the Commonwealth. Commissioned at the initiative of the Byzantine emperor, the PD refuted

by means of Patristic texts each major heresy known to the court theologians of Emperor Alexius I. Together with the old heresies and the Medieval dualistic movements, the anthology also listed Judaism and Islam, because it was deemed that there was only one true religion. The PD was read for centuries in the confines of the Oikoumene as a key source of Orthodox theology (around 72 Greek manuscripts still exist, with a Slavonic translation from the fourteenth century and a Latin version printed in Venice in 1555).² The most recent Greek manuscripts date from the eighteenth century and, together with the edition of 1710, form the last editions in the long tradition of this text in the Byzantine Commonwealth. Thus, a study made from the vantage point of the eighteenth century might lead to a reevaluation of the importance of the PD and, conversely, might prove useful in viewing the coeval religious battles from the perspective of the Byzantine tradition in the fight against heresy. This approach is yet to be applied to the PD and may prove more dangerous than appears at first sight because it inevitably touches on the Byzantine legacy in South-Eastern Europe as reflected in the large controversies which shook Orthodoxy during the seventeenth century in terms of the Calvinist *Confessio* (1629) attributed to the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Cyril Lucaris and the intense Catholic missionary activities in the region.

It was not by chance that the PD appeared in Wallachia at the turn of the eighteenth century, at a time when the Principalities had already assumed an important role in the preservation of Orthodoxy. As a point of departure, this study will examine the direct references to the PD found in other books of polemic character and printed at around the same time in Wallachia and Moldova. These references attest that the anthology was still read and highly respected in the seventeenth century. A word of praise for the PD was spoken by none other than the leading Orthodox intellectuals of the time: the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II Notaras (1669-1707), called by Iorga "la plus fort tête de tout le clergé orthodox de l'époque", and Meletios Syrigos (1586-1643), who was by far one of the best theologians of the century.

Both Meletius and Dositheos attest that the anthology was read in connection with recent or contemporary events and three important Church Synods of the seventeenth century: Jassy 1642, Jerusalem 1672 and Constantinople 1692. The way Meletius and Dositheos used the anthology suggests that the PD remained unchanged at the time, though it was still different from the anthology of which princess Anna Comnena speaks in

her *Alexiad*.³ In fact, the only printed text we have today of the PD is to an equal extent the anthology of the Orthodox theologians of the Romanian Principalities in the seventeenth century as it is the PD of Emperor Alexius Comnenus. The best known chapters from the twelfth century were this time read against the Calvinists, the Uniat Church of the Greek Catholics in Transylvania, the Catholics, and the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire. The references to the PD are found in books which themselves are a clear continuation of the Byzantine anti-heretic tradition. This suggests that the shift from manuscripts to print culture in the Danubian Principalities of the seventeenth century was more a change of gear than direction in the fight against heresy. The anti-polemic editions, which started appearing in 1682 in Moldova and in 1690 in Wallachia, anticipate such monumental Byzantine works as the PD and that of John of Damascus, which appeared some thirty years later.⁴

The abundance of historical material on the people who supported the enterprise allows the printed PD to be placed in its natural context: in a history involving the editor, Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone, the sponsor, the Metropolitan of Silistra Athanasius, the lesser known authors of the dedicatory verses in the book, and some well known people in Wallachia at the time – the metropolitan, Antim, and ruler, Constantin Brâncoveanu, together with his gifted son, Ștefan. And if the evidence of these people proves that the edition came out of the rigorous religious battles at the time, a logical next move will be to search for traces of conscientious alterations to the printed text (if any exist). Such a task is of critical importance, because the Tirgoviște text, reprinted in the PG with notes by Christian Friedrich Matthäi, remains the only printed edition of the PD used and quoted by scholars today. Finally, no study of the anthology in the Danubian Principalities would be complete without an examination of the late MSS, which co-existed with the printed text. Before attempting any of this, however, it will be useful to introduce this anthology with some preliminary observations.

Panoplia Dogmatike after Panoplia Dogmatike

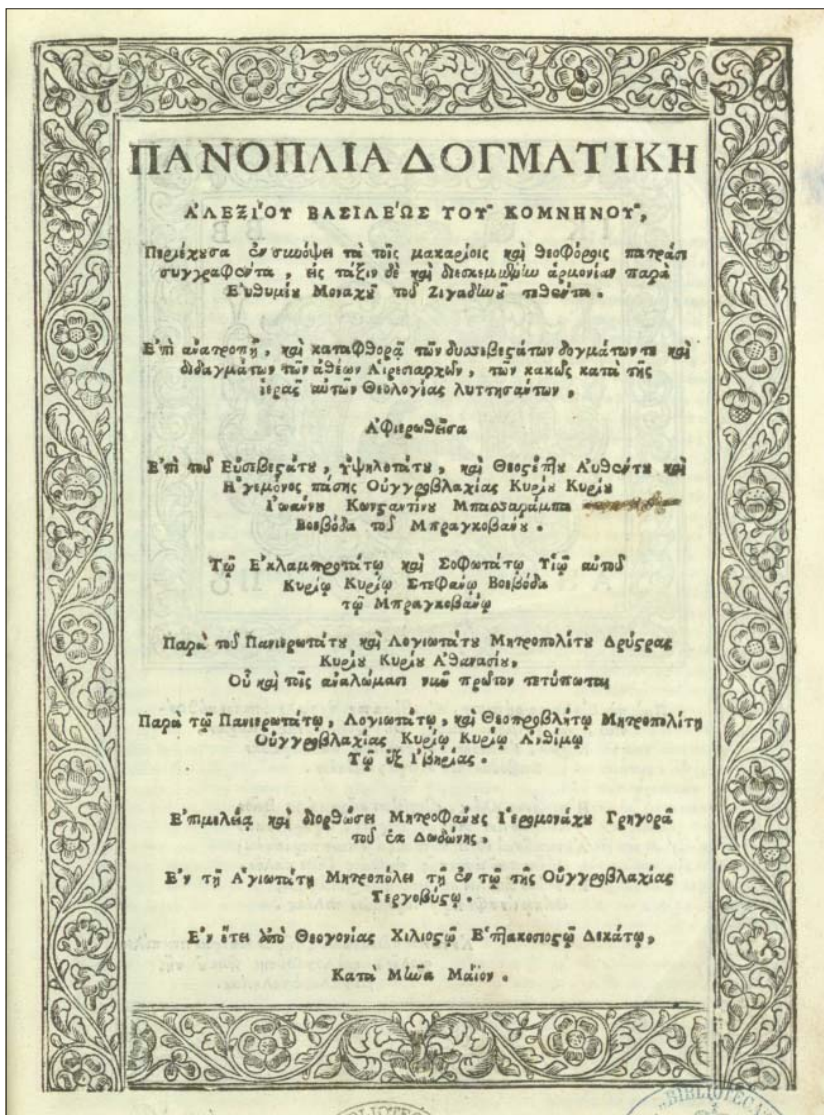
The PD was widely read throughout the Byzantine Commonwealth. Coeval sources from the seventeenth century try to persuade us that the *editio princeps* was carried out under conditions very close to those for the original PD – just as the Byzantine Emperor commissioned the PD on

the occasion of the Bogomil heresy, the rulers of the Danubian Principalities were continuing the same old war with the same old weapons. The subordinate position of the Great Church – without Byzantine Emperor – in the Ottoman Empire clearly shows how it would be rash to generalize using historical parallels, but the publication of the PD clearly shows how the methods of punishing heresy in the Byzantine Commonwealth had changed little from the twelfth century to the time of Constantin Brâncoveanu. With the exception of several well known cases involving the Bogomils, these methods rarely included the direct violence of the stake and burning, and instead involved the Ancient tradition of fighting heretics by means of anti-heretic anthologies. The PD was precisely an anthology of this kind, and if Byzantium could be accused of not being sensitive enough in pursuing heretics, it could equally be accused of being excessively persistent in this non-sensitiveness.⁵ The fact that it was possible to revive an anti-heretic anthology, after a gap of five centuries, implies that this is something more than just “in-sensitiveness”. The Byzantine way of persecuting heretics differed significantly from the way the West had persecuted, questioned and burnt heretics at around the same time the PD was compiled. This most prestigious anti-heretical book was an anthology of Patristic authors and not a Book of the Inquisitor. The question as to why Byzantium remained so neutral in terms of not chasing the “heretics” on a massive scale remains a tantalizing one, and even Berdiaev has passed on words of rapprochement.⁶

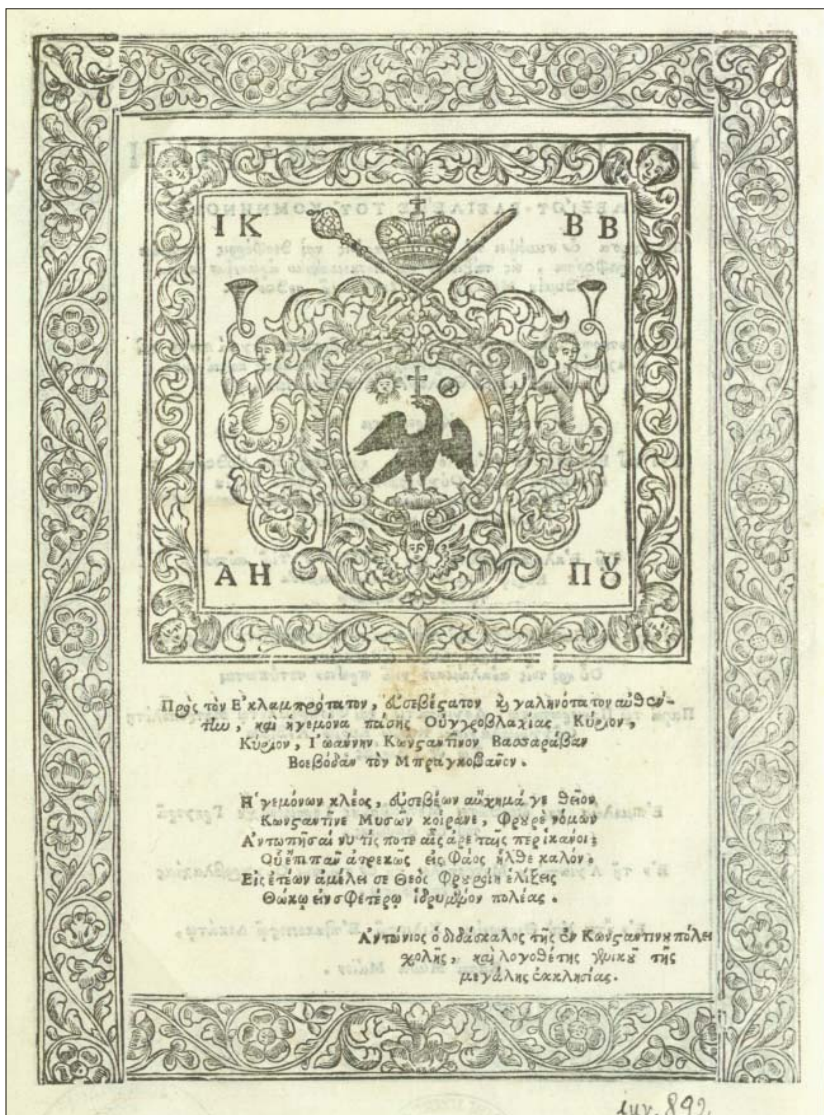
The difficulty that exists today of understanding the Byzantine way of combating heresy has also affected the PD. In modern scholarship it has not received due attention and is often passed over as a mere compilation. The only comprehensive study on the Constantinopolitan theologian who compiled the PD, Euthymius Zigabenus, was performed more than twenty years ago, and the main achievement of its author, Andreas Papavasileiou, is that he provides the reader with a useful inventory of all references to the MSS concerned with the PD.⁷ Thus, the PD is a niche, not yet entirely explored, in the otherwise developed scholarship on the two periods that are the subject of this study: the Comneni in the twelfth century and Romanian Principalities in the seventeenth century.⁸ The idea of approaching the PD from this perspective came to me when I started working with the source materials, which are available in Romania. I was confronted with the dilemma of whether to begin reading the secondary literature or jump immediately to the original sources. I chose

to begin with the original materials, many of which are available only in Romania. This article may thus not be able to provide thorough secondary literature on all the topics it touches on. In terms of the literature I used, however, I owe a special debt of gratitude to the studies of the Comneni period by Angold and Magdalino,⁹ while for the cultural development of Romania and the Byzantine theology after the fall of Constantinople I am indebted to the classic works in the field of Iorga, Runciman and Podskalsky.¹⁰

As a synthesis of the ancient tradition of anti-heretical anthologies, the PD can be best understood as part of the phenomenon characterized today as “la cultura della sylloge”.¹¹ In brief, the PD was more important than we perceive it to be today. It was a not collection of excerpts from the Church Fathers, but a source book on Patristics and a specific history of the Church and the fight against heresy. While the Synodicon of Orthodoxy – the list of heresies condemned in Constantinople after the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 – was used for the annual commemoration in church of those who had fought for the faith, the PD represented another aspect of the same sacred history on the basis of theological texts. It had a dual use as an anti-heresy book and as a book about heresy, and was therefore both an offensive weapon and defensive work of scholarly interest in equal measure. That scholarly interest in deferent heresies was also an aspect of the PD is clear from the compilation of the PD and quality of the excerpts included. In some cases, Euthymius Zigabenus, the best Constantinopolitan theologian of the day, and his team were working in the same way modern editors do with Ancient texts. They collated several manuscripts and the outcome was a sort of medieval critical edition on some of the fragments of the Patristic authors included in the PD. As far as I know, there is as yet no study to show definitively where the fragments in the PD were taken from, though they possibly came from the anthologies of St John of Damascus. We should also not forget the Conciliar anthologies, which were appended to the decisions of church councils with the famous examples of how a fragment of writing by a patristic author was read from all the manuscripts, brought by the participants, in order to ensure that the text was not a forgery.¹² Whatever the case with the PD, it clearly follows the tradition of these Conciliar anthologies in which the right dogma was combined with philological accuracy.¹³ As we shall see later, during the seventeenth century the PD was still perceived as a kind of Conciliar anthology to be read in connection with the coeval church Synods. If Byzantium fought



Title page of the *editio princeps* of *Panoplia Dogmatike*,
printed in Tiroviste, 1710
Photo: courtesy of Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest



Second page of the Tiroviște edition of *Panoplia Dogmatike* with the coat of Arms of Prince Constantine Brancoveanu and short verse, written by Antonius Byzantius and dedicated to the ruler.
 Photo: courtesy of Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest.

heresy with medieval critical editions of Patristic authors, we would be fully justified in issuing some words of disbelief or even rapprochement. The PD, however, was an authoritative anthology that coexisted with a number of other anti-heretic texts. Compared with the intolerance of the attacks, by listing the errors of the Latins or other works of a similar character the PD remained among the most refined and high brow instruments of the fight against heresy, rarely attacking heretics, except where grounded on a dogmatic refutation.¹⁴ However, the anthology did still contain some hostile overtones, and it was not by chance that they were directed at the enemies of Orthodoxy during the twelfth century, i.e. Jews, Muslims, Bogomils, Paulitains and the Monophysite Armenians. The refutation of the Latins, however, was a more complicated case. Several years earlier, Emperor Alexius had greeted the leaders of the First Crusade in Constantinople. Moreover, the same theologians who participated in the PD project were also holding talks in Constantinople with the Grossolano and the representatives of Rome.¹⁵ Relations between East and West at the time were by no means straightforward and the militant tone of the PD suggests that the anthology was created by the most uncompromising circles in Byzantium.¹⁶ In the course of time, however, the belligerent tone of the anthology was mitigated. Compared with other books of the eighteenth century in Romania it represents the balanced voice of the ancient tradition. And if at the time of Alexius I it was pious and important to support this anti-heretical anthology, the same was equally true of a Romanian ruler in the eighteenth century, though other books were used on the frontline in the battle against heresy.

References to the PD

During the seventeenth century, the printing presses in Wallachia and Moldova were responsible for a small array of books directed against the Catholic and Calvinist propaganda in South-Eastern Europe.¹⁷ The leading position of the Romanian Principalities was due to the fact that they preserved their autonomy from the Ottoman Empire and became important centers of Orthodox culture. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem visited the Romanian Principalities frequently¹⁸ – the Patriarchs Theophanos (1608-1644), Paisios (1645-1660), Nectarios (1661-1669) and later Chrysantus (1707-1731). But of all the hierarchs, the Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos (1669-1707) “loved Moldavia the most”, as Oikonomides puts

it.¹⁹ As the undisputed leader of Orthodoxy at the time, Dositheos made Wallachia and Moldavia the headquarters of his activities, and the printing presses, which the Patriarch supported, produced around eleven books of a polemical nature directed against the new “enemies of Orthodoxy”.²⁰ These editions remain as monuments to early printing in Romania and already paved the way for the future edition of the PD. In fact, the influence of the PD can be found in several of the editions, although the most important references to the PD are found in a book printed in Bucharest two decades before the edition of the PD itself. This is the book written against Lucaris and Calvin and published by Patriarch Dositheos in 1690.²¹ It is not too far fetched to suggest that this book might provide a clue as to who it was that actually inspired the edition of the PD and why it was printed in Târgoviște, with the support of the ruling dynasty of Brâncoveanu. Moreover, in the prologue the book is described as a second *Panoplia* “against the heresies of the present century”.²²

The volume contains two texts by Meletius Syrigos and Patriarch Dositheos himself. At different times, both of these men played a leading role in the Orthodox answer to the advancement of the Calvinist propaganda in South-Eastern Europe. The first text in the volume was written by Syrigos in connection with the Council of Jassy (1642). Patriarch Dositheos authored the second text in connection with the Council of Jerusalem (1672). The fact that both authors mention the PD and Zigabenus indirectly places the anthology in the theological and symbolic setting of two of the Orthodox Synods that marked seventeenth century. By the same token, their accounts contribute to an understanding of the key elements of the PD: the imperial initiative behind the book, the refutation based on a chronological principle, the tendency to ascribe the characteristics of older heresies to new ones, and details of the production of similar works, especially anthologies.

Reference by Patriarch Dositheos II in connection with the Synod of Jerusalem, 1672

In 1672 the restless Patriarch Dositheos convened the council of Jerusalem and ostentatiously related the event to the renovation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, which had recently been taken from the Catholics. This Synod is considered a major event in the ecclesiastic history and theology of the seventeenth century and the seventy-one bishops

and clerics present condemned the Confession of Lucaris (1629), which professed most of the major Calvinist doctrines. They accepted the Confession written by Dositheos, who then prepared the text for the 1690 edition. The prologues to this edition also come from the hand of Dositheos, who presents the rulers of Wallachia and Moldova as the direct heirs to the Byzantine tradition in the fight against heresy. The role of the “Champions of Orthodoxy” is yet another example of the way in which the rulers promoted themselves as the direct heirs to the Byzantine Emperors.²³ This account is important to the understanding of the role of the Byzantine Emperor, the role of the ruler in the Principalities in the fight against heresy, and in particular, the commissioning of anti-heretic books and the PD itself. What does the Patriarch write in the volume’s solemn dedication to Constantin Brâncoveanu, the ruler of Wallachia, about the responsibilities of the Orthodox ruler?

But since it is not possible for the evil things to be destroyed, for it is always necessary to have something to set against the good, in ancient times pseudo-prophets appeared among the people. Pseudo-teachers rushed into the church and introduced pernicious heresies denying that the Lord bought their freedom, and many followed their perdition. And through them the way of truth was blasphemed by many people. God, however, is the avenger of justice and truth. Two weapons of justice He provided for the dissolution of the haughtiness of the heretics: on the one hand the teachers of the church, in order to eradicate (send to hell) the error with Holy Synods and with writings of their own; on the other, the Orthodox rulers, in order to secure them with endurance. Whence, the pious emperors because of this very reason convoked the Holy Synods in order to decide on the arising controversies, and they gave validity to the decisions with imperial rescripts, with edicts, with epistles, with orders and with other kinds of endeavor. In our times, the Blessed Basile Voevod exposed and put to shame the mixture of heresies, I say, the ungodliness of Calvin, when he convoked the Synod in Jassy and when he ordered the blessed Meletius Syrigos to write the present book for their [the Calvinists] final annihilation. Even though in the church the need was felt for this edition, it happens now due to reasons of necessity it remained as a deed for Your Highness to bring it to light, making it go to print, and to be a its supporter, by giving it as a present to the whole Church.²⁴

The parallel to Alexius I Comenus, who commissioned his theologian Zigabenus to compile the PD as a final refutation of the Bogomil heresy, might appear plausible and yet far fetched had Dositheos not continued

his address. Further on he claims that the anti-heresy position of Constantin Brâncoveanu was a logical continuation of the deeds of his noble ancestors from his mother's side, the imperial families of Comneni and Cantacuzeni.²⁵ He mentions five rulers as predecessors to the ruler: John II, Manuel I, John Cantacuzene, Matheus Cantacuzene. None other than Emperor Alexius I is then introduced as a founding father of the dynasty and a forerunner of Constantin Brâncoveanu and is said to have fought outstandingly (δυσφόρος) for the faith. His activities pertaining to Orthodoxy and the fight against heresy are highlighted. And immediately after the well-known episode of the burning of Basile the Bogomil at the hippodrome in Constantinople, a word of praise is offered to the PD. Alexius "ordered Euthymius Zigabenus and participated in the compiling against each heresy of the PD [Dogmatic Armory], the most beautiful book which is to exist in the Church".²⁶ Patriarch Dositheos goes on to fashion the subsequent rulers from which Brâncoveanu claims to share bloodlines and also places emphasis on their religious policy.

All this serves to prove that the parallel between Comneni and the Voivods of the Danubian Principalities does not exist by chance and it was still important for the seventeenth century ruler to be invested with the traditional image of the Champion of Orthodoxy – so much so that Dositheos invents the troublesome connection between the Comneni Dynasty from the twelfth century, the Moldavian ruler Vasile Lupu²⁷ (1634-1653), who organized the Synod in Jassy, and the family of Constantin Brâncoveanu, who supported the *Against Calvin* edition. A quick look at history shows that Lupu was in fact the ruler of Moldavia who waged war against neighboring Wallachia, which was equally strong at that time under the rule of Matei Basarab (1632-1654).

Leaving aside this discrepancy, Patriarch Dositheos repeats one statement twice in the text, and not by chance, namely that those imperial predecessors of Brâncoveanu are commemorated in the Synodicon of Orthodoxy, because they acted not only with political but also with ecclesiastic power (αὐτοκράτορες, βασιλεῖς - ἀρχιερεῖς) following Constantine the Great.²⁸ Naturally, Dositheos was implying that Constantin Brâncoveanu might be honored in a similar way by posterity. The Patriarch's wishes were not fulfilled and Brâncoveanu was killed in Constantinople, in 1714, together with his four sons. Nonetheless, this account may help us understand better the role played by the Emperor in the commissioning of the PD and the change that occurred in terms of the new position of the Great Church during Ottoman rule.

The Church during the Comneni is blamed for becoming more dependent on the will of the Emperors, who provided strong ecclesiastic organization but deprived it of spiritual leadership. The PD would not have existed today had Alexius I not requested it from his court theologians.²⁹ This statement is perfectly correct. However, the interference of the Emperor did not undermine in any way the authority of the PD, but rather added much dignity and prestige. In the eyes of posterity, the anthology was seen as one of the different far-sighted initiatives of the Comneni. This supports the view of Michael Angold that the strong ecclesiastic establishment of Comneni was crucial for the very survival of Orthodoxy after the fall of the Empire. When the Great Church had to face the new responsibilities as a representative of all Orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire, the strong and centered organization created by the Comneni was ready to take on the new challenge. The PD fits precisely into this context. It was one of those imperial initiatives of the Comneni that became the embodiment of the tradition of the Oecumene and gave Alexius I his name as a Champion of Orthodoxy. The popularity of the PD in the following centuries is sign that Alexius had done nothing wrong when he urged the Constantinopolitan theologians to compile the book.³⁰ The effects of this far sighted policy of the Comneni were still visible in the seventeenth century, when it remained a matter of importance to follow the Comnenian example – so much so that the image of Vasile Lupu and “his” theologian, Meletius Syrigos, is fashioned after the model of Alexius I Comnenus and his theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus. But this time the balance was changed and, despite the assertions of Dositheos, the story reversed – the initiative behind the PD came not from the ruler but from ecclesiastic circles.

Patriarch Dositheos is equally gifted as theologian and historian. He is also famous for his passionate defense of Orthodoxy. Thus, we might ask how far his testimony is of importance as evidence for the PD or whether it was just an image created by the zealous Patriarch who flattered Constantin Brâncoveanu while pursuing his own agenda.

As proof that this is not the case we find other references that portray Basile Lupu as a Byzantine emperor and confirm that he was indeed presented as a defender of Orthodoxy, just like Alexius I Comnenus. These references were collected by Iorga who concluded that Lupu “had reached and even superseded the Byzantine Emperors”.³¹ Among the most telling examples is the letter from the representatives of the Synod of Jassy to Vasile Lupu in which the ruler is called “defender of the

Church and true destroyer of heresies".³² Undoubtedly, Vasile Lupu must have spotted his chance in the Synod of Jassy to act as a Defender of Orthodoxy. Patriarch Dositheos does not fail to interpret the events in precisely this light and to make the commissioning of anti-heretical books one of the duties of the Orthodox ruler, whether Alexius I, Vasile Lupu, George Dukas or Constantin Brâncoveanu.

Reference by Meletius Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy, 1642

Naturally, the activities of Cyril Lucaris aroused spirits much earlier in the course of the seventeenth century. The aim of the Synod in Jassy convoked by Vasile Lupu in 1642 was to condemn the *Confessio* of Lucaris and to elaborate a unanimous position of the Orthodox Church against the advancing propaganda of Protestantism. The next reference to the PD comes in relation to this Synod and from the book which Patriarch Dositheos had described as a kind of new *Panoplia*, which was given as a commission by the Moldavian ruler to his theologian, Meletius Syrigos. Meletios³³ was a religious adviser to Vasile Lupu and perhaps the most educated opponent of Cyril Lucaris. As representative of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, he took the leading role in the Synod of Jassy and translated the famous Confession by Mogila³⁴ from Latin into Greek. The refutation of Meletius against Lucaris was the first part in the Bucharest volume of 1690. Syrigos was among the most educated men of his time and it thus comes as no surprise that he knows and quotes the PD. What is surprising, however, is the way in which he chooses to quote it.

This reference comes in connection to the IZ chapter of Cyril, "in which is rejected the actual presence of the Lord and the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of the Lord". This, in fact, is the problem of the transubstantiation, which formed a major theme in the disputes between the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.³⁵ Syrigos provides a total refutation of Lucaris' *Confessio*, with several counter arguments, Biblical quotations and argumentation from the Patristic authorities in which he shows his thorough knowledge of the Patristic legacy authors. The testimonies of the Church Fathers proceed in generations, and each generation is measured as a hundred years. Thus, in the first generation we have Ignatios of Antioch and Dionysius

the Areopagite. In the twelfth generation, that is to say the twelfth century, comes Zigabenus together with Salomonas of Gaza. The account finishes with the fifteenth generation, presented by Meletius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Maxime Margounius, and Gabriel of Philadelphia.

Before coming to the quotation from Zigabenus and the PD, another detail deserves our attention. In this chapter of refutation, Meletius (un)consciously falls into the pattern of composition on which the PD and other anti-heretical books were based. This illustrates the depths of the tradition in the fight against heresy in which there is a panoply of authors arranged chronologically. But among the continuity, discontinuity is also visible. The authors are paraphrased and not quoted. As far as I am aware, it still goes unnoticed that in the original PD the order of excerpts from patristic authors in each chapter roughly corresponds to the solemn illustrations of Cod Vat Gr 666, the MS which might be the signature from the twelfth century. The Church fathers in this MS are waiting to give their works to the Emperor, arranged chronologically in terms of the period in which they lived, and the same logic is behind most of the chapters of Zigabenus. Thus, when, for example, excerpts from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite are used as a refutation in a given chapter, these excerpts are always the ones to open the entry, just as the Areopagite will be the first to give his scroll to the Emperor in Vat. Gr. 666. In similar vein, Syrigos gives precedence to authors believed to have lived in the Apostolic times and, of course, the Areopagite is at the forefront.

After this necessary *transgressio*, we can return to the account by Meletius Sirigos of Zigabenus. What follows is a translation of the entire entry on the PD, albeit the first part is not of general interest at this moment. Syrigos starts with a quotation from the *Commentary to the Gospel*,³⁶ another work also written by the court theologian to Alexius I.

During these times there flourished a certain Zigabenus, a most educated man, who says such words in his commentary on Mathew, in the KS chapter. He didn't say these are [semadia] symbols of my body and my blood, but these are my body and blood. And a little further [in the text]. Just as He deified the flesh, which He took on (if it is right to say "deified" because He didn't make divine the flesh according to nature) the other things pertaining to his life-giving body are also beyond words. And also in the *Panoplia*, in the KA chapter, he [Zigabenus] demonstrates extensively from the church fathers, who are Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus, the transformation [transubstantiation] of the bread and the

wine into the body and the blood of Christ. Because at that time in parts of Greece and the East there began to be heard the heresy of Berengar. This heresy had its beginning in Italy from the 1050 [AD]. Somehow, it grew also branches to those who inherited it and brought even to our lifetime the odor of death. And its ungodly and most defiled tongue then said that the body of Christ is not present in the Eucharist in the way in which the thing signified is out of the thing which is signifying and the depicted living man is in the dead image of him so that it is never possible to be the true body of God in the Eucharist, but the bread and wine remain again in their own nature. This late opinion – that to be about the bread and the body of Christ – was inherited by those named after Luther and they made this teaching their own, maintaining it until today. Because of this the fathers who were living at that time refuted it with most clear arguments, when they wanted to make manifest the mystery. And in a similar way the next generations to refute the impious opinions and words of those heretics.³⁷

At first sight this account adds one more heresy coeval with the compilation of the PD. It could form part of my future research, though some caution must be exercised given the anti-Calvinist bias of the author. A clue that a part of the PD might be related to the teaching of Berengar would offer the unique possibility to suggest that the PD refutes a movement which was a problem for the Western Church at the time the PD was compiled in Byzantium.³⁸ Taking into account the unstable relations between Byzantium and the West under Alexius I shortly after the First Crusade, the “Berengar clue” is very tempting because it implies another position of Constantinople and Rome, one much more flexible and ambiguous than is perceived nowadays. In order to prove or discard this theory, however, the early manuscripts of the PD must be examined. As we shall see later, the chapter Syrigos quotes is a problematic place in the PD *Corpus*. But whatever the case with the movement of Berengar, Syrigos’ account already anticipates a future edition of the PD. It provides one of the reasons to publish this anthology: the Orthodox theologians in the seventeenth century saw in it a refutation of Berengar, whom they considered a forerunner of Luther and Calvin. It should be noted that Berengar was often mentioned by Syrigos and by the theologians of the time.³⁹ As we shall see from the next reference, the PD became attractive not only because of the Berengar chapter, but also because of the parts against the Iconoclasts and the dualist heretics from the twelfth century, who were also considered forerunners of Calvinism.

Indirect reference in connection with the Synod of Jerusalem, 1692

The Synod of 1692 was again convoked by Dositheos in order to condemn his personal enemy, Caryophyllis.⁴⁰ Leaving aside the personal enmities, the Synod was provoked once again by the heritage of Cyril Lucaris and his controversial connection to the Calvinists. Caryophyllis, a disciple of Corydalleos and, therefore, an adherent of Lucaris, had to confront once more the powerful reaction Lucaris' ideas were continuing to cause in the Orthodox Church at the time. During all stages of this bitter confrontation, Patriarch Dositheos exploits the traditional patterns against heretics employed by the Orthodox Church. On the Sunday of Orthodoxy in 1692, the Patriarch publicly tore apart the condemned book by Caryophyllis. Later on, Dositheos wrote a treatise against Caryophyllis in which he presented his enemy as having the typical features of a heretic. This book came out just two years after the death of Caryophyllis, who died in Wallachia after having taken asylum at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu. The next reference to the PD, albeit indirectly, comes from this refutation of Caryophyllis published in Jassy in 1694.⁴¹

In the prologue Dositheos notes that every heretic is a hypocrite and presents his adversary Caryophyllis in terms reminiscent of the behavior of a Bogomil adherent pretending to be Orthodox in order to escape further prosecution. The scene in which Caryophyllis is officially questioned over his Orthodoxy resembles the much quoted episode in which Emperor Alexius outwitted Basile the Bogomil, exposed him as a hypocrite heretic and, in connection with the trial, commissioned the *Panoplia*. Patriarch Dositheos, a theologian and historian of equal merit, is apparently alluding to this famous episode, though he doesn't mention it directly. The Patriarch is quick to conclude that Caryophyllis "was caught that he is from the heresy of Berengar and Calvin and the madness of the Manichees..." To a question why he doesn't believe in the teaching and the glory (doxa) of the church, Caryophyllis "anathemises those who are not inscribed in the teaching of the Church". Dositheos notes, somewhat ironically, that Caryophyllis thought that the Catholic church had the same teaching "as Symeon Vasilides, the Gnostics, Marcion, Ebion, the Manichees, the Messalians, the Bogomils, the Iconoclast Synod in Blachernae, set up during the rule of Copronymos, Berengar, Calvin, Luther, Lucaris, Corydalleos, and the teaching of his own and these companions".⁴²

Some of the ancient heresies mentioned are present in the anthology of Zigabenus and reading this text might explain why the PD has been so popular over the centuries, even if it refuted only those heresies known up until the twelfth century. At work in this case is the ancient practice of ascribing to new religious movements what was already known of older heresies. This also shows that the separation of the chapters in the anthology was not always considered as important as the diffusion between them, because some of the heresies were considered to have common views.⁴³ In the example quoted it is not the distinction but the common features of the different heresies that provide the continuity that makes it possible to connect the heretic movements of the early Christian period with Berengar and the teachings of Lucaris.

Old chapters against new enemies

The expression "*migma pasis kakias*" – mixture of every evil – could be applied to almost every heresy. The same expression is repeated in connection with the Bogomils by Symeon of Thessaloniki,⁴⁴ whose treatise *Against Heresies* was published for first time in Romania in 1683 by the renowned intellectual of the time John Comnenus Molivdos. The whole structure of this treatise is based on the PD, or a later re-working of the PD, and, according to Symeon the Bogomils, was a modified off-shoot of the Iconoclasts. From what we know, it appears that the Manicheans, Paulistians, Messalians, Bogomils, and even the Iconoclasts were conceived in the seventeenth century as forerunners of the Protestants, and therefore these chapters could be used effectively against them, and this was a strong reason behind the decision to publish the PD. The strongest argument was voiced by Meletius Syrigos, who pointed out that in a separate chapter the PD refutes Berengar, who was considered a forerunner of the Protestants.

Even if the Calvinist activities and the legacy of Cyril Lucaris were the strongest reasons for the publication of the PD, the chapter against the Latins was also seen as a welcome text in the seventeenth century given the danger of Unia in Transylvania. Potentially, some other chapters could also be used against "enemies" of Orthodoxy and this question touches on the attitude shown to the "others" in the Romanian Principalities. The entry "Against the Armenians" might have been read against the Armenians of the time. At least, this is suggested by the MS

604(262) from Library of the Romanian Academy, which is an anti-heretical miscellany against the Armenians and Latins dating from the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ The provenance of this MS might be connected with Moldova, where in 1551 there was an act of persecution against the Armenians that was never repeated. During the following century, in the years 1683-85, Armenians emigrated from Moldova to Transylvania because of war and not persecution. From approximately the same period comes data about the Paulitians in the Romanian Principalities. During the Middle Ages these Paulitians were settled by the Byzantine Emperors in the region near the modern town of Plovdiv (Bulgaria). Over the course of time some converted to Catholicism or Islam⁴⁶ and took part in a revolt against the Ottoman Empire, as a result of which they emigrated to the Romanian Principalities. Although plausible, I am yet to find any direct testimony proving that the chapters against the Paulitians and the Armenians in the PD were read against these groups. Naturally, the question of the chapter against the Jews also deserves attention, given that in 1715, five years after the publication of the PD, there appears perhaps the first data about a pogrom against the Jews in which their Synagogue was destroyed in Bucharest.

The popularity of the PD during the seventeenth century shows the practice of the fight against new religious movements in their relation to heresies of the past in full swing. Scholars face enormous difficulties in distinguishing the peculiarities of each movement in this practice, but then this is exactly what made books like the PD classics in the fight against heresy. Three of the accounts on the PD come from Patriarch Dositheos and books he printed in the Romanian Principalities. The sources of that period probably contain more references to the PD, and not only in Greek, as yet undiscovered by me. However, the testimonies of Dositheos anticipate the Greek Târgoviște edition of 1710, and the story of the people who published this volume suggests that the restless Patriarch not only gave inspiration to the enterprise through his activities but also had some direct involvement in this edition, which was published three years after his death. If this can be proved then the words of the Patriarch quoted here would have the weight of a first hand account of the reason to publish the PD and would connect it directly with the Calvinist and Catholic propaganda in South-Eastern Europe.

The Târgoviște Edition of 1710

The title of the printed PD mentions as patrons of the edition Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, his son Stefan and two Metropolitans, Antim the Metropolitan of Hunro-Wallachia and Athanasius of Silistra. The short coeval verses of dedication are followed by the address of Athanasius of Silistra to the ruler of Wallachia Constantin Brâncoveanu. Then, as in a dyptich, come the opening pages of the PD from the twelfth century with the original dedicatory verses and the address to the Emperor Alexius Comnenus.⁴⁷ The clue for the possible connection of this edition of the PD with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem comes from the life and activities of the man directly responsible for the quality of the published text: the hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone.

The immediacy of the accounts on Metrophanes Gregoras show a somewhat unexpected picture of this monk, who was born in Northern Greece and led a life characterized by travel, adventure and even a miracle. He must have been a notable character among the men of letters at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu, where he spent the last period of his life and edited seven books of superb quality. Contrary to all expectations, Metrophanes enjoyed the wine, the play of table and was heavily addicted to cigarettes. At least this is the picture provided by Nicolae Mavrocordat, who knew Metrophanes personally and even wrote a treatise "Against Tobacco", which Metrophanes answered with a parallel work entitled "Speech for Tobacco". (Mavrocordat replied in turn with a further treatise against the tobacco.)

Despite being a heavy smoker, Metrophanes reached the Patriarchal age of hundred and four years and was mentioned in several accounts of his contemporaries. In treating these accounts, however, a certain amount of caution must be exercised because there were at least two other Metrophanes at this time in the Romanian Principalities: Metrophanes the bishop of Buzău, who was also a well known editor, and Metrophanes of Nyssa, the confessor of Brâncoveanu who became the Metropolitan of Hunro-Wallachia after the death of his predecessor, Antim of Iviron.⁴⁸

Demetrius Procopius gives the following brief description, which fits entirely with what we might expect from the editor of a monumental book like the PD: "Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone: skilled in the Greek language, educated in secular learning as well as in our sacred education, poet and hierokeryx; reads and studies the sacred Scriptures and the holy writings of the Church Fathers".⁴⁹ A first hand testimony is given by

Daponte, who recalls a meeting with Metrophanes, who by then was already laden with years:

At the age of twenty eight or twenty nine, I went to Bucharest in the month of June, 1730, at the time Mihail Racoviță Bogdan was a ruler, ten months after the great zorbaliki(?), which deposed Sultan Ahmed and imposed Sultan Mahmud; I got to know Metrophanes, and when talking with him he told me that he was one hundred and four years old, and not a long time afterwards he passed away.⁵⁰

In his account Daponte also provides a list of the services to Saints, written by Metrophanes, several verses (including one on the dangerous charms of love), and a letter to Nicolae Mavrocordat in which Metrophanes explains how due to sickness he is unable to write verses for a book by Nicolae.

He not only had a long but also an adventurous life, even including a miracle that took place on the eve of St. Demetrius' Feast in 1687.⁵¹ In a first hand narrative Metrophanes describes how the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jacob, (presumably during his third term as Patriarch, i.e. 1687-1688) sent him on a mission to Macedonia together with some younger companions during a turbulent time of power struggles in Constantinople. Suddenly awakened at midnight, Metrophanes and his companions were dragged to a prison and accused of being Austrian spies intending to betray the region to the Austrians. When the local judge saw the patriarchal seal, he refused to pass any judgment citing insufficient evidence. The accusers rushed to the neighboring villages and gathered around fourteen people ready to give false testimony. Thus, in less than twenty four hours, Metrophanes found himself condemned to death. During what he presumed to be the last night of his life, the future editor of the PD recalls how he fell to his knees with "hot prayers and tears", when suddenly, around midnight; St. Demetrius appeared to him in his cell riding a red horse and said that God has given life to Metrophanes. Of course, a happy ending was to follow soon afterwards: a man arrived, unlocked the cell door, provided a horse, and Metrophanes and his young companions were saved during the night before the Feast of St. Demetrius. As a token of gratitude Metrophanes later wrote a service to St. Demetrius. The story is made up of common motives and shows another facet of the reality in which the people of the time most likely lived. Metrophanes appears to be describing his vision of St. Demetrius,

as he had probably seen him on an icon, riding a red horse. The allegation that he was a spy for Austria can be explained in terms of the 1682-1699 war between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, which involved the second siege of Vienna in 1683 and the final peace of Sremski Karlovci (Karlovitz, Karlóca) in 1699. In the year in question (1687) the Ottomans had lost Eger and the second battle of Mohacs to Austria. The internal problems of the Empire mentioned in the account fit well with the chronology, because this year saw sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687) deposed and the coming to power of Süleyman II (1687-1691). However, the question as to what kind of mission Patriarch Jacob sent Metrophanes on to Macedonia remains something of an enigma. The connection between the monk and the Patriarch might also be revealing because the list of patriarchs of Constantinople shows how Jacob exchanged the position of Patriarch three times with Dionysius IV and how apparently there was a certain division in Constantinople in which Metrophanes may also have been involved.⁵²

The important historical events of the time had their repercussions for the life of Metrophanes, and the abundant material, which also includes some interesting letters, allows us to write a micro-history of life in the Ottoman Empire as presented by this educated Greek monk. However, such a task can not be attempted here, with the exception of a few significant details. As a man of letters, Metrophanes possessed a library, and two MSS bear his name as owner.⁵³ One of these MSS preserves his *ex libris* – appended to a text by Corydalleos – together with a historical note from the years in which Köprülü Grand Vezir Mustafa (son of Mehmed) (1689-1691) was in power.

Living in Wallachia, Metrophanes witnessed the tumultuous years which followed the killing of Constantin Brâncoveanu and his four sons by the janissaries in Constantinople. He wrote a short chronicle describing the downfall of Brâncoveanu, the rule of Stephan Cantacuzene (1714-1715), followed by the accession of the first Phanariote ruler of Wallachia Nicolae Mavrocordat (1715-1716).⁵⁴ The chronicle is dedicated to the next ruler, John Mavrocordat (1716-1719).

Above all, however, Metrophanes is best known as an editor. In the period 1705-1715 (or 1721) he edited seven books in Wallachia, all in Greek and differing in content, but all of an ecclesiastical nature and of outstanding quality, and in most cases containing his own verses of dedication. As editor Metrophanes was part of the printing team of Antim of Iviron, the greatest name in book printing at the time and who made

contributions reaching far beyond the confines of the Romanian Principalities. Undoubtedly, Metrophanes knew Antim personally, even writing a service to St. Antim on his request. Antim quickly advanced in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and, not wishing to abandon book printing, moved his printing activities to the places of his new appointments. Following Antim, Metrophanes worked as editor in Bucharest, Râmnic and Târgoviște. A close examination of the books edited by Metrophanes reflects the change in climate around 1710 after the appointment of Antim as Metropolitan of Hungro-Wallachia. The new Metropolitan entered into conflict with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysantos Notaras, over the possession of the monasteries in the Principalities under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Metrophanes sided with Chrysantos and edited his last two books under the patronage of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. A review of the books edited by Metrophanes might help us understand more about the PD and its context.⁵⁵

These books will be presented here together with some short notes on the historical background and connection, if any, to the PD. A certain amount of caution must be exercised, however, because such a detailed approach could result in an erroneous view of Metrophanes and exaggerate his role in the Romanian Principalities. In order to be honest, we need to underline that he, a man who was highly professional and precise in his work, was one of the most educated men involved in book printing at the time. His task was described as *epimeleia kai diorthosei* – “care and correction” – which implies that he was responsible both for the technical merit and the quality of the editions.

The Service to Saint Vessarion, Bucharest, 1705

The first book of hieromonk Metrophanes Gregoras of Dodone appeared on 2 April 1705, when the *Service to Saint Vessarion*⁵⁶ was published in Bucharest. St. Vessarion, the bishop of Larissa (c. 1490-1540), was a very important saint because of his miracles against the plague.⁵⁷ I was not by chance that the book has undergone several reprints. At first glance, a service to a saint should not be connected in any way with the belligerent spirit of an anti-heretical anthology such as the PD. Nonetheless, the common editor of the volumes is not the only connection between the books. It suffices to read the epigram on page 26 dedicated to St. Vessarion,

which has the telling title “by Metrophanes against the sacrilegious papists” and probably refers to a case of *furta sacra* – “theft of pieces from the relics of the Saint” .⁵⁸

Tomos Haras, Râmnic, 1705

In the same year, some six months later, there appeared the next editorial work from Mithrophanes from the printing press in Râmnic, where Antim was a bishop at the time. This was the famous *Tomos Haras*,⁵⁹ which, despite the ironic name, was an answer to the Act of Union with the Catholic Church by a portion of Romanian Orthodox clergy in Transylvania in 1700.⁶⁰ Naturally, the tone of this volume is belligerent, and this, in fact, is one of the famous editions by Patriarch Dositheos, who also wrote a detailed prologue on the relations between East and West during Photius (α verso-ιγ recto) and yet another commentary on the Synod of Photius, which were inserted in the main body of the book (103-134).⁶¹ This second commentary is a fragment of perhaps the most famous work of Dositheos, *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*,⁶² a history of the Church from the early days of Christianity up to the personal experience of Dositheos as the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Metrophanes was also the editor of this famous book. That a fragment of the *History* was published in *Tomos Haras* suggests that in 1705 Metrophanes had already received the manuscript of this important book, which he published some ten years later. *Tomos Haras* itself had attracted much attention, but here it also provides a probable direct connection between the leader of the Orthodox Dositheos and Metrophanes.

Being responsible for the publication of *Tomos Haras*, Metrophanes didn't miss the opportunity to make his own humble contribution to the spiritual fight of the Orthodox through two short epigrams addressed to Constantin Brâncoveanu and Patriarch Dositheos. He finishes the address to Constantin Brâncoveanu with a comparison between the fight against heresy and the Lernean Hydra, the nine-headed monster killed by Heracles. Given that it is not possible to treat in detail all the dedicatory verses by Metrophanes, this epigram will be used as an illustration of this side of his editorial work. The epigram was placed under the coat of arms of Constantin Brâncoveanu and read as follows:

If you truly urge me to sing of the man, ruler and father,
Give me another leader similar to him
And I will extol for you that ruler
If you are not able to do so. But my spirit leads me
To turn to this very outstanding sovereign with praises.
Rejoice love with the leader of the sacred people
Pride of the cities in Hungro-Wallachia, the bravest of all
You most sweet son of the famous wisdom
Constantine the Greatest Most Serene Basarab
May you have life for many circles of the sun
Because you didn't kill the Hydra of Heracles
But adorned your fatherland with printing
Destroying the heresy of the blasphemous pope-idolaters
Brâncoveanu, Basarab, glory of the pious.

The English translation does not fully render the mixture of rare and ancient words with the clichés in the writing of Metrophanes. The metaphor of the Hydra seems to be *locus communis* and the Wallachian Prince Radu Brâncoveanu also employs it in eulogy to Dositheos.⁶³ To the classical imagery one might add the comparison of Meletius Syrigos in the above mentioned *Against Calvin*, in which the man who is able to tackle all the heresies is expected to have the sharp eye of none other than Lynceus, the hero who helped the Agronauts in their search for the Golden Fleece.⁶⁴ References to mythology and rhetoric are yet another aspect in the fight against the heretics. Leaving aside any parallels reaching back to Byzantium, it suffices here to understand the odd comparison, which was employed for the PD in 1710. In the prologue, written in heavy and artificial Greek, Athanasius of Silistra compares the dogmatic *Panoply* of Alexius with the shield of Achilles, as described in *Iliad*.⁶⁵ This comparison is not successful simply because Athanasius is not precise when saying that Achilles received only a shield while Alexius is equipped with a whole armory. However, this parallel might also be revealing, because it comes back to the ever-present pattern which made princess Anna Comnena give the historical account of her father the title *Alexiad*, in a clear reference to the *Iliad*.

Biblos with all the services of the Church 1709, Târgoviște

This is an essential edition with the *Liturgies and Services*⁶⁶ to be read in the Church throughout the ecclesiastic year. It was initiated by Antim of Iviron, who also wrote the prologue to the book. Metrophanes left a colophon in the main body of the edition where some blank space was left at the end of the Pentecostarion. This colophon had not been noticed as yet. It is an example of the fluctuation in the shift from manuscripts to printed text, since we have an editor who has left a printed note fashioned in a similar way a scribe would write at the end of a manuscript:

Metrophanes Presbyter Grygoras from Dodone,
End, Glory to the God in Trinity,
Who gave strength to my humble mind,
Both to think right and to correct
The divine books of the Orthodox
Whoever of the leaders or the whole clergy
Delighting in the lois of these books
All of you, forgive me, if something in the books
Looks worse than the word good and divine

Willful servant of your love, the most humble among presbyters,
Metrophanes of Dodone.⁶⁷

Service of Saint Catherine, Târoviște, 1710

Published several months before the PD, this edition of the *Service to St. Catherine*⁶⁸ again shows that Metrophanes had certain affiliations with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The tradition of close relations between the Romanian Principalities and the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai began in the sixteenth century and was strictly respected, especially by the Wallachian princes. On the other hand, Dositheos, as Patriarch of Jerusalem, was also in close contact with Sinai. Thus, this small and very elegant book had a strong reason to be published exactly at that time and place. As supporters of the edition we can mention only the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu and the Metropolitane Antim. The book again contains verses of dedication by Metrophanes, to the Voievod, the Metropolitane and St. Catherine.

Panoplia Dogmatike, Târoviște, May, 1710

Seen in the context of the other books by Metrophanes, it becomes apparent that the PD was the last edition made in close collaboration with Antim of Ivron. The summer of the same year saw the start of the conflict with Antim and the next Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos Notaras, who was also a nephew of Dositheos. Metrophanes, who already had some affiliation to Jerusalem, took the side of Chrysanthos and from this moment onwards edited only books commissioned by Chrysanthos. The PD came out some months before the escalation of the conflict. Given the fact that for five years Metrophanes had edited one of the important books of Dositheos, it is plausible that the PD was also connected in some way to Jerusalem.

Syntagmation, Bucharest, 1715

This time the supporter of the edition⁶⁹ was the next Patriarch of Jerusalem, Chrysanthos. Metrophanes dedicated some verses of dedication to him and the new ruler of Wallachia, Stephan Cantacuzene (1714-1715). It is worth noting that this book contains Cyrillic script for the Slavic names used, and the Cyrillic script is also present in the last book, which has its lengthy title rendered also in Slavic in parallel with the Greek.

History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, or Dodekabyblos, 1715-1722

This history, known by the short title *Dodekabyblos*, is a monumental work for the entire period.⁷⁰ It was written by Patriarch Dositheos and represents not only the history of Jerusalem but also the History of the Christian Church from the early times to Christianity until the time of Patriarch Dositheos. In the last part of the book Dositheos gives a first hand account of the troubled time of his own term as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The edition of this huge work is a story in itself. This story is traced by Kournoutos in an excellent way. Chrysanthos Notaras commissioned Metrophanes with this posthumous edition by Patriarch Dositheos. At the time “poor Metrophanes”, as Kournoutos puts it, must have been around eighty-five years old. Both his poor health and the

political changes in the Principality prolonged work on the edition by more than five years. Chysanthos, who was extremely well versed in the craft of book printing, played an active role in the edition and maintained correspondence with Metrophanes, a part of which has been preserved and gives a moving insight into Metrophanes, who, partially paralyzed and in bed, continued with the work at the request of the Patriarch.

In this work Dositheos makes another mention of the PD, which was written before its publication in 1710 but appeared after it and therefore deserves to be noted here. Although heavily dependent on the account by Anna Comnena in the *Alexiad*, Dositheos highlights the fruitful source for the heretic movements, which is to be found in the Byzantine canon law texts such as Balsamon.⁷¹

An illustration of the subsequent distribution of the books edited by Metrophanes might be given by Cod BAR 1052.⁷² Dating from the eighteenth century (1725 on f. 2), this manuscript is a catalogue of the books *for personal use* belonging to Constantin Mavrocordat.⁷³ Even though this inventory is not full, it contains three books edited by Metrophanes: *Tomos Haras*, the *Syntagmation*, and *The History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem*. By chance, the same editions show that Metrophanes had a clear affiliation with Dositheos and Chrysanthos, who supported these books as Patriarchs of Jerusalem. The presence of these volumes in the library of Mavrocordat shows that they were not apparently of primary interest, but were a requisite of a good library collection.

Although the main burden of the editorial work was carried out by Metrophanes Gregoras, this edition of the PD was the result of the efforts of a group of people who contributed to the best of their capacity. All Wallachian editions of that time mention the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu, and therefore it is not possible to draw any conclusions as to any direct involvement on the basis of the title page. The mention of his son, Stephen, however, deserves further investigation, because he had literary interests and was himself an author of several works printed at the time.⁷⁴ The sponsor Athanasius, the Metropolitan of Silistra, is recorded in history mainly for his contribution to this book. As the Metropolitan of a town with a Turkish garrison, he preferred to avoid any possible tensions and spent much of his time at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu. On the other hand, the court of Brâncoveanu was an attractive center for many other theologians and men of letters who came to Wallachia from different places.⁷⁵ In the year of the edition Athanasius was in Istanbul. A connection of the edition to Istanbul is provided by the

authors of the dedicatory verses, two of whom were teachers at the Patriarchal Academy in Phanar. Three short verses – in praise of Brâncoveanu, Athanasius and the book – came from the hand of less well known people. Nonetheless, the information found in the edition provides one more small detail about the milieu of the PD. These authors are mentioned as “deacon Ioannikius Khadzi” and “the learned man George Khadzithanu”. The title of *khadzi*, when added to the names of the Orthodox Christians, is always used to indicate a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher. The honor which this title brought with it is still remembered today, and the addition of word to the family name of a pilgrim is still, albeit rarely, used in some parts of the region.

Procopius has left an account of Antonius and Churmuzious, the other authors of the verses who were both teachers at the Constantinopolitan School. Behind this account we find a family tragedy: these two men turn out to be brothers and premature death ends both their promising careers. Procopius is concise in his account:

Antonius Byzantius – a teacher at the Constantinopolitan School, a man of letters, diligent and industrious, experienced in the Greek language, educated in secular learning as well as sacred education – would have made a great contribution as a man responsible for youth wishing to pursue philology, had he not passed away quite so young.

Churmuzious Byzantius – brother of Antonius, no lesser in virtue and education – who had traveled to Italy and listened to the learned men in Padua, also became a teacher at the Constantinopolitan School and would have been no less useful to his disciples as a lecturer if premature death had not cut his life short.⁷⁶

Alterations to the content of the edition

Knowing that some heresies in the anthology were read in the seventeenth century as forerunners of Calvinism and the editor of PD was writing fervent verses against the Catholics, the question arises as to how far the printed text followed the contents of the PD as attested in the manuscript tradition. In other words, which manuscripts were used for the edition and to what extent are they representative for the text of the PD? At this stage, I am unable to provide a definite answer. A collation between the printed text and Cod. Vat. Gr. 666, dating from the twelfth century and containing the first volume of the PD, shows that the editors

in Târgoviște did an excellent job. Here I can provide only preliminary notes on the second volume of the PD as attested in Cod. Gr. 297 from the National Library of Greece,⁷⁷ also dating from the twelfth century. The printed text in this edition is very close to the early MS of the twelfth century and the large number of excerpts is precisely rendered. Nonetheless, there are two significant interventions and, in the context of seventeenth century, this edition of the PD provides two new chapters, which, as far as can be ascertained, were not attested in the early manuscripts. These interventions provide yet further proof that the PD was used as a real weapon in the fight against the Catholics and the Calvinists, and therefore the anthology was equipped with individual chapters against the Latins and a chapter on transubstantiation.

Separate chapter against the Latins

In the Târgoviște edition, reprinted in the PG, there is a short chapter attributed to Patriarch Photius.⁷⁸ In the early Cod. Gr. 297 the chapter against the Latins (ff. 116 verso-118 recto) is denoted as a subchapter or, more precisely, an appendix.⁷⁹ It is called both in the table of contents (f.185 recto) and the main text (ff. 228 verso-230 recto). Without a thorough study of the manuscript tradition, it is not possible to reach any conclusions, however this important alteration must have appeared much earlier than the Târgoviște edition. The evidence on the “moving chapter” comes from the only known copy of the Slavonic translation of the PD, dating from the fourteenth century and stored at the Library of the Romanian Academy under BAR MS Slav 296. The text against the Latins is labeled there as chapter (f. 116 verso). The translator of the text, or another man of letters, again compared this Slavic translation with another Greek manuscript and noted some differences. For the item “Against Latins” he left a note in the margin stating that this chapter should be a subchapter and the note even provides a definition in Church Slavonic of the Greek word for subchapter.⁸⁰

New chapter on transubstantiation

Collated against MS 297 we see that that the chapter Meletius Syrigos quotes as a direct refutation of Berengar does not exist at all. In MS 297

this is a part of the chapter against the Paulitians (ff. 310 recto-334 recto). The text "About the cross, about the holy baptism and about the transformation of the Lord's body and blood" is presented simply as a part of this chapter on f. 331 verso. Undoubtedly, this alteration connects the publication of the PD with Calvinist propaganda and the legacy of Cyril Lucaris. Another trace also leads to the context of sixteenth century. The *ex libris* of the manuscript of Ivron contains a note that it belongs to Maximus Margounius (1549-1602), the Greek humanist scholar and later Orthodox Bishop of Cythera who was a leading figure at the time and, being heavily involved in Church affairs, was also connected with Lucaris.⁸¹

As Christian Friedrich Matthäi observed more than two centuries ago, the edition in Tirgoviște is based on the MS or MSS with an abridged version of the PD that omits the chapters against Agnoetos and Origen.⁸² According to Matthäi these short chapters were missing from the large number of manuscripts he consulted, probably because the heresies they refuted appear to have been considered obsolete. The chapter "Against the Saracens" was omitted *timore turcos*. Nonetheless, this *editio princeps* remains of high quality and closely follows the early MSS from the twelfth century.

The first logical step is to search for the MS or MSS of the PD in Romania. As far as I can ascertain, the collection of the Romanian Academy does not include a complete MS that could have been used as *textus receptus* for the edition. Under the communist regime, MSS from different parts of Romania were taken to Bucharest, with the Romanian Academy holding the largest Greek collection. MSS are also kept in the Synodal Library and the National Library of Romania. Which MS or MSS were used as a basis for the edition of the PD becomes an even more obscure question after having studied the period and seen the mobility of the Orthodox theologians and, by logical extension, the texts.

Late MSS that coexisted with the edition

It was a common phenomenon that printed texts coexisted with the manuscript version of the text. Thus, the seventeenth century MSS of the PD, although fragmented and late, also deserve our full attention. Significantly, these are fragments of texts from that part of the PD which could be used against contemporary "enemies". Thus, MS BAR 587 (667)

in Bucharest contains an as yet unidentified fragment of the PD containing chapters against the Armenians, Pailitians, Bogomils, Saracens (ff). It should be noted that the early manuscripts of the PD also underwent transformations following the new agenda. The pages of the aforementioned Cod. Gr. 297 (12 c.) were restored at the end of the seventeenth century. The restorer, called Zaphiri, added a new colophon (f. 367 verso) that mentioned the Metropolitan of Larissa and Entire Greece and gave the date of 1692. To the subchapter against the Latins Zaphiri was added an ornamented initial letter (f. 228 verso), emphasizing the importance of this text. Another MS – Cod. Gr. 2972 – which belonged to the library of Constantin Mavrocordat Balitza, and is now in The National Library of Greece in Athens, only contains the chapter against the Armenians (ff. 509 verso-517 verso). Finally, the MS in Bucharest – BAR 1300, written in 1765 – speaks directly about the printed edition and one of the chapters it omitted. The chapter against the Saracenes of the PD (ff. 56 recto - 67 verso) is included in this Anti-Islamic anthology together with the explanation that it is not present in the 1710 edition “because of a fear for those who rule over us (God knows their sins)”.⁸³

Conclusion

The research performed in Romania yielded results that went far beyond my initial intentions and the present article represents my first humble attempt to read an authoritative anti-heretic anthology from twelfth-century Byzantium in the historical setting of the Romanian Principalities during seventeenth and eighteenth century. This vantage point clearly shows that the PD was still read as genuine authority in the fight against heresy and the old chapters were read in connection with the new opponents of Orthodoxy. The first and only Greek edition of the PD from Târgoviște was to an equal extent the *Panoplia* of the Orthodox theologians of the seventeenth century as it was the *Panoplia* of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comenus, because this was an edition of outstanding quality with subtle but significant alterations to the content. The PD remained highly authoritative in the Danubian Principalities in the seventeenth century, so much so that some coeval sources fashioned the image of Moldavian Ruler Vasile Lupu and “his” theologian Meletius Syrigos after the model of Alexius I and his court theologian Euthymius Zigabenus. Confronted with the growing influence of the Catholics and

Calvinists in the region, Orthodox leaders once more recruited the PD to religious cause. The abundant material I have found will allow me to continue my research and write a “micro-history” of the book used against heresy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This micro-history should include details of the variations in the content of the PD and the occasions on which the anthology was used. This study has shown how the anthology was reused in at least three important Synods in the seventeenth century – the Synod of Jassy (1642), the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and the Synod of Constantinople (1692) – and it is highly plausible that it continued to be used during the following century. Inevitably, such an approach touches on the attitude towards other groups in the Romanian Principalities, and indeed the anthology contains chapters against the Jews, Muslims, Armenians, Paulitians and all other groups living together with the Orthodox. In order to create a coherent view this history should also take into consideration sources other than those written in Greek, which have formed the focus of my study until now. The multi-language milieu of the Danubian Principalities needs to be investigated in terms of a Romanian translation of the PD. The collections of the libraries in Bucharest hold a number of Church Slavonic and Russian manuscripts on heresy coeval with the edition of the PD. In addition, research is required into the possible existence of a translation of the anthology into Arabic, since during the seventeenth century the Principalities were in close contact with Syria and printed a number of books in Arabic as an answer to Protestant and Catholic propaganda in the Middle East. Finally, the edition of the PD represented a contribution by rulers and Orthodox leaders connected with the Romanian Principalities to the preservation and continuation of the Orthodox tradition of the fight against heresy – a battle which almost never included direct violence, but always drew on the ancient tradition of anti-heretic texts and anthologies. The problem of heresy and otherness in Byzantium has as yet not been examined in parallel with the Romanian Principalities and needs further research, an undertaking which promises to be a fruitful enterprise.

Abbreviations

BRV: BIANU, N. HODOȘ, D. SIMONESCU, *Bibliografia românească veche (1508-1830)* I-IV, Bucharest, 1903, 1910, 1912, 1944

BH: LEGRAND, É., *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième s.*, I-V, Paris, 1894-1896; reprint Paris, 1962

MS, MSS: manuscript, manuscripts

PD: *Panoplia Dogmatike*

PG: *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca, ed. J. -P. MIGNE, Paris, J. -P. Migne, 1863

RAS: Romanian Academy (of Science), Bucharest

Picot, Anthime : PICOT, É., "Notice biographique et bibliographique sur l'imprimeur Anthime d'Ivire, métropolitain de Valachie", in *Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux, Mémoires, textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, à l'occasion du VII^e Congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Vienne (Septembre 1886)*, Paris, 1886, pp. 513-560

NOTES

- ¹ OBOLENSKY, D., *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453*. St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y., 1982; IORGA, N., *Byzantium after Byzantium*, repr. Center for Romanian Studies, Iași, 2000.
- ² *Euthymii ... orthodoxæ fidei dogmatica Panoplia: hucusque Latinis incognita, et nunc primum per Petrum Franciscum Zinum Vronensem e Græco translata*, Venetiis, 1555. Reprinted in Paris and London the following year. Both editions are available at the Gennadius Library in Athens. In the prolog to the Paris edition, held at the Gennadius Library, Zinus interprets the significance of the PD and the organization of the anthology. Of the importance of PD he writes:
Verum ecclesiae suae non defuit benignissimus Deus. Quemadmodum enim nec per malos philosophos, nec per tyrannos unquam permiserat totam sui cognitionem deleri, ita nec eam perverti a pertinacibus rerum novarum inventoribus et Haereticis passus est, sed magnos semper illis viros opposuit, qui disputationibus, scriptisque suis tanquam gladiis et propugnaculis adversarios confodientes et repellentes, veram Ecclesia doctrinam pietatemque retinuerunt ac defenderunt. Hi Christiane reip. magnopere quidem omnes profuere, sed precipue tamen Euthymius Monachus Zigabenus, qui Alexii Imperatoris iussu non unam, aut alteram, aut paucas haereses, ut reliqui, sed omnes, quae superioribus temporibus ad suam aetatem usque debacchate fuerunt, aut certe plurimas, atque praecipuas infectatus, rationem edocuit qua possent omnes labefactari, atque convelli. Omnia enim armorum genera, quibus Christianae veritatis propugnatores diversis temporibus adversarios prostaverunt, et veritatem ipsam tutati sunt, congregavit et pulcherrimum quodam veluti armamentarium constituit, et adornavit, in quo et pacis tempore magna cum voluptate licet intueri, quo genere armorum qui hostes devicti sint, et bellis ingruentibus tela ad novos hostes superandos depromere.
- ³ COMNENA, A., *Alexiade: Regne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnene, 1081-1118*, ed. B. Leib, Paris.
- ⁴ The PD is described in BRV, 160, pp. 482-483 and in Picot, *Anthime*, 39, p. 552. While writing this article I consulted two copies of this edition – one found in the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, and another in the Gennadius Library, Athens. The first books published with the support of Patriarch Dositheos were published in Moldova in 1680 and in Wallachia in 1690. Μαξιμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τοῦ σχήματος τῶν Παπιστῶν, BRV I, 89, pp. 297-298, BH II, 635; Νεκταρίου, Περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα, BRV I, 75, p. 251-258; BH II, 568. The edition of John of Damascus appeared in 1715 in Jassy, Moldova, described in BRV I, p. 501. For a bibliography of book-printing in the Principalities at the time see note 23.
- ⁵ Having introduced the comparison with the West, Paul Magdalino notes that any conclusion is as yet premature although "it is no less striking that the

society which created the Inquisition also created the universities, scholastic philosophy and the science of jurisprudence". MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993, p. 393.

⁶ Berdiaev.

⁷ PAPAVALASILEIOU, A., *Euthymios-Ioannès Zygaðenos. Bios Syngraphai*, Leukosia, 1979.

⁸ In more recent times the *Panoplia* was used as a source for the religious movements of the Comnenian period, see OBOLENSKY, D., *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, U P, Cambridge, 1948; GARSOÏAN, N., *The Paulician heresy. A study of the origin and development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, The Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1967. To the bibliography on PD by Papavasileiou should be added also the more recent article by PÁSZTORI-KUPÁN, I., "Fragments of Theodoret's *De sancta et vivifica Trinitate* in Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica*", in *Augustinianum*, 2, 2002.

⁹ Naturally, the bibliography on the Comneni starts with CHALANDON, F., *Les Comnènes Études sur l'Empire Byzantin au XI et au XII siècles. Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène, 1081-1118* (Les Comnène, vol. I), Paris, 1900; CHALANDON, F., *Jean II Comnène-1118-1143-et Manuel I Comnène-1143-1180* (Les Comnène, vol. II) Paris, 1912; ANGOLD, M., *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995; MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993.

¹⁰ IORGA, N., *Istoria bisericii românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, Neamul Românesc, vol 1-2, Bucharest, 1908-1909; RUNCIMAN, S., *The Great Church in captivity: a study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the eve of the Turkish conquest to the Greek War of Independence*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1968; PODSKALSKY, G., *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Turkenherrschaft (1453-1821): die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformatorischen Konfessionen des Westens*, C. H Beck, München, 1988. The book by Podskalsky is quoted in the present study using the edition: PODSKALSKY, G., *He Hellenikç theologia epi tourkokratias, 1453-1821*, Morphotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezis, Athens, 2005. For a recent study on the subject with focus on the Romanian Principalities see ELIAN, A., *Bizanțul, Biserica și cultura românească, Studii și articole de istorie*, Trinitas, Jassy, 2003.

¹¹ ODORICO, P., "La Cultura della Sylloge", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1990.

¹² MANGO, C., "The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850", in *Byzantium and its image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2003.

- 13 ALEXAKIS, A., *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its archetype*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. 1996.
- 14 KOLBABA, T., *The Byzantine lists: errors of the Latins*, University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- 15 There are many studies dedicated to East and West relations. For a recent bibliography and interpretation see MAGDALINO, P., *The Byzantine background to the First Crusade*, Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, Toronto, 1996.
- 16 This statement needs further explanation not possible here. For an analysis of the Comnenian system see the classic article see by BROWNING, R., "Enlightenment and Oppression in Byzantium" in *Past and Present*, 69, 1975, pp. 3-23. Later, in the case of MS BAR 560 (318) Zigabenus and a fragment of the PD appear in an anti-Latin anthology together with authors such as Niketas Stethatos, Nicholas of Methone and Nicholas of Andida and John Phrounes.
- 17 On this subject see: DELETANT, D., "A Survey of the Rumanian presses and printing in the sixteenth century", in *Slavonic and East European Review*, LIII, 131, 1975, pp. 161-174; DELETANT, D., "Romanian presses and printing in the seventeenth century", II, in *Slavonic and East European Review*, 61, 4, 1983, pp. 481-511; OIKONOMIDES, D., "Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ ἐλληνικὰ τυπογραφεία (1642-1821)", in *Athina*, 75, 1974-1975, pp. 259-301; OIKONOMIDES, D., "Ἐκδόσεις ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ, Γεωργίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ (1680-1747)", in "Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 1972-1973. OIKONOMIDES, D., "Τὰ ἐν Βλαχίᾳ ἐλληνικὰ τυπογραφεία καὶ αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν (1690-1821)", in *Athina*, 76, 1976-1977; TURDEANU, E., "Le livre grec en Russie: l'apport des presses de Moldavie et de Valachie", in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, 26, 1950, pp. 69-87; TURDEANU, E., "Les controverses des Jansénistes et la création de l'imprimerie grecque en Moldavie", in *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés Roumaines*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1985, pp. 175-296. See also CHIABURU, E., "Tipografia din Moldova și lumea ortodoxă în secolul al XVII-lea", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Iași (AIIAI)*, XXXVII, 2000, pp. 105-125. For details in the historical context see SIMONESCU, D., "Le monastère de Cetatzuia (Jassy), foyer de l'Orient Orthodoxe", in *Balkania* (Bucharest), VI, 1943, pp. 357-365.
- 18 Naturally, the historical context behind this edition is very important. For a general introduction see: IORGA, N., *Histoire des Roumains et de la Romanité Orientale*, Bucharest, 1937-1945; SUGAR, P., *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1993; CASTELLAN, G., *Histoire des Balkans (XIV^e-XX^e siècle)*, Fayard, Paris, 1995. For a further study of the context and Balkan region see

- WOLFF, L., *Inventing Eastern Europe: the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1994; TODOROVA, M., *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford, 1997. In particular, for the relations between the Patriarchs of Jerusalem GREGORESCU, I., "Legăturile Țărilor Române cu Ierusalimul. Patriarhii Ierusalimului în Țările Române (veac XVII-XVIII)", in *Studii Teologice*, VIII, 1956, 5-6, pp. 349-362.
- ¹⁹ D. Oikonomides, "Τὰ ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεία (1642-1821)", in *Athina*, 75, 1974-1975. On the relations of Dositheos with the Romanian principalities KARATHANASSIS, A., "Des Grecs à la Cour du Constantin Brâncoveanu, voevod de Valachie (1688-1714)", in *Balkan Studies*, 16, 1, 1975, pp. 56-69; KARATHANASSIS, A., Οἱ Ἑλληνες λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία (1670-1714), Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou, Thessaloniki, 1972; CİCANCI, O., "Cărturari greci în Țările Române (sec. XVII-1750)", in DUȚU, Al. (coord.), *Intelctuali din Balcani în România (sec. XVII-XIX)*, Bucharest, 1984, pp. 15-58.
- ²⁰ Of the studies on the restless Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem worthy of mention is GONNEAU, P., CROCE, G., in: J.-M. MAYEUR, *Histoire du christianisme des origins à nos jours IX: L'âge de raison (1620-1750)*, Paris, pp. 512, 573-575, 586-587, 593, 595. KAPTEREV, N., *Snoshenija Ierusalimskago patriarcha Dosifeja s russkim pravitel'stvom (1669-1707)*, Moskow, 1891; PALMIERI, A., *Dositeo, patriarca Greco di Gerusalemme. Contributo alla storia della teologia Greco-ortodossa nel secolo XVII*, Libreria editrice fiorentina, Florence, 1909; KARMIRES, I., "Ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσιθέου", in *Theologia*, 19, 1948, pp. 693-707; 1949, 20, pp. 99-119, 245-279; STĂNILOAE, D., "Viața și activitatea patrirhului Dosofteiu al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Românești", in *Candela*, 40, Cernăuți 1929; APOSTOLOPULOS, D., MICHAELARES, P., "Ἡ Νομικὴ Συναγωγὴ τοῦ Δοσιθέου. Μία πηγὴ καὶ ἕνα τεκμήριο, Kentro Neollçnikôn Erevnôn 35, Ethniko hidryma erevnôn Athens, 1987; PAPADOPULOS, Chr., "Δοσίθεος, πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων (1641-1707)", in *Nea Siôn*, 5-6, 1907, pp. 97-168. THEMELES, T., "Αἱ σύνοδοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ πατριάρχου Δοσιθέου", in *Nea Siôn*, 19, 1924, pp. 499-520; GRUMEL, V., "Le περί μεταθέσεων et le patriarche de C/ple Dosithée", in *Études Byzantines*, 1, 1943, pp. 239-249; PANAITESCU, P., "Patriarhul Dositei al Ierusalimului și Mitropolitul Dosoftei al Moldovei, cu prilejul unei scrisori ineditate", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 64, 1946, pp. 93-103; CAMARIANO-CIORAN, A., "Jérémie Cacavala et ses relations avec les Principautés roumaines", in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 3, 1965. FONKIË, B., "Ierusalimskij Patriarch Dosifej I ego rukopisi v Moskve", in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 29, 1969, pp. 275-299; ELIAN, A., "Patriarhul Dositei și literatură patristică", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 92, 1974; JIVI, A.,

- “Opere Teologice Byzantine editate în Țările Române de către patriarhul Dositei al Ierosolimumlui”, in *Studii Teologice*, XXXVII, 1975. FYRIGOS, A., “Per l’identificazione di alcune opera ignoti auctoris contenute nel Τόμος ἀγάπης di Dositeo, patriarca di Gerusalemme (e recupero di un opuscolo antilantino di Barlaam Calabro”, in *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 20-21, 1983-1984, pp. 171-190.
- 21 BRV I, 90, pp. 298-315; BH, II, 632.
- 22 Ἐπεὶ οὖν φιλάρετος αὐτὸς καὶ πανευλαβῆς εἰς τὴν μητέρα σου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἶτα καὶ τὸ σὸν γένος ἀρχικὸν καὶ αὐθεντικὸν καὶ μάλιστα ἀνάκτων καὶ αὐθεντῶν τοιούτων ὅπου ἐδήλωσεν ὁ λόγος, ἵδιον σὸν καὶ ὁ τύπος τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου, ὅπου ἐλέγχει τὰς τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος αἱρέσεις· ὅθεν δικαίως συκατένευσας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ᾧ | ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησίαι | πρεσβεῖαν. BRV I, 90, pp. 303-304.
- 23 PIPPIDI, A., *Tradiția politică bizantină în țările române în secolele XVI-XVII*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucharest, 1983. Also PIPPIDI, A., “L’ Homélie prononcée par Étienne Cantacuzene, prince de Valachie (1716)”, in: *L’Empereur hagiographe: Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine / textes réunis et présentés par Petre Guran; avec la collaboration de Bernard Flusin*, Bucarest, 2001.
- 24 BRV I, 90, p. 301.
- 25 The relationship between Brâncoveanu and the Comneni was made possible through Cantacuzenos using the prince’s maternal line. PIPPIDI, A., “L’ ordre Constantinien et les généalogies Byzantine”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 3, 1997; IONESCU, D., “Terban Cantacuzène et la restauration byzantine. Un idéal à travers ses à travers ses images”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 1, 1979; PIPPIDI, A., “Fables, bagatelles et impertinences’ Authour de certaines généalogies byzantines des XVI^e – XVII^e siècles”, in *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines*, 1, 1979.
- 26 ἐπρόσταξεν Εὐθύμιον τὸν Ζυγαβηνόν, καὶ συνέγραψεν κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων τὴν δογματικὴν πανοπλίαν, τὸ ὡραιότατον βιβλίον ὅπου νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. BRV I, 90, p. 302.
- 27 For more on Lupu see *Byzance après Byzance* pp. 163-164, 168-169, and also the letter by Syrigos and the others in the Synod of Jassy as the exclusively Orthodox ruler Legrand II 1894 pp. 472-473. In the Nectarius edition Dositheos flatters the ruler Doukas by saying he is better than his father Vasile Lupu.
- 28 Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πέντε οὗτοι αὐτοκράτορες οὐ μόνον βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς, καθ’ ὃν τρόπον ἡ ἐκκλησία ψάλλει περὶ τοῦ ἱσαποστόλου Κωνσταντίνου· καθότι μὲν Ἀλέξιος ἡγωνίσθη διαφύρος ὑπὲρ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. BRV-I, 90, p. 302.
- 29 MAGDALINO, P., *The empire of Manuel*, p. 369.

- 30 ANGOLD, M., *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- 31 For more on Vasile Lupu see IORGA, N., *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest, 1935, pp. 163-164, 168-169; CAMARIANO CIORAN, A., *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1974, pp. 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 21, 22, 34, 84, 90, 412, 663.
- 32 Ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὸ σύνθημα δέδωκεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρόμαχον καὶ τῶν αἱρέσεων γενναῖον καταλύτην, σὲ μόνον ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡγεμόνων ὡς εὐχρηστον αὐτῷ ἐκλεξάμενος. BRV I, 90, p. 313.
- 33 For a bibliography of Syrigos see B H II, pp. 470-472. Podskalsky, 271-278. On the writings of Syrigos in connection with the Synod of Jassy see ERBICEANU, C., "Scrierea lui Meletie Sirig contra Calvinilor și a lui Ciril Lucaris, compusă prin ordinul Sinodului ținut la Iași 1642", in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, 18, 1894-1895, pp. 6-27; PALMIERI, A., "La Storia, la data e il valore simbolico del Sinodo di Jassy (1642)", in *Bessarione*, 8, 1910-1911, pp. 16-33.
- 34 For more on the context see the important study on Greek-Russian relations at the time ALTRICHTER, H., *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert, Russisch-Griechische beziehungen und Metabyzantinischer einfluss 1619-1694*, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1995. On the *Confessio* of Mohyla see ELIAN, AL., "Contribuția grecească la Mărturisirea Ortodoxă", in *Balkanica* (Bucharest), 5, 1946. For the connections of Peter Mogila and Danubian Principalities see CAZACU, M., "Pierre Mogyla (Petru Movilă) et la Roumanie: Essai historique et bibliographique", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Special Issue, The Kiev Mohyla Academy, Commemorating the 350th anniversary of its funding* (1632), 13, 1\2 1984, pp. 188-221.
- 35 Monograph on the topic with bibliography: TZIRAKES, N. Ἡ περιμετουσιώσεως εὐχαριστικῆς ἔρις. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ὁρθόδοξον περὶ μεταβολῆς διδασκαλίαν τοῦ ιζ' αἰῶνος, Athens, 1977, On pp. 165- 166 Tzirakes mentions PD and takes for granted the connection of the anthology with Berengar. More on the problem of transubstantiation in the first appendix of PODSKALSKY, G., Ἡ εὐχαριστιακὴ ἐρίδα τοῦ 17ου αἰῶνα', in *He Hellenikῆs theologia epi tourkokratias*, pp. 487-492.
- 36 Commentaria veterum in sacrosancta quatuor Christi Euangelia ex Chrysostomi aliorum sentiunt, Oecumenio? scriptis magna ex parte collecta, autore quidem, ut pleri interprete vero Iohanne Hentenio.
- 37 The quotation comes after the edition (BRV 90) kept in the library of the RAS, p. 134.
- 38 Of the many studies of Byzantium, the West and the Crusades, I would mention just one which refers more directly to problem discussed and provides further bibliography, see note 17.

- ³⁹ N. Tzirakes, 'Η περὶ μετουσιώσεως εὐχαριστική ἔρις. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον περὶ μεταβολῆς διδασκαλίαν τοῦ 15^{οῦ} αἰῶνος. Athens, 1977.
- ⁴⁰ On Caryophyllis and the Synod of 1691 see Podskalsky pp. 305-311.
- ⁴¹ Δοσιθέου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρυοφύλλης, BRV, 97, pp. 337-338; BH II, 661.
- ⁴² ...Πάλιν λέγοντές του οἱ πιστοὶ· διατί δὲν πείθεσαι εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ δόξαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου διδάσκει περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; ὁ Καρυοφύλλης ἀπεκρίνετο· ἀνά θεμὰ τον ὅπου δὲν ὑποτάσσεται εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας | ἐνὸς δὲ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σίμωνα τὸν Βασιλεῖδην, τοὺς Γνωστικούς, τὸν Μαρκίωνα, τὸν Ἑβίωνα, τὸν Μανιχαῖον, τοὺς Ἀμσσαλιανούς, τοὺς Βογομίλους, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου εἰς τὴν Βλαχέρναν τῶν Εἰκονομάχων σύνοδον, τὸν Βερεγκάριον, τὸν Καλβῖνον, τὸν Λούτερον, τὸν Λούκαριν, τὸν Κορυδαλέα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν του, καὶ τοὺς ὁπαδοὺς αὐτοῦ]. The whole passage is quoted after BH II, p. 35.
- ⁴³ This had already been already observed by Franciscus Zinus, the translator of the PD into Latin. In the prolog to the Latin edition he divides the heretics into two groups: *externi* and *intimi*. Zinus writes: "*Quaedam sunt in omnibus adversariis communia, quaedam singulorum praecipua contra tela. Quidam enim a nobis in omnibus fere dissentiunt, quidam videntur nobiscum vel paucis vel multis in rebus convenire.*" This quotation comes from the Paris Latin edition of the PD held at the Gennadius Library, Athens.
- ⁴⁴ Συμεὼν τοῦ Μακαρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης, Κατὰ αἰρέσεων, BRV, 81, pp. 273-275; BH II, 578.
On the translation of the works of Symeon of Thessaloniki in Russia carried out from a book sent personally by Dositheos see: PAPAPOPOULOS, Chr. 'Οἱ πατριάρχαι Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγωγοὶ τῆς Ῥωσίας κατὰ τὸν 15^{οῦ} αἰῶνα', in *Nea Siôn*, 5, 1907.
- ⁴⁵ MS BAR 604 (262).
- ⁴⁶ ANGELOV, D., *Bogomilstvoto v Balgaria*, Sofia, 1969. p. 123-137; IVANOV, J., "Proizhod na pavlikianite spored dva balgarski rakopisa", in *Journal of the Bulgarian Academy of Science* (BAN), 24, 1922, pp. 22-31; Jovkov, M., *Pavlikiani I pavlikianski selishta v balgarskite zemi XV-XVIII vek*, Sofia, 1991.
- ⁴⁷ Short description on Athanasius and the edition in KARATHANASES, A., *Οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία (1670-1714)*, Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou, Thessaloniki, 1982, pp. 143-144.
- ⁴⁸ Antim of Iviron was a key figure at the time and champion of book printing in the Principialties. For recent studies of him, including bibliography, see ŞTREMPEL, G., *Antim Ivoreanul*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 1997.
- ⁴⁹ Ἱερομόναχος ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος εἰδὴ μων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν, καὶ

τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραν παιδείαν, ποιητῆς καὶ ἱεροκέρυξ· ἀναγινώσκει καὶ μελετᾷ τὰς θείας γραφάς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερὰ συγγράμματα.' Δημητρίου Προκοπίου, 'ἐπιτετιμημένη ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περὶ τινων ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθούτων'.

The text by Procopius published in SATHAS, C., *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, Veince, 1872. vol. 3, pp. 501-502.

50 Καισαρίου Δαπόντε, Κατάλογος ἱστορικὸς ἀξιόλογος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρηματισάντων ἐπισήμων Ρωμαίων, in SATHAS, C. *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*. Veince, 1972, pp 113-119. Daponte provides one letter, several poems and a list of the other works of Metrophanes.

51 ZAVIRA, G. I., Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν Θέατρον,

52 Podskalsky gives the following chronology on the Patriarchs of Constantinople based on the Julian calendar. Jacob (10th August 1679-30th July 1682; Dionysius IV Mouselimes (30th July 1682-10th March 1684); Parthenius IV (10th March 1684-20th March 1685); Jacob (20th March 1685-end March 1686); Dionysius IV Mouselimes (end March 1686-12th October 1687); Jacob (12th October 1687-3rd March 1688). If the chronology of the text of Metrophanes is correct, then he must have been sent to Macedonia during the first days of the third appointment of Jacob as Patriarch. Podskalsky, pp. 497-498.

53 Reference to this MSS is provided in the excellent article on Metrophanes and one of the books he edited, KOURNOUTOS, G., P., 'Η Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου εἰς τὴν τυπογραφίαν τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου, Θεολογία, 24 (1953) 250-273 p. 261.

The MS with the ex-libris is described by POLITI, L., "Χειρόγραφα μοναστηριῶν Αἰγίου καὶ Καλαβρύτων", Ἑλληνικά, ενδεκατος, 1939, p. 89. Kournoutos gives the following reference to the second MS: Ἐνδοκίμου Ξηροποταμηνοῦ, Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων μονῆς Ξηροποτάμου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1932, p. 81.

54 The text of this history is published by RUSSO, D., "Mitrofan Griroras Cronica Țării Românești (1714-1716)", in *Revista Istorică Română*, 4, Bucharest, 1934 pp. 1-43; the same text reprinted in RUSSO, D., *Studii Istorice Greco-Române, Opere postume*, vol. 2 Bucharest, 1932, pp. 409-462. Review on this book by Chrysostomos Papadopoulos in Θεολογία, vol. 1E, 1937.

55 See the references providing reviews of the books of Metrophanes: KOURNOUTOS, G. P.,

'Η Δωδεκάβιβλος τοῦ Δοσιθέου εἰς τὴν τυπογραφίαν τοῦ Βουκουρεστίου', in *Theologia*, 24, 1953, pp. 260-262.

OIKONOMIDES, D., "Τὰ ἐν Βλαχία ἑλληνικά τυπογραφεῖα καὶ αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν (1690-1821)", in *Athina*, 76, 1976-1977; pp. 73-74, 67, 94, 96-97, 99 BĂDĂRĂ, D., *Tiparul Românesc la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și*

începutul secolului al XVIII-lea, Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, Brăila, 1998. pp. 168-169 on Metrophanes; p. 153 on Athanasius of Silistra.

56 BRV I, 148, p. 463. BH III, 32.

57 PAUN, R., "Reliques et pouvoir au XVIII^e siècle roumain. Le dossier de problème", in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1-4, 2001 (Bucharest, 2002), pp. 63-73.

58 In fact Metrophanes wrote two epigrams in the book: the one discussed here and the other addressed to Constantine Brâncoveanu. Both epigrams were reprinted in BH I, pp. 38-39. A translation of the epigram about Vessarion reads as follows:

A robber has sold for gold to godless papists
Robber sold for money
the glorious body of Vessarion.
but his head remains for nourishing of piety
your firmness in the teachings
of the Catholic Church through the abundant miracles
strengthening the feast-loving faithful.

59 BRV I, 149, pp. 463-466; BH III, 37.

60 The act was agreed by the Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Church on the one hand, and the representatives of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church and the Habsburg Imperial Court in Vienna on the other. See also the view of HITCHINS, K., "The idea of nation among the Romanians of Transylvania" in *Nation and National ideology. Past, Present and Prospects. Proceedings of the international Symposium held at the New Europe College, Bucharest April 6-7, 2001*, Bucharest, 2002.

61 The title of this entry is Σημειώσεις Διισιθέου πατριάρχου' Ιεροσολύμων, εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν σύνοδον, αἵτινες κεῖνται ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ βιβλίῳ τοῦ περὶ' Ιεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων τευχους.

62 For the *History of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem* see note 53.

63 Λογίδιον εἰς τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον πάθος τοῦ θεανθρώπου λόγου, BRV I, 145, pp. 457-460

64 The volume of Syrigos is available from the Romanian Academy. The comparison with Lynceus is on page a - ποῖος ὀξύτερκῆς Λυγκεύς ἤμπορεῖ να ταῖς περάσῃ ἀλάβωτος; quoted after BRV 90.

65 This prolog is an example of the "distorting mirror" of Byzantine literature and highlights once more the difficulty with the levels of the Greek Language. Athanasius had written in a highly clacissizing manner, with perplexing sentences and Homeric language. Reading this prolog is so difficult that the editors of the BRV have left it without Romanian translation.

66 Βίβλος ἐνιαύσιος τὴν ἀπασαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, BRV I, 157, pp. 480-481; Picot, *Anthime*, 550. With the commentary by Picot "Cette énorme volume, supérieurement imprimé fait honneur à la Typographie de Tirgoviste" quoted from KOURNOUTOS, G., p. 261. The

book is wonderful, in black and red ink with brown leather binding with the medallion of the Old Testament Trinity in gold and small flowers. The copy in RAS has the original book lock.

⁶⁷ This colophone comes after the text of the Pentecostarion:

Τέλος, θεῶ δὲ δόξα τῷ τρισηλίῳ,
τῷ δόντι ἰσχύν τῷ ταπεινῷ μου νοῶ,
Ὁρθῶς νοῆσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι ἅμα,
τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τάςδε τάς θείας βίβλους.
“Οσοι γε οὖν μοι ποιμένες κλῆρος θ° ἄπας,
Οἱ ἐντρυφῶντες τῶνδε τῶν βιβλίων Ἱοις,
σύγγνωτε πάντες, εἰ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις
”Οψις παρήκεν ἥττον εὐθὺς λόγου.

‘Ο τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης πρόθυμος θεράπων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
εὐτελὴς Μητροφάνης
ὁ ἐκ Δωδώνης.

⁶⁸ BRV I, 159, pp. 481-482; Picot, *Anthime*, 551. Available in the library of RAS.

⁶⁹ Περὶ τῶν ὁφικῶν, κληρικῶν καὶ Ἀρχοντικῶν, BRV I, 173, pp. 499-500. Available from the library of RAS.

⁷⁰ Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχευσάντων, BRV I, .BH III, 97. Available from the library of RAS.

⁷¹ The length of the passage prohibits is quotation here. It can be found on pages 784-785 of the first edition.

⁷² N. CAMARIANO, N., *Catalogul manuscriptelor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, II, Bucharest, 1940, p. 183.

⁷³ The catalog of the library of Mavrocordat was published by IORGA, N., “Pilda bunilor Domni din trecut”, in *Anele Acad. Rom., sect., ist. ser. II*, vol. 37, 1914, pp. 85-120.

⁷⁴ At least books were authored by the Prince BRV I, 127, pp. 419-421; BRV I, 128, pp. 421-422; BRV I, 135, p. 441; BRV I, 142, pp. 452-453.

⁷⁵ See note 20.

⁷⁶ Ἀντώνιος Βυζάντιος, διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος, φιλόπονος, φιλομαθής, δαήμων τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσας, πεπαιδευμένος τὴν τε θύραθεν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν κατ’ ἡμᾶς ἱεράν θεολογίαν· πολλῆς ἂν εἴη ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς φιλολόγοις τῶν νέων τῇ προόδῳ τοῦ χρόνου; εἰ μή γε κομιδῇ νέος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο.

Χουρμούσιος Βυζάντιος, ἀντάδελφος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ κατ’ οὐδὲν ἐκείνου ἀρετῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ ἀπολειπόμενος· ἀπέπλευσε δὲ οὗτος καὶ εἰς Ἱταλίαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Παταβίᾳ σοφῶν πρὸς καιρὸν ἠκροάσατο, ἐχηρμάτισε καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σχολῆς· καὶ εἴη ἂν οὐκ ἐλάττωνος ὠφελείας πρόξενος τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς εἶγε μὴ ἂν ρθὴ θανάτῳ ἀπετμήθη τοῦ βίου.

Δημητρίου Προκοπίου, ἐπιτετημένη ἐπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων Γραικῶν, καὶ περὶ τινων ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθούντων, in SATHAS, C., *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*. Veince, 1872. vol. 3, p. 491.

77 Taken from the reference in Budapest.

78 On the authorship dispute between Photius and Zigabenus, see PAPAVALASILEIOU, A.,

79 Παράτιτλος is the used term. For the last section of the PD the same term is used. Zinus translated this concluding entry in the following way: "Appendix. - Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani ex epistola ad Michaellem Bulgariae principem de septem synodis oecumenicis". See PG 130.

80 See PANAITEȘCU, P., *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R. P. R.*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest, 1959, pp. 395-396. GEORGIEVA-GAGOVA, N., "Edin veroiaten prevodacheski avtograf ot parvata chetvart na XV vek" (probable signature of a translator from the first quarter of the fifteenth century), in *Paleobulgarica*, 25, 1, 2001.

81 On Maxime Marounius and bibliography see PODSKALSKY, pp. 188-206.

82 Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentarius in quatuor evangelia graecae et latinae/ Textum graecum...ad fidem duorum codicum...diligenter recensuit et repetita versione latina Jo. Hentenii suis adiectis animadversionis edidit Christ. Frid. Matthaei*, Asher, Berlin and London, 1845. This book is available in Gennadius Library, the text concerning the PD is presented in the PD 130 coll. 9-11.

83 The note reads as follows: Ὁ Ελεγχος σαφὲς τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν καὶ τῆς φλυαρίας τῶν ἑξαίρετων δογματῶν αὐτῶν, ὅστις ἦν συνημμένος τῇ Δογματικῇ πανοπλίᾳ Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζιγαβηνοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ συνετυπώθη αὐτῇ, διὰ τὸν φόβον [τῶν] (οἷς κρίμασιν οἶδε κύριος) τῶν κρατούντων ἡμῶν, ὧ φιλαναγνώστα. BAR 1300 is described in CARATAȘU, M., *Catalogul manuscriptelor grecești din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. 3, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 317-319. The MS entered the collection of the Romanian Academy in 1952 and is of unknown provenance.



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L'IDENTITÉ MOLDAVE : CIBLE DE LA NATION OU FACTEUR DE LA SCISSION

L'effondrement de l'Union Soviétique a posé toute une série de problèmes à résoudre aux nouveaux Etats issus de cet empire et devenus indépendants. L'un de ces problèmes concerne les nouvelles politiques linguistiques approuvées par les Républiques ex-soviétiques. Il s'agit précisément de la question du choix de la langue officielle de chaque Etat. La plupart des pays de l'ex-URSS se mirent à promouvoir leur langue nationale, longtemps utilisée dans la seule sphère privée. Les élites nationales se sont adonnées à la nationalisation de la vie politique autour d'une culture et d'une langue, selon le modèle de l'Etat-nation, pour entamer le processus de « décolonisation » de la vie sociale, culturelle et politique.

L'étude des idéologies nationalistes de la fin de l'URSS prouve que le projet des Fronts populaires n'est pas la rémanence d'une pensée politique pré-soviétique, mais qu'il s'inscrit, en partie, dans le sillage d'un nationalisme soviétique¹. L'intention de ce nationalisme est de créer une nouvelle entité politique dépassant les différences culturelles et sociales. Fondé sur la dualité citoyenneté/nationalité, il est traversé par des processus contraires d'homogénéisation et de différenciation. La politique linguistique soviétique est calquée sur celle des nationalités, selon laquelle le concept de « nationalité » est secondaire par rapport au « peuple soviétique ». Les langues nationales sont également placées derrière la langue russe, celle-ci consacrée comme langue de « communication interethnique »².

Le statut des langues nationales est mis en question dans toutes les Républiques soviétiques pendant la période de la *perestroïka*. Les revendications linguistiques des élites intellectuelles nationales se sont soldées par des lois sur les langues, promulguées au tournant des années 1989-1990³. Les premières législations linguistiques sont en effet le résultat d'un compromis politique, car la promotion des langues nationales comme langues officielles des Républiques n'a pas exclu l'utilisation du russe comme « langue de communication interethnique »⁴.

La démarche des nations titulaires en vue d'assurer la suprématie de leurs propres langues par rapport au russe et aux langues minoritaires constitue une première étape de la « bataille linguistique » déclenchée dans toutes les Républiques soviétiques. Une deuxième revendication vise l'adoption des nouveaux alphabets pour les langues nationales⁵. Dans le cas de la « langue moldave », la décision de la faire revenir à l'alphabet latin signifie la reconnaissance de son origine latine et de son unité avec le roumain. L'unité du « moldave » avec le roumain est mentionnée dans la législation linguistique de 1989⁶, pourtant le terme consacré pour désigner la langue d'Etat de la République de Moldavie reste celui de « langue moldave ».

La Moldavie est la seule République de l'URSS où les dirigeants soviétiques avaient procédé à la création d'une nouvelle ethnie⁷. À ce propos, ils ont fait usage principalement du critère linguistique afin de construire l'identité nationale du peuple titulaire de la Moldavie. Affirmer l'existence d'une langue moldave, différente du roumain, supposait l'existence d'une ethnie moldave, distincte de celle roumaine.

Les dirigeants de la Moldavie post-soviétique, à leur tour, ont tiré profit de l'identité moldave, construite pendant la période soviétique, afin de légitimer l'indépendance de ce nouvel Etat⁸. Par contre, l'intellectualité moldave a rejeté cette « fausse identité »⁹ et s'est appropriée l'identité roumaine. Ainsi, le dilemme identitaire a provoqué une scission de l'élite politique et culturelle du pays au début des années 1990¹⁰. Le but de notre étude est justement de saisir la profondeur de cette scission, aussi que sa répercussion dans la vie politique et sociale de l'Etat moldave.

On se propose de suivre par ce travail la façon de se rapporter à la langue de ses acteurs principaux, les écrivains. On verra, d'abord la prise de position des « écrivains officiels »¹¹ moldaves des années du dégel jusqu'à la *perestroïka*. On les poursuivra dans l'époque post-soviétique, pour saisir comment se construisent leurs relations avec le pouvoir politique moldave et dans quelle mesure se sont-ils engagés à l'« invention des traditions »¹² de la Moldavie indépendante. On examinera l'attitude des écrivains envers l'« intégration littéraire » roumaine, aussi que les rapports qui se sont établis entre l'Union des Ecrivains de la Moldavie et les dirigeants de la République. On présentera la position de l'intellectualité moldave concernant le projet de la construction nationale de l'Etat. On analysera la situation

ethnolinguistique du pays, reflétée par les sondages d'opinion publique et par le premier recensement post-soviétique moldave.

La « langue moldave » et ses acteurs du dégel à la perestroïka

Pour mieux comprendre les changements qui ont eu lieu pendant les années de perestroïka, aussi bien que les effets qui les ont suivis, il est nécessaire de remonter jusqu'à la fin des années 1950, où commence en effet le processus de délégitimation du système soviétique, qui s'arrête à la fin des années 1980¹³. Un rôle important dans l'accomplissement de ce processus est attribué à la génération des « soixantistes »¹⁴, qui ont tenté de répéter dans les années quatre-vingt le projet de rationalisation et de purification du système qu'ils n'avaient pas réussi à mener à bien dans les années soixante. Cette continuité est perceptible aussi dans le cas de la République de la Moldavie, où les problèmes liés au *statut* et au *corpus*¹⁵ de la langue nationale de la population titulaire ont représenté le facteur le plus important de la mobilisation de l'intellectualité. D'ailleurs, cette continuité est revendiquée par les acteurs de ses mouvements sociaux. Il est suggestif le témoignage de l'écrivain Ion Ciocanu :

Je me suis senti engagé dans l'oeuvre (et la lutte) pour la renaissance de notre être national dès 1967, quand – en tant que maître de conférence – je mettais l'accent sur les œuvres avec un prépondérant spécifique moldave (je l'avoue : je disais et je croyais « moldave ». A cette époque-là, même si je lisais beaucoup de littérature roumaine, vendue aux prix bas à la librairie située à l'époque dans la rue Pouchkine, je n'aspirais au roumain que peut-être instinctivement. Mais j'avais horreur de la disparition, qui me paraît très possible, vu les circonstances, de ce fond « moldave » et, bien sûr, de la langue « moldave » sous la tyrannie de la langue russe)¹⁶.

Les études sur la génération des « soixantistes » ont montré leur loyauté envers les idéaux du Parti Communiste, dont ils étaient presque toujours les membres¹⁷. Intégrés aux institutions soviétiques, ils rejoignent assez rarement la dissidence. L'analyste Iulian Frunțașu constate qu'il n'a existé aucune manifestation antitotalitaire ou anticommuniste en Moldavie à cette époque. Dans la vision de ce même chercheur, les efforts de

l'intellectualité moldave ont été orientés vers la constitution du « communisme national »¹⁸.

Ceux qui s'opposent, au début des années 1960, au « moldovénisme » créé dans la République Autonome Soviétique Socialiste Moldave¹⁹, sont des personnes influentes, des communistes aux grands mérites face à l'URSS : E. Bucov, ancien illégaliste et vice-Président du Conseil des Ministres, A. Lupan, ancien illégaliste, Président de l'Union des Ecrivains de la RSSM, aussi que les anciens soldats de l'armée soviétique pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale V. Coroban, G. Bogaci, V. Comarnițchi²⁰. Ces intellectuels, membres de l'élite communiste de la République soviétique de Moldavie, se sont réunis autour d'un programme nationalisant, qui créait de l'angoisse plutôt aux leaders du Parti Communiste de la RSSM qu'aux autorités centrales du Parti Communiste de l'Union Soviétique (PCUS).

C'est avec le soutien de Moscou que se sont réunis à Chișinău, le 19-21 juin 1961, les romanistes pour discuter entre autres le problème de l'unité du « moldave » avec le roumain et de l'adoption de l'alphabet latin pour la « langue moldave ». À la proposition d'introduire dans la résolution de la conférence la question de l'« unité de la langue moldave avec le roumain », le linguiste russe Boudagov a répondu que « la question a été à peine atteinte, sans être discutée à fond. Il n'est pas de notre compétence de résoudre un problème aussi important. C'est une question qui implique trop de responsabilité et il ne serait pas sérieux la résoudre maintenant »²¹. Comme le disait un autre participant à cette conférence, D. Mikhaltchi, « du point de vue politique, la langue moldave existe, alors que du point de vue linguistique c'est un non-sens »²².

Sans nier l'existence de la langue moldave, les intellectuels de la République ont continué à agir pour l'évolution de la langue nationale de la population titulaire et son adaptation aux normes lexicales et grammaticales de la langue roumaine. Le problème de l'écriture de la « langue moldave » a été remis en question en octobre 1965 au Congrès de l'Union des écrivains de la RSSM, quand certains membres de cette organisation se sont montrés favorables à l'adoption de l'alphabet latin. La nouvelle orthographe, adoptée en 1967, a constitué un pas important vers l'identification du moldave au roumain.

Le politologue Iulian Frunțașu signale l'existence, dans les années 1960-1980, d'une « opposition autorisée »²³, tolérée par le régime soviétique²⁴. Moscou voyait souvent dans les intellectuels « nationaux communistes » une force de contrepoids à l'élite communiste moldave

accédée au pouvoir. Par contre, les dirigeants communistes locaux se sentaient menacés par l'élite intellectuelle, dotée d'une forte capacité de légitimation et bénéficiant du soutien de la population titulaire de la République. Les leaders du PCRM exagéraient l'importance de l'élément nationaliste de l'opposition. Ils recoururent aux autorités centrales pour annihiler ces tendances. Dans ce sens, on trouve représentatif le cas de Ion Druță, l'écrivain moldave expulsé de la République par Ivan Bodiul, le premier secrétaire du Parti communiste de la RSSM. Pendant l'« exil moscovite », Ion Druță est devenu l'un des écrivains « représentatifs » de l'URSS. Ses livres ont été traduits et publiés en gros tirages, ses pièces de théâtre ont été montées même à Paris²⁵.

De cette manière, le système totalitaire cherchait à tenir l'opposition sous contrôle, car il la trouvait nécessaire pour dégager les pressions qui s'accumulaient dans la société. On ne peut pas négliger le rôle que cette « opposition autorisée » a eu dans le processus de formation de la « contre-élite »²⁶, processus intensifié dans les années 1980. Le caractère enfermé de l'élite soviétique avait réduit, d'une part, ses chances de perpétuation et, d'autre part, avait renforcé les possibles motifs d'une révolte générale²⁷. L'ancienne élite, repliée sur soi-même, puisqu'elle perdit la capacité de diriger effectivement l'Etat, a dû subir un changement. Une élite renouvelée commence à s'affirmer. Une grande partie de celle-ci est constituée des membres du PCUS, qui se sont opposés à la majorité conservatrice du parti. La nouvelle élite a été aussi bien rejointe par des personnes qui n'ont pas tardé de renoncer à leur affiliation au parti communiste et d'adhérer aux nouvelles structures politiques issues des mouvements informels²⁸.

Les années de *perestroïka* ont rajeuni et protégé en même temps la nomenclature de la RSSM. Dans ce sens, la proclamation de l'indépendance de la République de Moldavie, en août 1991, n'a pas marqué une rupture tranchante avec le passé. L'élite politique et administrative de l'époque soviétique se perpétue dans la période suivante, surtout au niveau local²⁹.

Charles King qui a fait une analyse du « langage de la politique et de la politique du langage »³⁰ de la Moldavie des années 1985-1991, a souligné l'incapacité du PC de la RSSM de trouver une solution adéquate aux problèmes linguistiques de la République. En effet, le problème de la langue nationale a été le seul qui ait pu mettre d'accord les nouveaux politiciens et les intellectuels de la Moldavie. Les écrivains, les artistes et les historiens moldaves entendaient par la remise en droits de la langue

nationale la renaissance de la culture nationale moldave, voir roumaine, commencée par eux dès les années -1960, tandis que pour l'élite politique rajeunie c'était plutôt une modalité d'affirmer son pouvoir contre le centre soviétique, aussi bien que contre les dirigeants du parti communiste local russifié. Le mouvement national était pour eux une voie pour extraire le plus de concessions de la part du centre et pour évincer les dirigeants brejnéviens du PC de la RSSM³¹.

Les nouvelles lois linguistiques ont constitué la première étape de la démission du Parti Communiste de la République. En adoptant ses lois en dépit de l'opposition du Parti Communiste de la RSSM, le Soviet Suprême de la Moldavie a affirmé son pouvoir législatif.

Une fois la législation linguistique adoptée, des failles apparaissent au sein du mouvement national moldave. Lors de son deuxième congrès (juin 1990), le Front Populaire de Moldavie a déclaré son opposition envers le gouvernement³². Les frontistes ont reproché aux gouvernants d'avoir empêché la sortie de la Moldavie de l'Union Soviétique. Ils ont déclaré aussi leur option d'adhérer à la Roumanie. La résolution de ce congrès « Sur la remise en droits de l'ethnonyme *peuple roumain* et du glottonyme *langue roumaine* » exigeait de la part du parlement moldave de faire les amendements de rigueur dans le contenu de la Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues sur le territoire de la République³³.

La République de Moldavie en quête d'une identité

L'adoption de la législation linguistique a suscité de forts mouvements de protestation de la part des minorités linguistiques de la République de Moldavie. La crainte d'une éventuelle « roumanisation » de la Moldavie a généré, en 1989, une violente opposition de la part des minorités russophones³⁴ et turcophones³⁵. Ils ont agi, au moins dans le premier temps, pour le maintien de l'URSS et pour la conservation du statut de langue officielle à la langue russe³⁶.

Les tensions ont augmenté au moment de la proclamation de souveraineté par la République de Moldavie (20 juillet 1990). La Transnistrie et la Gagaouzie proclamèrent, à quelques jours d'intervalle (16 et 22 août 1990), leur propre souveraineté, sans reconnaître plus désormais le pouvoir de Chişinău³⁷. Malgré les propositions de M. Snegur, le président de la Moldavie, d'accorder aux Gagaouzes un statut de « département national » et à la Transnistrie celui de « zone économique

franche dotée d'une autonomie administrative », le conflit n'a pas cessé de s'aggraver. La guerre de Transnistrie, tout comme les escarmouches périodiques avec les Gagaouzes, ont créé un climat de méfiance et ont conduit à des pertes humaines et matérielles significatives. Toutefois, à partir de ce moment, les dirigeants moldaves ont oeuvré pour apaiser les Gagaouzes et les Transnistriens en insistant sur la nature civique de l'Etat moldave³⁸.

Un moment significatif dans ce nouveau processus de la construction étatique a été l'organisation du congrès *Casa noastră – Republica Moldova* (Notre maison – la République de Moldavie) organisé par le Parti Démocrate Agraire de la Moldavie (PDAM) dans sa campagne électorale de 1994. Le Président de la République Mircea Snegur, dans son discours prononcé à ce congrès, a nié la possibilité de l'union politique avec la Roumanie, mais il a parlé d'un air approbateur de l'héritage roumain de l'Etat moldave et de la nécessité d'une intégration économique et culturelle plus proche avec Bucarest.

Mircea Snegur a dénoncé le panroumanisme comme une « trahison » et a accusé les écrivains et les historiens moldaves de leur doute en ce qui concerne la « légitimité et le fondement historique de notre droit d'être Etat, de nous nommer peuple moldave »³⁹. Le discours de M. Snegur a été à son tour immédiatement condamné par les intellectuels de République. Les représentants de l'Union des écrivains, de l'Institut de Linguistique et de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences, de l'Université d'Etat de Moldavie se sont prononcés contre la tentative d'approuver une invention du régime communiste.

En 1994, le nouveau gouvernement moldave change le cadre politique et juridique du pays. Le 27 juillet 1994, une nouvelle Constitution est adoptée, dont l'article 13 reconnaît « la langue moldave » comme la langue officielle de la République. Cet article constitutionnel a provoqué d'importants mouvements sociaux de la population roumanophone du pays. Des manifestations des étudiants qui revendiquaient la suppression du glottonyme « moldave » et son remplacement avec « roumain » dans la Constitution de la République ont eu lieu à Chişinău.

Le président Mircea Snegur a soutenu les étudiants devant le Parlement. Le législatif moldave a demandé l'avis de l'Académie des Sciences de la République sur la notion « langue moldave ». Lors de la réunion élargie du Présidium de l'ASM, ses membres ont soutenu que l'article 13 de la Constitution doit être revu « en conformité avec la

vérité scientifique» et formulé de la manière suivante : « La langue d'Etat (officielle) de la République de Moldavie est le roumain ». L'initiative législative du président sur le nom correct de la langue officielle de l'Etat a provoqué une réaction hostile de la part de la majorité parlementaire, qui a rejeté la proposition de modifier la Constitution du pays⁴⁰.

Contestés par l'intellectualité du pays, les dirigeants moldaves ont cherché une source de légitimation, en abordant le maître spirituel des années de perestroïka, Ion Druță⁴¹. Cet écrivain, qui a été d'ailleurs l'un des participants du congrès *Casa noastră – Republica Moldova*, a été invité par Petru Lucinschi, le Président du Parlement moldave, à participer aux débats sur le nom correct de la langue parlée par la population majoritaire du pays. Ion Druță répond à cet appel en publiant l'article *Răscrucea celor proști* (« Le carrefour des sots »). Druță affirme que le vrai nom de la langue est « le roumain, bien sûr », en autorisant en même temps l'utilisation du terme de « langue moldave » ou bien de « langue maternelle » : « Si vous ne voulez pas lui dire roumain, dites-lui moldave, et si vous ne voulez pas lui dire moldave, dites-lui langue maternelle... »⁴².

Cette ambiguïté, promue par Ion Druță est marquante quand il s'agit de l'identification de la population majoritaire du pays. Une analyse du vocabulaire utilisé par Ion Druță dans ses textes de publiciste pour désigner cette identité montre comment a changé, au cours des années, la signification des mêmes termes utilisés par l'écrivain dans ses discours⁴³.

Il s'agit d'abord d'un des termes les plus ambigus exploités par Ion Druță, *neamul nostru* « notre peuple ». Dans une première étape (1987-1994), *neamul nostru* signifiait aussi bien *neamul românesc* (le peuple roumain) que *neamul moldovenesc* (le peuple moldave), qui a traversé ensuite une période transitoire (1994-2001), lorsqu'il est devenu « plutôt le peuple moldave », pour se séparer définitivement de l'idée de roumanité après 2001, en désignant une identité moldave distincte⁴⁴.

En effet, ces trois périodes correspondent avec les changements politiques du pays et les projets nationaux envisagés par ses dirigeants⁴⁵. Il sera utile d'examiner dans le même contexte l'évolution d'un personnage symbolique de Druță, qui est assez lié à l'idée de *neamul nostru*. Il s'agit de *Badea Mior*, la personnification du poète anonyme, dont l'image est ressortie par l'écrivain du mythe de *Miorița*.

Lors de sa première apparition, *Badea Mior* est comparé à un apôtre « qui nous a guidés dans le calvaire interminable de notre existence » et

qui « a contribué le plus à la formulation de notre identité nationale » (sans la nommer dans le texte). Ecrit dans un style « évasif par excellence », l'article *Casă pentru Badea Mior* (1987) de Druță culminait par l'appel à l'union adressé par l'écrivain au peuple entier.

Dix ans plus tard, l'identité de *Badea Mior* devient plus claire. Cette fois, *Miorița* est déclarée « un évangile des Moldaves », tandis que le petit berger, qui « répète les peines du Rédempteur » devient l'image généralisante des Moldaves⁴⁶. A cette époque, où Druță s'est déjà pleinement impliqué dans l'œuvre de la construction de la nation moldave, il lance l'idée de la construction d'un monument national « La maison de *Badea Mior* »⁴⁷. Ce projet a été vivement soutenu par les dirigeants du Parti Démocrate Agraire de Moldavie, le parti de gouvernement à ce temps-là, mais il reste inachevé jusqu'à l'arrivée au pouvoir du Parti des Communistes, plus intéressé à la création d'une nouvelle mythologie nationale.

En 2001, Ion Druță revient à l'image de *Badea Mior*, devenu déjà un « fétiche » pour « notre peuple » : « *Badea Mior* est une pierre de frontière, et si on la passe, on va s'éteindre comme peuple »⁴⁸. Grâce à la gouvernance communiste, il est devenu, en 2004, « monument national, un symbole du peuple moldave »⁴⁹. Ce monument a provoqué beaucoup de débats dans la société moldave. L'idée de Druță a été vivement critiquée par l'intellectualité, qui n'a pas agréé ni le symbole de *Badea Mior*, ni sa réalisation architecturale⁵⁰, qualifiée par les spécialistes comme « un échantillon de subculture et de primitivisme »⁵¹.

Il est important de souligner que la construction de ce monument, effectuée sous le patronat du parlement moldave, a coïncidé avec l'édification d'autres deux complexes architecturaux, le *Monastère Căpriana* et *Capul de Pod Șerpeni*. Si *Capul de Pod Șerpeni*⁵² a eu comme but d'évoquer la mémoire collective plus récente, celle de la période soviétique, le *Monastère Căpriana* et *Badea Mior* vont plus loin, pour soutenir l'idée de la *statalitate*⁵³ et de l'identité moldave. Le culte du *Monastère Căpriana*, entretenu par les dirigeants moldaves, est en effet la projection symbolique de l'importance de la mémoire de Etienne le Grand pour l'idée de la *statalitate* moldave contemporaine, c'est « une preuve matérielle de l'esprit du Grand voïvode dans cette contrée »⁵⁴. *Badea Mior* devait « éterniser dans le temps et l'espace l'image de l'auteur anonyme des chants et des balades populaires », « l'image morale, spirituelle des générations de gens qui ont vécu, travaillé et créé avant nous »⁵⁵.

Le premier hommage rendu à Badea Mior, qualifié par Druță de « patriarche de notre culture et littérature », en novembre 2004, s'est résumé au lancement d'une nouvelle édition du roman *Povara bunătății noastre*, suivie d'un récital qui contenait des fragments de l'oeuvre de Ion Druță. Les exégètes littéraires Haralambie Corbu, Mihai Dolgan et l'écrivain Dumitru Matcovschi⁵⁶ ont parlé aussi de l'oeuvre littéraire du « maître » Druță⁵⁷. Cet événement nous a fait penser à une sorte d'identification de l'écrivain avec son personnage, et l'appropriation par celui-là du rôle de patriarche de la culture et de la littérature moldaves. On pourrait peut être trouver une explication logique d'une telle évolution dans les constatations de l'écrivain Constantin Cheianu :

Venus dans la culture de nulle part et formés par un régime, dont la raison de l'existence se fondait sur la discontinuité, sur la négation d'une continuité politique, économique et culturelle, ceux qui se sont assumés le statut d'intellectuels dans l'ex-RSSM se sont affirmés dans l'idée qu'eux-mêmes sont des « créateurs de tradition »⁵⁸.

Dans la même logique pourrait s'inscrire la collaboration de l'écrivain issu du régime soviétique avec le pouvoir politique actuel, créateur lui-même d'un nouvel Etat :

Par une sorte de parallélisme historique, nos politiciens sont venus à leur tour de nulle part, en étant donc un produit du grand Etat soviétique totalitaire. Une fois celui-ci tombé, ils se sont arrogé la posture de « créateurs » d'un nouvel Etat, la République de Moldavie⁵⁹.

Le nouvel emploi de Ion Druță a produit un changement d'attitude de la part de l'intellectualité moldave. En 1997, Druță s'est lancé dans un conflit ouvert avec l'Union des Ecrivains de Moldavie, qu'il a déclarée le « fief du nationalisme roumain »⁶⁰, en lançant l'initiative de la fondation d'une union d'alternative, l'Union des Ecrivains Chrétiens. Le motif principal de la parution d'un tel projet est le fait que l'Union des Ecrivains de Moldavie se soit fortement opposée à la proposition du Président de la République d'installer le buste de Andrei Lupan⁶¹, l'un des principaux exposants de la littérature soviétique moldave, dans l'Allée des classiques de la littérature roumaine de Chișinău.

Conçue en 1958 comme une Allée des écrivains classiques moldaves, ce monument incluait les bustes des écrivains du XVI^{ème} – début du

XX^{ème} siècles qui ont été appropriés par la littérature moldave et dont l'œuvre était étudiée à l'école à l'époque soviétique. Après 1989, l'Allée des classiques est complétée avec les bustes des écrivains roumains du XX^{ème} siècle T. Arghezi, L. Blaga, G. Călinescu, G. Coșbuc, M. Eliade, O. Goga, M. Sadoveanu, N. Stănescu, G. Bacovia. La plupart de ces bustes ont été installés successivement le 31 août, le jour de la fête nationale *Limba noastră* (Notre Langue)⁶².

Dès l'arrivée au pouvoir du Parti des Communistes, la fête nationale *Limba noastră* n'a plus la même envergure qu'autrefois. Les dirigeants de la République manquent la journée de la langue roumaine, sans oser à l'effacer du calendrier officiel⁶³. Dans la capitale moldave, c'est la mairie qui s'est engagée de ne pas laisser inaperçue cette fête déclarée nationale. Mais les fonctionnaires de la mairie n'ont pas réussi à réhabiliter la tradition d'inaugurer de nouveaux bustes dans l'Allée des classiques de Chișinău⁶⁴.

Si les écrivains voient leurs précurseurs parmi les classiques de la littérature roumaine dans son intégrité, les dirigeants communistes du pays se limitent à la Principauté de Moldavie. Ils cherchent les « racines de la nation » dans l'histoire de cette province historique, en explorant l'idée que « l'apparition sur la carte de l'Europe et l'affirmation politique de notre Etat est due dans une grande mesure aux précurseurs : Bogdan I, Petru I Mușat, Alexandre le Bon, Etienne le Grand et Saint, Bogdan III, Petru Rareș, Alexandre Lăpușneanu, Ion Vodă cel Cumplit, Vasile Lupu, Dimitrie Cantemir »⁶⁵. Les bustes de toutes ces « personnalités historiques marquantes, qui n'ont rien épargné pour l'édification et la surveillance de l'Etat » ont constitué l'Allée des Voïvodes du Pays de Moldavie. Cette allée « nous rappellera toujours les racines de notre Nation, la liaison indissoluble entre le passé et le présent, en constituant aussi une valeur essentielle pour l'éducation des jeunes générations » a mentionné le Président de la République Vladimir Voronin dans son discours inaugural⁶⁶.

La République de Moldavie est vue par les dirigeants communistes comme l'héritière de la Principauté de Moldavie, car elle a gardé son nom, sa langue et son peuple :

Par toute son activité, Etienne le Grand a consolidé la *stată* moldave. L'histoire a récompensé Etienne le Grand par le fait d'avoir gardé son pays, d'avoir gardé le nom, la langue et le peuple de son pays. Et au bout de 500 ans sur les cartes de l'Europe continue de figurer l'Etat de Moldavie.⁶⁷

La littérature de la Bessarabie : quelle identité ?

À la sortie de la période de perestroïka, les écrivains de la République de Moldavie, retrouvés à la périphérie de la vie politique du pays, ont déclaré leur appartenance à la langue et à la culture roumaine. Ils ont donné essor à un difficile processus d'« intégration littéraire »⁶⁸:

Le terme « intégration culturelle/littéraire » provient de la sphère du politique et est apparu comme une sorte de... « consolation »/palliatif après le lamentable échec de la réintégration du Pays et de la Nation Roumaine (au début des années 1990 du siècle dernier). « L'unité culturelle/littéraire et spirituelle » serait le terme le plus adéquat dans notre situation. Non pas « il serait », mais « il est » ! C'est parce qu'il a à la base l'unité de la langue, alors que la littérature est la fleur et le fruit de la langue...⁶⁹

(Vladimir Beșleagă, écrivain, Chișinău)

Il est important de faire attention au terme de « Pays », fréquemment utilisé par les écrivains de la République de Moldavie pour désigner la Roumanie. Quant au nom du « deuxième Etat roumain »⁷⁰, les écrivains préférèrent le terme de « Bessarabie » à celui de « Moldavie », car ce dernier signifie pour eux plutôt la Principauté de Moldavie⁷¹.

Le terme de nation roumaine, on le verra, renvoie à la définition allemande, selon laquelle la nation est une communauté culturelle, qui ne coïncide pas avec les frontières du pays⁷². Ainsi, les frontières spirituelles de la nation roumaine correspondent avec celles de la langue roumaine, dont la capitale est Bucarest :

J'aime la question qui spécifie l'existence de « deux États roumains » : c'est une réalité « historique » territoriale, politique et économique, c'est vrai. Tandis que selon la mentalité des écrivains roumains, la Bessarabie n'est pas un Etat, mais une province. D'autant plus qu'on parle des frontières spirituelles de la langue roumaine, de la littérature écrite dans cette langue. Bon gré, mal gré, la capitale de cette langue est Bucarest. Plus exactement, Chișinău n'est pas un centre de la langue roumaine, en aucun cas (ou éventuellement de la langue moldave, conformément aux préceptes locaux communistes et post-communistes d'hier et d'aujourd'hui) : donc il est difficile de prouver l'existence de ces deux Etats roumains au niveau de la littérature. A-t-on donc deux littératures roumaines⁷³ ?

(Liviu Ioan Stoiciu, écrivain,
rédacteur en chef de la revue *Viața Românească*, Bucarest)

C'est pourquoi les écrivains perçoivent la langue roumaine comme le facteur le plus important de l'intégration à la littérature roumaine :

L'acte de l'intégration suppose un examen esthétique, que doivent passer tous les écrivains bessarabiens indifféremment d'âge et de valeur, parce que les temps de la stylisation ont passé et nous nous intégrons dans la culture roumaine dans la mesure où on écrit bien en roumain. C'est une condition *sine qua non*, après la satisfaction de cette exigence première et élémentaire sera appliqué le critère de la valeur⁷⁴.

(Mihai Cimpoi, académicien,
président de l'Union des Écrivains de Moldova)

Mais, pour « écrire bien en roumain », les écrivains de la République de Moldavie ont dû dépasser « la schizophrénie linguistique » qui les a marqués pendant la période soviétique. L'écrivain Constantin Cheianu témoigne, dans l'enquête « La culture russe en Bessarabie: un atout ou un handicap ? », ⁷⁵ qu'il s'est rendu compte d'avoir la tendance d'imiter le modèle russe en utilisant « la langue moldave », qu'il avait « assimilée à travers les « œuvres » des écrivains soviétiques moldaves », « avec ses archaïsmes assidus et les calques du russe ». C'est pourquoi, l'« intégration » à la langue roumaine a imposé un travail sérieux de la part des écrivains :

Le pas suivant que j'ai fait a été de lire les auteurs russes en traduction roumaine, et les écrivains roumains en version russe. Et pour que les choses se compliquent définitivement, j'ai eu recours à la lecture parallèle, en russe et en roumain, du même écrivain occidental. Probablement, mes collègues ont eu plus de raison quand eux, pour dépasser la « schizophrénie linguistique » propre à l'intellectuel bessarabien, se sont proposé d'une façon programmatique de ne plus rien lire en russe⁷⁶.

(Constantin Cheianu, écrivain, Chişinău)

En oeuvrant pour dépasser leur « handicap linguistique », ⁷⁷ les écrivains de la République de Moldavie se déclarent artisans de la littérature roumaine et refusent d'être catalogués comme « écrivains bessarabiens » :

Je suis, si je suis et autant que je suis, un écrivain roumain—; la Bessarabie ou le Nord de la Bucovine n'est que mon adresse de résidence et pas du tout l'enseignement de ma création. Nous voulons être libres dans la langue roumaine. Pour l'écrivain de Bessarabie il est préférable de ne pas être publié que d'être étiqueté comme « écrivain bessarabien », surtout quand

dans le subsidiaire de cette formule on lit l'appel de lui pardonner un certain handicap linguistique ou stylistique. Ceux confrontés aux handicaps linguistiques, qu'ils habitent n'importe où, n'ont rien à voir avec la littérature⁷⁸.

(Arcadie Suceveanu, écrivain, Chişinău)

C'est pourquoi ils refusent « la double mesure »⁷⁹ dans les critères de l'évaluation esthétique de la production littéraire bessarabienne, « faite pour protéger certaines sensibilités et la stratégie du rapprochement » :

Le fait d'écrire en roumain en Bessarabie ne devrait plus être vu comme un acte d'héroïsme, insoumis au classement. Il est temps que l'écrivain d'ici soit conscient qu'il est d'abord Roumain, et puis Bessarabien, qu'il fait partie de la littérature roumaine et qu'il doit être jugé avec les mêmes outils critériologiques. En acceptant la « double mesure » (qui persiste encore, malheureusement), nous allons continuer à vivre le sentiment d'être la cinquième roue du carrosse⁸⁰.

(Lucia Țurcanu, écrivain, Bălți)

La primauté des critères esthétiques est soutenue aussi par l'écrivain Liviu Ioan Stoiciu, car il n'y a pas de « structures officielles », qui discutent ce qu'il y a à intégrer dans la littérature roumaine. Ce sont les écrivains eux-mêmes, qui se rassemblent sur les divers paliers de la langue roumaine, selon « la diversification de l'offre et de la réception critique ». C'est la logique selon laquelle se sont synchronisés, dans le premier « circuit » de l'intégration, dite « officielle », les « poètes patriotards » de l'époque des « ponts de fleurs »⁸¹. Cette intégration, plutôt « déclarative, festive », marquée parfois par un enthousiasme sincère, mais aussi par un excès de démagogie, a été suivie par le deuxième circuit, plus pragmatique, des écrivains post-modernes⁸². Il s'agit des représentants de la génération littéraire des années 1980 de la Bessarabie, qui a suscité le plus d'intérêt à l'Ouest de Prut et qui s'est parfaitement intégrée dans le contexte culturel roumain. Il est à souligner que « leur trajectoire culturelle indique plutôt une *rupture* et non pas une continuité des traditions littéraires locales »⁸³.

Par contre, pour les générations antérieures, qui se sont déjà affirmées dans le champ littéraire de la République de Moldavie, le processus d'intégration à la littérature roumaine a été beaucoup plus malaisé et parfois même inimaginable :

Face à un nouvel contexte de valeurs, celui roumain, qui impose des exigences accrues et un acerbe esprit compétitif, une partie des écrivains bessarabiens se sont sentis, brusquement, marginalisés et « minimalisés ». Leur statut a souffert des changements essentiels : d'écrivains dont l'« œuvre », figurait dans les collections, les séries et les anthologies les plus connues de la République de Moldavie et de l'ex-URSS, dans les manuels scolaires, ils sont devenus aujourd'hui « ordinaires », confrontés aux redoutes qu'ils doivent conquérir. Les autres, moins marqués de complexes, mais aussi emparés d'un degré supérieur de préparation, d'un autre langage, modernisé, se sont synchronisés sans efforts particuliers, s'intégrant naturellement au circuit des revues et des éditions de Roumanie⁸⁴.

(Arcadie Suceveanu, écrivain, Chişinău,
vice-président de l'Union des Écrivains de Moldavie)

Ainsi, seulement les noms de quatre ou cinq écrivains de la République de Moldavie ont été inclus dans les histoires littéraires de Roumanie. Le processus d'intégration, affirme Arcadie Suceveanu, le vice-président de l'Union des Écrivains de la Moldavie, a connu plutôt le vecteur orienté de la « périphérie » vers le centre. Ce sont les écrivains bessarabiens qui, désireux d'être publiés et connus dans le Pays, ont abordé les revues et les maisons d'édition, et ont réussi à faire éditer leurs livres, à pénétrer dans les almanachs, à voir leurs écrits publiés et commentés dans toutes les pages de nombreuses revues littéraires. Par contre, le « centre », « plus blasé et orgueilleux, ne s'est pas dépêché à connaître la 'périphérie' dans toute sa complexité, pour discerner attentivement et 'adopter' les valeurs de celle-ci »⁸⁵.

Les « soixantistes » ont été les premiers écrivains moldaves qui ont réussi à franchir, par leurs écrits, les frontières de la littérature roumaine après l'effondrement de l'URSS. On pourrait l'expliquer par leur statut d'écrivains officiels, qui souvent ont cherché à rejoindre leurs homologues à l'Ouest de Prut. Mais le fait d'être « reconnu » par le « centre » n'est pas accepté par tous les écrivains de la République de Moldavie, comme c'est le cas de Ion Druţă, qui vit, d'après le journaliste Vitalie Ciobanu, le drame de l'« écrivain inadapté au commandement de l'intégration à la culture roumaine », malgré le fait que « son oeuvre s'est assurée une place dans l'histoire réintégrée de notre littérature, mais surtout dans la spiritualité roumaine »⁸⁶.

L'identité roumaine appropriée par les écrivains de la République de Moldavie n'est pas agréée par les dirigeants communistes du pays. Ils

ont cherché à créer une alternative à l'Union des Ecrivains de Moldavie, qualifiée par le président de la République Vladimir Voronin comme « parti politique extrémiste »⁸⁷. Une nouvelle Union des Ecrivains *Nistru* est instituée en novembre 2003 à Chişinău. En effet, cette union « alternative » correspond au projet de la construction étatique moldave, en se constituant de deux parties, moldave et russophone, auxquelles s'est associée l'Union des écrivains gagaouzes⁸⁸. L'Union des écrivains *Nistru* a fondé, avec un soutien de la part de l'Etat, sa propre publication, *Nistru/Dniestr*, qui apparaît dans une variante bilingue, roumain (dite « moldave ») et russe.

Le président Vladimir Voronin, qui a participé à la Conférence d'inauguration de l'Union des Ecrivains *Nistru* a reproché aux écrivains de la République le fait que « le futur de notre société, de notre peuple, de notre Etat est un point d'interrogation pour eux depuis dix ans déjà »⁸⁹. Il a rappelé aux écrivains le fait que « la Moldavie a été et reste toujours notre Patrie et le devoir de l'écrivain et de ne pas trahir ses racines, ses ancêtres, sa langue ».

Vladimir Voronin a affirmé que la littérature ne peut pas être enfermée par les frontières de l'Etat, en acceptant même l'idée de la constitution d'un « espace littéraire commun » avec la Roumanie. Pourtant le président de la République a contesté la catégorisation de « provinciale » de la littérature de la République de Moldavie, en insistant sur son originalité et unicité. Vladimir Voronin s'est prononcé pour « le pluralisme d'opinions et de cultures » et a souligné le caractère plurilingue de la littérature moldave :

Les écrivains sont appelés à unir les peuples, non à les soumettre l'un à l'autre. C'est pourquoi la littérature moldave de la période contemporaine, écrite en plusieurs langues, constitue un pont unique vers les autres cultures, en devenant particulièrement proche de plusieurs peuples du monde⁹⁰.

L'image de la littérature moldave présentée par le président du pays correspond à l'idée du « peuple multiethnique, multiculturel et multilingue » de Moldavie, consacré par La Conception de la Politique nationale de la République de Moldavie.

La Conception de la politique nationale – un document controversé

La Conception de la Politique nationale de la République de Moldavie⁹¹ déclare les Moldaves – « la nation fondatrice de l'Etat », tandis que « le peuple de Moldavie » intègre, à part les Moldaves, les « représentants d'autres ethnies » : Ukrainiens, Russes, Gagaouzes, Bulgares, Juifs, Roumains, Biélorusses, Tsiganes (Romes), Polonais et autres.

La minorisation des Roumains par la différenciation avec les Moldaves, aussi que la déclaration du russe comme « langue de communication interethnique » et l'exaltation du bilinguisme russe-moldave et moldave-russe, « établi historiquement », ont eu une réaction réprobatrice de la part de l'intellectualité roumanophone du pays :

Décréter par ukase quelle identité les Moldaves doivent avoir, quelle langue ils doivent parler entre eux et utiliser dans la communication avec les autres ethnies, imposer les normes de conduite sous la menace de la « neutralisation juridique et politique », signifie un abus qui sent la dictature, et la continuation de l'offensive soviétique de lobotomisation idéologique d'un peuple.⁹²

L'analyste Vitalie Catană a signalé les graves erreurs de la terminologie utilisée par ce document, qui confère à la langue d'une minorité le rôle de « langue de communication interethnique », tandis que cette fonction doit être remplie par la langue officielle de l'Etat⁹³.

Le critique littéraire Mihai Cimpoi a reproché à cette Conception d'ignorer « la vérité historique », d'ignorer l'avis des intellectuels et de ne pas respecter « les droits fondamentaux et les principes démocratiques internationaux reconnus sur le plan européen et international »⁹⁴. L'exégète catégorise de totalitaire ce document, qui promeut « la neutralisation juridique et politique des tentatives incessantes de dé-moldovénisation, de réfutation de l'existence de la nation moldave et de la *statalitate* moldave, du refus de l'ethnonyme 'moldaves' et du glottonyme 'langue moldave' »⁹⁵.

L'idée de la « continuité » de l'Etat moldave, déclarée par La Conception de la politique nationale comme « la continuation politique juridique du processus multiséculaire de *statalitate* continue du peuple moldave »⁹⁶, a été contestée par les intellectuels de la République⁹⁷. Le

journaliste Vitalie Ciobanu la déclare « grave erreur d'interprétation juridique : ce rôle l'a eu intégralement la Principauté de Moldavie, qui a été transféré, après l'union du 1859 avec la Munténie, au nouvel Etat, la Roumanie »⁹⁸.

En effet, la Conception de la politique nationale de la République de Moldavie, tout en gardant les thèses de la politique nationale soviétique sur l'existence de deux langues et, respectivement, de deux nations, fait recours aux concepts d'inspiration européenne tels que « multiculturalisme » et « Etat polyethnique ».

Une stratégie comparable a été approuvée par la République autoproclamée de Transnistrie en août 2004, quand les autorités de l'Est de Dniestr ont refusé d'enregistrer les écoles de la région séparatiste qui étaient subordonnées au Ministère de l'Education moldave. Les dirigeants transnistriens font, eux aussi, une distinction entre le roumain et le « moldave », ayant comme critère de séparation la graphie latine qu'on utilise pour le premier, et la cyrillique pour le deuxième. Comme la région de Transnistrie n'a pas changé d'alphabet après 1989, elle est déclarée par les experts transnistriens « le seul territoire du monde, où les droits de la nation moldave sont protégés juridiquement et pratiquement », car « la nation moldave dans la République de Moldavie se trouve, en effet, dans un processus d'anéantissement »⁹⁹.

Les Ministères des Affaires Etrangères et de l'Education de la Transnistrie ont émis une déclaration commune, qui constatait que « la langue moldave écrite aux caractères latins est le roumain ». C'est pourquoi ils sont prêts « à discuter les conditions du fonctionnement de six écoles roumaines qui se trouvent sur notre territoire avec les dirigeants de l'Etat qui est le porteur de cette langue d'enseignement, c'est-à-dire avec la Roumanie »¹⁰⁰.

Le vice-ministre de l'éducation de la Transnistrie Valentina Guello a affirmé que la langue et la littérature roumaine¹⁰¹, aussi bien que l'histoire des Roumains¹⁰², enseignées aux élèves contribuent à la formation d'une échelle de valeurs d'un autre Etat, ce qui contrevient non seulement aux principes fondamentaux de l'éducation dans la République moldave transnistrienne, mais aussi à la Constitution de la République de Moldavie, qui a déclaré le moldave comme langue d'Etat¹⁰³.

La Transnistrie, qui s'est déclaré « Etat polyethnique »¹⁰⁴, accuse la République de Moldavie de promouvoir une politique éducationnelle fondée sur l'idée de la domination de la nation titulaire¹⁰⁵. « On enseigne aux enfants l'histoire d'un troisième Etat – non pas de la Transnistrie, ni

de la Moldavie, mais de la Roumanie. Ils sont privés de la possibilité de connaître l'histoire de leur contrée.»¹⁰⁶

Les affinités de la position transnistrienne en ce qui concerne les problèmes de l'enseignement de la langue et de l'histoire avec l'attitude du gouvernement moldave envers les écoles nationales ont été signalées par la presse moldave. Paradoxalement, dans la situation créée, les dirigeants de la République de Moldavie ont été obligés de défendre en Transnistrie ce qu'ils ont réfuté à Chişinău :

Est-ce que les gens de Voronin n'ont-ils pas non plus essayé de torpiller le système éducationnel de Moldavie par des tentatives de russification et dénationalisation de type stalinien, quand seulement les protestations énergiques de la part de la société civile et d'une grande partie de l'opposition, les ont obligés à se replier ? Voici que cette fois, bizarrement, les communistes se voient dans la situation, en tant que parti de gouvernement, de défendre en Transnistrie ce qu'ils ont essayé de détruire eux-mêmes il y a deux ans en Bessarabie¹⁰⁷.

Le problème des « écoles qui utilisent la graphie latine »¹⁰⁸ de la Transnistrie a été résolu, avec l'implication des organismes internationaux. Tout de même, le problème identitaire reste toujours ouvert en Transnistrie aussi bien qu'en République de Moldavie, toutes les deux étant des constructions de la politique nationale soviétique et en gardant ses concepts.

La situation ethnolinguistique de la République de Moldavie

Comment est-ce que se perçoivent les habitants de la République eux-mêmes, quelle identité se sont-ils appropriée ? On a cherché à répondre à ces questions à partir du sondage d'opinion publique *Ethnobaromètre*, effectué dans la République de Moldavie pendant la période décembre 2004 – janvier 2005, sur 5 échantillons : Moldaves/Roumains (822), Russes (412), Ukrainiens (413), Gagaouzes (472) et Bulgares (431)¹⁰⁹.

La première question de l'*Ethnobaromètre* était la suivante : « Les gens considèrent que dans la République de Moldavie habitent plusieurs groupes ethniques (Moldaves, Russes, Ukrainiens, Gagaouzes, Bulgares etc.) Qu'est-ce qui vous vous considérez ? ». Les échantillons ont été constitués

en fonction de cette réponse. Les personnes qui se sont déclarés Roumains ont été réunies dans le même échantillon avec ceux qui se croient Moldaves¹¹⁰.

Quels sont les critères qui déterminent une personne à s'identifier comme membre d'une ethnie ou bien à identifier ses co-citoyens qui appartiennent aux autres groupes ethniques ? Pour avoir une réponse à cette question, les organisateurs du sondage ont proposé aux répondants de choisir « trois choses les plus importants pour que quelqu'un soit considéré Moldave/Russe/Ukrainien/Gagaouze/Bulgare/Roumain »¹¹¹. Les représentants de tous les échantillons ont préféré les critères culturels, tels le lien de parenté, la langue commune, le respect pour les traditions, aussi bien que le fait de se sentir membre d'une ethnie.

1. Les éléments principaux utilisés pour l'identification

Groupe ethnique	Les éléments principaux utilisés pour l'autoidentification	Les éléments principaux utilisés pour l'hétéroidentification	Les éléments spécifiques
Moldaves/Roumains	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - le respect pour les traditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - le respect pour les traditions 	*
Russes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - se sentir Russe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - se sentir Bulgare/Moldave/ Roumain 	hétéroidentification pour les Gagaouzes : - habiter en Gagaouzie
Ukrainiens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue maternelle - se sentir Ukrainien 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue maternelle 	hétéroidentification pour les Moldaves : Le respect pour les traditions

Gagaouzes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille 	hétéroïdenti- fication pour les Russes et pour les Ukrainiens : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - la langue maternelle pour les Bulgares : - le respect pour les traditions
Bulgares	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - se sentir Bulgare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le lien de parenté - la langue parlée dans la famille - se sentir Bulgare 	hétéroïdenti- fication pour les Russes, les Ukrainiens, les Gagaouzes : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le respect pour les traditions pour les Russes : - la langue maternelle

Source : *Etnobarometru*, L'Institut des Politiques Publiques, Chişinău 2005.

Les représentants de toutes les ethnies accordent une grande importance aux critères linguistiques comme éléments d'identification : la langue parlée dans la famille et la langue maternelle, dont la première a été privilégiée par la plupart des répondants. On peut observer, en analysant le tableau 2, que le fait de parler en famille une certaine langue est très important pour l'identification d'une personne, surtout chez les Moldaves/Roumains. Par exemple, 48% de Moldaves/Roumains considèrent que, pour être considéré Moldave, il faut parler dans la famille la langue moldave/roumaine, 40% de cet échantillon croient qu'il est nécessaire de parler en famille le roumain pour être catalogué comme Roumain.

2. La langue parlée dans la famille comme élément d'identification

	Moldave	Russe	Ukrainien	Gagaouze	Bulgare	Roumain
Moldave / Roumain	48%	38%	37%	37%	38%	40%
Russe	33%	38%	34%	35%	34%	31%
Ukrainien	25%	27%	29%	21%	22%	23%
Gagaouze	32%	33%	31%	38%	32%	28%
Bulgare	35%	37%	39%	41%	46%	40%

Seuls les Ukrainiens préfèrent la langue maternelle comme élément d'autoidentification, mais aussi d'hétéroidentification. Par exemple, 40% d'Ukrainiens considèrent qu'une personne dont la langue maternelle est l'ukrainien pourrait être identifiée comme Ukrainien (voir le tableau 3). On pourrait expliquer une telle situation par le degré le plus élevé de russification des Ukrainiens par rapport aux autres ethnies (voir les tableaux 4 et 6).

3. La langue maternelle comme élément d'identification

	Moldave	Russe	Ukrainien	Gagaouze	Bulgare	Roumain
Moldave / Roumain	21%	25%	24%	24%	24%	25%
Russe	29%	34%	28%	31%	32%	32%
Ukrainien	35%	37%	40%	32%	35%	36%
Gagaouze	25%	33%	34%	31%	30%	29%
Bulgare	25%	32%	30%	27%	32%	28%

On peut noter une identité civique mal développée des répondants. Les interviewés accordent moins d'importance aux critères tels que la citoyenneté, le lieu de naissance ou de la résidence ou bien « le respect pour le drapeau national ». La seule exception est le cas des Gagaouzes, qui ont une identité régionale plus développée : 33% des répondants de cet échantillon considèrent que le fait d'habiter dans l'unité territoriale administrative Gagaouze Yeri est une des trois choses importantes pour considérer quelqu'un Gagaouze. Cette opinion est partagée aussi par 32% de Russes. Pourtant, les Gagaouzes se sentent aussi bien des citoyens

de la République de Moldavie (46%), que des habitants de leur localité (43%)¹¹².

La plupart des répondants s'identifient premièrement avec leur ethnie : 81% de Gagaouzes, 79% de Bulgares, 71% d'Ukrainiens, 58% de Russes. Les interviewés de l'échantillon Moldaves/Roumains ont du choisir entre l'identité moldave et roumaine, si bien que 81% d'entre eux se déclarent Moldaves et 14% se considèrent Roumains.

La seconde identification est la citoyenneté de la République de Moldavie : 68% Russes, 64% Ukrainiens, 57% Moldaves/Roumains, 55% Bulgares, 46% Gagaouzes. Il est surprenant de découvrir que la population majoritaire du pays s'identifie dans une moindre mesure à celui-ci. Cela peut être expliqué par un bas niveau de la culture politique des citoyens.

Les réalisateurs du sondage ont inclus dans un seul échantillon les répondants qui se perçoivent « Moldaves » et ceux qui se perçoivent « Roumains », s'est pourquoi il est difficile de juger quelle est la différence de perception de ces deux identités. Tout de même, certains traits spécifiques peuvent être perçus. Si on regarde l'autoidentification de cet échantillon, on peut observer la différence qui s'établit entre les Roumains et les Moldaves : les Moldaves sont plutôt « travailleurs » et « accueillants », tandis que les Roumains sont « civilisés » et « intelligents ». Cette perception est soutenue aussi par les représentants d'autres ethnies. Les Ukrainiens caractérisent les Roumains comme « civilisés » et « éduqués », tandis que les Moldaves sont pour eux « travailleurs » et « paisibles ». Par contre, les Roumains sont considérés « indifférents » et « paresseux » (les attributs négatifs choisis par les représentants de l'échantillon des Ukrainiens). Une autre opposition entre les Moldaves et les Roumains peut être observée en analysant les réponses données par les Gagaouzes. Pour eux aussi, les Roumains sont « civilisés », tandis que les Moldaves sont « arriérés ». En même temps, les Moldaves sont aussi « paisibles » et « gais » que les Russes, les Ukrainiens et les Bulgares. Les Roumains sont catalogués de « civilisés » aussi par les Russes, qui perçoivent les Moldaves comme des « paisibles » et « travailleurs », mais aussi comme des « arriérés ». Tous ces exemples nous font penser que dans la perception collective il existe une délimitation entre l'identité moldave et celle roumaine.

Ces observations confirment l'assertion selon laquelle « dans la République de Moldavie, ceux qui se considèrent Roumains se définissent par un degré supérieur d'éducation », si bien que « le terme 'Roumain' a avant tout une qualification culturelle »¹¹³.

Une autre différenciation intéressante dans le cadre de l'autoidentification des Moldaves/Roumains est le fait de percevoir les Roumains comme des « orgueilleux », et les Moldaves comme des « soumis ». Pour compléter ce tableau, il faut ajouter la perception des Russes par l'échantillon Moldaves/Roumains : ils sont considérés « agressifs ». D'ailleurs les Russes eux aussi caractérisent comme des « agressifs » tant les Moldaves que les Roumains. C'est encore une preuve des tensions qui persistent entre les Moldaves/Roumains et les Russes de la République de Moldavie.

L'opinion dominante des Moldaves/Roumains est que leurs relations avec les Russes se sont détériorées les 15 dernières années. Par contre, les Russes, les Ukrainiens, les Bulgares et les Gagaouzes croient que leurs relations avec les Moldaves/Roumains se sont plutôt améliorées.

L'anxiété des Moldaves/Roumains envers les autres groupes ethniques est la plus élevée. Environ 7% de cet échantillon considèrent que les Russes pourraient devenir une très grande menace pour le pays, pour les Moldaves ou pour leur famille, et autres 16% voient la possibilité d'un assez grand péril venu de la part des Russes¹⁴. Environ 2% de Moldaves déclarent qu'une très grande menace pourrait venir de la part des Gagaouzes et des Ukrainiens, 9% voient une menace assez grande qui pourrait venir de la part des Gagaouzes, et 8% - de la part des Ukrainiens.

Plus de 70% de Russes croient qu'il n'y a aucun péril qui viendrait de la part des Moldaves et qui pourrait menacer le pays, les Russes ou leur propre famille. L'attitude envers les Roumains est moins rassurante (60%). Par contre, quand il s'agit de la perception du péril venant de la part des Roumains, elle est plus élevée que pour les autres : 1% des Russes considèrent que les Roumains pourraient devenir très dangereux pour le pays, les Russes et leur propre famille, et environ 8% les considèrent assez dangereux.

La situation est similaire dans le cas des Bulgares, dont environ 60-70% ne manifestent aucune anxiété en ce qui concerne une possible menace de la part des Moldaves, Ukrainiens, Russes et Gagaouzes, tandis que leur sûreté diminue quand il s'agit de Roumains. Ainsi, pour les représentants de cette ethnie, les Roumains représentent le péril le plus important, suivi par les Moldaves et les Gagaouzes.

Il semble que l'identité roumaine est assez étrangère aux Gagaouzes. Plus de 50% d'entre eux ont choisi la variante « Je ne sais pas/Je ne réponds pas » comme réponse à la question sur les relations entre les

Gagaouzes et les Roumains. Seulement 33% des Gagaouzes déclarent qu'il y a des relations de collaboration entre les Gagaouzes et les Roumains de leur région, tandis que 41% disent qu'il n'y a aucune relation entre les Gagaouzes et les Roumains, car ils n'existent pas dans leur région. Par contre, 81% des Gagaouzes affirment que des relations de collaboration s'établissent entre les Gagaouzes et les Moldaves de leur région, et seulement 2% déclarent qu'il n'y pas des relations entre les Gagaouzes et les Moldaves, qui n'existent pas dans leur région¹¹⁵.

L'*Ethnobaromètre* ne fait pas une distinction entre la langue moldave et le roumain, ainsi qu'on ne peut pas voir quelle est la position des représentants de diverses ethnies quand il s'agit du dilemme du nom de la langue d'Etat¹¹⁶. Par contre, on a la possibilité d'esquisser la situation linguistique de la République.

Le russe est la langue la plus connue parmi les répondants¹¹⁷. Ainsi, 80% d'Ukrainiens déclarent qu'ils connaissent parfaitement le russe, les autres 14% - qu'ils le parlent très bien, et 4% - qu'ils arrivent à se faire comprendre en russe. Parmi les répondants bulgares et gagaouzes, 67% des Bulgares, respectivement 60% des Gagaouzes considèrent qu'ils connaissent parfaitement le russe, 23%, respectivement 29% disent qu'ils le parlent très bien, et 8% déclarent qu'ils réussissent à se faire comprendre. Le russe reste une langue accessible pour les Moldaves/Roumains, même si leur niveau de connaissance n'est pas si élevé : 27% maîtrisent parfaitement le russe, 35% le parlent très bien et 24% arrivent à se faire comprendre. 1% des Gagaouzes et 2% des Moldaves ont déclaré qu'ils ne savent aucun mot en russe. Environ 45% des Ukrainiens, des Bulgares et des Gagaouzes ont déclaré qu'ils parlent la langue russe à la maison.

Par contre, 33% des Gagaouzes, 14% des Bulgares, 5% des Russes et 4% des Ukrainiens disent qu'ils ne connaissent aucun mot de moldave, et encore 50% des Gagaouzes, 30% des Bulgares, 15% des Ukrainiens et 14% des Russes déclarent qu'ils ne savent aucun mot de roumain. Tout de même, la plupart des répondants : 85% des Moldaves/Roumains, 71% des Russes et des Ukrainiens, 61% des Bulgares, 56% des Gagaouzes affirme que tous les habitants de la République de Moldavie devraient connaître le moldave/roumain. Pour la nécessité de la maîtrise du russe par les citoyens du pays se sont prononcés 67% des Ukrainiens, 66% des Gagaouzes, 64% des Russes, 55% des Bulgares et 35% des Moldaves/Roumains.

Quand même, on observe que la langue russe est utilisée dans les familles des représentants des minorités ethniques plus souvent avec les enfants qu'elle en est parlée avec les parents ou les grands-parents¹¹⁸.

4. L'utilisation de la langue russe dans la famille

	mère	père	grand-parents	enfants
Moldave / Roumain	3%	3%	2%	3%
Russe	69%	69%	51%	80%
Ukrainien	19%	18%	11%	41%
Gagaouze	11%	10%	7%	34%
Bulgare	16%	15%	12%	32%

Le pourcentage de ceux qui parlent le moldave/roumain en famille a connu une légère croissance, surtout parmi les Moldaves/Roumains (voir le tableau 5).

5. L'utilisation de la langue moldave/roumaine dans la famille¹¹⁹

	mère	père	grands-parents	enfants
Moldave / Roumain	72 (11)%	69(11)%	59(10)%	76(12)%
Russe	6(1)%	5(1)%	5(1)%	5(2)%
Ukrainien	2(1)%	1(1)%	1(0)%	5(2)%
Gagaouze	0(0)%	0(0)%	1(0)%	0(0)%
Bulgare	4(0)%	4(0)%	3(0)%	6(0)%

On observe aussi un décroissement de l'utilisation de leur langue nationale dans les familles des minorités ethniques (voir le tableau 6). Exception faite par les Russes : 80% d'entre eux parlent la langue maternelle avec leurs enfants, tandis que 69% la parlent (ou l'ont parlée) avec leurs parents, et 51% - avec leurs grands-parents.

6. L'utilisation de la langue nationale dans les familles des minorités ethniques

Ethnie	mère	père	grands-parents	enfants
Russe	69%	69%	51%	80%
Ukrainien	58%	59%	57%	48%
Gagaouze	79%	78%	77%	61%
Bulgare	64%	65%	63%	50%

On a vu que pour la plupart des répondants la langue parlée dans la famille est un des critères déterminants pour l'identification ethnique d'une personne. Pourtant, les résultats du tableau précédent montrent que dans la réalité l'état des choses se présente d'une manière différente, car une grande partie de personnes qui se sont déclarées appartenant à une certaine ethnie ne parlent pas sa langue dans la famille. Par contre, quand il s'agit de la langue maternelle des répondants, la grande majorité est tentée de l'identifier avec son ethnie (voir le tableau 7).

7. La langue maternelle¹²⁰

Ethnie	Moldave	Roumain	Russe	Ukrainien	Gagaouze	Bulgare	Autre	Nsp/Nrp
Moldave/ Roumain	86%	17%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Russe	6%	3%	94%	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Ukrainien	4%	1%	25%	82%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gagaouze	0%	0%	14%	0%	97%	1%	0%	0%
Bulgare	6%	1%	22%	1%	2%	92%	0%	0%

Le statut de langue officielle du moldave est soutenu par la majorité des répondants : 93% des Ukrainiens et des Bulgares, 92% des Gagaouzes, 89% des Russes et 77% des Moldaves/Roumains. Le roumain comme langue d'Etat est soutenu seulement par 25% des Moldaves/Roumains, 13% des Russes, 7% des Ukrainiens, 6% des Bulgares, 1% des Gagaouzes.

Les représentants de toutes les ethnies reconnaissent que chaque habitant de la République de Moldavie devrait connaître la langue moldave/roumain : 85% des Moldaves/Roumains, 71% des Russe, 68% des Ukrainiens, 61% des Bulgares et 61% des Gagaouzes. Les opinions se séparent quand il s'agit de la nécessité de connaître le russe : les Moldaves/Roumains plutôt n'agrément pas cette idée (35% pro et 34% contre), tandis que les représentants des minorités soutiennent l'importance du russe presque dans la même mesure que du moldave, et parfois même plus (par exemple, les Gagaouzes – voir le tableau 8).

8. La nécessité de la connaissance du Moldave/Roumain et du Russe par les habitants de la République de Moldavie¹²¹

Ethnie	Moldave / Roumain	Russe
Moldave / Roumain	85 / -6	35 / -34
Russe	71 / -13	64 / -15
Ukrainien	68 / -13	67 / -13
Gagaouze	56 / -23	66 / -20
Bulgare	61 / -20	55 / -25

On observe aussi l'attitude positive envers l'étude du roumain/moldave à l'école par les enfants d'autres nationalités de la République de Moldavie : 93% des Russes et des Ukrainiens, 89% des Moldaves/Roumains, 79% des Bulgares, 78% des Gagaouzes.

La majorité des Moldaves/Roumains plaide la cause d'une seule langue officielle du pays (72%). L'initiative de l'officialisation d'une seule langue est soutenue aussi par 23% des Bulgares, 18% des Ukrainiens, 16% des Russes et des Gagaouzes. Les représentants des minorités ethniques se prononcent majoritairement pour deux langues d'Etat : 70% des Russes, 64% des Ukrainiens et des Bulgares, 50% des Gagaouzes, tandis que seulement 20% des Moldaves/Roumains ont opté pour cette possibilité.

9. La nécessité de la connaissance de l'ukrainien, du gagaouze et du bulgare dans les zones où ces ethnies sont majoritaires¹²²

Ethnie	Ukrainien	Gagaouze	Bulgare
Moldave / Roumain	26 / -36	28 / -35	26 / -36
Russe	36 / -30	36 / -29	36 / -30
Ukrainien	42 / -27	38 / -22	40 / -21
Gagaouze	29 / -27	33 / -27	30 / -27
Bulgare	23 / -42	21 / -41	23 / -41

Les minorités linguistiques ne sont pas mobilisées en vue de donner un statut spécial à leurs propres langues, mais elles plaident plutôt pour la valorisation du russe. L'ethnie moldave/roumaine est la seule à ne pas agréer une telle initiative. Le fait que le statut de langue officielle du moldave ne soit pas disputé par les représentants des minorités, même si c'est une langue inconnue pour une grande partie de la population, montre plutôt la fonction symbolique de la langue de la nation titulaire.

On pourrait parler de la constitution en République de Moldavie d'une identité russophone, définie par David Laitin¹²³. Cette identité est confirmée aussi par les options sur l'orientation du pays, choisies par les interviewers. Les Moldaves/Roumains sont les seuls majoritairement proeuropéen (62%), tandis que les représentants des autres ethnies préfèrent plutôt l'intégration dans la CEI. Le soutien le plus important pour la Communauté des Etats Indépendants vient de la part des Ukrainiens et Gagaouzes (48%), suivis par les Russes (41%) et par les Bulgares (35%). En même temps, l'option des Russes et des Bulgares est partagée entre l'option de rester dans la CEI et celle de joindre l'Union Européenne, car pour cette dernière option se sont prononcés 38% des Russes et 36% des Bulgares.

10. L'orientation du pays¹²⁴

	Moldaves/ Roumains	Russes	Ukrainiens	Gagaouzes	Bulgares
Ne faire partie d'aucune alliance/ union	7%	6%	3%	8%	7%
S'intégrer à UE	62%	38%	21%	18%	36%
Rester dans la CEI	14%	41%	48%	32%	35%
Ne sais pas	16%	12%	24%	19%	19%
Ne réponds pas	1%	2%	4%	7%	3%

Une scission entre les Moldaves/Roumains et les autres ethnies peut être observée. Les Moldaves, majoritaire du point de vue numérique, sont minoritaires du point de vue des positions défendues.

Le recensement moldave : quelle stratégie?

Les résultats préliminaires du recensement effectué en 2004¹²⁵ confirment le statut de « nationalité majoritaire » des Moldaves¹²⁶. Leur nombre a augmenté en comparaison avec les résultats du recensement de 1989 de 6,2% : en 1989 les Moldaves constituaient 69,9% de la population de la République, tandis qu'en 2004 ils représentent 76,1%. On a enregistré aussi une croissance de la population d'origine roumaine : de 2477 personnes (0,1%) en 1989, jusqu'à 70275 personnes (2,1%) en 2004. Le nombre des représentants de la nationalité gagaouze, qui constituent 4,4% de la population de la République a augmenté aussi, ce qui est de 0,3% de plus qu'en 1989. Par contre, on a saisi une diminution de la population russe (4,0% de moins), ukrainienne (2,9% de moins) et bulgare (0,1% de moins), aussi bien que des « autres nationalités » (1,5% de moins) par rapport au recensement précédent.

Les recensements projettent, par les statistiques, la façon de se représenter culturellement choisie par les Etats. C'est pourquoi une analyse des questionnaires moldaves, la manière de formuler les questions concernant la situation linguistique du pays, aussi bien que des instructions fournies pour le remplissage des questionnaires est en mesure de refléter la politique de l'Etat.

La langue a été perçue comme le principal marqueur de la « nationalité » en URSS, aussi bien comme dans l'Empire Russe. Dès les premiers recensements russes la catégorie de la « langue maternelle » concernait l'appartenance nationale des répondants¹²⁷. Les questionnaires des recensements soviétiques ont maintenu la même signification de cette catégorie, sans la définir dans leurs instructions. L'identification de la langue maternelle avec la nationalité a suscité l'opinion selon laquelle il faudra exclure la question sur la langue maternelle du recensement de 1970¹²⁸. Pourtant, tous les recensements soviétiques ultérieurs ont gardé cette question, à laquelle a été rajoutée une deuxième, sur la connaissance d'autres langues de l'URSS.

Les questions sur la nationalité et sur la langue persistent dans tous les recensements post-soviétiques, mais une différence de traitement de celles-ci renvoie une image intéressante du rôle de la langue dans les projets de construction nationale de chaque pays¹²⁹. Les premiers recensements effectués dans les Républiques issues de l'URSS ont montré que le problème de l'identité ethnolinguistique des citoyens de ces nouveaux Etats reste toujours actuel, surtout dans les pays où le clivage ethnique le plus important est d'ordre linguistique¹³⁰. La question sur la « langue maternelle » a été exclue du questionnaire russe¹³¹, mais elle a été gardée dans les recensements des autres Républiques, dont la plupart des répondants, comme auparavant, ont interprété comme la langue de leurs origines, plutôt que la langue qu'ils parlent réellement la plupart du temps. Dans le recensement moldave, aussi comme dans ceux des pays baltes, la question sur la langue maternelle est précédée par la question sur la nationalité. C'est un motif de plus d'identifier ces deux notions.

Le document concernant la signification des questions du recensement moldave mentionne le fait que la « langue maternelle » peut coïncider ou non avec l'appartenance ethnique¹³². En ce cas-là, la deuxième question, sur la « langue parlée habituellement », vient superposer la première, car, si la langue maternelle n'est pas celle des origines, elle doit être celle utilisée habituellement.

Le même document sur la signification des questions du recensement moldave dit que la comparaison des données obtenues des réponses à ces deux questions avec les données sur le lieu de naissance des répondants fournira une information sur le degré de l'assimilation des personnes qui sont nés en dehors de la République. On a vu selon les résultats de l'*Ethnobaromètre*, qu'on peut parler d'une assimilation linguistique¹³³ des ethnies minoritaires de la République surtout par la langue russe. Une telle situation peut être aussi bien attestée dans d'autres Etats ex-soviétiques, où on constate un statut assez élevé de la langue russe. C'est la raison qui a déterminé la plupart de ces Etats d'éviter dans leurs recensements la question sur la langue de conversation courante. Pourtant, une telle question a été incluse dans le recensement biélorusse, où on constate une hégémonie de facto du russe dans les organes de l'Etat et la marginalisation de la langue biélorusse dans les statistiques¹³⁴.

Les questions sur la langue maternelle et la langue parlée habituellement incluses dans le recensement moldave doivent soutenir l'image de l'Etat polyethnique présentée par la Conception de la politique nationale moldave, en soutenant d'une part le statut de la nation moldave en tant que « nation fondatrice », et d'autre part en légiférant le « bilinguisme moldave-russe ».

Le statut privilégié de la langue russe par rapport aux langues d'autres minorités nationales¹³⁵ a été confirmé lors du recensement moldave, où des questionnaires dans deux langues (en roumain et en russe) ont été émis. Par contre, la loi estonienne sur le recensement a établi que les questionnaires doivent être rédigés et complétés uniquement dans la langue estonienne¹³⁶.

La troisième question sur la connaissance des langues incluse dans le questionnaire moldave vise « d'autres langues parlées couramment ». Cette question est devenue plus ouverte par rapport à son correspondant des recensements soviétiques, qui se limitaient aux langues de l'URSS. Dans tous les recensements post-soviétiques, il s'agit de la connaissance de toute autre langue, tandis que le degré de subjectivité persiste, car il est difficile d'établir si le répondeur « parle couramment » une langue ou l'autre. Le traitement de cette dernière question sur la connaissance d'autres langues que la langue maternelle a supportées des changements essentiels dans les recensements post-soviétiques des pays baltes¹³⁷. Premièrement, il s'agit de montrer l'importance de l'enseignement des langues ouest-européenne, et deuxièmement, de savoir dans quelle

mesure sont répandues les autres langues des groupes ethniques ou nationaux de ces Etats.

Conclusions

Dans les politiques du nationalisme, la langue est toujours un point de dispute. Premièrement, c'est parce que la langue, contrairement à la religion, ne peut pas être séparée de l'Etat¹³⁸. L'Etat moderne peut fonctionner comme une agence séculaire, en abandonnant les pratiques religieuses au domaine communautaire et individuel, mais, par contre, il ne peut pas opérer en dehors de la « haute culture », dont la langue est le noyau¹³⁹. La deuxième raison pour laquelle la langue en tant que marqueur d'identité conduit si souvent aux conflits est son caractère variable, beaucoup plus que la religion. Les gens ajoutent des langues à leur répertoire linguistique, peuvent changer leur langue « privée » pendant leur vie ou, le plus souvent, peuvent avoir des enfants dont la langue privée soit différente de celle des parents.

L'officialisation de la langue « moldave » dans la République de Moldavie (1989) n'a pas abouti aux changements radicaux de la situation linguistique du pays. Le statut de « langue de communication interethnique » conféré au russe a contribué à la consolidation d'une identité russophone qui réunie les représentants des ethnies minoritaires. On observe une forte scission de la société moldave en deux parties : les roumanophones et les russophones. Les roumanophones se divisent, à leur tour, entre les Moldaves et les Roumains. L'identité moldave, vivement soutenue par l'Etat et rejetée par la plupart des intellectuels, est appropriée par une grande majorité de la population du pays.

Le principe de continuité, indispensable aux « traditions inventées »¹⁴⁰, promu par les dirigeants moldaves actuels, amène plutôt à l'ancienne République soviétique et non pas à la Principauté de Moldavie, comme le déclare la Conception de la politique nationale de la République de Moldavie. Ce document peut servir lui-même comme une preuve de la continuité de la politique nationale soviétique en Moldavie indépendante.

Selon Andrei Pippidi, « la tradition n'est pas inventée, elle résulte d'une concurrence entre les divers filons de la mémoire collective auxquels les groupes sociaux les plus actifs sont dévoués »¹⁴¹. Cette compétition est évidente en République de Moldavie, où les représentants de différents groupes sociaux déclarent leur rattachement aux identités

différentes. Un exemple suggestif peut servir le conflit qui a éclaté en 2003 au Théâtre National « Mihai Eminescu », dont les artistes ont refusé de célébrer l'anniversaire de 70 ans de cette institution (le premier théâtre national), fondée, d'après l'avis des fonctionnaires du Ministère de la Culture, en 1933 à Tiraspol, la capitale de la RASSM. Les artistes du Théâtre National, soutenus par les historiens et les exégètes du genre, considèrent que l'histoire du théâtre a commencé dans la République de Moldavie au moins en 1920, l'année de la création du premier théâtre d'Etat de la Bessarabie¹⁴².

Les représentants de la nouvelle élite intellectuelle de la République de Moldavie ont effectué la rupture avec la tradition de l'époque communiste, en déclarant leur envie d'intégration dans la roumanité, ce qui a conduit à la naissance d'une minorité roumaine, ou bien à la renaissance d'une identité roumaine, à l'Est de Prut. Par contre, la continuité de l'identité nationale moldave a été assurée par les symboles nationaux de la période soviétique (Étienne le Grand, *Miorița*) forgés par les maîtres spirituels de cette époque. Il faut ajouter les monuments qui renvoient au passé soviétique de la nation moldave et qui représentent les « souvenirs politiques »¹⁴³ communs pour la nation fondatrice de l'Etat et les représentants d'autres ethnies.

NOTES

- ¹ Alexandra Goujon, *Nationalisme et démocratie à la fin de l'URSS. Les Fronts Populaires d'Ukraine et de Biélorussie (1988-1991)*, thèse de doctorat, l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, 2001.
- ² Isabelle Kendler, « The changing status of Russian in the Soviet Union », *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 33 (1982), pp. 7-39-; P. Sériot, « La langue, corps pur de la nation. Le discours sur la langue de la Russie brejnévienne », *Les Temps modernes* 550 (mai 1992), pp. 186-208.
- ³ Le 31 août et le 1 septembre 1989 le Parlement moldave a adopté la Législation linguistique constituée de trois lois: la *Loi sur le statut de la langue officielle dans la République de Moldavie* (31 août 1989), la *Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues parlées sur le territoire de la République de Moldavie* (31 août 1989) et la *Loi sur le retour de la langue moldave à la graphie latine* (1 septembre 1989).
- ⁴ J. Maurais, « Redéfinition du statut des langues en Union Soviétique », *Language Problems & Language Planning* 16/1 (1992), p. 1-20.
- ⁵ Carrère d'Encausse H., *La Gloire des nations ou la fin de l'Empire soviétique*, Fayard, Paris 1991.
- ⁶ La *Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues parlées sur le territoire de la République de Moldavie* (31 août 1989).
- ⁷ Les Soviets ont présenté le critère linguistique comme fondamental pour l'identité nationale et le maintien de la notion de langue moldave devait conduire à la validité de l'idée d'une nation moldave, non-roumaine. La nouvelle langue moldave devait soutenir la création d'une nouvelle identité nationale, celle du peuple moldave. Pour effectuer ce séparatisme linguistique, on a substitué à l'alphabet latin l'alphabet cyrillique, on a vulgarisé la langue, on a introduit de nombreuses créations artificielles, calquées sur le modèle russe. Plus que ça, on a émis la thèse de l'origine slave de la langue moldave. Ch. King, « The language of politics and the politics of language : moldavian identity and soviet-romanian relations, 1985-1991 », *Revue roumaine d'études internationales* XXVI/2(118) (1992), pp. 137-155.
- ⁸ La République de Moldavie a proclamé son indépendance le 27 août 1991. Ce jour est déclaré fête nationale de l'État moldave.
- ⁹ Tamara Cărauş, « National identity: invention or necessity ? Case study: Republic of Moldova », *New Europe College Regional Program Yearbook 2001-2002*, Bucarest 2003, p. 17-74.
- ¹⁰ Ch. King, "Moldovan Identity and the Politics of Pan-Romanianism", *Slavic Review* 53/2 (1994), pp.345-369, distingue les *moldovénistes* et les *pro-roumains*. Voir aussi *id.*, *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the politics of culture*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford 2000, *passim*.
- ¹¹ A. Marino, *Politică şi cultură. Pentru o nouă cultură română*, Polirom, Iaşi 1996, p. 268.

- 12 E. Hobsbawm, « Inventing traditions », ed. E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press 1996, p. 1-14.
- 13 Caroline Ibos, « La délégitimation du système soviétique, des *chestidessiatniki* aux *perestroitchiki* », (dir.) Anne de Tinguy, *L'effondrement de l'Empire Soviétique*, Etablissement Emile Bruylant, Bruxelles 1998, p. 117-138.
- 14 On préfère le terme « soixantistes », utilisé par M. Riabtchouk, *De la « Petite-Russie » à l'Ukraine*, L'Harmattan, Paris 2003, à celui de « chestidessiatniki », utilisé par Caroline Ibos, *op. cit.* Comme le terme a été traduit aussi en roumain, l'utilisation de la variante russe nous semble inconvenante, c'est pourquoi on a adopté la traduction française. Mykola Riabtchouk inclut ici « la génération de créateurs qui a pu œuvrer entre le « dégel » de Khrouchtchev et la « glaciation » sous Brejnev, et qui a été à l'origine d'un grand essor de la littérature et des arts ukrainiens, encouragée par une relative liberté d'expression ». Pour Caroline Ibos, il s'agit des « hommes des années soixante, qui ont accédé au politique dans le contexte du dégel ». Cette chercheuse parle aussi bien de jeunes intellectuels qui « profitent du contexte du début des années soixante pour intégrer les institutions politiques et académiques ».
- 15 Pour caractériser la situation sociolinguistique d'une langue, le sociolinguiste Heinz Kloss a opposé son *statut* (le statut et les fonctions d'une langue) et son *corpus* (l'action volontaire sur les caractéristiques « internes » de la langue). Cité par D. Daoust, J. Maurais, « L'aménagement linguistique », J. Maurais (dir.), *Politique et aménagement linguistiques*, Québec 1997, p. 7-46.
- 16 I. Ciocanu, *Temelia nemuririi noastre*, Ed. Pontos, Chişinău 2005, p. 3; Voir aussi G. Gogin, « Problema limbii noastre materne niciodată n-a fost scoasă de pe ordinea de zi » (Le problème de notre langue n'a jamais été éliminé de l'ordre de jour), *Nistru*, 1989, nr. 4, p. 94.
- 17 Caroline Ibos, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 18 I. Frunţaşu, *O istorie etnopolitică a Basarabiei (1812-2002)*, Cartier, Chişinău 2002.
- 19 La République Autonome Soviétique Socialiste Moldave a été créée le 12 octobre 1924 à l'Est du Dniestr, dans le cadre de la République Soviétique Socialiste Ukrainienne. Conformément au « Mémoire sur la nécessité de la création de la République Socialiste Moldave », signé par un groupe d'initiative conduit par Grigori Kotovski et visé par Mihail Frunze, les motifs décisifs de l'institution de la République Autonome Soviétique Socialiste Moldave étaient de nature politique : « La République Moldave pourrait jouer le même rôle de facteur politique et de propagande que joue la République Biélorusse face à la Pologne et la République de Carélie face à la Finlande... L'union du territoire de deux côtés de Dniestr pourrait servir comme couteau stratégique de l'URSS pour les Balkans (par la Dobroudja) et pour l'Europe Centrale (par la Bucovine et la Galicie). L'URSS pourrait les

- utiliser comme ponts dans des buts militaires et politiques ». La construction de la RASSM repose sur la théorie de l'existence d'un peuple moldave et d'une langue moldave, différents du peuple roumain et de la langue roumaine. Voir Gh. Negru, *Politica etnolingvistică în R.S.S. Moldovenească*, Prut Internațional, Chișinău 2000, p. 15.
- 20 *Ibidem*.
- 21 *Ibidem*, p. 44.
- 22 *Ibidem*, p. 47.
- 23 I. Frunțașu, *op. cit.*, p. 221-223.
- 24 La création des Fronts populaires est considérée elle aussi comme un moyen pour les autorités soviétiques d'orienter les activités de ces organisations dans le sens de la perestroïka. Voir Alexandra Goujon, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 25 Ion Druță a quitté Chisinau après la parution de son roman *Povara bunătații noastre*, pour lequel l'écrivain a été proposé pour le Prix d'Etat de l'Union Soviétique. Le Comité Central du Parti Communiste de RSSM s'est opposé à cette initiative et Ion Druță n'a pas reçu le prix.
- 26 Ana Margarint, *Elita politică din Republica Moldova : aspecte ale formării și dezvoltării*, thèse de doctorat, Université d'Etat de Moldavie, Chișinău 2004, pp. 77-78, constate que la circulation des élites constitue l'élément déterminant de la structure politique de l'État. Dans les conditions de la dictature totalitaire, ce processus s'est déformé, car la formation de la contre-élite s'était arrêtée d'une manière artificielle, par des répressions des personnes non-conformistes ou des dissidents. Ce qui sépare la contre-élite de la dissidence est son institutionnalisation (l'existence de leaders, d'un système de valeurs, d'un programme, de ses propres structures). La contre-élite crée ses propres institutions à l'intérieur d'une société dominée par l'élite gouvernante, pour contester les institutions officielles et leur légitimité.
- 27 Ana Margarint, *op. cit.*, p. 77-78.
- 28 Pendant la période de la perestroïka, en Moldavie, aussi bien que dans d'autres régions de l'URSS, des groupes indépendants pour la défense des droits nationaux ont été formés. Il s'agit d'abord de la constitution, en novembre 1988, du Cénacle littéraire musical *Alexei Mateevici*, suivi par la création, la même année, du Mouvement Démocratique pour le Soutien de la Perestroïka. Le 20 mai 1988 les deux formations ont fusionné, en constituant le Front Populaire de Moldavie. Sous la pression massive de ces mouvements nationaux culturels et politiques, les revendications des intellectuels moldaves en ce qui concerne la langue ont été réalisées en 1989.
- 29 Ionescu D., *From SSMR to Republic of Moldova. + / - PMR*, Museum, Chișinău, 2002, p. 75.
- 30 King Ch., « The language of politics and the politics of language : moldavian identity and soviet-romanian relations, 1985-1991 », dans *Revue roumaine d'études internationales*, XXVI, 2 (118), Bucarest, 1992, pp. 137-155.

- 31 Mircea Snegur, le président du Soviet Suprême moldave a participé, auprès des dirigeants du Front populaire de la Moldavie, à la Grande Assemblée Nationale où a posé le problème de la langue nationale. Cette position du chef du nouveau législatif, aussi bien que certaines notes divergentes de ses discours sur le problème de la langue, indiquent son intention d'assumer la « paternité » du processus de la démocratisation de la société et de prendre l'initiative politique détenue à cette époque par le FPM.
- 32 A son troisième congrès du février 1992 le FPM se transforme d'un « mouvement de masse » dans un parti politique (Front Populaire Chrétien Démocrate) et inclut dans son statut l'engagement de l'union moldo-roumaine.
- 33 Les lois linguistiques réunissent presque toutes les demandes du Front Populaire, bien que la seule référence déclarée sur l'unité de la langue moldave et roumaine soit plutôt alambiquée.
- 34 Le terme « russophones » était utilisé pour dénommer les Russes (13% de la population de la Moldavie) et les Ukrainiens (12,8%). Les Moldaves constituaient 64,5% de la population.
- 35 Cette minorité est représentée par les Gagaouzes, qui constituaient 3,5% de la population du pays. En effet, seuls 4,4% des Gagaouzes (recensement de 1989) parlaient couramment la langue de la population titulaire de la République.
- 36 En 1989, moins de 4% de la population non-titulaire de la Moldavie considérait le moldave/roumain sa deuxième langue, tandis que presque 60% de la population de la Moldavie considéraient le russe sa langue maternelle ou la deuxième langue.
- 37 Les analystes qui ont étudié les racines de ces conflits affirment leur caractère non-ethnique. La population de la Transnistrie ne diffère pas, du point de vue ethnique, de la population du reste du territoire de la République de Moldavie. La séparation de cette région a été faite suite aux intérêts géopolitiques de la Russie dans ce territoire. En ce qui concerne la Gagaouzie il s'agit plutôt des intérêts défendus par certains groupes locaux. Le problème linguistique a servi comme prétexte pour le déclenchement de ces deux conflits. Voir O. Nantoi, *Conflictul din zona de Est a Republicii Moldova – o încercare de abordare nouă*, Institutul de Politici Publice, 2002.
- 38 L'incapacité des dirigeants du pays à résoudre les dissensions interethniques a conduit vers la recomposition du haut de l'élite politique de la République de Moldavie. Vers la moitié de 1993, les postes du président, du premier ministre, du ministre des affaires étrangères, du président de parlement ont été occupés par les anciens membres du Politburo du parti communiste.
- 39 Mircea Snegur, « Republica Moldova este țara cetățenilor săi » (La République de Moldova est le pays de ses citoyens), *Pămînt și oameni*, 12 février 1994, nr. 3. La version écrite du discours du président a présenté une série de notes qui comprenaient des extraits des œuvres historiques et littéraires

dans lesquels le terme "moldave" a été utilisé pour décrire la population majoritaire d'entre le Prut et le Dniestr.

40 Une deuxième grande vague de manifestations pour la défense du statut de la langue et de l'histoire roumaine dans la République de Moldavie a eu lieu à Chişinău en janvier - février 2002. Ces protestes ont été provoqués par la décision du gouvernement communiste de rendre obligatoire l'enseignement du russe dans les écoles moldaves et de remplacer le cours de l'histoire des Roumains par l'histoire de la Moldova.

41 Dès son début littéraire par le recueil de nouvelles *La noi în sat* (1953), Ion Druţă évite l'encadrement dans « la méthode du réalisme socialiste » et exploite largement « la spécificité nationale », même si parfois la critique littéraire lui a reproché le fait d'évader de la réalité, en se rapprochant plutôt du folklore. L'œuvre littéraire de Ion Druţă a fait l'objet des analyses diverses, dont la plupart sont favorables. Par contre, ce qui a suscité une critique dure de la part de l'intellectualité du pays est la position « moldovéniste » de l'écrivain et le refus de la « roumanité ».

42 Maria Şleahţişchi, « Publicistica lui Ion Druţă sub semnul manipulării », *Contrafort* : 9-10 (95-96), septembre-octobre 2002.

43 *Ibidem.*

44 *Ibidem.*

45 Il s'agit premièrement de la période de perestroïka. Un exemple suggestif pour cette première étape peut être la législation linguistique, adoptée en 1989, dont l'ambiguïté et le caractère de compromis ont été remarquées ultérieurement. La deuxième période correspond à la gouvernance du PDAM, ayant comme signes distinctifs le Congrès *Casa noastră – Republica Moldova*, aussi que la nouvelle Constitution moldave. Et la troisième période commence avec l'arrivée au pouvoir du parti des communistes, dont l'œuvre représentatif est la Conception de la politique nationale de la République de Moldavie.

46 Maria Şleahţişchi, „Publicistica lui Ion Druţă sub semnul manipulării”, *Contrafort* : 9-10 (95-96), septembre-octobre 2002.

47 Le projet de Ion Druţă a été présenté par l'auteur même à la télévision nationale dans l'émission « L'heure de l'éclaircissement de l'esprit ». Voir V. Gârneţ, *Intellectualul ca diversiune*, Polirom, Iaşi 2005, p. 93.

48 Cité par Maria Şleahţişchi, *op. cit.*

49 Le Discours du président du Parlement de la République de Moldova, Mme Eugenia Ostapciuc, à l'inauguration du monument « Le cierge de la Reconnaissance », Soroca, 27 mars 2004.

50 L'élément central de ce complexe monumental est *Le cierge de la Reconnaissance* (24 mètres de hauteur), qui symbolise la tombe de *Badea Mior*. Le bougeoir représente une chapelle, les quatre colonnes sont des niches ovales avec quatre vieilleses. Au centre, sous la coupole, se trouve la cinquième vieilleuse, la plus grande. La flamme de ces cinq vieilleses ne devrait pas s'éteindre « aussi longtemps que le peuple moldave habite dans

- ce pays ». A l'entrée du complexe, le visiteur peut lire l'inscription suivante : „Voyageur, arrête-toi ! En haut brûle le Cierge de la Reconnaissance. Et si, dans ta vie, tu éprouves une reconnaissance envers quelqu'un et pour quelque chose, monte, prie, et continue ton chemin ! »
- 51 Constantin Cheianu, « Badea Voronin », *Jurnal de Chișinău*, nr. 170, 21 martie 2003.
- 52 Le complexe commémoratif *Capul de Pod Șerpeni* est consacré à l'opération Iași – Chișinău de 1944, la seule bataille de la deuxième Guerre Mondiale qui ait eu lieu sur le territoire de la Bessarabie. Ce complexe commémoratif, inauguré le 22 août 2004, comporte quelques éléments : le feu éternel, la Chapelle de la Souffrance, le tombeau du Soldat Inconnu, l'Arc de la Gloire, le Rempart de la Mémoire, l'Allée de la Victoire, l'Allée de la Tristesse, la Terrasse Panoramique, le Parc Commémoratif.
- 53 Voir, sur ce terme, Angela Demian, « Logiques identitaires, logiques étatiques. Les relations entre la Roumanie et la République de Moldavie », (dir. Catherine Durandin), *Perspectives roumaines. Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne*, L'Harmattan, Paris 2004, p. 245 : « Le terme de « Statalitate » (*gosudarstvennost'*) peut être considéré comme un euphémisme signifiant « État ». Il désigne une unité politique qui n'est pas nécessairement dotée d'une pleine souveraineté (ainsi, la République soviétique moldave n'était pas un État, mais la population majoritaire bénéficiait d'une « statalitate » découlant de l'articulation d'un territoire et d'une « nationalité »). Actuellement, la notion désigne tant le processus de consolidation de l'État nouvellement créé que l'idéologie au service de cet objectif (d'où le terme d'étatiste). En dépit de son utilisation courante dans le discours politique, la notion de *statalitate* n'est pas dotée d'un contenu rigoureusement défini. »
- 54 Vladimir Bulat, « Starea națiunii, Moldova », *Contrafort* : 9-10 (131-132), septembre - octobre 2005.
- 55 Le Discours du président du Parlement de la République de Moldova, Mme Eugenia Ostapciuc, à l'inauguration du monument « Le cierge de la Reconnaissance », Sorocea, 27.03.2004, <http://xv.parlament.md/news/27.03.2004/>
- 56 Les critiques littéraires Haralambie Corbu et Mihai Dolgan, aussi bien que l'écrivain Dumitru Matcovschi représentent la même génération des « soixantistes ». Haralambie Corbu utilise la démythification de l'idée de « roumanité » proposée par l'historien Lucian Boia, dans le but de soutenir le mythe de « moldovénisme ». Voir V. Ciobanu, *Anatomia unui faliment geopolitic : Republica Moldova*, Polirom, Iași 2005, p. 71-72. Pourtant, il ne s'agit pas d'un enrégimentement de tous les écrivains soixantistes dans l'oeuvre de la moldovenisation. Cette même génération a donné aussi bien des personnalités qui ont été parmi les premiers écrivains bessarabiens qui se sont intégrés dans le circuit littéraire roumain.
- 57 Cristina Porcesco, « Omagiu adus lui Constantin Stere la 140 de la naștere », *Moldova Suverană*, Nr. 197, 11 novembre 2004.

- 58 Constantin Cheianu, « Vina intelectualilor in posttotalitarism », *Revista Sud-Est*, 2000/1-2, p. 39-40.
- 59 *Ibidem*.
- 60 V. Gârneț, *Intelectualul ca diversiune*, Polirom, Iași 2005, p. 97.
- 61 Le journaliste V. Gârneț, *Intelectualul...*, p. 23-25, parle de l'ampleur qu'on a donnée à l'œuvre et à la personnalité de Andrei Lupan lors de la célébration de son anniversaire de 85 ans. Cet événement a été vivement soutenu par une partie de la presse moldave, même celle de langue russe, et par la télévision nationale, qui ont qualifié Andrei Lupan de « pilier de notre dignité », « fondateur de culture nationale ». Cette « caravane anniversaire » dirigée par le pouvoir moldave, en quête de « piliers sur lesquels il pourrait bâtir la nouvelle idéologie d'Etat », a été présenté par V. Gârneț parallèlement à un autre événement, la fonte, dans un Combinat de carton de Chișinău, des livres de littérature roumaine classique et contemporaine, des dons parvenus de la Roumanie.
- 62 Le 23 juin 1990, le Parlement moldave a adopté la décision sur l'institution du 31 août en tant que la fête nationale *Limba noastră*. L'une des rues centrales de Chișinău porte le nom 31 août 1989, le jour de l'adoption de la Législation linguistique de la République de Moldavie.
- 63 Par contre, la signification symbolique de la fête *Limba noastră* change. Conçue comme la fête nationale de la langue roumaine (*Limba noastră cea română*), elle a perdu son nom et est en train de devenir « La Journée des langues ».
- 64 En août 2005, l'Union des Écrivains de Moldavie et l'Union des Journalistes de Moldavie ont adressé une demande officielle au ministre de la Culture Artur Cozma, en lui sollicitant l'installation du buste de Liviu Rebreanu, « comme une preuve de ses intentions d'une bonne collaboration avec les gens de culture du pays ». La réponse du ministre a été négative, il a proposé de déclarer un moratoire sur ce problème, sous le motif que « plusieurs spécialistes ont contesté la valeur artistique de la sculpture ». Les écrivains ont réfuté cet argument. Le buste est réalisé d'après la sculpture de Milița Petrașcu, disciple de Constantin Brâncuși. Voir « USM et UJM sollicitent l'installation du buste de Liviu Rebreanu », *Info-Prim Neo*, 15 août 2005.
- 65 Le discours de M. Vladimir Voronin, le Président de la République de Moldavie, Commandant Suprême des Forces Armées, à l'inauguration de l'Allée des Voïvodes du Pays de Moldavie (Chișinău, 27 août 2004).
- 66 *Ibidem*.
- 67 *Ibidem*.
- 68 Expression utilisée lors de l'enquête « *Basarabia și România – un deceniu de integrare literară* » (La Bessarabie et la Roumanie – une décennie d'intégration littéraire) proposée aux écrivains de la République de Moldavie et de Roumanie par la revue *Contrafort* : 12 (98), décembre, 2002. Cette publication, conçue comme une revue des jeunes écrivains roumains, a été fondée à Chișinău en 1994, avec le soutien de la Fondation Culturelle Roumaine.

- ⁶⁹ *Ibidem.*
- ⁷⁰ La formule « deux États roumains » a suscité de bien vifs débats lors de son introduction dans le traité bilatéral entre la République de Moldavie et la Roumaine.
- ⁷¹ La Principauté de Moldavie a été fondée en 1359.
- ⁷² *Census and identity: the politics of race, ethnicity, and language in national censuses*, ed. D.I.Kertzer - D.Arel, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- ⁷³ « Basarabia și România – un deceniu de integrare literară », *Contrafort* : 12 (98), décembre, 2002.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibidem.*
- ⁷⁵ « Cultura rusă în Basarabia : atu sau handicap ? », Enquête de *Contrafort*, Nr. 9-10 (59-60), septembre - octobre 1999.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibidem.*
- ⁷⁷ Tamara Carauș, *op. cit.*, p. 68, parle de la stigmatisation des Moldaves à cause de l'infériorité linguistique par rapport aux Roumains.
- ⁷⁸ Arcadie Suceveanu, « Centrul și periferia », *Contrafort* : 5-6 (115-116), mai - juin, 2004.
- ⁷⁹ L'une des questions posées aux écrivains dans l'enquête « La Bessarabie et la Roumanie – une décennie d'intégration littéraire » concerne les critères d'évaluation esthétique de l'œuvre littéraire de Roumanie et de Bessarabie. Les écrivains ont dû répondre s'il existe, d'après eux, des critères communs ou bien on fait appel à « la double mesure » pour évaluer les travaux des écrivains de Bessarabie.
- ⁸⁰ « Basarabia și România – un deceniu de integrare literară », *Contrafort* : 12 (98), décembre, 2002.
- ⁸¹ Les « ponts de fleurs » ont été des rencontres entre les gens de deux côtés du Prut, organisées à la fin des années 1990.
- ⁸² « Basarabia și România – un deceniu de integrare literară . », *Contrafort* : 12 (98), décembre, 2002.
- ⁸³ Vitalie Ciobanu, *Frica de diferență*, p. 148.
- ⁸⁴ « Basarabia și România – un deceniu de integrare literară . », *Contrafort* : 12 (98), décembre, 2002
- ⁸⁵ *Ibidem.*
- ⁸⁶ V. Ciobanu, *Frica de diferență*, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București 1999, p. 27-32.
- ⁸⁷ « Alocuțiunea președintelui Vladimir Voronin la Conferința de constituire a Uniunii Scriitorilor Nistru », *Moldova Suverană*, 11.11.2003.
- ⁸⁸ La création de cette nouvelle union des écrivains a été contestée par l'organisation des écrivains déjà existante (« Declarația Consiliului Uniunii Scriitorilor din Moldova. „Membrii „noii uniuni” se autoexclud din USM” », *Glasul Națiunii*, 18 septembrie 2003), aussi que par le PEN Club de République de Moldavie (« Memoriul PEN Clubului din Republica Moldova : Despre situația drepturilor omului și a libertăților cetățenești în Republica

- Moldova », *Contrafort* : 1-2 (111-112), ianuarie-februarie 2004). L'Union des Ecrivains n'a pas été la seule organisation « clonée » par le pouvoir communiste. Dans la même période ont été créées aussi la Fédération de Syndicats et l'Union Indépendante des Journalistes.
- 89 « Alocuțiunea președintelui Vladimir Voronin la Conferința de constituire a Uniunii Scriitorilor Nistru », *Moldova Suverană*, 11.11.2003.
- 90 *Ibidem*.
- 91 *Lege privind aprobarea Concepției politicii naționale de stat a Republicii Moldova*, http://www.dri.moldova.md/o_Departamentu/ArhiveNews/Conceptia/CNPSrom.htm
- 92 V. Ciobanu, « Moldovenismul ca leprozie », *Contrafort*, 7-8 (105-106), juillet - août 2003.
- 93 V. Catană, « Identități distorsionate în Republica Moldova », *Contrafort* : 12 (110), décembre 2003.
- 94 M. Cimpoi, « Politica națională de stat : concepție și anticoncepție », *Limba română*, , nr. 6-10, Chișinău 2003.
- 95 *Ibidem*.
- 96 « La Loi sur l'approbation de la Conception de la politique nationale de la République de Moldavie », http://www.dri.moldova.md/o_Departamentu/ArhiveNews/Conceptia/CNPSrom.htm
- 97 *Limba română*, nr. 6-10, Chișinău 2003.
- 98 V. Ciobanu, « Moldovenismul ca leprozie », *Contrafort*, 7-8 (105-106), juillet - août 2003.
- 99 « « Молдавская нация в Республике Молдова находится в процессе уничтожения » - считают приднестровские эксперты », <http://www.olvia.idknet.com/o108-08-04.htm> Pour élucider la position officielle transnistrienne, on a utilisé les matériaux publiés sur le site de l'agence d'information Olivia-press, créée en juillet 1992 et dont le fondateur est le président de la République autoproclamée.
- 100 « Обращение Минстерства Иностранных дел у Министерства Просвещения Приднестровской Молдавской Республики в связи с ситуацией вокруг школ с преподаванием на румынском языке », <http://www.olvia.idknet.com/o156-08-04.htm>
- 101 Les disciplines scolaires « langue roumaine » et « littérature roumaine » ne sont pas agréées par les officiels du pays. Le journaliste Vitalie Ciobanu, *Anatomia...*, p. 186, consigne l'incident qui s'est produit lors d'une réunion des professeurs et des directeurs des écoles russes de Chișinău avec le président de la Commission parlementaire pour la culture, la science, l'éducation, la jeunesse et mass media. Le parlementaire communiste a reproché aux professeurs d'avoir utilisé le terme « langue roumaine » au lieu de « langue moldave ». Comme personne n'a pas démontré l'unité du moldave et du roumain, signalait le parlementaire communiste, il est mieux d'utiliser le terme « langue d'Etat ». Le nom de la « langue d'Etat » est évité aussi dans le Nomenclateur d'Etat sur les spécialités et les spécialisations de

l'enseignement supérieur de la République de Moldavie, dans lequel figure la spécialité 1101 « La langue et la littérature ».

102 Le gouvernement communiste de Chişinău a fait une tentative de substituer l'histoire des Roumains par l'histoire de la Moldavie dès son arrivée au pouvoir, ce qui a suscité des protestations de la part de la population du pays. Un cours expérimental d' « histoire intégrée » a été introduit dans les écoles moldaves, suite à ces événements. En novembre 2005, des responsables du Parlement et du Gouvernement ont déclaré que « l'étape actuelle d'implémentation du cours d'histoire intégrée, où ont été encadrés 576 professeurs d'histoire de 469 institutions pré-universitaires du pays, permet de démarrer les préparations pour introduire l'histoire intégrée comme discipline obligatoire ». Les historiens de la République de Moldavie affirment que l'introduction du cours d'histoire intégrée est un endoctrinement des enfants par une fausse histoire. Voir « O « istorie falsă » de 1 mln. 600 mii de lei », *Timpul*, nr. 311, 1 décembre 2005.

103 « Педагогика двойных стандартов в румынских школах », <http://olvia.idknet.com/ol42-07-04.htm>

104 La République autoproclamée a décrété trois langues officielles : le moldave, le russe et l'ukrainien. Selon les statistiques de la Transnistrie, dans cette région fonctionnent 135 institutions d'enseignement en russe (70,3%), 33 en moldave (17,2%), 16 en russe et moldave (8,4%), 2 en ukrainien (1%) et 6 en roumain (3,1%).

105 « Двужычье? Нет, лицемерие », *Днестровский курьер*, 14 juillet 2004, cité par l'agence Marketing & Consulting, <http://www.iamik.ru/>

106 « Педагогика двойных стандартов в румынских школах », <http://olvia.idknet.com/ol42-07-04.htm>

107 Vitalie Ciobanu, « *Răbnița din dealul Schinoasei* », www.azi.md, 2 août 2004.

108 Comme le terme „langue roumaine” est un tabou en Moldavie aussi qu'en Transnistrie, on désigne ces écoles comme „des écoles qui utilisent la graphie latine”.

109 Le projet *Etnobarometru – Republica Moldova* a été lancé en septembre 2004 par l'Institut de Politiques Publiques de Chişinău, avec le soutien de la fondation Soros-Moldova. Ce projet s'est proposé d'effectuer le suivi et l'évaluation de la situation ethnique de la République de Moldavie, l'étude de la dynamique des représentations et des stéréotypes des différents groupes ethniques, la constitution et la confirmation des identités ethniques et nationales. Le sondage a été effectué par l'institut Imas Inc de Chişinău.

110 Cet échantillon est constitué de 95% de Moldaves et 5% de Roumains.

111 **La question Q15 :** À votre avis, quelles sont les trois choses les plus importantes pour que quelqu'un soit considéré Russe ? a. avoir des parents russes-; b. parler la langue russe en famille-; c. respecter les coutumes des Russes-; d. se sentir Russe-; e. sentir la culture russe comme sa propre culture-; f. respecter le drapeau national russe-; g. habiter en Russie-; h. que sa langue maternelle soit le russe-; i. avoir la citoyenneté russe-; j. être né en

Russie–; k. ne sais pas/ne réponds pas. La question a été posée séparément pour chaque ethnie, ce qui a permis de percevoir comment change l'hétéroidentification d'une ethnie à l'autre. Dans le cas des Moldaves, ont été proposées deux réponses concernant la culture : e. sentir la culture moldave comme sa propre culture–; f. sentir la culture roumaine comme sa propre culture. Les opinions des répondants se sont divisées entre les deux, mais la plupart ont donné priorité à la première.

112 **La question Q13.** Laquelle des expressions suivantes décrit le mieux votre identité ? Je me considère d'abord... Gagaouze–; habitant de cette localité–; citoyen de la République de Moldavie–; habitant de la CEI–; européen–; est-européen–; je ne sais pas/je ne réponds pas. La première et la deuxième option des répondants ont été signalées.

113 V. Ciobanu, *Anatomia unui faliment geopolitic : Republica Moldova*, Polirom, Iași 2005, p. 210.

114 La question Q9 : Pensez aux groupes ethniques suivantes de la RM–; croyez-vous qu'ils puissent devenir une menace? a. pour le pays–; b. pour les Moldaves–; c. pour vous ou pour votre famille. La variante b. change d'un échantillon à l'autre, car elle contient le nom de l'ethnie questionnée. Les répondants ont dû évaluer le degré de la possibilité d'une menace de la part de toutes les autres ethnies. Dans le questionnaire de l'échantillon des Moldaves/Roumains, ont été inclus les Russes, les Ukrainiens, les Gagaouzes, les Bulgares et les Roumains.

115 Les deux questions consécutives sur les relations interethniques nous aident à percevoir la différence de perception d'autres ethnies au niveau général en comparaison avec le niveau local. **La question Q7** : Parmi les expressions suivantes qui décrivent les relations entre les différentes ethnies de la RM, laquelle exprime plus exactement la vérité ? - relations de collaboration–; relations conflictuelles–; ignorance réciproque–; autre–; Je ne sais pas/je ne réponds pas. **La question Q8** : Et dans la zone où vous habitez comment peuvent être décrites les relations entre les différentes ethnies de la RM ? – relations de collaboration–; relations conflictuelle–; ignorance réciproque–; aucune relation, dans la zone où j'habite ils n'existent pas–; autre–; je ne sais pas, je ne réponds pas. Les réponses à ces deux questions nous montrent que les représentants d'autres ethnies acceptent l'ethnie roumaine, mais ils ne la perçoivent pas comme existante dans leurs régions. Est suggestif aussi le pourcentage accru des réponses négatives : « je ne sais pas/je ne réponds pas ». 47% d'Ukrainiens, 30% de Bulgares, 21% des Russes, mais aussi 32% de Moldaves disent qu'il n'y a aucune relation qui se soit établie entre leur ethnie et les Roumains de leur région. En même temps, 74% de Moldaves, 61% de Bulgares, 56% d'Ukrainiens et de Russes, 48% de Gagaouzes considèrent que les relations qui s'établissent entre leurs ethnies et les Roumains sont des relations de collaboration. Quant aux relations avec les Roumains de leur région, le pourcentage de relations de collaboration diminue : 53% de Moldaves, 52% de Russes, 49% de Bulgares, 36%

d'Ukrainiens, 33% de Gagaouzes. Par contre, les relations de collaboration avec les Moldaves de leur région sont mentionnées plus souvent par les représentants des autres ethnies : 93% d'Ukrainiens, 86% de Russes et de Bulgares, 81% de Gagaouzes.

116 Cette information peut être vue en consultant le sondage d'opinion publique réalisé dans la période 20-31 mars 2002, période marquée par les protestations contre l'initiative du parti communiste au gouvernement d'introduire l'étude obligatoire de la langue russe dans les écoles de la République de Moldavie. Ce sondage a été effectué par l'Institut *Imasinc-Chisinau*, en collaboration avec L'Institut roumain *Imas*, à la sollicitation de l'Institut de Politiques Publiques de la République de Moldavie. Le sondage a été effectué sur un échantillon de 1149 personnes de 70 localités de la Moldavie, sauf les territoires de l'Est de Dniestr.

117 **La question Q63** : Dans quelle mesure parlez-vous... a. moldave-; b. roumain-; c. russe-; d. ukrainien-; e. gagaouze-; f. bulgare ? – je parle parfaitement-; je parle très bien, mais j'ai un accent-; je me fais comprendre dans la plupart de situations-; je me fais comprendre dans certaines situations, mais avec difficulté-; je connais juste quelques mots-; je ne connais aucun mot-; je ne réponds pas.

118 **La question Q60** : Quelle est la langue que vous parlez/avez parlé le plus souvent avec... a. la mère-; b. le père-; c. les grands-parents-; d. les enfants ?
119 On a mis entre parenthèses les chiffres sur l'utilisation du Roumain.

120 **La question Q60** : Quelle est votre langue maternelle ? Une réponse multiple est acceptée, mais on ne propose pas des variantes de réponse.

121 Ce tableau a été fait d'après les réponses des représentants de tous les échantillons à **la question Q64** : Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord avec les affirmations suivantes ? On a choisi les affirmations « i. Tous les habitants de la RM devraient connaître le roumain » pour la première colonne et « j. Tous les habitants de la RM devraient connaître le russe » pour la deuxième colonne. Les chiffres réunissent les réponses « totalement d'accord » et « plutôt d'accord » d'une part, et les réponses « pas vraiment d'accord » et « pas du tout d'accord » de l'autre (marqués par -).

122 Ce tableau a été fait d'après les réponses des représentants de tous les échantillons à **la question Q64** : Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord avec les affirmations suivantes ? », suivie par des variantes de réponses. On a choisi les affirmations « k. Tous les habitants des zones où l'ethnie ukrainienne est majoritaire devraient connaître l'ukrainien » pour la première colonne, « l. Tous les habitants de Gagaouzie devraient connaître le russe » pour la deuxième colonne, et « m. Tous les habitants des zones où l'ethnie bulgare est majoritaire devraient connaître le bulgare » pour la troisième colonne. Les chiffres réunissent les réponses « totalement d'accord » et « plutôt d'accord » d'une part, et les réponses « pas vraiment d'accord » et « pas du tout d'accord » de l'autre (-).

- 123 D. Laitin, "Identity in formation: the Russian-speaking nationality in the post-Soviet diaspora", *Archives européennes de sociologie*, Vol: 36, No. 2, 1995, p. 284, signale les éléments principaux de la nationalité russophone : l'appartenance à la diaspora, le caractère non-titulaire, russophone, séculaire et soviétique.
- 124 **La question Q52** : Quelle devrait être, d'après vous, l'orientation de notre pays ?
- 125 Le premier recensement post-soviétique de la République de Moldavie a été effectué pendant la période 5-12 octobre 2004, mais il n'a pas inclus les zones de l'Est du pays et le municipe Bender, contrôlées par les autorités de la République autoproclamée de Transnistrie.
- 126 „Evoluția repartizării populației după componența națională în Republica Moldova (în baza datelor recensămintelor populației din 1989 și 2004, cu excepția raioanelor de Est și mun. Bender)”, Le Département de Statistique et de Sociologie de la République de Moldavie, www.statistica.md/recensamint
- 127 A. Blum, Martine Mespoulet, *L'anarchie bureaucratique. Statistique et pouvoir sous Staline*, Editions de la Découverte, Paris, 2003.
- 128 94,3% de la population recensée en 1959 considère comme langue maternelle celle de sa nationalité. Ce point de vue est valable pour les nations titulaires des Républiques, tandis qu'en dehors de leur territoire national les représentants de ces nationalités ont la tendance de présenter le russe comme langue maternelle. La moitié des Ukrainiens vivant hors d'Ukraine ont indiqué le russe comme langue maternelle. P. Podiatchikh, « Au sujet du prochain recensement général de la population », *Vestnik Statistiki*, n°8, 1969, cité par P. Poudade, *Problématique et méthodologie du recensement soviétique de 1970*, Paris 1970.
- 129 D. Arel, « Language categories in censuses: backward- or forward-looking? », *Census and identity: the politics of race, ethnicity, and language in national censuses*, ed. D. I. Kertzer, D. Arel, Cambridge University Press 2002, pp. 92-120.
- 130 D. Arel, "Démographie et politique dans les premiers recensements post-soviétiques : méfiance envers l'Etat, identités en question", *Population*, N° 57(6), 2002, p. 791-820.
- 131 *Revue d'études comparatives Est/Ouest*, volume 34, Décembre 2003, N°4.
- 132 « Semnificația întrebărilor din formularele de recensământ », Communiqué de presse, http://www.statistica.md/recensamint/Semnif_intreb_din_chest_ro.doc
- 133 David Laitin, "Language and Nationalism in the Post-Soviet Republics", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 12 (1996), p. 4-24, signale l'importance de l'assimilation linguistique pour l'intégration sociale des minorités dans un Etat nationalisant.
- 134 D. Arel, « Démographie... », pp. 791-820.
- 135 L'Avis du Comité consultatif du Conseil de l'Europe sur la réalisation de la Convention-cadre pour la protection des minorités nationales dans la

République de Moldavie effectué en 2001 constate un décalage entre deux groupes de population : la majorité, qui parle la langue de l'Etat, et la population qui parle le russe, incluant non seulement les Russes, mais aussi les autres minorités dont les langues sont utilisées plus rarement. La République de Moldavie, dans son commentaire, explique une telle situation par le fait que : « Le russe est la langue maternelle pour 1.003.563 citoyens de la République de Moldavie (23,1 %), dont 557.146 sont Russes, 220.129 – Ukrainiens, 120.368 – Moldaves, 47.872 – Juifs, 16.002 – Bulgares, 11.365 – Gagaouzes, 10.924 – Biélorusses. Pour 1.962.112 citoyens (45,3 %), dont 1.488.865 Moldaves (53,3 %), le russe est la deuxième langue qu'ils possèdent. Le moldave est connu par 169.893 personnes appartenants aux minorités nationales. L'utilisation du russe dans la communication interethnique est une nécessité objective et n'affecte pas le fonctionnement d'autres langues parlées sur le territoire de la République de Moldavie ». Voir « Comentarile Republicii Moldova la Avizul Comitetului consultativ al Consiliului Europei privind realizarea Convenției-cadru pentru protecția minorităților naționale în Republica Moldova » CM(2002)44 . Le recensement effectué en 2004 pourrait devenir encore un argument en faveur du statut du russe en tant que « langue de communication interethnique ».

- 136 B. D. Silver, *Nationality and Language in the New Census of the Baltic States*, Department of Political Science Michigan State University East Lansing, Michigan 48824-1032, July 22, 2002.
- 137 Le questionnaire estonien contienne des réponses parmi lesquelles les répondants peuvent choisir la (les) langues qu'ils parlent couramment : l'estonien, le russe, l'anglais, l'allemand, le français, le finnois, le suédois, le letton, autres langues.
- 138 W. Kymlicka, *La citoyenneté multiculturelle. Une théorie libérale du droit des minorités*, Paris, Editions La Découverte, 2001, p. 42.
- 139 E. Gellner, *op. cit.*
- 140 E. Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 141 A. Pippidi, *Despre statui și morminte. Pentru o teorie a istoriei simbolice*, Polirom, Iași 2000, p. 9.
- 142 V. Ciobanu, *Anatomia...*, p. 281-282. Voir aussi « Declarația reprezentanților Uniunilor de creație și instituțiilor culturale », *Glasul națiunii*, 6 novembre 2003.
- 143 M. Weber, *Économie et société*, 2, Plon, Paris 1995, p. 143.



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PATTERNS OF MULTICULTURAL AND INTERCULTURAL PRACTICE: EAST AND WEST

In this article, the patterns of multiethnic cohabitation encountered in selected societies in Western and Eastern Europe will be put into context and compared. This will involve consideration of the institutional as well as the grass-roots dimension of these societies' multicultural experience. Reference will be made to the cases of Britain and France, on the one hand, while the experiences of Vojvodina in Serbia and Transylvania in Romania will be highlighted, on the other. Another aim of this article will be to assess the applicability of Western models for managing ethnic relations in East European societies. What will be demonstrated is that while in the West multiculturalism functions as an institutional practice, built upon the premises of segregation, in certain East European societies *intercultural* (as opposed to multicultural) cohabitation is experienced as a bottom-up mass phenomenon. Western multicultural models can therefore offer partial answers to 'Eastern' questions but can not be applied in their totality within East European contexts.

MULTICULTURALISM: THEORETICAL DEFINITION

The case for multiculturalism is rooted in the rights of minority groups to cultural membership and recognition. As part of this discourse, individual rights are often treated as conterminous with collective ones. The aim of proponents of multiculturalism is to prevent friction and establish a common good within diverse societies based on the equality of citizenship and the endorsement of civic values on cultural equality. Thus they argue for a greater degree of self-development and self-realization for minority groups than is provided for under present institutional arrangements.

For the purposes of this article, I have drawn a distinction between the communitarian trend endorsed by Anglo-Saxon proponents of

multiculturalism and the constitutional approach of Continental theoreticians. The former tend to emphasize the need of individuals to cling to their immediate cultural environments and place importance on the recognition of the equal contribution of all cultures to the evolution of mankind.¹ The latter give greater significance to the universal value and equality of citizenship, stripped of ascription and hierarchy.² In line with these principles, they attribute greater value to territoriality than to ethnic descent.

Before proceeding to the empirical discussion, a crucial detail should be singled out: many 'new' minority groups in the West differ from the indigenous populations not only on ethnic, but also *racial* grounds. In technical terms, a race can be perceived as a genetically distinct subpopulation of a given species. However, race acquires meaning to the extent that it is socially constructed as a power structure. Physiological differences do not constitute a race *per se*. It is when these differences are institutionalized in the public sphere and employed in order to set groups apart or provide the justification for the domination of one group over another that race becomes important. Therefore, a crucial difference between race and ethnicity is that the former has its origins in assignment, in the classifications that 'others' make. As empirical reality has demonstrated in the West, the combination of physiological and cultural differences, stereotypes of racial inferiority and competition over social benefits can provide the basis for pronounced social segregation.

MULTICULTURALISM IN PRACTICE: BRITAIN AND FRANCE

This section will discuss multiculturalism as institutional practice and social experience in Britain and France. The choice of these two cases is not random, since there exists a key difference between British and French multicultural policies. In the British case, the New Labour government has been receptive to the implementation of multicultural policies like those espoused by the communitarian school of multiculturalism. In the French case, the implementation of multiculturalism for the political accommodation of immigrant groups is contested by the principles of the republican legacy.

The groups that will be researched are the South Asian Muslims in Britain and the Maghreb Arabs in France. These are the largest new

minority groups in the two states and both have entered into conflict with the mainstream majority over a variety of issues. What will be demonstrated is that the multicultural experience in both states is largely built upon the premises of segregation and, especially in Britain, interlinked with socioeconomic catalysts.

The New Multiethnicity in Britain: The Institutional Dimension

According to the 2001 census, the ethnic minority population had increased to 4.6 million. Half of the total minority population were Asians of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or other origin. The highest concentration of ethnics is observed in Greater London and the West Midlands. In this subsection, I will focus on institutional policies with regard to education and preservation of cultural identity.

Since the mid-1980s, the character of Britain as a multiethnic and multiracial society has been affirmed and the focus of the education system shifted towards

...educating all children, from whatever ethnic group, to an understanding of the shared values of our society and the appreciation of the diversity of all cultural backgrounds inherent in it.³

By 1989, at least 54 of the 108 local education authorities had multicultural policies and an additional 20 had such policies under review or in preparation.⁴

The success of the multicultural alternative in Britain was helped by a decentralization process that affected the structure of the educational system. As a result, the ethno-culturally heterogeneous regions were granted more autonomy in developing educational policies. In the long term, multicultural policies spread as national policymakers and local councils exchanged proposals about running schools in multiethnic regions. Though the events of 9/11 took their toll on relations between South Asian Muslims and the mainstream population, the majority of education policymakers and practitioners still remain convinced that assimilation is not the right method for dealing with diversity. Moreover, a number of mosques operate throughout Britain and Islamic religious practices (e.g.

Ramadan, the month of fasting) as well as dress codes are respected at the workplace in the ethnically heterogeneous areas.

Finally, British legislation regards the management of relations between the mainstream population and immigrant groups not only from an interethnic but also an *interracial* perspective. The amended Race Relations Act (2000) extended the prohibition of racial discrimination to public bodies exercising their public functions, while incitement to racial hatred legislation was also introduced.

The Grass-Roots Dimension

The aim of these provisions is to relax barriers and provide common ground for the coexistence of different cultures in a pluralist society. This objective, though, seems far from realized in contemporary Britain. On the contrary, the situation that prevails in certain ethnically diverse parts of Britain can be summarized in the dictum: 'good fences make good neighbours'.

Segregation along ethnic/racial lines is subject to the rigid stratification of British society in class layers. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s were employed mostly as unqualified labour and as such settled mainly in areas designated for inner-city redevelopment (e.g. the western and northern districts of Greater Leicester, the southeast districts of metropolitan London).

The class factor is interweaved with racial distance: the emergence of Bangladeshi and Pakistani business networks, set up according to the extended kin principle, serves as an indication of the South Asians' social mobility. In addition, modern communication channels and faster and cheaper travel has enabled immigrant communities to maintain closer links with their homelands. These two factors have helped shape a new sense of 'Asian pride' in the predominantly Bangladeshi or Pakistani urban quarters. In this case, segregation combined with social mobility has rendered many British Muslims what Roger Ballard terms 'cultural navigators': individuals with the ability to move efficiently within the mainstream sphere but, at the same time, maintaining a pronounced allegiance to their immediate backgrounds.⁵

In as far as Asian Muslims and British Whites are conscious of the spaces within which they should move, the 'good fences make good neighbours' principle, with its institutional infrastructure, does provide

some inter-communal stability. Nevertheless, where impoverishment, competition for social benefits, the incompetence of the local administration and the mutual persistence of negative stereotypes combine in space, not even the medium of segregation can provide a workable solution. This became obvious in the racial riots of summer 2001 in South Yorkshire.⁶

A recent catalyst that puts relations between Asian Muslims and Whites to the test is the globalization of Islamic terrorism. A more radical strain of the 'Asian pride' revival has orientated quite a few second generation British Muslims towards militant Islam. This became evident in the summer 2005 bombings in London as well as the recruitment of a certain number of second generation British Muslims by militant groups in the Middle East. At the same time, Islamophobia seems to be on the increase among Britain's mainstream population, especially since 9/11.⁷

The New Multiethnicity in France: The Institutional Dimension

According to the 1999 census, France's population included 3.26 million immigrants and other foreigners, of whom some had acquired French citizenship. In this subsection, I will focus on the institutional arrangements for immigrant groups in the fields of education and preservation of cultural identity.

In contrast to Britain, French multicultural policies were limited in scope and their appeal to immigrant communities was low.⁸ As a result, since the early 1970s, little attention has been paid to the issues of ethnic and cultural diversity, and educational policies have had the implicit or explicit goal of turning immigrants into Frenchmen. An additional catalyst that doomed the multicultural initiatives to failure is the centralized character of the French educational system.

French objections to the Anglo-Saxon multicultural model are rooted in the secular values inherited from the Revolution and the late 19th- and early 20th-century struggles over religion in school. French policymakers fear that the communitarian approach of multiculturalism could lead from the recognition of the right to difference to a difference of rights.⁹ They argue, therefore, that France's 'universal' education policy acts as a safeguard for a state that is attempting to maintain a relationship with individual citizens rather than corporate groups.

French legislation acknowledges the racial dimension of inter-group relations between the mainstream population and some immigrant groups. Nevertheless, anti-racist legislation relies upon a conception of racism in which the law punishes the offender for disregarding the universal value of every human being and not a particular culture or community.¹⁰

The Grass-Roots Dimension

The French state is not keen on a corporatist approach to the accommodation of inter-communal relations. It prescribes a model in which the proprietor of political rights is the individual citizen and not any sort of collectivity based on religious or ethno-cultural grounds. This does not mean, however, that there are no similarities between the French and the British cases.

The pattern of minority settlement in French urban centres is as segregated as in Britain. In Paris, Marseille and elsewhere, the Algerians and Moroccans settled in collective housing for workers (*foyers*) in industrial suburbs. The ability to maintain closer links with their homelands as well as the relative mobility of the Maghreb Arabs has helped shape a sense of 'Arab pride', analogous to the British 'Asian pride'.

In France, this phenomenon is subject to a case-specific peculiarity. French policymakers have tried to deal with the complexities of the new multiethnic reality through informal channels and re-utilization of colonial policies: civic and religious associations operate as mediators between Northern African communities and the state. While formally accepting republican values, these interest groups express communitarian identities and have undertaken activities such as Arabic language training and Islamic religious education to a satisfactory degree.

As is the case in Britain, a more radical strain of the Maghreb identity revival has embraced militant Islam. Two good examples are given by the involvement of Zacharias Moussaoui in the 9/11 attacks and the anti-Semitic activities of Islamic extremists.¹¹ The response of the mainstream population to the radicalization of a certain segment among France's Muslim community is seen in the increase of Islamophobia.¹²

THE EAST EUROPEAN INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCE: THE CASES OF VOJVODINA AND TRANSYLVANIA

In the previous section I demonstrated that multiculturalism in Britain and France functions in terms of an institutional practice. Regardless of whether officially endorsed as state policy (e.g. Britain) or applied via informal channels (e.g. France), the multicultural experience in these two states is based on similar premises: it is founded upon segregation along ethnic lines, subject to the impact of the racial factor and primarily concerned with the integration of 'new' minority groups. This section will highlight the experience of the ethno-culturally diverse regions of Vojvodina in Serbia and Transylvania in Romania.

It is my argument that the cohabitation of different groups in these regions becomes manifest in terms of an *intercultural*, not a multicultural, discourse. Before proceeding to the empirical discussion, a theoretical definition of interculturalism should be given. In order to comprehend fully the categorical distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism, one should focus on the Latin prefix *inter*, which denotes separation as well as *reciprocity*.

Interculturalism differs from multiculturalism in terms of social experience. The former is applicable in societies, where interaction between different groups manifests itself as a grass-roots phenomenon, irrespective of ethnic, racial or religious markers. Within such contexts, the phenomenon of parallel lives is not pervasive and social interaction is conditional upon catalysts such as territoriality, the adoption of common values and a shared historical heritage. With specific regard to Central and Eastern Europe, interculturalism is situated within the midst of a multi-ethnicity that resulted from a series of migrations, wars and various exchanges that brought into contact different groups, with their customs, traditions and institutions.

In this section, the institutional framework for minority groups as well as the grass-roots dimension of inter-communal relations in Vojvodina and Transylvania will be placed in context. Particular attention will be paid to the cases of the ethnic Hungarians (Vojvodina, Transylvania) and the Croats (Vojvodina), two groups whose relations with the mainstream majorities have not always been harmonious.

Institutional Provisions

Throughout the 1990s, the rights of the national minorities¹³ in the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)¹⁴ were regulated by various documents. Specific provisions were included in the Yugoslav and the Serbian Constitution. Nevertheless, as long as neither of the two entities had a special law on national minorities, the constitutional rights of minorities were codified in Serbian statutes. In fact, the application of minority-related legislation was not free of shortcomings.¹⁵ The situation began to improve in the post-Milošević era, however, as a result of **a.** the introduction of a special law on the rights of national minorities, and **b.** the restoration of certain competencies to the provincial administration.

In terms of the new law, on February 27, 2002, the government of Serbia and Montenegro introduced a 'Law for the Protection of the Rights and Liberties of National Minorities'.¹⁶ In a foreword to the law, national minorities are defined as

those groups within the population of Serbia and Montenegro that possess characteristics such as language, culture, national or ethnic membership, origin or religious faith that differentiate them from the majority of the population, and the members of which face problems with the preservation of their collective identity, including tradition, culture, language or religion (Article 2).

Article 11 entitles members of national minorities to use their languages and alphabets in official situations within their municipality or locality if they form 15 percent of the local population. Under the same demographic condition, Article 13 provides for education in the language and about the culture and history of the national minority in question.

Article 15 entitles members of national minorities to found private educational or cultural institutions and stipulates that the state is able to offer exemptions from taxation or other sorts of financial incentives. The most notable innovation of the law is the clause on the formation of a Council for National Minorities, made up of representatives of the minorities, in the Serb-Montenegrin parliament (Article 18). This Council is recognized as a legal subject and is responsible for supervising the official use of minority languages and alphabets in education and public information, as well as the cultural projects organized by national

minorities. It is also authorized to initiate procedures in the Serb-Montenegrin Court of Justice where there is evidence that the constitutional rights of individuals belonging to national minorities are under threat (Article 23). Finally, it prohibits any legal measures that might jeopardize the individual and collective rights of national minorities or alter the ethnic structure of minority-populated settlements (Article 22).

Throughout, the law is in accord with the guidelines of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* drafted by the Council of Europe.¹⁷ For example, the designation of the minority rights codified in the law as individual and collective alike complies with Article 13, paragraph 2, of the convention. Moreover, the legal and judicial provisions regarding the prohibition of acts of discrimination, forcible assimilation and other steps that might jeopardize the rights and freedoms of individuals belonging to national minorities are consistent with Articles 4 (paragraph 1), 5 (paragraph 2) and 6 (paragraph 2) of the convention. This is equally true of clause on: **a.** the provision of education, at all levels, in the language of the national minorities; **b.** the teaching of subjects relevant to the minorities' culture and history; **c.** the establishment of private institutions by individuals belonging to national minorities (Article 12, paragraphs 1 and 2; Article 13, paragraph 1; Article 14, paragraph 2). Some cases, such as the clause on the state's readiness to offer fiscal exemptions for the establishment of private institutions by persons belonging to national minorities, even go a step beyond the provisions of the convention: the convention does not oblige the state to offer any financial incentives for the realization of such projects (Article 13, paragraph 2).

In addition to these, certain provisions for Vojvodina's minorities have been codified in the provincial legislation. The 2002 '*Omnibus*' law¹⁸ whereby Vojvodina authorizes the state institutions in the province to: **a.** guarantee the official use of the recognized languages and alphabets;¹⁹ **b.** appoint a supervisory board charged with carrying out inspections to ensure the implementation of this clause (Article 18, paragraphs 1 and 2). Article 7 (paragraph 3) provides for the funding of minority cultural projects from the provincial budget, while Articles 12 and 13 authorize the Vojvodinian state institutions to issue educational programs and textbooks in minority languages. It can be argued that the provisions of the Serb-Montenegrin, as well as the provincial, legislation have provided an appropriate framework for the adequate protection of the national minorities' individual/collective rights and freedoms.

The Grass-Roots Dimension

These legal provisions are consistent with a number of prerogatives of the proponents of multiculturalism. This is the case with: **a.** the recognition of minority rights as individual and collective alike; **b.** the willingness of the state to finance cultural and other projects undertaken by minorities; **c.** the application of positive discrimination towards the improvement of the social status of individuals belonging to marginalized communities. Nevertheless, essentially what differentiates the pattern of multiethnic cohabitation in Vojvodina from those in Western multiethnic societies is the way that it is experienced as a social reality.

It would be of particular use in this work to concentrate on the findings of public surveys carried out in Vojvodina over the past 5 years. These surveys were performed by statistical agencies and academic institutions. The public survey *Istraivanje javnog mnjenja: Autonomija Vojvodine*, run by the Novi Sad 'SCAN' agency in 2000-01, observed a positive position among Vojvodinians with regard to: **a.** the official use of minority languages and their alphabets (Table 1); **b.** relations between Vojvodina's national minorities and their national homelands (Table 2); **c.** institutional guarantees for national minorities.²⁰

The results of this survey serve as further evidence that Vojvodina is home to ethnic group cultures and, beside these, a common cultural substratum. This can be seen in the form of Vojvodinian *regional* identity. It is precisely this regional identity that is one of the main factors influencing the presence of common denominators. Regional identity establishes common values, developed as significant or existential by diverse ethnic groups. In this case, the part played by similar living conditions, historical links and mutual reliance, as well as the common prospects for the future, should be taken into account.

This notion of intercultural cohabitation manifests itself in various forms in Vojvodinian daily life and experience. Inter-marriage among different groups remains common in urban as well as rural settlements. In most cases, catalysts, such as the workplace or the neighborhood, still seem to take precedence over ethno-cultural or religious cleavages.²¹ Furthermore, in certain ethnically diverse rural communities the locals often celebrate religious and other '*seocke*' ('village') feasts together, regardless of their ethnic affiliation and regardless of whether these festivities are Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic.²²

This is not to say that Vojvodina is anywhere near the American ‘melting pot’. The province’s ethnic communities have preserved a degree of integrity insisting on their distinctive identities. In Vojvodina, this becomes obvious, at the popular level, through the persistence of auto-stereotypes (images of the self) and hetero-stereotypes (images of others). All group stereotypes represent oversimplified views of the characteristics of ethnic groups. In the social sciences, what is oversimplified can not be regarded as valid. At the popular level, though, it seems that the persistence of mutual stereotypes has somehow facilitated the preservation of the distinctiveness of the national communities in Vojvodina.²³

Finally, the impact of the ethnic conflicts in other parts of the former Yugoslavia for inter-group relations in Vojvodina should not be neglected. As empirical research demonstrates, many Serbs and Montenegrins are not particularly keen on choosing ethnic Croats as partners, and vice-versa.²⁴ In addition, clashes in mixed settlements between young Hungarians and Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia gives an indication of how competition for social benefits can also provide a source of friction in Vojvodina. Nevertheless, such instances are of minor significance, when compared with the racial troubles in Western Europe, and constitute a challenge to Vojvodina’s physiognomy as a space where territoriality takes precedence over ethnicity.

Transylvania: Institutional Provisions

The legal framework for the protection of minority rights in Romania rests on different premises in comparison with the Serb-Montenegrin case. In the latter case, the maintenance of institutions, such as Vojvodina’s provincial assembly, has provided space for the formulation of regionalized alternatives for managing ethnic relations (e.g. the ‘*Omnibus*’ law). In Romania, on the contrary, policymakers are keener on a classical liberal approach to minority issues. As is the case in France, minority rights do not constitute a different category from other civic rights and are allocated on an individual basis within a unitary state’s structure.

According to the *Constitution of Romania (1990)*, minorities are granted the right to ‘preserve, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identities’ (Article 6.1).²⁵ Nevertheless, the measures of protection are restricted by Articles 6.2 and 16.1, which dictate that no positive discrimination should be applied on the grounds of ethnic

affiliation. Article 32.3 concedes minorities the right to education in their mother tongue but, at the same time, the only language enjoying official status is that of Romanian (Article 13).²⁶ Finally, the notion of collective rights is not accepted. The terminology used, with respect to minority rights, is rights of '*persons belonging to national minorities*' (e.g. Article 6).

Two representative institutions for minorities are the Council of National Minorities and the Department for the Protection of National Minorities. The former is mainly an advisory body responsible for expressing its point of view on laws and draft laws that have a direct or indirect impact on the life of the minority communities.²⁷ The latter is an office that promotes the decisions taken by the Council of National Minorities within the public administration.²⁸ The establishment of regional offices of the Department for the Protection of National Minorities (in Arad and Cluj-Napoca for Transylvania) signifies an attempt to initiate systematic contact between local authorities and central government for the management of ethnic relations. To date, however, the activities of the regional offices have been limited to the organization of periodic meetings at the request of local minority representatives. It seems, therefore, that the successful coordination between central and local authorities on the regulation of minority issues, as well as the harmonization of the jurisdiction of the aforementioned bodies with the constitutional prerogatives, can only be achieved through the issuing of a special law on national minorities.

As far as minority language education is concerned, the Law on Education provides for the study of the history and culture of the respective minority in the municipalities and localities where it forms a considerable part of the population. Nevertheless, the law also dictates that Romanian history (or *History of the Romanians*) and geography should be taught compulsorily in Romanian, even in educational institutions where the working language is not the official one. This has generated a certain amount of controversy between minorities and the state, especially with interest groups operating within the Hungarian community.

The Grass-Roots Dimension

Despite the deficiencies highlighted here, the Romanian legal framework provides a good basis for the elaboration of more detailed

proposals on managing ethnic relations. However, as in Vojvodina, of essential importance in Transylvania is the impact of multiethnic cohabitation as part of social experience. Still, a qualitative difference between the two cases should be made clear.

In contrast with Vojvodina, regional identity, as a concept that provides a common substratum for diverse ethno-cultural identities, is absent in Transylvania, where the pattern of bi-communal interaction between Romanians and Hungarians is conditioned by the competition between the two groups at the symbolic level. This state of antagonism is engineered by interest groups within each community and communicated from the top down. In this context, the ethnic Hungarian elites draw the material for their discourse from the Hungarian historical legacy in Transylvania, as well as the necessity to reverse the 'historical injustice' their group experienced during the Ceausescu era. The Romanian elites, on the other hand, juxtapose a discourse that aims at the affirmation of Transylvania's Romanian identity and build their argument upon the 'historical injustice' perpetrated on their community during the years of Hungarian dominance. This state of competition has manifested itself through symbolic activities, such as ritual public events, national celebrations and commemorations, demonstrations and counter-demonstrations. Nevertheless, with the exception of the political mobilization in the early 1990s, this symbolic competition has not resulted in violence or the threat of violence.

With regard to the grass-roots dimension, a variety of catalysts have reduced the social and cultural differences between Romanians and Hungarians, namely: **a.** social mobility (which relaxed the barriers of residential and socioeconomic segmentation); **b.** the 'ethnically blind' operation of modern institutions in the public domain (e.g. the systems of public and financial administration, the social welfare services); **c.** the increasing number of mixed marriages.²⁹ Moreover, the process of Romania's accession to the EU has reduced the significance of the politicization of ethnicity at an elite level, and this has been felt at the grass-roots level too. In fact, public surveys carried out in Transylvania over the past 5 years hint at the popular affirmation of: **a.** the positive state of social interaction between Romanians and Hungarians (Table 3); **b.** the relations between Transylvania's minorities (namely the Hungarians) and their national homelands;³⁰ **c.** the prevalence of 'ethnic blindness' in the employment sector (Table 4).

Consequently, a similarity emerges, by default, between the cases of Vojvodina and Transylvania. In both contexts, it seems that as a result of a chronic socialization process groups with different origins have adopted common behavioural patterns as well as a common system of values. This is a social reality that remains visible to this day in Transylvania, irrespective of the role of regional elites in the amplification of ethnic conflict. Within this matrix, and in so far as it does not escalate to violent confrontation, the symbolic competition between Romanians and Hungarians assumes a similar function to that of the persistence of mutual stereotypes in Vojvodina. It operates as a medium through which different groups manage to preserve a sense of collective integrity in the course of their interaction with each other. It could therefore be argued that the implementation of more regionalized alternatives for the management of ethnic relations in Transylvania would function as an additional mechanism for safeguarding ethnic harmony in the region.

EAST AND WEST: THE COMPARISON

In the previous sections, I clarified the ways in which the patterns of multiethnic cohabitation encountered in certain West and East European societies differ from each other. While in the West multiculturalism is an institutional top-down practice, in the East intercultural understanding is primarily a mass phenomenon communicated from the grass-roots level up.

In this section, I will summarize the essential differences between the patterns of group interaction occurring in the cases discussed. This will entail a mostly grass-roots approach. Then, a more theoretical and institutional approach will concentrate on adaptive and maladaptive examples of applying Western models for managing ethnic relations in East European societies.

Mapping some essential differences

An obvious difference between the West and the East European examples discussed is their historical background. However, since historical background constitutes an overly 'objective' difference, I have chosen not to expand on it. Instead, I will concentrate on the more

sociological dimension of inter-group relations within West and East European environments and the ways these interact with the institutional and political contexts. Particular attention will be paid to minorities' perspectives on mainstream society. This will be followed by a discussion of the extent to which certain variables specific to Western multiethnic societies (e.g. the impact of race) can be detected in their East European counterparts.

In Transylvania and Vojvodina, the advent of modernity became visible in the politicization of ethnicity. With a specific focus on minority groups, they shaped their collective identities through a chronic process of interaction with their 'national homeland', the state where they reside, and its institutions. This process has resulted in the persistence of politicized identities among Transylvanian, as well as Vojvodinian, Hungarians to this day.³¹

By way of contrast, neither British nor French Muslims are interested in the politicization of their identities. What both groups seem to opt for are micro-spaces within which they are able to cherish their cultural particularities. At the same time, both seem to maintain a pre-modern sense of community which becomes manifest through an emphasis on religion and extended kin relations. One might presume that the absence of political mobilization among British Asians and French Arabs renders the propensity for inter-group tension lower, in comparison with Transylvania and Vojvodina. However, a more critical consideration of the empirical reality in the two contexts proves otherwise.

In the late 1990s, the existence of an intercultural substratum helped create, among other things, a common ground for the ethnic Hungarian and Serbian elites in Vojvodina. This process culminated in the participation of both the VMDK and the VMSZ in the Democratic Opposition of Serbia against Milošević's Socialists (2000). In Transylvania, on the other hand, the common expectations of Romanians and Hungarians in respect of Romania's integration into European structures acted as an additional catalyst in the UDMR's and 'mainstream' Romanian parties' joining forces in the current government.

Meanwhile, segregation and the simultaneous increase of Islamophobia have generated insecurity among British as well as French Muslims, especially since 9/11. This has directed Muslim interest groups in both states towards a renewed emphasis on their Islamic heritage as a mechanism of socio-psychological security. As already mentioned, this has often acquired a radical dimension. Under these circumstances, the

parallel emphasis on extended kin relations among British Asians and French Arabs propagates an organic perception of community in which the ethno-cultural group is viewed as an extended family itself. This, in turn, can facilitate the communication of radical trends and ideas.

The interrelation between a communitarian social ethos and group radicalization might be better understood by referring to a particular Southeast European example: the Kosovan Albanian case. In the late 1990s, the radicalization of this community occurred not merely as the outcome of Serbian hegemonic policies and the mobilizing potential of certain circles within the 'parallel elites'.³² It was also affected by a sociological factor: the prevalence of a highly communitarian ethos among Kosovan Albanians. Within this context, political attitudes and preferences were largely conditioned by the obligation of the individual to appear loyal to: **a.** the extended kin; **b.** the local community; **c.** the ethnic group as such. This catalyst, among other things, accounted for the high degree of political homogeneity among Kosovan Albanians and, during the radicalization process, their unequivocal support for the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Setting aside the obvious differences in the different political contexts, the analogies between the behavioral patterns of Kosovan Albanians and the Muslim communities in Britain and France become clear. Both examples demonstrate how, under special circumstances, the combination of pre-modern notions of community with ethnic segregation and a feeling of exclusion from the mainstream is able to contribute to the radicalization of a given group. Conversely, as demonstrated in Vojvodina and Transylvania, the existence of positive perspectives for inter-communal relations at grass-roots level is able to facilitate a *modus vivendi* between elites, even under adverse political and socioeconomic circumstances.

Finally, race, as a catalyst for inter-communal friction in the West, appears to be absent in East European contexts. One might cite the case of the Roma as a legitimate example of racial discrimination. At a first glance, the argument appears to be valid. The Roma are a group distinguishable by reference to their phenotype. They are frequently the target of negative stereotyping and, from the Romany perspective, victims of institutional racism throughout Eastern Europe. However, a more detailed examination reveals some basic differences between the case of the Roma and that of the new minorities in the West.

Although the new minorities in France and Britain are not keen on their political mobilization as such, a relatively large number of individuals

of Pakistani or Arab background still participate in the mainstream parties. These candidates normally enjoy the electoral support of most of their co-ethnics and operate as the voice of their communities in local and central government. At the same time, all new minorities attend the state-run education system and not a few South Asian and Maghreb Arab entrepreneurs are successful in the financial arena.

By way of contrast, political participation is limited and illiteracy remains widespread in Roma communities.³³ Furthermore, there is no standardized version of Roma identity and the persistence of a highly patriarchal ethos among Roma seriously impedes the effectiveness of the positive discrimination measures targeted at this group. This is particularly true in the case of the non-attendance of primary schooling by many Roma girls due to parental insistence that they stay at home to perform household duties.³⁴

It is at this point that the substantial difference between the case of the British Asian or French Arab Muslims and that of the Roma becomes evident. In the first case, the combination of a homogeneous group consciousness with a satisfactory degree of engagement in mainstream politics and a generally educated population has enabled the communities in question to fight back against instances of discrimination by mainstream society. In the Roma case, on the other hand, the persistence of retrogressive attitudes within the group limits the possibilities for it to acquire an articulate consciousness, in spite of the often legitimate Roma grievances regarding negative discrimination by the mainstream population. Consequently, the interpretation of the Roma question in Eastern Europe through the spectrum of racial discrimination in Western societies is not advisable.

The Applicability of Western Models to Eastern Questions

As is becoming clear, the communication of intercultural understanding from the mass level upwards can bridge disagreements between elites, even when not under the most promising circumstances. On the other hand, where segregation, mutual prejudice and socioeconomic antagonism find common ground, conflict becomes imminent despite the general state of political and social stability. In this subsection, the prospects for application of Western multicultural models in East European contexts will be assessed.

One of the main purposes of this article is to distinguish between adaptive and maladaptive cases of application. The adjective 'adaptive' refers to cases in which the proposals made by proponents of multiculturalism in the West might prove beneficial to the management of inter-group relations in Central and Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the adjective 'maladaptive' denotes cases in which the often misunderstood application of Western models could prove detrimental to stability in East European multiethnic societies. In order to comprehend the usefulness of the adaptive cases, it is best to make an empirical reference to the maladaptive ones first. Particular attention will be paid to the East European contexts discussed.

A favorite criticism made by proponents of multiculturalism is the reluctance of nation-states to accommodate diversity by providing self-government to minorities. According to Kymlicka, self-government requires

...the explicit recognition of national (minority) groups through such things as language rights, land claims, an asymmetric distribution of powers and the redrawing of political boundaries.³⁵

Although he falls short of prescribing the formation of self-government institutions as a norm for managing minority issues, Kymlicka clearly inclines towards this solution. By means of a brief reference to the cases of the Kurds in Turkey and the Basques in Spain, he stresses how '...attempts to subordinate separate identities to a common identity have often backfired', and points out that '...self-government arrangements diminish the likelihood of violent conflict, while refusing or rescinding self-government rights is likely to escalate the level of conflict'.³⁶

This current of thought among Western proponents of multiculturalism has had an impact on documents drafted by East European minority activists, albeit not being explicitly mentioned. In Vojvodina, both the VMDK and the VMSZ insist on a tripartite concept of autonomy for ethnic Hungarians consisting of: **a.** personal autonomy;³⁷ **b.** territorial autonomy;³⁸ **c.** local self-administration.³⁹ A similar concept has been proposed by the UDMR in Romania (*Cluj Declaration*, October 1992). Similarly, the Transylvanian Hungarian elites insist on personal and local autonomy; but instead of 'territorial autonomy' they prefer the relatively more moderate term 'regional self-administration'.⁴⁰ Both Vojvodinian and Transylvanian Hungarian elites have been cautious in dispelling any

suspensions of irredentism among the Serbian and Romanian majorities. Moreover, their demands for Hungarian-language education and preservation of cultural identity are in most cases legitimate. Still, the concession of ethno-territorial autonomy would be a maladaptive example of applying Western proposals in East European contexts.

In contrast to the ethno-racial segregation in Western societies, the cohabitation and interaction among populations of different origins in mixed settlements remains a living reality in Vojvodina and Transylvania. While making predictions is not recommended in the social sciences, the following assumption can safely be made in the event that ethno-territorial autonomy were to be applied in Northern Bačka or the Szekler region: sooner or later, it would generate grievances among local Serbs or Romanians who would either choose ghettoization or, worse, move away from these territories, while Hungarians from other parts of Vojvodina or Transylvania might express a desire to move to the autonomous region. In the long term, this process could lead to the formation of 'ethnically clean zones' and the disappearance of intercultural cohabitation from either context.

Though this may appear to be a hypothetical scenario, it can be confirmed through reference to empirical reality. In Bečej (Northern Bačka), for instance, we are currently witnessing the formation of two separate zones: the Serbian and the ethnic Hungarian zones.⁴¹ This is the result of the recent clashes between young Serb refugees and local Hungarian youths. While these phenomena are of low significance, they serve as a warning in terms of the possible implementation of the ethno-territorial medium and the institutionalization of ethnic separation.

An adaptive attempt to apply Western proposals in East European environments would consist of emphasizing the principle of territoriality, as prescribed by Jürgen Habermas, with reference to the specific needs of the region or regions in question. In Vojvodina and Transylvania, this could take the form of the introduction of regionalization as a medium for the management of inter-communal relations. Two interesting proposals have been prepared by the two Novi Sad-based social scientists Jovan Komšić and Dejan Janča. Komšić and Janča introduce the concept of the 'sub-region', i.e. an association of municipalities within a larger region. Apart from dealing with issues more effectively and 'on the spot' at the local level, an additional contribution of sub-regions would be to '...enable ethnic minority groups living in a compact territory to cherish their cultural

identity more adequately and play an active part in the development of the broader region'.⁴²

The medium of the sub-region could provide a reliable alternative to the ethno-territorial demands of the Hungarian elites in Vojvodina and Transylvania. Under the condition that similar associations of municipalities are set up within the same region, the focus would clearly shift from the ethnic to the territorial. This could have a double benefit. On the one hand, the civic character of sub-regions consisting of minority-populated municipalities would be emphasized, thereby alleviating the mistrust of the mainstream population. At the same time, the sub-region could provide a forum for minority communities that could be less easily monopolized by political actors operating within the community.

Janča and Komšić argue that the proper function of entities such as sub-regions relies upon the devolution of powers and the establishment of self-government institutions at the regional level. What they both propose is the endowment of regions with bodies, such as a regional assembly, according to the principle of subsidiarity. A regional assembly should enjoy legislative, executive and partly judicial powers.⁴³ Nevertheless, what could impede the implementation of the regionalist alternative in Vojvodina or Transylvania is the persistence of pro-centralist tendencies among Serbian as well as Romanian policymakers.

Still, these recommendations, as well as the application of positive discrimination and the establishment of representative institutions for minorities, offer partial solutions. What is really needed in the case of Central and Eastern Europe is the development of domestic models for managing ethnic relations. As Western social scientists have structured their multicultural models through empirical reference to their societies, East European social scientists should formulate their 'anti-models' through reference to East European contexts where intercultural understanding remains a social reality. Vojvodina and Transylvania are not the only regions where this is true. The Romanian Banat, Istria in Croatia and the Transcarpathian Region in the Ukraine represent yet more examples where intercultural understanding seems to have withstood ethnic friction and adverse political and socioeconomic circumstances. However, drawing up guidelines for the formulation of such models will be left to another article.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The case for multiculturalism is rooted in the rights of minority groups to cultural membership and recognition. Multiculturalism aims to establish a common good in diverse societies based on the equality of citizenship and the adoption of civic values on cultural equality. Despite this, multiculturalism in the West mainly functions in terms of an institutional practice. Irrespective of whether it forms a part of the state's agenda (e.g. Britain) or is implemented via informal channels (e.g. France), the Western multicultural experience usually has a number of common points of reference: it involves social segregation along ethnic lines, is conditioned by the racial catalyst, and primarily concentrates on the integration of 'new' minority communities.

By way of contrast, in East European societies such as those of Vojvodina and Transylvania, intercultural cohabitation is the result of a chronic socialization process among populations with different origins. Within such contexts, intercultural understanding is primarily a mass phenomenon communicated from the grass-roots upwards towards the elite level. As demonstrated in the cases of Vojvodina and Transylvania, this is able to bridge the gap between mainstream and minority elites, even under adverse political circumstances. The state of political stability in Western societies, on the other hand, is often not sufficient to combat the 'lethal' combination of racial prejudice, socioeconomic antagonism and administrative incompetence at the regional level.

The creation of institutional guarantees for minority rights would represent an additional step towards safeguarding stability in East European multiethnic societies. The recommendations of Western proponents of multiculturalism should also be considered. However, a distinction should always be made between adaptive and maladaptive cases of application. Finally, it is essential that domestic models be developed for dealing with ethno-cultural diversity in Central and Eastern Europe.

NOTES

- ¹ Kymlicka 1995: 84-83, Taylor 1994: 25-7, 65-8.
- ² Habermas 1994: 130, 139.
- ³ Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons 1985: 316.
- ⁴ Bleich 1998: 85.
- ⁵ Ballard 1994, Menski 2003: 10-12.
- ⁶ *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team Chaired by Ted Cattle* 2001: 9-12, 15.
- ⁷ For a full listing of manifestations of hate for Britain's Muslim community immediately after 9/11, see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (Britain) 2001.
- ⁸ In 1989-90, only 17.3 percent (i.e. 60,000) of eligible students attended the mother-tongue teaching programs. For more on this issue see Bleich 1998: 87.
- ⁹ Taguieff 1987: 328-29. The author contends that the recognition of the 'other', as prescribed by the proponents of multiculturalism, can only be hierarchical.
- ¹⁰ For a discussion of French anti-racist legislation, see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (France 2) 2004: 9-14.
- ¹¹ In 2002, 924 of the total of 1,305 racist threats and acts were directed against the Jewish community. Besides the marginal far-right groupings, Islamic extremists were the alleged perpetrators of a significant number of these acts. For more on this issue, see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (Brussels) 2004: 26.
- ¹² For more on this issue, see European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (France) 2001.
- ¹³ The term 'national minorities' usually indicates a higher legal status in comparison to the designation 'ethnic minorities'. In this text, however, both terms will be used alternately.
- ¹⁴ It should be born in mind that this piece of work was written prior to the Montenegrin referendum of May 2006.
- ¹⁵ For examples of the inadequate protection of minority rights in Vojvodina during the 1990s, see Korhecz 1998: 22-3, United Nations Economic and Social Council 1996: 17.
- ¹⁶ For a text version of the law see *Slubeni List SRJ* 2002.
- ¹⁷ For more on this issue, see Council of Europe Publishing House 1995.
- ¹⁸ The '*Omnibus Zakon*' was drafted by the executive council of the assembly of the autonomous province of Vojvodina (Novi Sad) on December 14, 2001. It was officially approved by the Serbian parliament in Belgrade on February 4, 2002. For a text version of the '*Omnibus Zakon*', including an explanatory section, see <http://www.vojvodina.com/prilozi/omnibus.htm>.
- ¹⁹ The minority languages with a recognized legal status in Vojvodina are Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, and Ruthenian.

- 20 Puzigaca and Molnar: 15.
- 21 Lazar and Koković 2005: 7.
- 22 Interview with a sociologist at the University of Novi Sad; November 14, 2005; interview with representative of the Serbian Orthodox Church; Novi Sad, March 18, 2001.
- 23 The group stereotype about Serbs is that they are open and joyful people but not very punctual. The Hungarians, on the other hand, are regarded as precise, gentle and hard-working people but not particularly exciting. However, no specific stereotypes exist about the Romanians, the Slovaks or the Ruthenes. It might be of interest to add that despite the ethnic hatred resulting from the recent conflicts in the former Yugoslavia certain positive stereotypes about Croats and Slovenians (e.g. they are considered to be gentle and clean in terms of hygiene) have not changed significantly in Vojvodina. Finally, the Vojvodinians as a whole tend to regard themselves as more cultured and progressive than the inhabitants of Serbia proper. Some information about these issues was disclosed to the author in the course of his field research in Vojvodina (interview with sociologist; interview with historian at the University of Novi Sad; March 13, 2001).
- 24 Lazar and Koković 2005: 7, 8.
- 25 For more on this issue, see *Constitution of Romania (1990)*, at: <http://domino.kappa.ro/guvern/constitutia-e.html>.
- 26 In addition, Article 148 forbids any constitutional revision in so far as the state's official language is concerned, and Article 1.1 defines Romania as a unitary *national* state.
- 27 In this body, each organization of citizens belonging to national minorities and with a seat in parliament has 3 representatives. The main areas of jurisdiction of the Council of National Minorities are: **a.** submitting for approval to the Minister for National Minorities the distribution of funds, allocated by the state budget, to the citizens' organizations belonging to national minorities; **b.** submitting proposals for the elaboration of draft laws and other such acts within its jurisdiction; **c.** examining through special commissions draft laws and government decisions affecting the rights and duties of persons belonging to national minorities. For more on this issue, see International Peace Information Centre 1999: 25.
- 28 The Department for the Protection of National Minorities is administered by a Minister for National Minorities and is mainly responsible for: **a.** drawing up draft laws and other acts within the field of its activity; **b.** approving draft laws and other acts affecting the rights and duties of persons belonging to national minorities proposed by the Council of National Minorities; **c.** monitoring the implementation of domestic and international regulations on minority issues; **d.** promoting and organizing programs on the preservation and development of the ethno-cultural, linguistic and religious identity of persons belonging to national minorities. For more on this issue, see *Ibid.*: 24.

- ²⁹ According to an estimate by the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations (The Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca), approximately 1/3 of Transylvanian Hungarians are married to Romanians. Information about this issue was disclosed to the author in the course of his field research in Transylvania (Interview with the Director of the Centre for Research on Interethnic Relations, The Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca; November 30, 2005).
- ³⁰ Research Center for Interethnic Relations 2000: 49.
- ³¹ The political parties that represent ethnic Hungarian interests in Vojvodina are the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina (VMDK) and the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Vojvodina (VMSZ). It might be useful to add that the smaller Democratic Union of Croats in Vojvodina (DSHV) has also been active in the province since 1991.
- ³² 'Parallel elites' is the designation used in order to denote a variety of political groupings that operated within Kosovo's Albanian community in the 1990s and were not recognized by the Serbian state. It should be added that apart from the fragmentation of Kosovo's political landscape along ethnic lines a state of ethnic segregation between Serbs and Albanians has persisted since the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
- ³³ In Vojvodina, approximately 80 percent of the Roma population is illiterate, semi-literate or functionally illiterate. For this data, see Petsinis 2003: 10-11. In Romania, as a whole, 44 percent of Roma males and 59 percent of females are unable to read (1993 figures). On this issue see Biro and Kovacs, et al, 2001: 268.
- ³⁴ For information on the frequency of this phenomenon in Vojvodina, see Petsinis 2003: 11. On Romania, see Biro and Kovacs, et al, 2001: 268.
- ³⁵ Kymlicka 1995: 71.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*: 185. It should be noted that a number of specialists in ethno-nationalist conflict have expressed similar positions. For examples of this, see: Hannum 1990, Horowitz 1985.
- ³⁷ Personal autonomy addresses the fields of culture, education and public information with the aim of preserving the ethno-cultural identity of the Hungarian minority. This notion also entails the formation of an ethnic Hungarian 'assembly' in Vojvodina with the responsibility of taking care of the aforementioned areas.
- ³⁸ Territorial autonomy refers to the self-government of the municipalities where Hungarian concentration is particularly dense. This would involve the merging of the predominantly Hungarian municipalities in Northern Bačka into a Hungarian autonomous region, a 'special status' entity with separate administration. The VMSZ proposal goes one step further than that of the VMDK and names 9 municipalities that should form the 'Hungarian Self-governing District' (i.e. Ada, Bačka Topola, Bečej, Čoka, Kanjiza, Mali Idoš, Subotica, Kneževac and Senta). The proposed seat of the autonomous region is Subotica.

- ³⁹ Local self-administration is to be exercised in rural communities with a predominantly Hungarian population, along the Serbian-Hungarian border. This arrangement should allow these communities to associate with the local administration in the Hungarian communities across the border. For more information on the proposals of the two parties see: VMDK 1992, VMSZ 1996.
- ⁴⁰ According to the UDMR leadership, "...the forms of autonomy and self-government which appear in Recommendation No.1201 of the Council of Europe would assure a convenient frame for the Hungarian minority in Romania to cultivate its national identity". Although not explicitly stated, the demand for self-government seems to be centred on those areas where Hungarians form the local majority (e.g. the Szekler region). For more on this issue, see UDMR 1993: 18.
- ⁴¹ Information on this issue was disclosed to the author in the course of his field research in Serbia (Interview with sociologist, University of Belgrade; November 18, 2005).
- ⁴² Janča 2000: 34 and Komšić 2001: 162, 172.
- ⁴³ Janča 2000: 34 and Komšić 2000: 172.

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THE PROBLEM OF PRESERVING EXTERIOR WALL PAINTINGS ON MONUMENTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LATE MEDIEVAL PAINTED CHURCHES IN BUCOVINA (ROMANIA) AND SLOVENIA*

Preface

Wall paintings on the exteriors of monuments and other outdoor cultural materials (sculptures, mosaics, stuccos, etc.) represent a notable segment of visual arts heritage. As part of public spaces, they are noticed and appreciated on a daily basis. They can be there for different reasons and have different functions or meanings. Medieval churches, for example, were painted both inside and outside with “images that were intended to instruct, to incite devotion and to remind their viewers of Christ’s sacrifice and of the examples of the saints.”¹

One of the most characteristic images of the middle ages was that of St. Christopher, the patron saint of travelers. At the time (as later), this saint enjoyed considerable popularity in many regions of Europe. His image is often seen in interiors or on façades of religious buildings. In Slovenia, for example, nearly half of all remaining medieval images on church exteriors represent the scene of St. Christopher with the Christ-child on his shoulder. This scene is often accompanied by other images of saints, scenes of Christ’s Passion or depictions of Mary.

The image of St. Christopher is usually large enough to be seen clearly from the road, the nearby churchyard, the town square, or the village. Besides his role of protecting travelers, there is also another reason for his frequent appearance on exposed exterior walls: it was believed that one glance a day at his image would also protect against sudden or violent death.

*All photographs and charts are the work of the author unless otherwise stated.

Today, a large part of the function of the image has faded. However, without a doubt, these paintings are still recognizable as works of art with an aesthetic and historical nature. And, as works of art, it is imperative that they are conserved for the future, as Cesare Brandi explains in detail in his *Theory of Restoration* (Brandi, 49). Awareness of the imperative of conservation is particularly important in terms of exterior wall paintings since these represent some of the most endangered examples of the cultural heritage. Fading and other changes occurring to exterior wall paintings are often a clear sign of their vulnerability.

Consequently, this is fitting moment to take a look at St. Christopher and a great many other exterior images and to reflect on the issue of protection, either from the sudden or the slow but sure process of “dying”. This work does not set out to find the ultimate solution. Rather, it hopes to contemplate and gain a new understanding of the situation in order to help in the planning of conservation and restoration strategies.

Subject and purpose of the research

This work will take as its starting point the research made on medieval wall paintings in Slovenia. This research was used as a pilot model in the development and application of a model for systematic approaches to the conservation of wall paintings (or a wider segment of immovable cultural heritage) in Slovenia (Šeme 2005). This research resulted in a huge pile of information with a comprehensive digital database on the condition of more than 200 medieval wall paintings on the exteriors of more than 130 monuments in Slovenia.² Still, a lot of questions remained unanswered. Through experience from the broader geographic area, the problem of the decay and preservation of exterior wall paintings will become more transparent.

The reason for making a comparative analysis of the situation in Romanian with that of Slovenia is given by the many regions of Romania with a rich tradition in painted exteriors. From an iconographic and technological point of view, it would make most sense to make a comparison with Transylvanian wall paintings of the same period. However, the painted churches of Bucovina are more appropriate to the study of the decay and preservation of external wall paintings. Many of the churches of Bucovina are unique in being painted both inside and out, on all surfaces, from the plinth to the cornice of the tower. It therefore

becomes possible to compare the differences in preservation of interior and exterior painting (sometimes including the semi-open church porch), with surfaces of different orientations and heights.

Ten monuments in Bucovina were selected for a closer, *in situ* examination: the Church of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist in Arbore; the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Baia; the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Humor (Humor Monastery); the Church of the Feast of the Annunciation in Vatra Moldoviței (Moldovița Monastery); the Church of the Holy Cross in Pătrăuți (Pătrăuți Monastery); the Church of Saint Nicholas in Probota (Probota Monastery); the Church of Saint Nicholas in Râșca (Râșca Monastery); the Church of Saint George in Suceava (Monastery of Saint John the New); the Church of the Lord's Resurrection in Sucevița (Sucevița Monastery);³ the Church of Saint George in Voroneț (Voroneț Monastery). Besides these, there are many more exterior paintings from the 16th century in Bucovina and the wider region of northern Moldavia, but these were either not well preserved or on monuments too distant from the aforementioned list of churches for the *in situ* inspection (e.g. Bălinești, Bistrița Monastery, Dobrovăț Monastery, Părhăuți). At some of the monuments nothing has been preserved (e.g. the church of St. George in Hârlău, which is considered to have the oldest exterior paintings in Moldavia). Though not made a subject of closer study, fragments of wall painting on the entrance tower to the Probota Monastery and a part of the wall paintings in interior of the churches were also documented.

Taken as a whole, there are surely certain technical, technological and climatic differences that serve to differentiate between the late medieval wall paintings of Bucovina and Slovenia. What they have in common is their extreme vulnerability. Though in the course of time all materials are subject to deterioration and decay, the exterior wall paintings, sculptures and decorations of monuments are far more vulnerable in comparison with artifacts in museums with controlled climate and the protection this affords. Regrettably, the approach to outdoor artworks is often far less systematic in terms of the monitoring of condition and risk, as well as the consequences of conservation.⁴

The speed and the nature of deterioration of wall paintings depend on many factors, from location of the monument and the painting, the painting technique and technology used to later interventions, environmental effects and the nature of protection and maintenance. In contrast with museums with controlled climates, the exterior of monuments should be

evaluated on a timescale in which visible decay is measured in decades, years or even shorter periods. This makes feedback on conservation and restoration decisions fast enough to be able to learn from experience. Decision-making can thus follow a preservation- and risk- based approach in which knowledge about current conditions is combined with estimates of future damaging events. Proper maintenance and preventative conservation supported by the data acquired from regular monitoring and decay analyses can thus minimize needless loss.

Of all the natural factors of decay, weathering causes much faster deterioration of external painting than is seen inside monuments or in museums. It provokes harmful effects on the surface or beneath the surface of the paintings. This is particularly the case for precipitation and direct exposure to the sun and wind. The effects of capillary action on moisture and temperature changes also play a role, as do, according to research (Šeme 2002), the freeze-thaw cycle in the case of moisture-laden walls. And there are many other, sometimes less obvious factors, e.g. air pollution, water soluble salts, micro-organisms, etc. As a rule, the problem of deterioration with wall paintings is a complex issue, since the various different factors each have an affect on the other and cause varying degrees of damage.

To show that wall exterior wall painting is far more at risk than interior painting it suffices to select just one monument with both interior and exterior wall paintings painted in the same period and by the same artists or workshop. Some examples of comparisons at the churches of Humor in Bucovina and of Zanimgrad in Slovenia are shown in Figure 6 and Figure 7, respectively.

At the church in Humor we also see how the state of preservation of external wall paintings depends to a large extent on protection from precipitation (i.e. paintings are better preserved under the covered porch than on the façade protected only by the cornice). This is particularly true for upper sections of wall paintings.

The purpose of this research is to assess the condition of external wall paintings in terms of different geographical locations, the different positions of paintings on monuments, different methods of protection and the varying states of preservation. This will be followed by a more general assessment of the major threats posed to external wall paintings as well as the rate of decay. This will be concluded by some reflections on the results of conservation and restoration performed in recent decades and thoughts on future techniques of preservation. This research is based on

solely visual examinations of monuments *in situ*, the comparison of old photographs and the study of written documentation and different sorts of literature.

My main focus in this study is the future of historic exterior wall paintings. Is there a way to predict, if only approximately, the fate of exterior wall paintings over the coming decades? Some preliminary analysis (Šeme 2005) revealed a rather gloomy picture in which, with the current rate of decay, the majority of overexposed medieval exterior wall paintings in Slovenia will cease to exist *in situ* within a few decades. So, despite the many solutions proposed in the past, the question still remains: What is the best strategy to preserve this segment of cultural heritage for future generations?

Technique and technology of wall paintings

Knowledge of the technique and technology of painting is important to the study of factors of decay. Overall, the technique and technology used in Slovenian and Bucovinian late medieval exterior wall paintings does not differ significantly. The support is always made of stone bound together by mortar. Then at least two layers of lime plaster are applied: the first is thicker and coarser to aid adhesion of next layer (it. *arricio*), which is thinner and smoother (it. *intonaco*). The painting technique is usually mixed, beginning on freshly made *intonaco* (it. *affresco*) and ending on fresh lime wash (lime technique) or dry plaster (it. *secco* painting). The most commonly used pigments are also the most durable, e.g. earth pigments like yellow ochre, red oxide, green earth. Still, there are some differences and peculiarities, mostly typical of the more “Italian” or “Alpine” style of painting in Slovenia and the “Byzantine” style in Bucovina. More information on the technique and technology can be found in the works of I. Istudor and I. Bals (e.g. Bals and Istudor 1968, 1980) in Romania and A. Krinar (Krinar 2005) in Slovenia.

The stone used in the masonry of churches usually comes from close-by sources. Limestone and dolomite were usually used in the construction of medieval churches in Slovenia. In some areas sandstone (e.g. parts of Primorska, some regions of central Slovenia) and conglomerate (parts of Gorenjska) are typical. On some churches the masonry is not homogenous but made of different types of stone (e.g. Brunk, Tlake). The quality of workmanship may also vary. The masonry can be made from regular

blocks of ashlar (mostly for cornerstones) or from poorly dressed or undressed stonework (e.g. Brunk). The method of the composing of stone can also differ, from irregular to stratified (as classified in Koch, 498).

In Bucovina, a sort of sandstone was often used in masonry (e.g. Arbore, Moldovița, Sucevița). The stone material also appears to be more dressed and composed in a more stratified way (Figure 11). According to some sources (Buchenrieder 1971), the masonry in Humor is made of stone and brick. The high quality of the masonry comes as no surprise since the churches were built by Moldavian rulers (Stephen the Great and his descendants) or other nobleman (e.g. Luca Arbore in Arbore and Teodor Bubuioag in Humor) in contrast to the mostly smaller and remoter village churches in Slovenia.

The rendering normally involves two layers of plaster (*arriccio* and *intonaco*). If the surface of the masonry is not sufficiently level, an additional preliminary layer makes the surface more even for the application of the next two layers. In drier climates, the use of an extra layer of plaster can help keep in the moisture for longer, which is especially important in fresco painting (Krinar, 44).

The exterior figural paintings of the churches in Bucovina were often painted years or decades after the churches were built. Paintings made at the time the buildings were erected usually show imitations of the brick or stone masonry. This primary painted plaster was later used as *arriccio* for the figural paintings (e.g. Probota, Moldovița, Suceava, Humor).

Examples of many layers of figurative painting are not uncommon on the exteriors of medieval monuments in Slovenia. There are even three layers of medieval painting of St. Christopher, one on top of the other, on the south façade of the Church of St. John in Bohinj.

The particular difference between plasters of the monuments in Bucovina and Slovenia is seen in their composition. In Bucovina, the cut straw typical of Byzantine plasters can be found. This was used to make the plaster stronger and retain the moisture for longer. For similar reasons crushed brick (or other organic or inorganic supplements) was added but its use is seen less frequently and sparser in Bucovina. By contrast, the medieval plasters in Slovenia very often contain greater amounts of crushed brick and the usage of organic compounds like cut straw is very rare. This type of plaster in Slovenia is more typical of ancient Roman plaster and later periods. Another special type of plaster also found in

Slovenia is characterized by its content of particles of unslaked lime. According to one theory (Fister, 1956) this may be due to the application of the type of plaster named *quicklime plaster*. In both kinds of plaster (in Romania and Slovenia) particles of charcoal can be seen sporadically. In moisture-laden walls, the existence of these various hygroscopic particles can be dangerous in the long-term because it can contribute to different forms of damage (e.g. eruptive phenomena).

Some parts of paintings in Slovenia have remained with only the *sinopia* on *arriccio* (e.g. Pijava Gorica, Dobrina). However, underdrawing (e.g. Bodešče) or engraving on *intonaco* is more common. This can also be observed on paintings in Bucovina, but no further research has been made. Underpainting made on fresh mortar is common for paintings in Slovenia as well as Bucovina. A greater difference is seen in the selection of colors. For the paintings in Slovenia, the majority used earth pigments, with more expensive pigments like azurite, malachite and lead white or lead yellow being used only rarely. It is also impossible to find traces of gold on exteriors in Slovenia.

By contrast, in Bucovina it is clear that the persons who commissioned paintings were in no way poor. Large areas are often painted in more expensive blue azurite or green malachite. Prior to application of the blue color with azurite (or some other color) an underpainting with earth pigment or organic black was normally made. Painting on already dried plaster was made either using the lime technique or some *secco* technique; lime caseinate was most probably used as a binder.

Different uses of stencils and imprints are seen on paintings in Slovenia, with applications being more frequent in Bucovina. Applications were used especially for the nimbi which were plated with gold. Gilding was also used on some plain nimbi.

Condition assessment

The first step in assessing condition is a general visual examination of the wall paintings together with documentation acquired by on site examination. For the monuments in Slovenia, measurements of the dimensions and orientation of wall paintings were also performed. A solely visual examination may prove insufficient, in particular when studying the effects of moisture and related phenomena like the growth of salts and biological forms of attack. Similarly, for the monuments in Slovenia

it was often hard to establish when or in what way a monument has been protected from rising of capillary moisture. Therefore the data acquired must be interpreted carefully.

Due to various restrictions, additional instrumental analysis was made only for the painted exteriors of the Church at Vrzdenc in Slovenia in 2004 and 2005. At this time, sampling and analyses of painting material, moisture, salts and microorganisms on the painted surfaces were carried out in cooperation with Slovenian experts from the Slovenian Restoration Centre and many other institutions. The purpose of the Vrzdenc pilot project was primarily to make a study of the applicability of different methods of investigation and to link together experts from various fields for possible future interdisciplinary cooperation.

The general visual inspection of the monuments with exterior wall paintings in Slovenia and Bucovina included the following: an assessment of technique and technology of painting, assessment of damage and other changes, assessment of interventions and maintenance, and risk assessment. For that purpose a form for general in situ examination was created. With this it is harder to overlook important data while observing the condition of the paintings, and it also makes the final data analysis much easier.

The form is similar to many other pro formas already in existence: for example, as early as the 1970s similar forms were made for the investigation of wall painting in Slovenia (Bogovčič 1975 [1976], Bogovčič 1977) and Romania (Lăzărescu 1977, Mohanu 1977). On an international level, the pro forma published in the frequently quoted book on the restoration of wall paintings might be better known (Mora, Mora, Phillippot, 1984, originally published in French in 1977).

General state of preservation

A view of the monument with the wall painting as a whole can give the first estimation of the general state of preservation of a particular wall painting. For this purpose it is necessary to see the situation in reality (on site) and from all sides.

Looking at photographs of painted monuments in Bucovina on postcards or published in diverse printed materials, we get the impression that in general late medieval exterior wall paintings in Bucovina are much better preserved than those in Slovenia or anywhere else.⁵ But this can be far

from the truth, since the churches of Bucovina are normally photographed from the south, southeast or southwest sides – the sides that are more picturesque due to being where the paintings are best preserved. When observing the same monuments from other sides, our impression of the state of preservation may be somewhat gloomier. Therefore, for a more objective estimate of the state of preservation it is necessary to treat the paintings as a whole, from all sides of the monument.

It is interesting that the medieval paintings in Slovenia do not show similar correlations between the orientation of a painting and its state of preservation. It is also hard to make a more objective analysis of the state of preservation because no one church has preserved paintings on all sides, and it is not even possible to establish with certainty that there were such churches in the middle ages.⁶ Possibly the only painter that we know for certain painted more than two sides of a façade was Bartholomew of Škofja Loka (Jernej iz Loke) in the first half of the 16th century. He painted the church in Brode near Škofja Loka (paintings on the west, north and south of the façade are preserved) and the Church of St. John (Ribčev Laz) in Bohinj (paintings on the west, east and south of the façade are preserved). The sole example of a monument with medieval wall paintings on all sides, and from top to bottom, is a shrine (Rdece znamenje) in the forest (Smrečje) near Crngrob at Škofja Loka, painted by the Master of the Kranj altar. The paintings of the shrine near Crngrob show no distinct correlation between the orientation of the painting and its state of preservation.⁷

Medieval wall paintings in Slovenia are most frequently still preserved on south-facing façades (48% of all paintings) and far less on eastern façades (5% or only 10 paintings) (Figure 21). The presbytery is normally situated on the east side of the churches.

The exterior wall paintings of Bucovina in the study were originally painted on all sides (with the possible exception of the church in Pătrăuți).

As already mentioned in the example of the church at Humor (Figure 6), the state of preservation of exterior wall painting can depend considerably on the level of protection from precipitation. Clearly, exterior wall paintings entirely under the roof or with an additional overhang are more protected than those under a short cornice or with no overhang.

In Slovenia, the majority of the paintings are protected merely by ordinary cornices and with no additional extensions (Figure 23). In Bucovina, the majority of monuments with exterior wall paintings have

cornices that have been additionally extended. The church in Voroneț has a particularly long cornice in terms of the height of the wall. Additionally, the paintings on western façades of churches with partially opened porches in Moldovița, Humor, and Baia, and those in the vast western niche in Arbore, are still well protected.

Another important observation in terms of the monuments in Bucovina and Slovenia is that the state of preservation of external paintings (and mostly of the paint layer) generally changes in a vertical sense over the surface of the wall, i.e. the upper parts are usually much better preserved than the lower parts, whatever the orientation. As a rule, the paint layer of the paintings is very badly preserved at heights up to at least 1.5-2 m from the ground (rough estimation). This is mainly due to precipitation in terms of wind,⁸ however the capillary action of rising damp is an equally important factor. Exceptions to this rule, showing extensive damage to plaster and paint layers also on other parts, occur for different reasons: infiltrating moisture due to defects in the roof, different kinds of accidents, direct human intervention, etc. The factors of decay will be discussed in more detail later.

For further analysis two basic aspects of the state of preservation of wall paintings were noted:

- The extent of preservation of the original plaster used for the painting (for different reasons parts of original plaster with a painting can be missing),
- The extent of preservation of the original paint layer (paint layer can be better or worse preserved depending on the degree of fading, powdering or flaking).

And:

- The extent to which a wall painting is uncovered.

The extent to which a wall painting is uncovered

When secondary depositions on the surfaces of original paintings (over plastering, whitewashing, overpainting, dust...) are present, the establishment of the extent of preservation of the original plaster and the paint layer can be very hard. This is especially true of exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia, since there more than three quarters of the exterior paintings were once covered by plaster, lime wash or overpainting.

Today, a still relatively high percentage (59%) of the paintings is covered to some extent. There is a very high percentage of paintings whose extent of uncovering is impossible to define due to the fact that the paintings are covered to such an extent that it is very difficult to know how much of the surface of the original painting still exists underneath (Figure 27).

In Bucovina, it is known that the wall paintings on the façades of the churches in Pătrăuți and Probota were whitewashed (or overplastered) in the past. At present these paintings are completely uncovered. A considerable section of the wall paintings on the apse and on the upper part of the west and south wall (the one not yet detached) of the church in Baia is still whitewashed (Figure 28). It seems that due to the very poor state of preservation of the original painting, the north façade of the church in Moldovița was also once whitewashed or covered by a thin layer of plaster (Figure 29). There are also some layers of plaster and overpainting preserved as samples on the left side of the south exterior of the church in Sucevița, but it appears that this ancient overpainting and overplastering reached only the border of the painting. In Râșca the apse was overpainted by decorative painting during a later period and underneath it is possible to notice the faint original painting.

The extent of preservation of the original plaster used for the painting

In Slovenia only about a quarter of paintings still have the majority of the original plaster intact. The reasons for this differ, the most important being the renovation of buildings, weathering (especially in lower segments) and insufficient maintenance. The main reason for the very high percentage of paintings whose extent of preservation of the plaster is impossible to define is secondary depositions (Figure 30).

In Bucovina the reasons for the decay of plaster are basically the same as in Slovenia, only that the situation seems somewhat better at first glance. Renovation and rebuilding was to a large extent responsible for the destruction of the painted plaster in Râșca (western side of the church) and probably also in Sucevița (addition of open porches to the south and north façade). Possibly the main reasons were insufficient maintenance (e.g. Arbore, Probota, Baia) and disasters like fire (e.g. Probota). Insufficient maintenance is usually closely connected with the decay caused by weathering.

The extent of preservation of the original paint layer

Visual assessment of the general condition of a painting depends a great deal on the assessment of the state of preservation of the original paint layer. However, some phenomena make this assessment more difficult:

- The paint layer can be highly irregularly preserved depending on the surface of the painting
- Various secondary depositions above the layer of the original painting can hinder its readability
- *Sinopia* or underdrawing under the layer of the original painting can be treated together or separately

Using a scale for numerical estimation makes the assessment easier:

- 0: nothing preserved; some engravings in plaster or very faint traces of color can give evidence of the former painting
- 1: very badly preserved, very low readability; only faint or unconnected traces of paint layer preserved; generally only assumptions can be made about the possible scene of the painting
- 2: badly preserved, low readability; very faded color or very poor cohesion and adhesion of the paint layer; very low readability of the painted scene
- 3: medium degree of preservation; medium degree of fading or poor cohesion and adhesion of the paint layer; readability of the painted scene may be low but satisfactory (with exception of details, *secco* parts, etc.)
- 4: high degree of preservation, only slight fading of color; good readability of the painted scene together with details
- 5: very high degree of preservation with no fading of color; the painting is as new

Almost half the paintings in Slovenia fall into the category of lost (grade 1 of preservation) and badly decayed wall paintings (grade 2 of preservation) (Figure 32). It should be noted here that only the best preserved part of the painting was considered in the analysis: for example, if 70% of the painting was assessed at grade 2, 20% with the grade 3 and 10% with grade 4, only the grade 4 was considered for that particular painting in the final analysis. Therefore the real situation is in fact worse than presented on the graph.

As mentioned at the start, the general estimation of the level of preservation of the paint layer for the whole monument, or even for a single wall, is very hard to establish in Bucovina. The most appropriate way may be to section the surface of a wall according to different degrees of preservation (Figure 33). At any rate, the general impression is that the paint layer for some sections of surfaces is very well preserved. The following can be awarded grade 4, or even 5:

- Arbore: segments of the painting on the upper and the middle part of the west and south façades
- Humor: upper segments of painting in the porch on the west (mostly on the vault) and the east side of the façade
- Moldovița: upper segment of painting in the open porch, especially on the vault, a large part of painting on the south side of the church, narrow segment of paintings almost all around the church
- Pătrăuți: very small segment of the upper part of the fragment on the west façade
- Râșca: some upper parts of the painting on the south side of the church
- Suceava: very small segments in the upper part of the south side of the church (less than 5% of the area of preserved paintings and mostly in niches)
- Sucevița: here the paint layer is the best preserved among all the churches of Bucovina (it was also painted some decades later!), the majority of the upper half of the area on the south, east and north side of the church, also the majority of the area on the lower part of the south and east side of the church
- Voroneț: most part of the west wall and upper parts of the south and east façade, to a lesser extent also the lower parts of the south and east façade and upper parts of the north façade.

One somewhat contradictory phenomena observed on exterior wall paintings on the churches in Arbore, Voroneț, Moldovița, Probota and elsewhere is that some parts painted in blue azurite or green malachite are much better preserved than other parts of the same painting painted with earth pigments (Figure 34).

State of preservation according to major forms of decay

Generally speaking, physical, chemical or biological damage (biophysical or biochemical) can occur to wall paintings. Usually the extent of chemical and biological decay is much harder to define from a solely visual inspection and can lead to misconceptions.

In terms of physical changes, on the paintings in Slovenia the biggest problem is poor cohesion and adhesion of the plaster and paint layer. Eruptive phenomena and large cracks that can be connected with crumbling, flaking or bulging of the plaster also occur relatively frequently. Much poor cohesion and adhesion (e.g. exfoliation) of the plaster was also noticed on exterior paintings in Râșca and Baia.

Some very interesting results were obtained from more in-depth study of the phenomena of biological attack, especially that of lichens that can frequently be clearly seen with the naked eye. More on this is contained in the risk assessment section. In Bucovina lichens were observed less frequently on paintings (maybe due to recent restoration) and more frequently on secondary depositions or the stone of plinths and buttresses.

Risk assessment

The field of risk management in cultural heritage has developed considerably in the last two decades (Waller 2003), especially in the field of risk management for museum collections. In the field of archeological and monumental heritage, a very strong concept of condition assessment and risk management, following Brandi's notion of preventive restoration, was designed as part of the Risk Map of the Cultural Heritage (La Carta del Rischio del Patrimonio Culturale) of the Istituto Centrale del Restauro (Castelli 1997). The Risk Map is applied to the whole territory of Italy and is still in development (Baldi, 1):

‘The central idea upon the ‘Risk Map’ is based on the development of systems and methods enabling maintenance and restoration programs for architectural, archaeological and historical-artistic items with regard to their respective conditions and the harshness of the environment where they are situated. The word ‘programming’ is used in its literal sense of obtaining useful information to predict, and thus to decide in advance, which measures have to be taken most urgently, with regard to both the time

necessary for execution and to inherent expenses, in order to avoid losses and damage. This requirement is all the more urgent when we consider the importance of Italian cultural heritage, as well as the lack of financial means available for its preservation and the resulting duty of using all available resources to their utmost and overcoming a constant state of emergency. By the time the project is finished, new tools of knowledge and new methods of analysis will be available to the central and local administrations of cultural heritage, which help control and monitor the condition of cultural heritage in order to manage and optimize conservation measures," Pio Baldi, ICR Project Director.

The Risk Map is an example of a good starting point for future more comprehensive analysis of risk, either as a whole or for more specific segments of cultural heritage such as exterior wall paintings.

Below are listed some observations regarding the dangerous predicament of exterior wall paintings in Bucovina and Slovenia. They are based on observations made *in situ* and on information accessed from literature and archive sources. There are three principle risk factors or dangers:

- natural disasters,
- environmental/air danger factors (weathering and air pollution),
- anthropic (human) risk.

Large natural disasters (like heavy earthquakes) and human destruction can leave a great mark on monuments and their wall paintings. Hardly perceivable alterations produced by weathering factors that act slower and are of lower but constant strength are also dangerous. It seems that the biggest damage to late medieval wall paintings still visible on exteriors in Slovenia and Bucovina was caused, over the course of their history, by weathering, poor maintenance and rebuilding and renovations (especially during the baroque period in Slovenia). For more comprehensive risk analyses it is important also to include monuments whose paintings were destroyed, overpainted, detached or are now situated in the interior. Still, in order to make predictions of future dangers, data about past events do not suffice and we need to include different kind of information acquired through interdisciplinary cooperation. Finally, the risk assessment can never be perfect in the sense of a final prediction of future damage since it always leaves room for some uncertainty. However, it can considerably help in planning a conservation strategy.

Natural disasters

At least five groups of natural disasters can be considered important for the monuments in Slovenia and Bucovina: seismic (ground shaking, lateral spreading, etc.), hydrologic (river flooding, drought, erosion, avalanches), atmospheric (hailstorm, lightning, strong winds, thunderstorm), other geologic (landslides and slips, rockfalls) and wildfire.

Both areas are close to areas with a high risk of seismic activity and in the past many earthquakes have affected monuments with exterior wall paintings. In Slovenia the majority of exterior medieval wall paintings are located in the central and northwestern part of the country, where the seismic risk is the greatest.⁹Floods in Slovenia do not normally directly endanger the monuments with exterior medieval wall paintings. In Bucovina some recent events (flood in June and July 2006) indicate that this could be a problem, at least for the monument in Arbore:

Overall, 600 people had to abandon their homes after severe storms swept across the country. Hardest hit was northern Romania, where up to 100 liters of rain fell per square meter within hours. For example, it rained hard enough to turn a knee-deep stream in the village of Arbore, in Suceava, into a roaring river more than two meters deep.¹⁰

The droughts that occurred frequently in recent years in Slovenia can also result in damage to monuments. On some monuments (e.g. Brode) it was noticed that the drought produced cracks in the masonry.

For more comprehensive risk assessment various geographical data analysis is needed and more interdisciplinary cooperation.

Weathering and air pollution

In his book *Causes of deterioration of mural paintings* Mora wrote (Mora, 11):

The most significant causes of change are due to high humidity, whether judged by its frequency of occurrence or by the secondary reactions that may follow in its train.

After studying the decay of exterior wall paintings in Bucovina it became even clearer that the most damaging agents on exteriors are precipitation in close connection with strong winds and the capillary action of moisture in close connection with water-soluble salts. The influence of condensation (also in connection with air pollution) and of direct exposure to sunlight (also in connection with temperature changes) is harder to access. In some respects, sunlight can be considered a salutary factor since on such exposed surfaces it is possible to find fewer microorganisms, as some analyses of the paintings in Slovenia have indicated. Thus the factors or agents of decay for wall paintings can be placed in three groups:

1. Humidity in different forms: precipitation in close connection with wind, capillary moisture, condensation moisture (especially fog and mist)
2. The decay agents closely connected with humidity factors: biological action, water-soluble salts, air pollution (acid rain, etc.)
3. Exposure to light (especially to direct sunlight), temperature changes (especially extreme changes, e.g. freeze-thaw cycle and fire), wind erosion, pollution (dust and deposits), vibrations.

Presentation and analysis of the effects of different risk factors for individual wall paintings can be made in visual form. Some attempts of this kind were made, e.g. on exterior wall paintings in Austria (Eschebach, 85), and more schematically for interior paintings of a certain type of church in Romania (Angelescu and Nagoe, 68-69). An example of a similar visual presentation of risk assessment for the north wall of the church in Moldovița is given below (Figure 35).

It is also possible to perform numerical analysis of the strength of the risk factors for a particular segment of wall painting (e.g. in a certain territory) (Table 1). Such assessments are always subjective to a certain degree since they are based on solely visual examination.

Table 1: An example of risk assessment according to precipitation and capillary moisture hazards; the data refer to ten wall paintings on eight churches in the coastal region of Slovenia.

	low	moderate	high
Precipitation + wind	20%	20%	60%
Capillary moisture + salts	10%	30%	60%

However, more comprehensive analyses can be made in close cooperation with experts of different fields. A good example of this approach was a project to study local climatic parameters so as to determine the condition of restorations and conservations of wall paintings for the churches in Voroneț, Humor, Arbore, Moldovița and Sucevița. The project was conducted by the Institute for Meteorology and Hydrology in Bucharest during the winter and summer of 1970.¹¹ It measured the temperature and humidity of the air and the direction and strength of the wind, and made visual observations of nebulosity and atmospheric phenomena (Cioviță and Tîștea, 1). In addition, some important studies were also performed in the period 1959-1969 (e.g. *Etude pour la détermination des causes de l'humidification des murs de l'église de Voroneț – ISCAS 1959, Etude concernant les causes et les suites de l'humidification de l'église de Voroneț – INCERC 1968, Rapport géotechnique sur l'emplacement du monastère de Moldovitz – ISCAS 1969, Avis géotechnique sur le terrain de foundation de l'église d'Arbore – TTG 1959, ISCAS 1964, Protection des fresques extérieures par des panneaux – Archevêché de Moldavie 1958, ISCAS 1959, Istudor and Balș, n.d.*).

More indirect agents of decay, such as microorganisms, can also be analyzed. Analysis of visual observations of exterior wall paintings in Slovenia more clearly demonstrated to what extent the orientation and protection from direct sunlight influence the growth of lichens (Figure 36 and Figure 37).

Shady and unsheltered walls are doubtless the most likely target of lichen attack. In spite of this, on some such walls (e.g. Vrzdenc, Valterski Vrh) it was noticed that areas painted in blue were not attacked by lichens. Supplementary laboratory analyses confirm them to have been painted in blue copper based azurite pigment. Since it is known that copper hinders the growth of microorganisms considerably, it is obvious why blue or green (copper based pigment malachite) painted areas of paintings are much better preserved. The question, therefore, is to what extent the absence of microorganisms is the reason for the clearly much better preservation of some blue parts of paintings on the exteriors of the churches in Arbore, Voroneț, Moldovița, Probota and Suceava, or whether it is more a matter of a different painting technique or something else altogether.

Comparative statistical analyses of phenomena on exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia brought to light the fact that lichens are often

found on plaster with especially close nets of cracks. However, it is not yet sufficiently clear to what extent lichens contribute to shrinkage and corrosion of the paint layer. Some laboratory analyses of biological attack on painted exteriors in Bucovina were also made in the past (e.g. Lazăr and Dumitru 1973).

Risk assessment for weathering according to the rate of decay

It is impossible to rely on feelings when trying to estimate the extent of change of surface appearance over a period of years or decades.

As early as the 1970s, Garry Thomson proposed a well-conceived photographic method for periodic measurement of surface change on exterior wall paintings in Bucovina (Lemaire et al, 1970). Photographs repeated at intervals and from fixed points could register three kinds of visual changes:

- cracking and loss of surface,
- additions to surface such as efflorescence and dirt,
- change of color.

Regrettably, such systematic monitoring with an appropriate photographic method was not practiced in either Bucovina or Slovenia.

Various additions to surfaces and changes of color such as fading can be yet more accurately measured with spectrophotometer or high-resolution cameras. However, a special method needs to be devised for this particular purpose. Within the framework of the Vrzenec project some test measurements of surfaces of exterior wall painting were made.

If no such instruments and recordings are available, comparison of older photographs of wall paintings with current situations can be of some use as well. There are of course some difficulties and for this reason the interpretation of the results must be made very carefully,¹² but for rough estimation of surface change this is sufficient.

In general, comparative analysis of photographs of wall paintings in Slovenia has revealed that over a time scale of two or three decades the change is usually not very visible. However, from the distance of five decades or more the alteration of the painted surface is more than obvious. It should be noted that at well-protected locations the change is smaller. Comparative analysis of photographic material from Bucovina does not

show such a high rate of decay. However, it was noticed that some new damage appeared on the surface of the west wall of the church in Humor, and it seems that the area of change of blue azurite to green malachite on the south wall of the church in Voroneț rose a few centimeters (Dumitrescu, 128-130 and 301).

An interesting way to study the rate of decay is by means of a close examination of dated graffiti, as in the painting in Moldovița (Angelescu, 61 and 64).

Anthropic risk

Today the major factors of anthropic risk are vandalism, destructive rebuilding, renovations or repainting, conservation and restoration errors and lack of maintenance. On wall paintings in Bucovina vandalism was a much greater threat in the past than today. The general impression is that the late medieval exterior paintings of Bucovina are less at risk from human intervention than those of Slovenia due to the higher level of attention they are paid.

There are some reasons for this: the (painted) monastery churches of Bucovina represent an important symbol of Moldavian history, they are architecturally and aesthetically unique in some respects, they represent the most important tourist attraction in the area, and seven of them are even on the UNESCO World Heritage list. In addition, as parts of monasteries (with the exception of the church in Baia) they are surrounded by walls with an entrance and are thus better protected from vandalism. On the other hand, for some of the churches not on the UNESCO list (Baia, Râșca) it appears to be harder to find sufficient funds for more regular maintenance and conservation-restoration treatments.

Table 2: Magnitudes of risk according to the type of anthropic risk faced by medieval wall paintings on exteriors in Slovenia and Bucovina.

Medieval wall paintings on exteriors in:	Slovenia			Bucovina		
Type of danger \ Magnitude of risk:	low	moderate	high	low	moderate	high
vandalism		+		+	+	
destructive rebuilding, renovation		+	+	+	+	
conservation and restoration errors	+	+		+	+	
lack of maintenance – important monuments	+			+		
lack of maintenance – less protected monuments		+	+		+	+

Churches in Slovenia are usually more freely approachable but the real threat of vandalism is more likely in areas that are attractive for tourists or school trips (Sv. Janez v Bohinju, Stara Fužina, Bodešče, Vrba). Lack of maintenance is more likely for monuments at more remote locations and is often due to lack of funds. The larger threat of destructive rebuilding and renovation is most likely among owners and caretakers with insufficient sensibility for cultural heritage. The possibility should not be excluded that the risk of damage from human intervention appears more acute for monuments in Slovenia since I am more familiar with conservation and restoration practice in Slovenia.

One deficiency is the lack of more systematic research on past restoration practice and its failures. This knowledge would certainly contribute to further improvements in practice and improve risk estimation.

In general, anthropic risk is harder to predict than the risk posed by natural factors.

Preservation concepts and approaches

The idea of preserving and renovating cultural heritage can be seen throughout history, with only the concepts sometimes changing. In Slovenia, for example, painters like Jernej of Loka or Master of Podpeč were renovating the wall paintings of older medieval masters as early as the end of the middle Ages. In this example the term renovation should be understood more in the sense of refreshing or repainting faded original paintings. In later centuries the renovation of wall paintings was again usually understood in the sense of a repainting while more or less faithfully following or respecting the original. Many examples of repainting can also be found of painted churches in Bucovina (e.g. on the exterior of the church in Râșca).

More organized protection of cultural heritage began in the middle of the 19th century with the creation of the *Central Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments* in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the year 1850. This fact is important since both Slovenia and Bucovina were part of the Empire until 1918 (n.b. Râșca, Baia and Probota were not part of *Herzogtum Bukowina* territory). The commission named honorary conservators for each duchy or kingdom of the Empire. But the Commission had no legal power or legislative body since no law on the protection of monuments had been accepted, as opposed to the Hungarian part of the Empire. The same is true of the later establishment of the *State Office for Monuments* in 1911. During this time we still see many examples of renovation of wall paintings in the sense of repainting but also approaches that are closer to the modern concept of conservation and restoration with more respect to the original. Today it is not hard to criticize some of the failures of these early restorations, but we should take into consideration that the knowledge and materials used in conservation and restoration at that time were less developed than they are today.

Most prominently at the turn of the century, debate centered on the idea of “to conserve not to restore” introduced by Georg Dehio (today this notion is understood more in the sense of “to conserve not to reconstruct”). The “Vienna School” with Alois Riegel and Max Dvořák also spoke out more in favor of conservation. This idea probably also contributed to a more cautious approach to wall painting conservation, as seen in the example of restoration of medieval wall paintings inside the church at St. Primus near Kamnik at the beginning of the 20th century (Stele, 20). One positive effect of this was a more preventive way of

thinking and acting, for instance in looking to achieve better protection from weathering by use of prolonged cornices, additional roofs, etc.

A lot has been written about the interwar and later establishment of the office for the protection of cultural heritage and its work either in Romania or Slovenia. Here I will mention only some of the more interesting facts:

In interwar Romania, the development of the conservation of cultural heritage owes a great deal to the role of the historian Nicolae Iorga, with the assistance of personalities like George Balș, Nicolae Ghica-Budești, Horia Teodoru, etc (Drăguț 1980, 7). After the Second World War, three important incidents affected the future approach to conservation of exterior wall paintings in Bucovina. One of these was the establishment of very close cooperation with the *International Centre for Conservation of Rome (ICCROM)* in 1970s. At the time there were many visits and missions by experts from the ICCROM including workshops held in cooperation with the ICCROM for the painted churches of Bucovina. This led to the exchange of views and the training of Romanian restorers, either in Romania or in Rome. This was accompanied by the adding to the UNESCO World Heritage List of seven monuments with interior and exterior wall paintings as examples of unique artistic achievement and outstanding examples of the historical period. In many ways this is important for the future conservation of the monuments. One negative event was the termination of the service for the protection of cultural heritage in Romania in 1977. This put an end to or interrupted some planned projects. (The service was reestablished at the beginning of the 1990s.)

In the interwar period, most of Slovenia was part of the newly formed state of Yugoslavia. The new office for the protection of monuments inherited the structure of the former one. Again, the law for protection of monuments was not accepted during this period. At the time the most important role was played by the art historian France Stele in his capacity as chief conservator. Though closely connected with the "Vienna School" his approach to cultural heritage conservation was less strict in the sense of the "to conserve not to restore" notion.¹³ In the development of restoration, there were some important events soon after the Second World War when the Restoration Atelier of the *Institute for Protection of Monuments* and postgraduate study in restoration at the *Academy of fine Arts* were established. In terms of the preservation of exterior wall paintings, one important event was the round table meeting of Slovenian experts in 1989.

At this meeting it was agreed that wall paintings on exteriors were more endangered than other examples of cultural heritage and that there were different reasons for this situation. They also agreed on the need for:

- a systematic approach to assess the number of items (e.g. establishment of register of monuments),
- monitoring and evaluation of wall paintings according to the state of preservation (condition assessment),
- documentation of state of danger and decay (risk assessment),
- fundamental analysis using a methodological and interdisciplinary approach,
- analysis of possible conservation solutions (preservation in situ, detachment and dislocation, copistics),
- improvement in social attitudes to heritage.

Although the idea of a more systematic approach to the preservation of exterior wall paintings was quite well articulated, a lot of work is still needed in this area.

For example, the case of registers: when searching for locations and other information on medieval exterior wall paintings, the starting point might be the national databases of cultural heritage. This database in Slovenia represents the *Register of Immovable Cultural Heritage* and is freely accessible via the Internet. It currently provides only basic information about the monument: name, location, type and short description, etc.¹⁴ There is a similar situation in Romania: there are two on-line databases that are clearly connected: *The Christian Architectural Heritage List* and *Historic Monuments Proposed for Restoration (1996-1998)*. The idea is for similar databases to become part of a much larger information system where data about current and past conditions of a monument and its components (e.g. wall paintings) can be accessed in the form of information retrieved from archive sources and permanent monitoring. In case of permanent or periodical on field monitoring, condition and risk assessment could be made each time.¹⁵

We should note the similarities and differences in conservation practice for wall paintings on exteriors in Bucovina and Slovenia, either in terms of more preventive conservation treatment or active conservation or restoration.

The most commonly observed actions taken to protect wall paintings from precipitation are the addition of roofs or extension of existing roofs and cornices. In most cases the cornices of monuments in Bucovina were

extended considerably following the Second World War. After realizing that the main reason for decay in Bucovina was precipitation in combination with strong winds that damage the surface of paintings, proposals were made as to how to minimize the destructive action of wind. First, more detailed proposals were made in the 1950s by Romanian experts and then again in 1970s by Paulo Mora from the ICCROM (Lemaire, 12-13). It was eventually realized that any action of this nature would affect the view of the monument considerably. It was then agreed that this should be the last solution chosen after careful study of the situation and exclusion of all other solutions.

Reduction of the capillary action of moisture is usually achieved by different types of drainage. Many churches in Slovenia still lack any kind of drainage system. Another solution often observed in Slovenia is to cut off the plaster to expose the inferior segment of the masonry. Less frequent is use of air vents placed at the base of the wall.

Certain differences were noted in terms of the restoration of wall paintings, for instance in the approach to the original painting. While in Slovenia more stable but also more difficult to remove or less reversible synthetic binders were normally used for retouching, the impression is that in Bucovina the aquarelle technique is more commonly used. Retouching is also more consistently used on non-original, newly plastered material. The less stable aquarelle technique poses certain problems on exteriors, and for this reason the plaster that filled the lacuna is sometimes already toned (e.g. in Sucevița), but this solution is only possible to limited degree.

While the detachment of wall paintings from famous monuments in Bucovina is hard to imagine, there are some examples of more recent detachments in both Bucovina (e.g. Baia) and Slovenia. Over the last 15 years, some 10 exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia were detached and transposed to other locations (Figure 40). Sometimes a copy replaces the original, as in the example of St Christopher on the south wall of the presbytery in Vrzdenc (Figure 16).

Conclusion

After our comparison of late exterior medieval wall paintings on churches in Bucovina and Slovenia, it is possible to draw some conclusions.

Most paintings in Bucovina were painted between the 1530s and 1550s (with the exception of the later paintings in Sucevița), with only a small number of paintings in Slovenia being from this period. The other paintings were painted earlier (from the beginning of the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century).

In Slovenia medieval paintings on exteriors mostly still exist on small and remote village churches where the quality of the masonry can be inferior and the selection of pigments less rich when compared with the monuments in Bucovina. This is especially true when we compare the palette and gold leaves used on paintings in Bucovina. On the other hand, the painting technique used alone is not so different that it could be said that this for sure influenced the rate of decay.

It is clear that wall paintings in Bucovina are not considerably better preserved than those in Slovenia. From a rough estimate of the condition of the paint layer, it is normally clear that not much more than half of the whole painted area on the church is better preserved. However, the areas of preserved paintings are larger since the churches are usually bigger and higher and painted all over, from the plinth to the cornice. Interestingly, paintings on the southern side in particular, as well as some on the western and eastern sides, are also quite well preserved. This is all the more interesting given that the majority of these were never whitewashed, overpainted or overplastered. It is known, for example, that at least 80% of all medieval paintings still visible on exteriors in Slovenia were still covered at the beginning of the 20th century. Although paintings are in some way better protected under whitewash, uncovering them again can also put stress on the painting and cause new damage.

Exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia are spread over different types of construction (churches, chapels, shrines, houses) and different sides of the exterior, and this makes analysis of decay more difficult. On the other hand, this provides a very good opportunity to study late medieval churches in Bucovina, which are more unified, with paintings still preserved on all sides (at least for a majority), from top to bottom, exterior and interior. From this point of view, these churches are ideal for the visual study of the influences of different decay agents. There are of course some climatic differences between Bucovina and Slovenia, even within Slovenia itself. But the basic nature of decay is always the same.

It became clear that the capillary action of ground moisture and precipitation combined with wind are the biggest factors of decay. The extent of the effect of capillary moisture alone, which usually only reaches

a certain height on the wall, is harder to establish on exterior paintings due to the presence of many other mutually acting factors. For this it is better to look at the wall under the vault of the porch or, better still, inside the church, where the height of the capillary moisture and the water-soluble salts it carries within it is clearer. It should be noted that this height reached may be different on the south or north wall, the exterior or interior side of the wall.

In Bucovina, it seems that the destructive effect of precipitation is much stronger than the effect of capillarity. Any doubts as to its role vanish as soon as we look at the north lateral apse wall at Humor, where the shape of the edge of badly preserved painting depends precisely on the shape of the cornice of the roof.

There are however some questions that can not be solved purely by visual examination. The question remains open as to the extent to which salts have contributed to alteration primarily due to capillary moisture and to what extent microorganisms have contributed to damage primarily due to the effect of moisture in general. For examples in Slovenia (e.g. Vrzenec) and Bucovina (e.g. Probota) it was noticed that paintings in blue were better preserved than those parts painted using earth pigments, which runs contrary to expectations. However, we come to understand this when we learn that azurite contains copper, which does not encourage the growth of microorganisms. It may be possible to find other reasons for the better durability of blue azurite on exteriors in Bucovina. And there are certainly other factors at play, implying the need for further research (e.g. air pollution).

At any rate, the strength of various agents of decay differs from monument to monument. It can vary considerably depending on different local conditions, such as the height of the water table, the spread of precipitation and number of foggy days per year, the strength and direction of the wind, etc.

In the past, various measures were taken to stop or at least slow the further decay and alteration of exterior wall paintings. The most commonly noticed preventative measure of this kind was additional protection from precipitation and the use of different systems of protection from capillary moisture. The most common form of direct intervention is consolidation of the plaster and paint layer. The effect of these and other measures would clearly be better if the approach adopted were more systematic in terms of the monitoring and analysis of condition and risk and the suitability of past interventions. This more prevention-oriented approach seems a

normal and more suited procedure for use on better-preserved paintings. However, the question arises as to how to deal with paintings that are in a pretty low state of preservation – namely, the group in which fall the majority of medieval exterior wall paintings in Slovenia and many segments of the wall paintings under study in Bucovina.

In these cases, three major aspects of the work of art should be taken into consideration before a decision about its future (if any) is taken: aesthetic, historical and symbolic. These free aspects can easily come into conflict in the case of badly preserved works.

From a historical point of view, the most important matter is to preserve the material witness of the past, with all its contents and changes. In this sense, from a strictly conservational point of view, the painting should be preserved as it is, in the same place, and with all later additions such as repainting and restorations, and with now further addition or interventions allowed. The painting should be carefully whitewashed or detached only if there is no other way to preserve it.

From an aesthetic point of view, the most important thing is to preserve or recreate the original visual appearance of the work of art. In this sense, the original image of the work of art should be reconstructed. If good photographic documentation of a one-time better-preserved original painting exists it is then possible to make a copy, otherwise reconstructions can be made from analogies. From an aesthetic point of view, it is also important, for example, for a reconstructed wall painting to remain in its original place on the monument, since the image forms an aesthetic unity of the monument. From a strictly aesthetic point of view, the original can be destroyed, whitewashed, overplastered or detached. The most important matter is original likeness.

From a symbolic point of view, the most important issue is not to preserve the material witness of the past, nor the original likeness, but to preserve what it symbolizes. For this reason many badly preserved paintings were destroyed or covered and in their place an image painted with the same religious or symbolic meaning (e.g. another image of St Christopher). The exact position of the new painting in comparison with the original one is not normally important. It is also not important if the painting is a copy, reconstruction or variation of the original. If values change, or for any other reason, the painting can be replaced by one with another meaning.

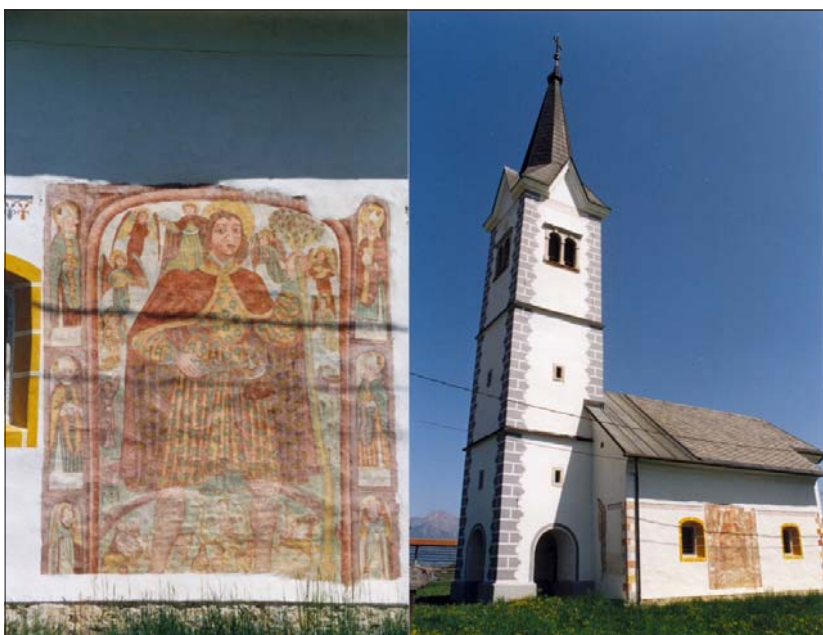


Figure 1: Spodnje Bitnje, Slovenia; church of St. Nicholas with an early 16th century wall painting of St. Christopher on the south façade (painted by Jernej of Škofja Loka).



Figure 2: Arbore, church of Decollation of St. John the Baptist, Bucovina; wall painting of St. Christopher on the east façade of the wall of the altar apse. This is the only preserved exterior depiction of St. Christopher in Bucovina from the late Middle Ages (painted by Dragoş Coman of Iasi, 1541).



Figure 3: The remaining medieval wall paintings in Slovenia are in most cases on the exteriors of sacred monuments (churches, chapels and shrines). To the side can be seen a wall painting from the façade of the castle, the civic house and the rural house. The state of preservation of these paintings differs considerably: from small fragments of only a few cm² to large areas covering the entire wall.

Figure 4: The database on medieval exterior wall paintings from the beginning of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century in Slovenia was taken as a starting point for further analysis.



Figure 5: Monuments in Bucovina with exterior wall paintings that were part of the research; Arbore, Baia, Humor, Moldovița, Pătrăuți (first row), Probota, Râșca, Suceava (St. John Monastery), Sucevița, Voroneț (second row).



Figure 6: Church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Humor; collage of three photographs – (left) segment of interior wall painting, (center) faint fragments of paintings on western facade, and (right) exterior paintings protected by the vault of the porch (all painted by Thomas of Suceava or his workshop between 1530 and 1535).



Figure 7: Church of St. Stephen at Zanigrad: this shows an extreme example of difference in preservation for wall paintings painted by the same author and on the same wall, inside (left) and outside (right).

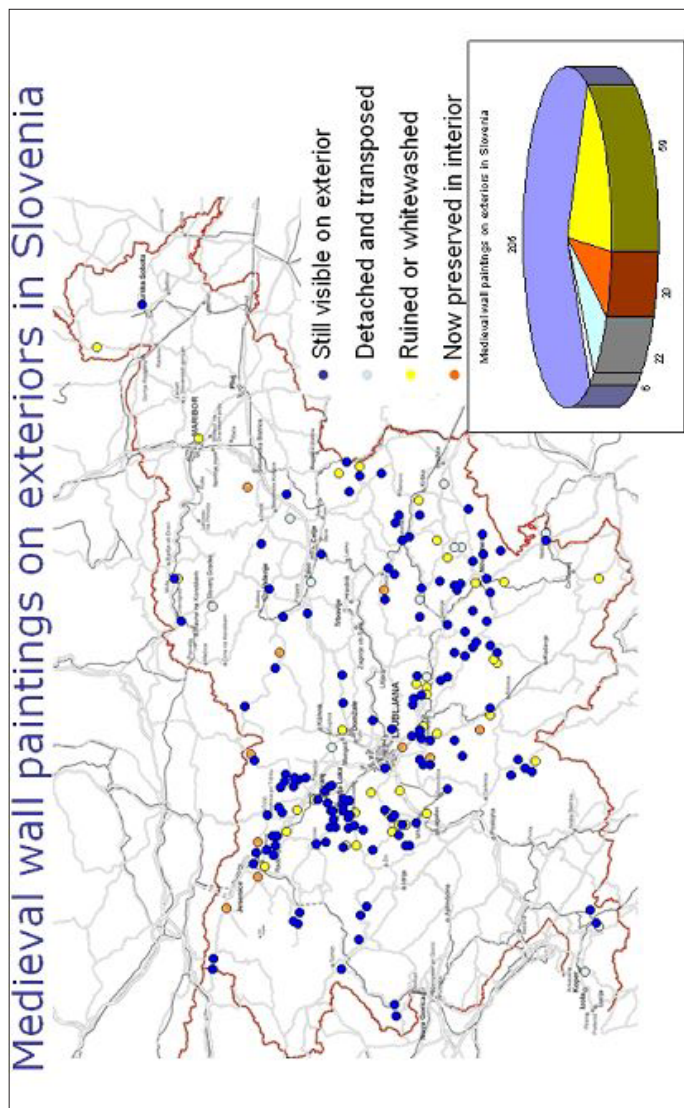


Figure 8: Map of Slovenia showing locations of medieval exterior wall paintings and their current condition (drawn using data collected from the literature, archival sources and field examination. N.b. monuments marked by a dark blue dot may also contain paintings that were whitewashed, destroyed, detached or are currently found in the interior.



Figure 9: Church of St. Urh at Vihre. South wall of the nave;
example of irregular composing of stones.



Figure 10: Church of Sts Primus and Felicianus at Gorenje Karteljevo. South wall of the nave; example of stratified composing of stones.



Figure 11: Church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Baia, southern wall; clearly visible masonry where wall paintings were detached.



Figure 12: Church of St. Nicholas at Rasca, southern wall;
cut straw in the plaster.



Figure 13: Church of St. Martin at Zalog, southern wall;
particles of crushed brick in the plaster that caused damage
in the form of eruptions.



Figure 14: Church of St. George at Voroneț, south façade;
application of nimbus with some traces of surrounding gilding.



Figure 15: Church of St. Cross at Sv. Kri, west façade;
use of stencil on garment of St. Christopher.



Figure 16: Church of St. Kancian at Vrzdeneč; samples taken from the
south façade and from other sides for instrumental analysis in the
laboratory.

Electronic proforma for general in situ examination

**general information
(monument/wall painting)**

technique/technology

**damages and
other changes**

past interventions

**protection/
endangerment**

notes (e.g. No. of photos)

The screenshot shows a web-based form for recording data on medieval wall paintings. The form is organized into several sections, each with a red border. The sections are: 1. General information (monument/wall painting), 2. Technique/technology, 3. Damages and other changes, 4. Past interventions, 5. Protection/endangerment, and 6. Notes (e.g. No. of photos). The form contains various input fields, checkboxes, and dropdown menus for data entry.

Figure 17: Electronic pro forma for general in situ examination of medieval wall paintings of Slovenia.



Figure 18: Postcards from Bucovina, showing the “brighter” sides of the monuments.



Figure 19: The painted monuments of Bucovina (Humor, Voroneț, Moldovița, Arbore, Suceava, Probota) showing sides with less well preserved exterior paintings.

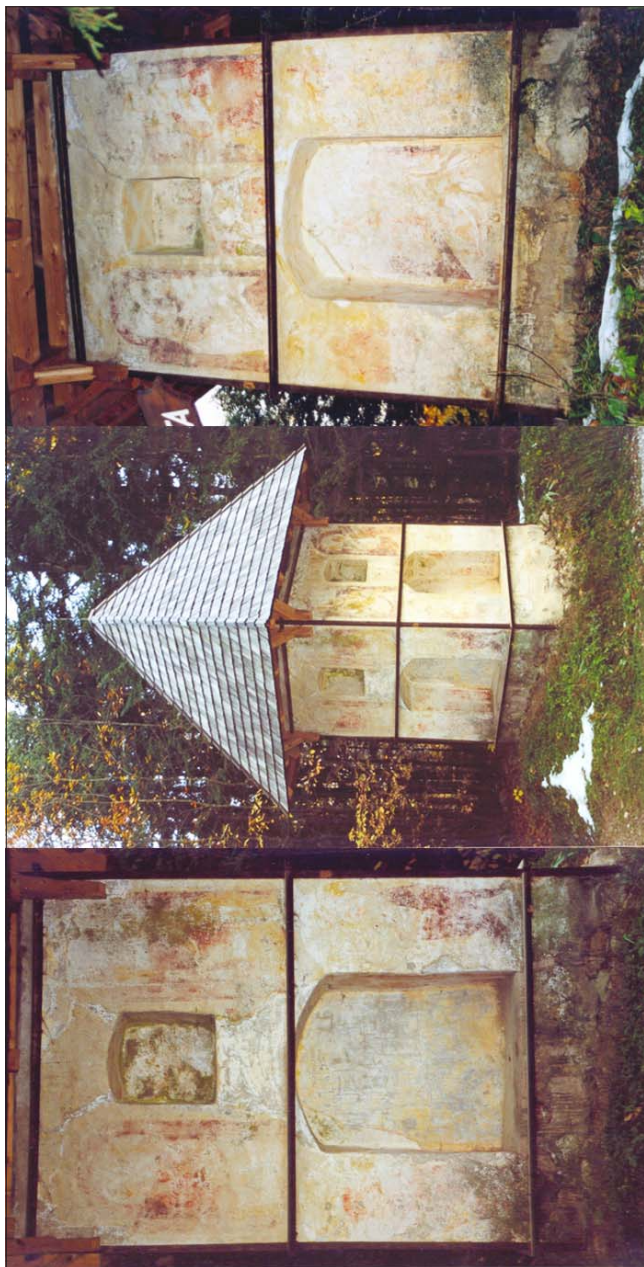


Figure 20: Crngrob, "Red shrine"; the shrine together with the northern (left) and southern sides (right).

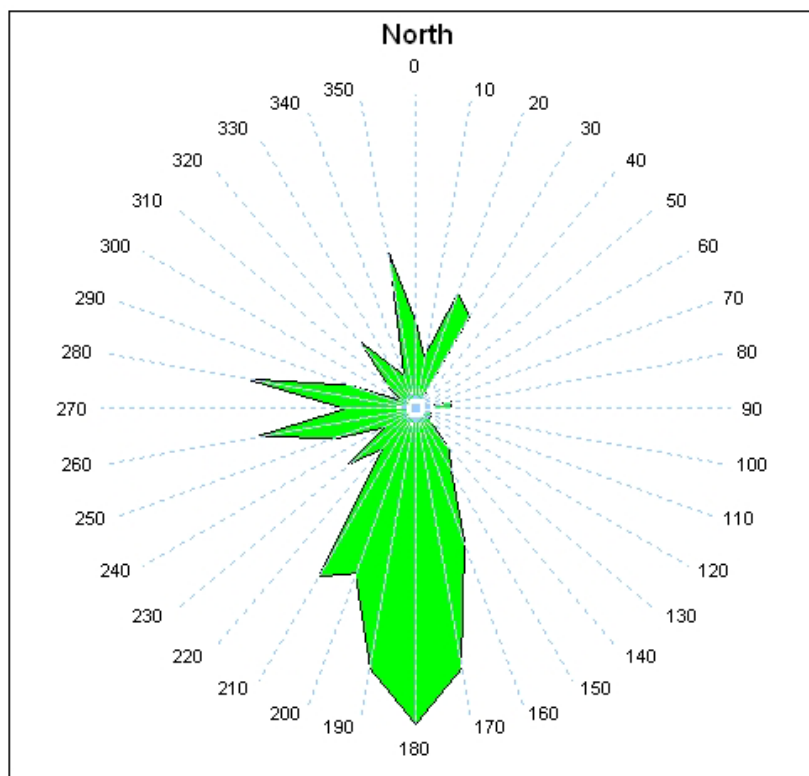


Figure 21: Orientation of walls with exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia.



Figure 22: Different degree of protection of exterior wall paintings from precipitation for medieval monuments in Slovenia.

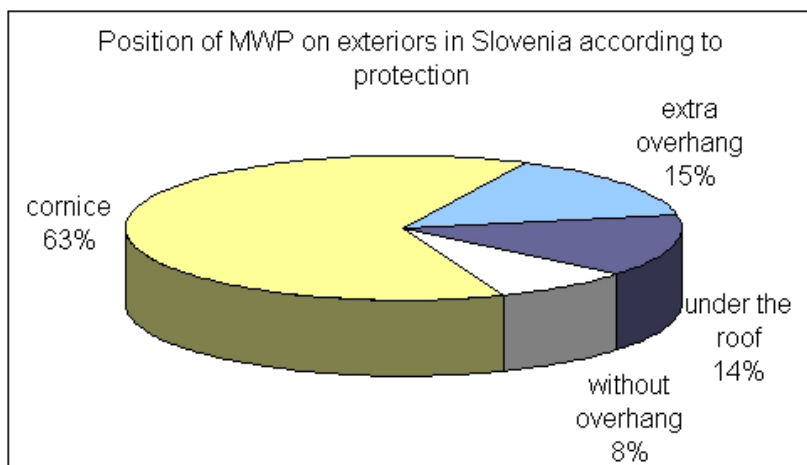


Figure 23: Position of medieval wall paintings in Slovenia according to the protection from precipitation and direct exposure to sunlight.



Figure 24: Church of Mary Magdalene at Brod in Bohinj, southern side of the presbytery; the lowest section of the painting is marked by combined influence of capillary action of ground moisture and precipitation.



Figure 25: Church of the Assumption of the Virgin at Humor, eastern side of the apse; the size and the shape of the highest and the best preserved section of the painting is also affected by the semicircular shape of the apse and consequently the shape of the cornice that protects the paintings from precipitation, stronger winds and direct sunlight.

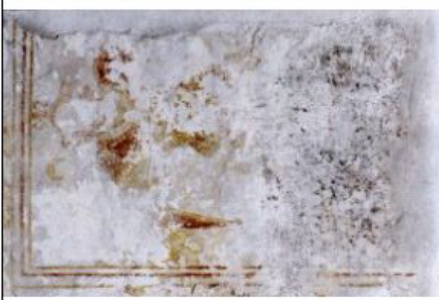
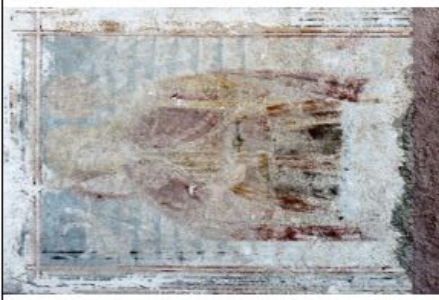

<i>Uncovered- small part</i>	
<i>Uncovered- partly</i>	
<i>Uncovered- larger part</i>	
<i>Uncovered- completely</i>	

Figure 26: Different extents of uncovering from plaster, white wash, overpainting or other secondary depositions.

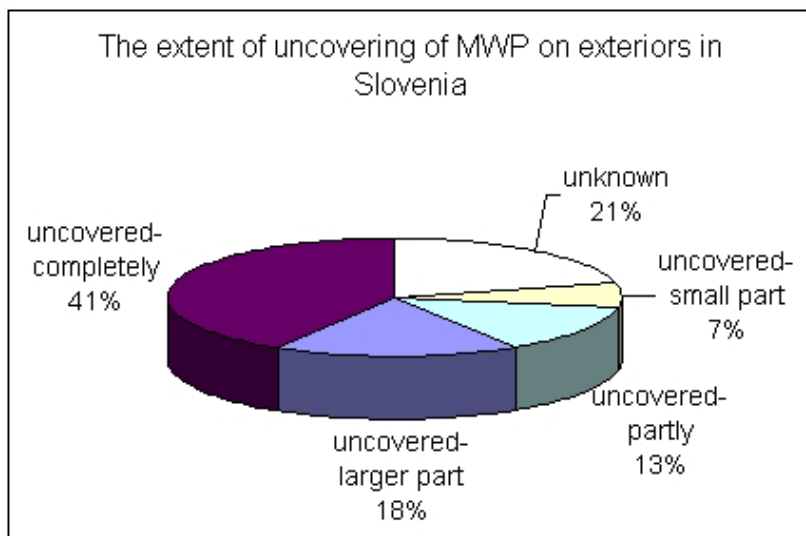


Figure 27: The extent of uncovering from plaster, white wash or overpainting of exterior medieval wall painting in Slovenia.

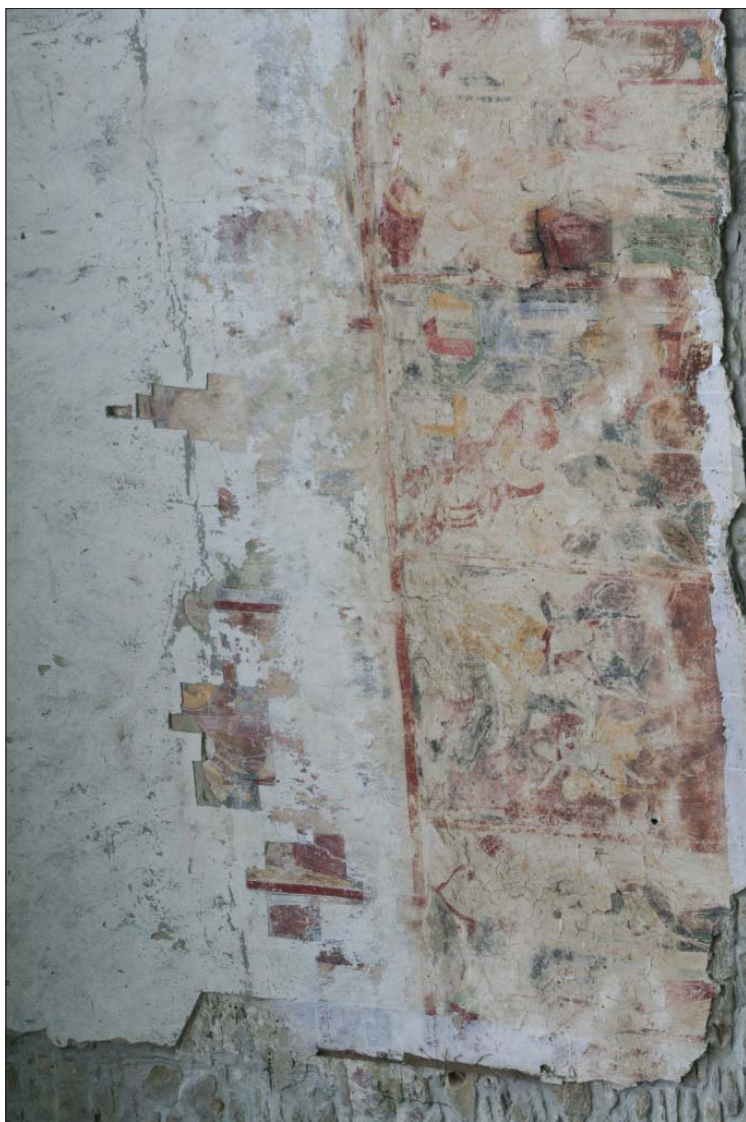


Figure 28: Church of the Virgin at Baia, southern wall;
some parts of undetached painting are still under the whitewash.



Figure 29: Church of the Feast of the Annunciation at Moldovita, northern wall; thick whitewash or very thin plaster that covered the remnants of original painting also flaking off the wall.

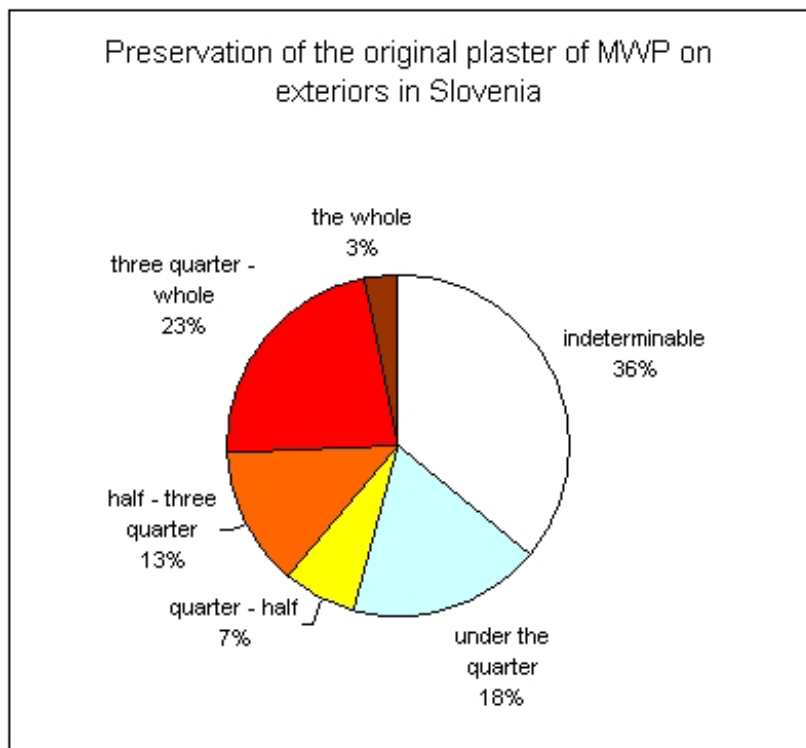


Figure 30: Distribution of medieval wall paintings on exteriors in Slovenia by the degree of preservation of the original plaster.

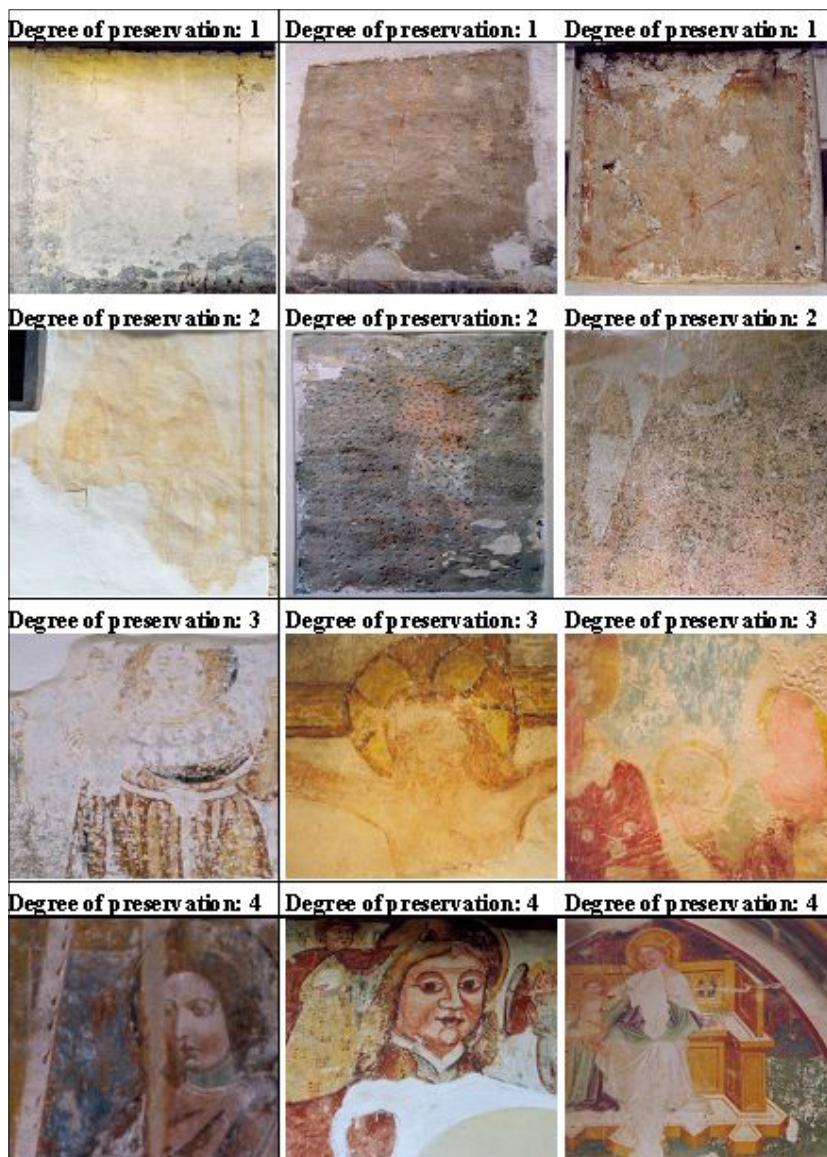


Figure 31: Visual presentation of the scale for different degrees of paint layer preservation. This can be used in condition assessment of wall paintings in the field.

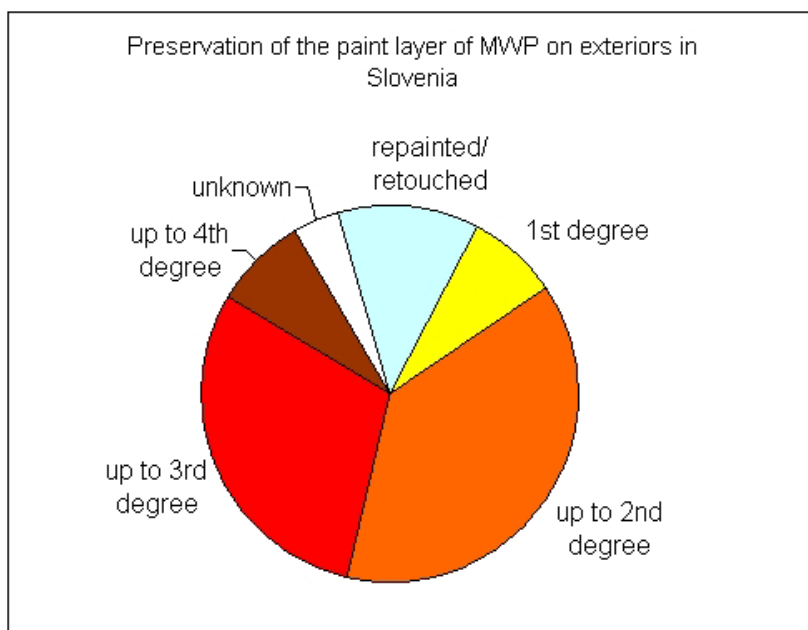


Figure 32: Distribution of medieval wall paintings on exteriors in Slovenia by the extent of preservation of the original paint layer.

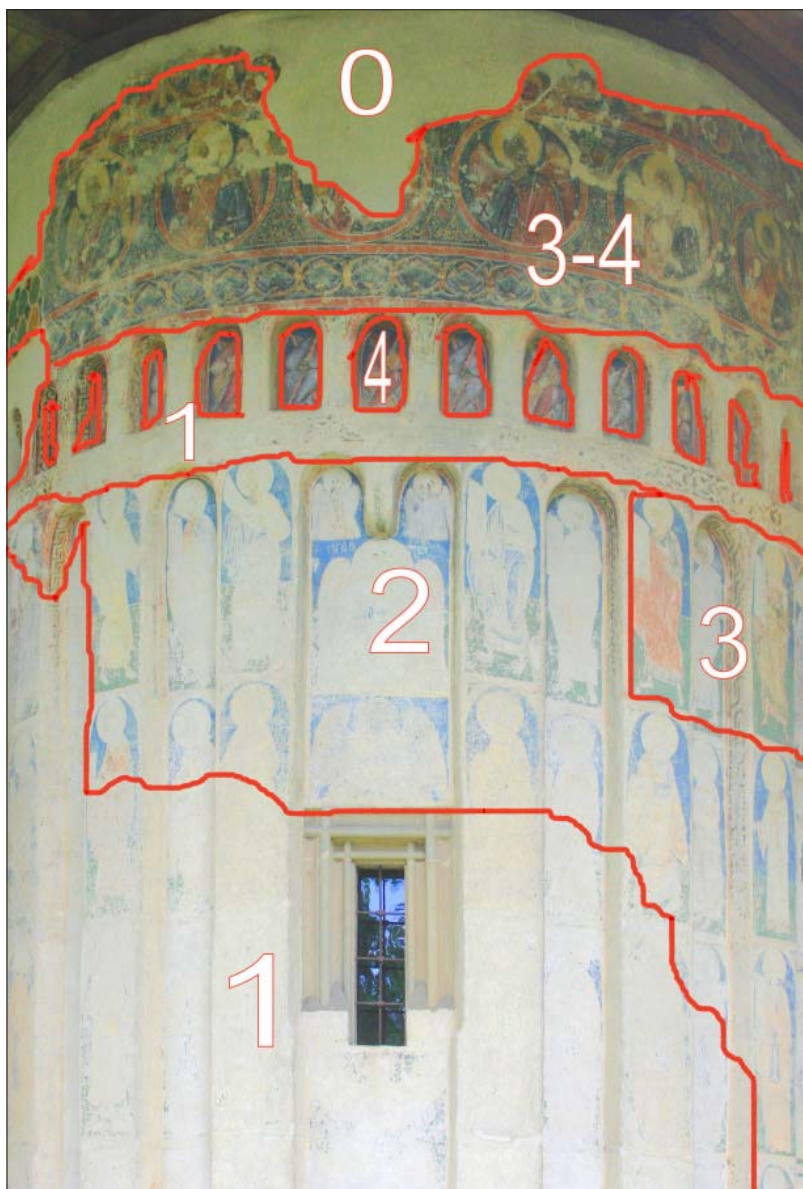


Figure 33: Assessment of condition of the paint layer on the north apse of the church in Voroneț.



Figure 34: Church of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist Arbore; southern apse; the surface painted with blue azurite is much better preserved than surfaces in other colors.

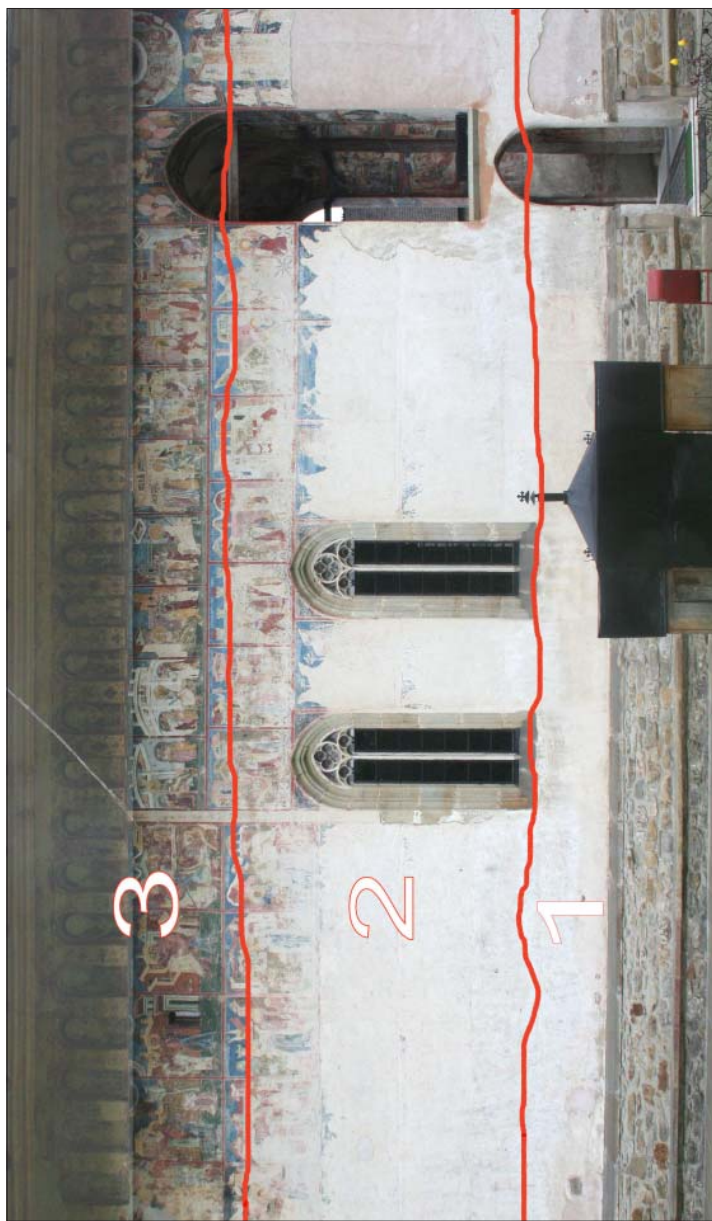


Figure 35: Church of the Feast of the Annunciation at Moldovița, north wall; more schematic risk assessment for different areas, (3): minor risk factors, (2): minor risk factors plus precipitation with strong wind and biological attack, (1): as for (3) and (2) plus capillary moisture with water soluble salts.

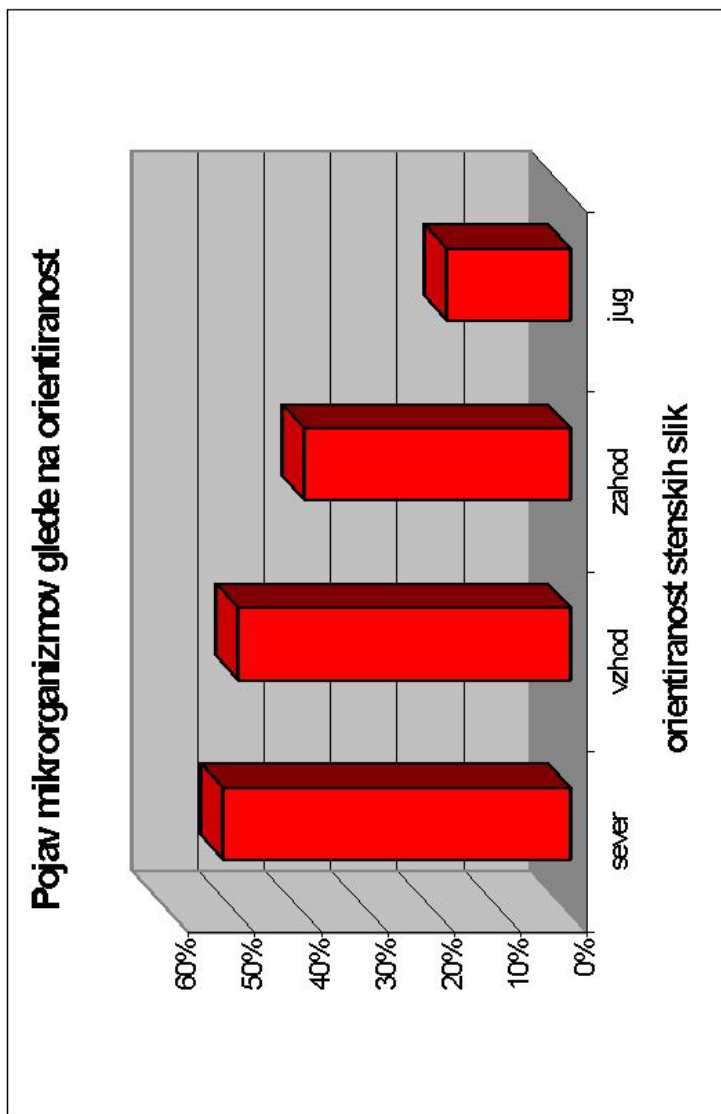


Figure 36: Phenomena of lichens with regard to orientation of wall paintings; from left to right: north (sever), east (vzhod), west (zahod), south (jug).

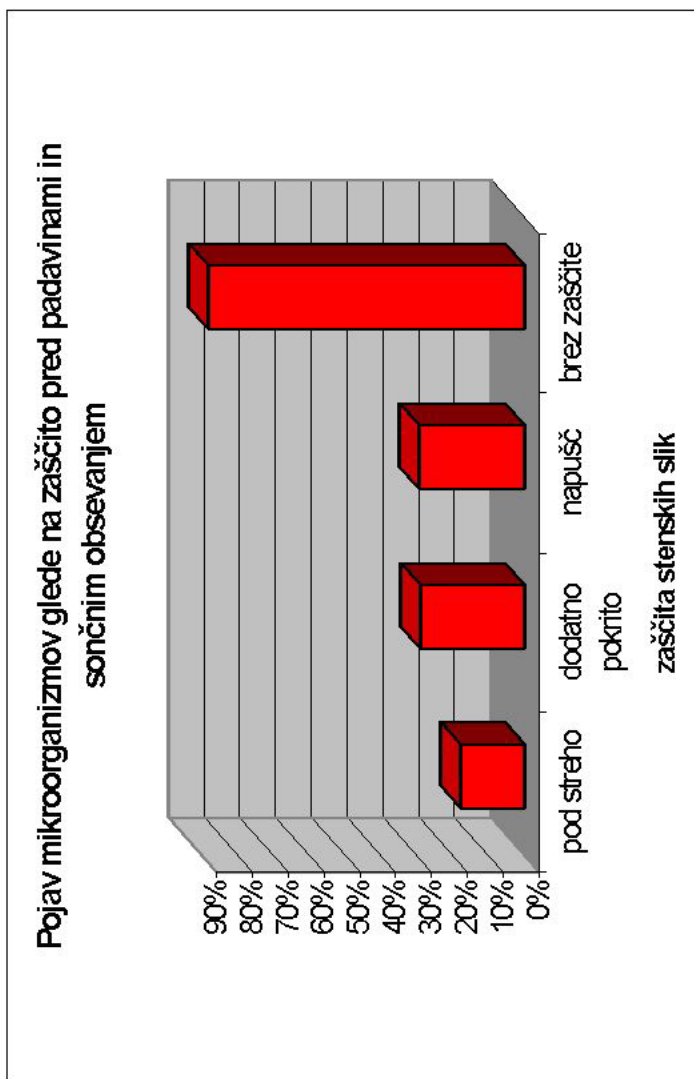


Figure 37: Phenomena of lichens with regard to protection from precipitation; from left to right: under the roof (pod streho), extra overhang (dodatno pokrito), under the cornice (napušč), without overhang (brez zaščite).




		
Before 2nd world war (Archive of Umetnostnozgod. Inšt. F. Steleta pri SAZU (F. Stele))	After 2nd world war (Archive of Umetnostnozgod. Inšt. F. Steleta pri SAZU)	2003 (Photo: B. Š.)

Figure 38: Church of St. Leonard at Bodešče; the rate of change in surface appearance over a timescale of about eight decades.


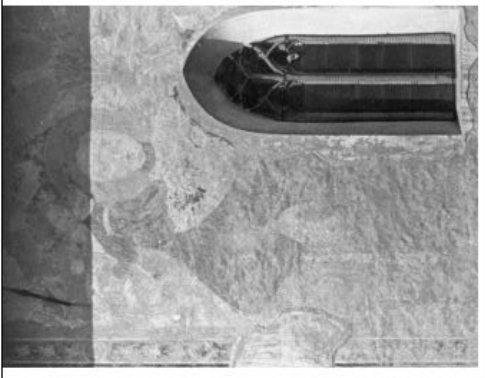

		
<p>Before 2nd world war (Archive of Umetnostnozgod. Inšt. F. Steleta pri SAZU (F. Stele))</p>	<p>After 1959 (Photo archive of Dep. for Art History, Faculty of Philosophy, Univ. of Lj.)</p>	<p>2003 (Photo: B. Š.)</p>

Figure 39: Church of Mary's Annunciation at Crngob, the rate of change in surface appearance over a timescale of more than five decades.

Detached wall paintings in Slovenia

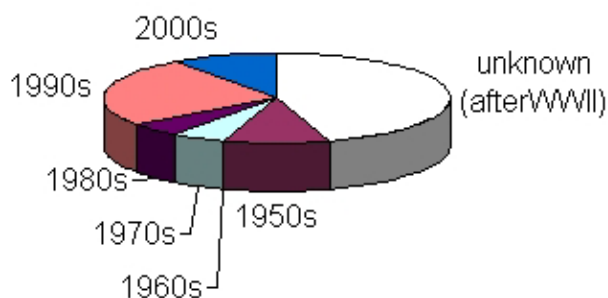


Figure 40: Detachment of exterior medieval wall paintings in Slovenia.



Figure 41: St. John in Bohinj (Ribčev Laz), south wall of the nave; four fragments of images of St. Christopher have been preserved – the first three paintings from the middle ages (on the left of the wall) were painted one over another, the last painting dates from the baroque period and was painted next to them on the right hand side.

NOTES

- ¹ Bridget Heal, *Images and Religious Communication in a Sixteenth-Century German City*, paper presented at the New Europe College in Bucharest on 23 June 2006, p. 1.
- ² The results of the research could be used to guide any possible future creation of an interdisciplinary database on wall paintings in Slovenia. This could be very useful to researchers dealing with cultural heritage in either the field of humanities or the natural sciences.
- ³ In terms of the age of the exterior wall paintings studied in Bucovina, the paintings in Sucevița are much later than the others. They were painted in the 1590s, while the exteriors of the other churches were painted between the 1530s and 1550s. From many points of view (e.g. iconographical), the painting in Sucevița is still very close to earlier painting and can be considered "the will of old Moldavian art" (Ogden 2001).
- ⁴ Sometimes this gives an impression that outdoor cultural material is a third-rate material with solely a temporal and more decorative function. This is of course not true for the exterior wall paintings of the seven Moldavian monuments (Probota, Pătrăuți, Voroneț, Arbore, Suceava, Humor, Moldovița) added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993.
- ⁵ Similarly in Schmid, 1-3.
- ⁶ Fortunately some churches have preserved medieval paintings all over their interiors (e.g. the church in Hrastovlje).
- ⁷ There are many reasons for this: the shrine is in a forest and therefore partially shielded from direct sunlight and wind, the lower level of ground moisture can rise almost to the top of the painting, etc.
- ⁸ This was observed in the reports by the ICCROM experts (Mora, Philippot & Thomson) and (Schmid).
- ⁹ Following the earthquakes of the last two decades, the *Regional Office for the Protection of Cultural Heritage* in the northwestern region of Slovenia conducted more accurate monitoring and photographic documentation of the effects of earthquakes on immovable cultural heritage. At the time some structural damage on exteriors (mostly cracks in the masonry) were recorded.
- ¹⁰ <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/VBOL-6RCGHD?OpenDocument&rc=4&cc=rou>
Source: Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA), Date: 03 Jul 2006.
- ¹¹ The exact title of the work is "*Studiul parametrilor climatici locali pentru stabilirea condițiilor de restaurare și conservare a picturilor murale ale unor monumente istorice din Bucovina*" (*l'Etude des paramètres climatiques locaux pour la détermination des conditions de restauration et de conservation des peintures murales de certains monuments historiques du nord de la Moldavie*), 1970?, MAS-DIFGA, Institut de meteorology et hydrologie.

- ¹² It should be noted that in the past wall paintings were often wetted before being photographed. In addition they were photographed from different angles, with different exposures to light, with different films used, etc. It is also only possible to perceive certain types of surface change.
- ¹³ For example, in respect of the original and removal of later additions or the faded original and its color additions with restoration, different decisions can be taken depending on each individual situation.
- ¹⁴ Source: http://fjz1.web.siol.com/Rkd_212/Zacetek.asp (15.7.2006).
Unfortunately it is impossible to run a search according to type of artistic heritage (wall painting, mosaic, sculpture, etc.) or age of the monument.
- ¹⁵ A good example of such an information system for wall paintings is the database for medieval wall paintings (with possible future extension) in Lower Saxony in Germany.

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LES « TELENOVÉLAS » LATINO-AMÉRICAINES EN BULGARIE PENDANT LES ANNÉES 90 : LEUR EXPANSION, LEURS RÔLES, LEURS PUBLICS (PREMIERS RÉSULTATS DE LA RÉALISATION D'ENTRETIENS AVEC 40 SPECTATEURS BULGARES)

Les « telenovelas » latino-américaines ont produit un succès énorme dans tous les pays post-communistes de l'Europe de l'Est pendant les années 90, alors que l'Europe de l'Ouest reste, avec peu d'exceptions près, toujours insensible et désintéressée par la fiction produite en Amérique du Sud. Sur les nouveaux marchés télévisuels de l'Est la narration latine fait de l'ombre à la fiction télévisuelle des Etats-Unis. L'imposante efficacité du modèle mélodramatique latino-américain coïncide, par hasard ou non, avec la chute du communisme en 1989. Pourquoi préfère-t-on une fiction à une autre ? Quel est ce « rêve latino-américain » qui rivalise d'une manière si efficace avec l'« American Dream » bien connu ? D'où vient ce nouveau *format* de rêve ? La question initiale peut être formulée de cette manière : quels sont les traits mélodramatiques qui correspondent à l'imaginaire bulgare et quel côté de l'imaginaire du public bulgare nécessite la fiction narrative latino-américaine ? Comment est-elle devenue possible cette rencontre entre deux réalités si éloignées ?

Entre le 10 juillet et le 30 septembre 2000 nous avons réalisé d'interviews en profondeur avec 40 personnes, ce qui va nous aider à explorer la façon dont les publics négocient avec le genre et à motiver et concrétiser nos conclusions. La recherche reconnaît et part de la conviction que « les consommateurs ne sont pas de *drogués culturels*, mais des utilisateurs critiques de la culture de masse »¹ et que « les textes populaires permettent, par leur nature même, des lectures multiples »². Les entretiens non-standardisés visent à explorer les spécificités de la

rencontre entre la « telenovela » latino-américaine et les publics bulgares (une méthode de recherche que Ien Ang appelle *ethnographie des publics des médias*).

Les interrogés, tous habitants de grandes villes de Bulgarie, devaient avoir une certaine expérience (profonde ou partielle) comme spectateurs des « telenovelas ». Les spectateurs « convertis » ont été préférés puisque l'entretien avait pour objet d'examiner les raisons du grand succès et de l'expansion des séries latino-américaines en Bulgarie pendant les années 90. C'est pour cela que la plupart des entretiens ont été réalisés avec des gens dont l'opinion sur les séries en question est plutôt positive. Généralement la proposition de dialoguer sur les « telenovelas » était accueillie avec enthousiasme par tous les interrogés. Ils se sentent compétents ; leur expérience des « telenovelas » avait formé une opinion catégorique qu'ils partageaient avec plaisir et développaient sans réticences. La plupart des personnes ont été prêtes à théoriser la popularité des « telenovelas » en expliquant, non seulement pourquoi ils les regardent, mais encore pourquoi tout le monde les regarde. Pour rendre plus personnels les entretiens on est parti du groupe de questions sur l'expérience immédiate du spectateur vis-à-vis des séries – quelle est leur série préférée et pourquoi ? Quels sont leurs personnages préférés ou détestés, etc.? De cette manière on essaie de rester sur le territoire de la mémoire émotionnelle et d'échapper aux formules d'opinion « officielle » sur les « telenovelas » – « produits de mauvaise qualité qui nuisent au goût esthétique », « les sujets sont complètement naïfs » etc.

Une seule question aux personnes interrogées donne la possibilité d'une opinion distanciée : Avez-vous des critiques à adresser aux réalisateurs ou aux acteurs de la série ? Cette question provocatrice donne des informations sur le niveau de « sincérité » des interrogés : ils se sentent tentés de prendre une position « officielle » envers ce genre « de mauvais goût ». Alors, si l'interrogé entrait en contradiction avec lui-même, on lui demandait d'expliquer la coexistence d'une mémoire émotionnelle positive et d'une opinion « officielle » critique envers les séries.

On a utilisé pour tous le même guide d'entretien, préparé en collaboration avec le professeur Jacques Leenhardt (EHESS) en 1999, bien que chacun ait la liberté de ne pas répondre à toutes les questions ou d'ajouter autant de détails que nécessaires. 40 personnes entre 18 et 83 ans ont été interrogées. Elles ont été choisies par recommandation de tierce personne comme « grand(e) » spectateur (spectatrice) des « telenovelas » ou ils se sont recommandés eux-mêmes d'une manière

catégorique : « Les séries ? Pose-moi tes questions, je te dirai tout-! ». On cherchait à examiner les attitudes envers la « telenovela » latino-américaine de représentants de tous les âges et ainsi éclairer si les générations différentes ont également des motifs différents pour être attirées par le genre.

Sur les 40 personnes 10 sont étudiants. Seulement 4 hommes ont répondu aux questions posées, bien que beaucoup plus aient déclaré avoir vu une ou plusieurs « telenovelas » Ils se sont arrangés pour ne pas être enregistrés sous prétexte que « c'est à cause de ma femme que je suis obligé de regarder les séries. » Deux axes d'interprétation sont privilégiés : les modes de voir et de recevoir une « telenovela » par des générations différentes dans le cadre de la même société ; les différences et interactions entre vie réelle (balkanique, post-communiste) et fiction télévisuelle (latino-américaine, apolitique).

On indique l'âge et la profession de l'interrogé. L'ordre est fonction de l'âge. Femmes interrogées : 36 ; hommes l'interrogés : 4. On a divisé les interrogés en 6 groupes selon leur âge :

Groupe 1: 18-30 ans (14 personnes : 11 femmes, 3 hommes)

Groupe 2: 31-40 ans (3 personnes : 2 femmes, 1 homme)

Groupe 3: 41-50 ans (4 femmes)

Groupe 4: 51-60 ans (8 femmes)

Groupe 5: 61-70 ans (8 femmes)

Groupe 6: plus de 71 ans (3 femmes)

La « telenovela » dans la programmation des chaînes bulgares

Les « telenovelas » latino-américaines ont une présence nettement datée sur le petit écran en Bulgarie. La première série de ce genre - *L'Esclave Isaura* - avait été émise entre le 2 février et le 9 avril 1987 en version européenne de 30 épisodes.

La date de 10 novembre 1989 marque le processus de démocratisation et de libéralisation du marché. Les nouvelles chaînes privées se sont centrées sur le côté divertissement : elles ont offert à leur public un divertissement pur, durable et sûr : des « telenovelas » De plus ce n'était pas une démarche trop risquée – on connaissait déjà l'efficacité du produit par l'expérience de la télévision russe *Ostankino*. C'est notamment sur

le canal russe que les Bulgares ont pu voir la « telenovela » mexicaine *Les riches pleurent aussi* (émise en 1992). Cela a donné l'idée au propriétaire de « Nova televisia » (NTV) de reprendre la même série. En effet le vrai triomphe de la « telenovela » latino-américaine a commencé avec la série vénézuélienne *Tres destinos* (émise en 1995) et surtout avec *Cassandra* (émise en 1996). NTV a su profiter de ce succès : elle a invité la comédienne Coraima Torres à visiter la Bulgarie. Elle est venue au début de l'été de 1996, peu après la visite de l'ex-roi de Bulgarie, Siméon II, vivant en exil en Espagne depuis 1945. Coraima Torres avait été accueillie avec la même attention et affection, elle a dormi dans la même chambre d'hôtel, visité les mêmes endroits, elle était entourée par la même quantité de gens et même a subi un concours de ses doubles. En ce moment - l'été de 1996 - les statistiques ont démontré l'augmentation sensible de l'auditoire de la NTV et égal à celui de *Canal 1* (selon les statistiques publiées dans le journal « 168 heures », 3-9 juin 1996).

En octobre 1999, quand les spectateurs attendaient la fin d'*Esméralda* (Mexique) sur la NTV, l'agence sociologique MBMD avait annoncé les résultats d'une enquête (15 octobre 1999) selon laquelle 94% des interrogés aimaient la programmation de la NTV parce qu'elle proposait des séries télévisées ainsi que des informations. Sur les 595 personnes interrogées : 67% regardaient *Canal 1* et 63% regardaient NTV.

Canal 1 a son tour a introduit le genre de la « telenovela » dans sa programmation en choisissant les produits les plus modernes, les plus « cinématographiques ». Entre 1998 et 1999 *Canal 1* avait diffusé les 2 nouvelles productions de la chaîne brésilienne *Globo* – *Por amor* (1997) et *Corpo dourado* (1998). En comparaison avec l'œuvre antique *Les riches pleurent aussi* (1976), les deux séries brésiliennes paraissaient les représentantes d'un autre genre. Par ce choix, *Canal 1* avait cédé devant la folie pour les « telenovelas » en connaissant en même temps sa responsabilité « nationale » face au spectateur. *Canal 1* a placé sa « telenovela » entre 17h15 et 18h05, ce qui permettait au spectateur d'organiser son propre temps privé sans dilemmes. Grâce à la collaboration silencieuse entre les différentes chaînes (nationales et privées) il pouvait suivre : *Por amor* (Brésil) sur *Canal 1* (17 h 15 - 18 h 05) ; *Mari Amor* (Colombie) sur NTV (18 h 10 - 19 h 00) ; *Contre le destin* (Venezuela, Etats-Unis, Espagne) sur *7 jours* (19 h 45 - 20 h 35) et *Dynastie* (Mexique, Etats-Unis), après 21 h 30.

Introduction à l'analyse des enquêtes

Groupe 1: 18 - 30 ans

Les étudiants - critiques indépendants des « telenovelas »

Ce groupe comprend 11 étudiants, 2 journalistes et 1 employée des services sociaux. La prédominance des étudiants du département théâtral de la UNB dans ce groupe donne des résultats particuliers. Ils sont mieux informés sur le genre et en conséquence sont plus exigeant et plus critiques. Les interrogés tentent de décrire la situation socio-économique, d'expliquer pourquoi leurs parents ou grands-parents regardent les séries, et non d'entrer dans un discours proprement émotionnel sur leur expérience avec les séries. Ils ont fait leurs commentaires d'une manière distanciée, parfois ironique.

Pour les étudiants interrogés, regarder une « telenovela », c'est comme expérimenter leur propre goût, leurs propres capacités émotionnelles et intellectuelles :

Une fois j'ai décidé de faire une expérimentation avec une « telenovela ». J'ai regardé 1 ou 2 épisodes et après j'ai laissé passer une cinquantaine d'épisodes. Après j'ai repris 1 ou 2 épisodes de plus. J'étais au courant de tout! Il y avait juste des petits changements, faciles à deviner! (femme, 19 ans, étudiante)

Les interrogés ne suivent qu'une seule « telenovela », et souvent c'est pour se montrer au-dessus de la série :

On a regardé *Por amor* avec ma sœur et on a beaucoup rigolé, on faisait des commentaires, des parodies de personnages... Parfois j'ai raconté des « telenovelas » entières à mes amis pour rigoler. (homme, 27 ans, étudiant)

On parle des séries en compagnie pour rire, jamais d'une manière sérieuse. (femme, 24 ans, journaliste)

Pendant les entretiens, les interrogés ne voulaient pas rentrer dans leur mémoire émotionnelle, ils ne pouvaient pas nommer leurs personnages préférés ou détestés, mais quelques-uns ont dit que les personnages méchants sont les plus amusants. Deux questions adressées à Osvaldo Rios montrent l'attitude critiques envers les séries :

Est-il nécessaire qu'il fasse certains compromis avec soi-même pour participer à ces séries ? (femme, 24 ans, journaliste) ;

Comprend-il que c'est le niveau le plus bas de la profession de comédien ? (homme, 27 ans, étudiant en droit)

Une seule personne (femme, 26 ans, employée aux services sociaux) voudrait savoir « tout sur la vie des comédiens et s'ils sont les mêmes dans la réalité que dans la série ». Une personne a remarqué une première *période d'adaptation* pour la « telenovela » en cours :

Au début la comédienne me paraissait trop grosse et vieille pour le rôle d'Esméralda mais au milieu de la série, comme je me suis habituée à la voir chaque jour, elle me paraissait jeune et belle. (femme, 28 ans, journaliste).

Il est devenu clair que les interrogés entre 18-30 ans regardent la « telenovela » plutôt pour avoir de l'expérience et pour être bien informés sur le sujet sur lequel leurs amis font des blagues et dont les membres de la famille parlent :

J'irrite ma grand-mère avec mes commentaires sarcastiques. Une fois elle m'appelle de la salle de séjour: « Viens voir un vrai amour-! » (femme, 24 ans, journaliste)

Les jeunes gens pensent que la « telenovela » est un genre fait pour leurs grands-parents. Ils ont une expérience des « telenovelas » mais pas une vraie relation avec elles. La plupart d'entre eux refusent de passer par le *période d'adaptation* pour établir des relations plus « personnalisées » avec la fiction latino-américaine. Ils expliquent que c'est un genre pour les retraités qui ont beaucoup de temps libre et qui sont déçus par la réalité :

Pendant le journal télévisé le retraité se sent trompé par les politiques et non reconnu. S'il regarde 1 ou 2 films d'action il ressent un dégoût énorme pour les scènes violentes et les cadavres... Alors, il voit les politiques menteurs, la violence dans la plupart des films et retrouve un relais dans la « telenovela » – si facile à comprendre, si élémentaire. Il n'a pas peur de la longueur de la série : il a du temps. Pour lui ce n'est pas un problème de regarder chaque jour les rediffusions aussi ». (femme, 19 ans, étudiante)

Mais, même si les interrogés définissent le retraité comme « le spectateur idéal » de la « telenovela », il leur reste un autre paradoxe à expliquer :

Je n'arrive pas à comprendre l'affection, l'émotion, l'attente avec laquelle ma grand-mère s'installe devant la télé et regarde avec toute la concentration possible—! (homme, 23 ans, étudiant)

La réponse à cette question ne peut qu'être devinée par les jeunes gens : « Peut-être avec l'âge le potentiel réceptif de l'homme change aussi. » (femme, 19 ans, étudiante).

Les hommes ont souligné surtout les traits négatifs du genre, où ils ne voient que du danger :

Le gens pensent que la « telenovela » est amusante, qu'elle les aide à résoudre les problèmes... Mais la vérité est que la « telenovela » ne fait qu'aggraver leurs problèmes, parce qu'elle les prive de la possibilité de se développer librement. (homme, 19 ans, étudiant)

L'opinion des femmes interrogées est plus équilibrée. D'un côté, elles sont aussi catégoriques que les hommes pour dire que la « telenovela » c'est « la galaxie de l'absurde », « la mort de l'imagination » et « une preuve d'un standard de vie très bas ». En même temps elles cherchent à disculper les spectatrices passionnées (leurs mères et grands-mères) avec des arguments proprement socio-économiques :

Qu'est-ce qu'il lui reste, à la pauvre femme, après 8 ou 9 heures de travail, avec tous les problèmes sur sa tête et avec son salaire absurde de 70-80 dollars par mois, sinon de regarder un petit épisode, de 30-40 minutes. (femme, 19 ans, étudiante).

Selon une autre étudiante, les hommes ne sont pas des spectateurs si fidèles, parce que « leur travail est à l'extérieur de la maison - dans le jardin ou sous la voiture ».

Une interrogée explique qu'à l'époque elle était très passionnée par les « telenovelas » mais après elle a été déçue parce qu'elle a vu que

ce qui se passe dans les « telenovelas » n'a rien à voir avec la réalité. C'est impossible de réaliser tout cela dans la vraie vie et avec des paramètres si parfaits. Je me suis arrêtée à les regarder, maintenant je m'énerve même quand j'écoute quelques répliques. (femme 28 ans, journaliste)

Le public entre 18 et 30 ans des « telenovelas » est, soit très sceptique et ironique, soit déjà déçu par les séries. Le côté artificiel et irréel des séries est jugé comme une imperfection importante, comme une anti-réalité ridicule (parodique) ou menteuse (fausse). La grande quantité de « telenovelas » diffusées sur les chaînes bulgares a été comparée avec la grande quantité de films soviétiques diffusés par la télévision nationale pendant le communisme. Tous les interrogés ont avoué avoir été le plus impressionnés par *L'Esclave Isaura*, un fait qu'ils expliquent par leur âge à l'époque de la diffusion ou par le fait que c'était la première série de ce genre en Bulgarie. « Seulement la pensée que j'allais la regarder le soir m'enthousiasmait » (femme, 28 ans, journaliste). Même les ennemis des séries latino-américaines ont avoué :

c'est une histoire si intéressante, tragique et en même temps proche du peuple bulgare, parce que le thème de l'esclavage était dominant. (homme, 19 ans, étudiant)

...Mais à part la liberté physique, il y avait un autre thème – la liberté de la pensée. C'est surtout la liberté de la pensée qui avait été opprimée pendant la période du totalitarisme. (femme, 18 ans, étudiante)

Dans *L'esclave Isaura* il y avait un vrai drame. (femme, 24 ans, journaliste)

Au moment de l'entretien la « telenovela » brésilienne *Por amor*, diffusée par le *Canal 1*, est la préférée de 10 personnes parmi les interrogés. Elle leur plaît par son réalisme, le jeu des acteurs, les dialogues bien construits et l'importance du cadre extérieur. A son tour, la « telenovela » *Cassandra* avait attiré l'attention des interrogés par son ambiance exotique, mais elle était plus critiquée que les deux premières parce que « stupide » et « naïve ».

La visite de l'acteur Osvaldo Rios à Sofia a été commentée d'une manière critique. Les futurs acteurs sont sûrs qu'il y a « plusieurs acteurs bulgares qui sont plus talentueux que lui. » Son côté « star » est aussi mis en question.

L'hystérie autour de son arrivée est due à notre propre sous-estimation en tant que nation, nous ne pouvons pas apprécier nos propres personnes de talent. Pendant autant d'années on était empêché de communiquer avec le monde extérieur, et maintenant nous sommes ravis de recevoir des stars chez nous. (femme, 18 ans, étudiante)

Pour expliquer la nature de la « telenovela », un interrogé s'est référé à la notion de « théâtre mort » de Peter Brook. Pour expliquer la réalité actuelle en Bulgarie un étudiant s'est référé au roman *1984* d'Orwell et un autre au « mythe de la caverne » de Platon. Tous ont déclaré ne pas connaître la réalité en Amérique Latine – « un lieu inconnu » – mais ils admettent que les « telenovelas » reflètent plus ou moins la réalité là-bas :

Je suis sûre que la vie à Rio est exactement comme on l'avait présenté dans la série *Por amor*. (femme, 26 ans, employée aux services sociaux)

Peut-être les séries reflètent la moitié de la réalité, d'une manière ou d'une autre. (femme, 24 ans, journaliste)

Les séries montrent qu'il y a une différence énorme entre les riches et les pauvres. C'est quelque chose qui n'existait pas dans les pays socialistes. Les personnages du bas de l'échelle sociale sont décrits comme très stupides. Et même s'ils deviennent tout d'un coup riches (comme cette bonne femme qui avait gagné à la loterie dans *La veuve de Blanco*) ils restent toujours stupides et ils ne peuvent jamais entrer dans l'élite. En Bulgarie ce n'est pas du tout le cas. Bien que la hiérarchie dépende toujours de l'argent, on peut se déplacer librement d'un niveau social vers un autre. (homme, 27 ans, étudiant)

Les interrogés trouvent que, par tempérament, les Bulgares et les Latino-américains sont plutôt pareils. Ils « se réfèrent à leurs proches de la même manière » et ils sont « également superstitieux. » On a quand même remarqué que

le Bulgare est plus fermé, que c'est un mythe de dire qu'il est trop émotionnel ou qu'il communique facilement. Ce sont les Latinos qui dialoguent plus facilement, même quand leurs relations ne sont pas si bonnes. (homme, 27 ans, étudiant)

Les interrogés de ce groupe ont répondu aux questions d'une manière distanciée. Ils ne se donnent pas à la « telenovela », mais ils prétendent la connaître et la comprendre. Les étudiants ont démontré catégoriquement n'avoir rien de commun avec la « telenovela ». Tous, hommes et femmes, ont souligné que la « telenovela » « profite » de la crise socio-économique pour s'installer en Bulgarie.

Groupe 2: 31-40 ans

La réhabilitation de la « telenovela »

C'est le groupe le moins nombreux. Il compte une comédienne du Théâtre National, une employée au vestiaire et un critique de théâtre. Il semble que les personnes entre 31 et 40 ans sont très actives et qu'il ne leur reste pas beaucoup de temps pour suivre les « telenovelas ». Moins nombreux, ce groupe est quand même plus actif que le précédent. La comédienne avoue avoir suivi pendant une période précise 3 « telenovelas » par jour, le critique de théâtre suivait 4 au moment de l'entretien et l'employée au vestiaire en suivait une.

Ce qui s'impose dès la première observation, c'est que les interrogés ont une opinion très positive de ce genre. Le critique de théâtre pense que :

ce ne sont pas des films sans qualité, c'est une industrie assez sérieuse. Certaines séries sont très bien faites, je sais que les réalisateurs suivent leur formation aux Etats-Unis et ça se sent. (homme, 33 ans)

La comédienne à son tour affirme catégoriquement n'avoir aucune critique à adresser aux séries :

Les « telenovelas » sont telles qu'elles sont. De notre point de vue elles peuvent nous sembler pleines d'erreurs et imperfections, mais ces « imperfections » se répètent de série à série. Ce ne sont donc pas des imperfections mais des lois du genre. Sinon ça ne serait pas de la « telenovela », mais du cinéma, non ? Je n'ai donc pas de critiques. (femme, 32 ans)

La comédienne avoue qu'elle a commencé à regarder les séries pour expérimenter :

Tous ont été fous des « telenovelas » et je me suis dit qu'à n'importe quel prix je devrais regarder une « novela » du début à la fin pour voir ce que c'est.

C'est donc le point de départ du groupe précédent, mais l'expérimentation déjà ne s'arrête pas au niveau de la simple ironie ou de la déception totale devant le genre. Elle affirme également (comme femme, 28 ans, journaliste du groupe 1) être passée par *une période d'adaptation* :

Quand tu es déjà *dans* la série et tu regardes tout de la position d'Alicia (*La veuve de Blanco*) le jeu exagéré des acteurs ne t'énervé plus, tu trouves même qu'ils jouent très bien. Les acteurs interprètent leurs personnages comme si c'était un dessin animé mais ce n'est pas tout à fait mal.

L'employée au vestiaire est attirée par l'exotique, la beauté des acteurs et « le jeu si parfait ». Elle essaie de s'imaginer « que tous les événements se passent dans notre vie. »

La comédienne également éprouve un attachement émotionnel pour les séries :

vers le 50ème épisode je suis déjà très avancée dans la « telenovela », je suis presque l'héroïne elle-même... Plus je regarde une série, plus j'ai l'envie de la regarder. Je deviens impatiente et je commence à chercher si la « novela » n'est pas diffusée sur une autre chaîne pour voir plus vite ce qui va se passer. Si je n'ai pas regardé quelques jours, cette dépendance disparaît. La « novela » est quelque chose comme une drogue.

C'est donc évident que, pour la comédienne, c'est le sujet qui est le plus captivant. Elle est prête à sauter plusieurs épisodes pour voir la réponse au mystère.

Le critique de théâtre apprécie également surtout

les changements inattendus dans l'action, mais le mieux c'est quand il y a aussi des changements dans le caractère du personnage comme dans *La veuve de Blanco*, *Les riches pleurent aussi* et *Le droit d'amour*. Si le développement du sujet est trop élémentaire, j'arrête de regarder.

Tous les deux, la comédienne et le critique de théâtre, regardent les rediffusions ou regrettent de ne pas pouvoir les suivre :

Malheureusement j'ai raté *La veuve de Blanco* sur le canal russe, j'aimerais bien le regarder une autre fois. Les rediffusions me plaisent parce que je vois pour la deuxième fois les moments qui m'ont impressionnée sans avoir peur que quelque chose de mal se passe dans la situation suivante, je sais déjà tout, et ça me plaît. (femme, 32 ans, comédienne)

Par contre, l'homme suit les rediffusions parce qu'il oublie les épisodes qu'il a vus et ils sont toujours intéressants pour lui. Cette différence dans la motivation pour regarder les rediffusions provient du fait que l'homme regarde les « novelas » « en faisant quelque chose » d'autre, alors que la femme comédienne combine ses engagements de manière à rester libre pendant la diffusion de la série. Pour elle, regarder une « telenovela » est une activité en soi, indépendante, différente des autres activités possibles. Elle regarde seule alors que lui regarde avec et « à cause de » son fils, sa femme et sa mère. A la différence des deux femmes interrogées, l'homme ne participe pas émotionnellement à la « novela ».

Tous les trois ont lu des publications sur les « telenovelas » et leurs stars. La comédienne fait la remarque importante qu'elle garde les revues et les photos des acteurs jusqu'au moment où « je commence à oublier la série. Récemment j'ai mis à la poubelle la revue sur Osvaldo ». C'est une remarque intéressante, puisque, comme on va voir plus tard, les gens se réfèrent aux « telenovelas » comme à un objet jetable, c'est-à-dire qu'une fois la « telenovela » finie, elle perd son actualité et son charme. Elle ne peut pas faire la concurrence aux suivantes. C'est pour cela que les interrogés d'autres groupes signalaient avoir été impressionnés surtout par la « telenovela » qu'ils regardent actuellement. Il y a donc une dépendance directe entre l'opinion favorable que le public donne d'une « novela » et le niveau d'actualité de la « novela » dans le souvenir émotionnel de ce public. Plus elle est vivante (c'est-à-dire récente) dans le souvenir du public, plus elle est jugée « bonne ». *L'Esclave Isaura* fait toujours exception à cette règle, puisque c'est la série initiatrice du genre en Bulgarie et que les interrogés en ont un souvenir plus fort et en conséquence plus favorable. « *Isaura* était très bien faite, je l'ai suivie comme un conte » (homme, 33 ans). « *Les riches pleurent aussi* était la première « telenovela » que j'ai vue et elle m'a beaucoup impressionnée » (femme, 32 ans).

Les deux femmes croient que les séries reflètent la réalité.

Tout est tiré de la vie bien que les mots soient trop bien arrangés. Personne ne parle comme ça. Et la vie n'est pas si riche de méchancetés. Autant de méchancetés demandent des années pour se passer dans la vie, alors que dans la « telenovela » elles arrivent en 120 épisodes seulement. (femme, 32 ans, comédienne)

L'employée au vestiaire est encore plus catégorique :

Les séries, c'est une réalité dans la vie. Elles nous montrent des événements qui sont pareils à notre vie.

De son côté, l'homme interrogé ne pense pas du tout que les séries reflètent la réalité :

J'aime beaucoup les contes, mais je suis sûr qu'ils ne se réalisent pas dans la vie. Ce qui s'est passé dans *Esméralda* ne peut se reproduire dans la vie réelle. (homme, 33 ans)

Les interrogés de ce groupe sont beaucoup plus ouverts envers ce genre. Ils se laissent guidés par le discours de la « telenovela ». Ils passent volontiers par la *période d'adaptation* avec la « telenovela » et cherchent à profiter de ses lois particulières au lieu de les juger. Ils s'investissent dans l'intrigue compliquée, ils laissent l'exotisme leur plaire. Ils apprécient la beauté des acteurs et des tableaux comme un trait typique du genre. Une personne trouve dans les « novelas » des choses à apprendre sur la vie. La « telenovela » est donc comprise comme un conte relaxant (homme, 33 ans), comme une possibilité d'escapade émotionnelle (femme, 32 ans) ou comme une base de données à consulter sur la vie réelle (femme, 40 ans). Le groupe 2 réhabilite complètement le genre que le groupe 1 avait soumis à une critique sévère.

Groupe 3 : 41-50 ans

Café + « telenovela »

Ce groupe, aussi peu nombreux que le groupe 2, comprend 4 personnes : une infirmière (44 ans), une vendeuse (45 ans), une femme de ménage (50 ans) et une institutrice au chômage (50 ans).

Toutes les quatre soulignent qu'elles regardent la « telenovela » pour se reposer des leurs occupations professionnelles ou domestiques.

Les séries sont pour se reposer avec... (femme, 44 ans)

Quand je rentre à la maison après le travail je me fais un bon café et je m'installe devant la télé parce que quand je bois du café j'aime regarder la télé. Eh, bien, pendant cette partie de l'après-midi il n'y a que des « telenovelas » sur toutes les chaînes! Tu regardes – 1 ou 2 séries, t'entres dans le sujet et ça devient une habitude quotidienne. (femme, 45 ans)

La femme de ménage affirme également que

les séries sont amusantes parce qu'elles te relaxent, elles te montrent des destins différents.

Pour les interrogées du groupe 3, les « telenovelas » sont donc amusantes et relaxantes. Elles sont liées à la pause entre le travail et les occupations familiales. L'infirmière affirme qu'elle discute « obligatoirement » du dernier épisode avec ses collègues pendant la pause café. La « telenovela », en tant qu'objet à regarder ou en tant qu'objet à discuter, remplit les récréations de l'individu. Les spectatrices appliquent leur expérience des « telenovelas » à des moments très fixes du quotidien (la pause café, le repos après le travail). Elles « profitent » du genre d'une manière très utilitaire : elles cherchent à se relaxer, à reprendre leurs forces pour continuer les engagements quotidiens. (« Après la fin de l'épisode je dois préparer à manger à toute vitesse, je dois mettre la table », femme, 44 ans).

Les femmes de ce groupe sont particulièrement sensibles à deux éléments représentés par les séries :

1) « les bonnes conditions de vie » ; « l'arrangement des appartements et les vêtements chics ».

2) l'affichage des relations dans la famille entre « jeunes et vieux, entre belle-mère et belle-fille, entre les enfants » (femme, 50 ans) ; « ...les relations entre mère - fils, belle-mère - belle-fille ont été très bien représentées » (femme, 44 ans).

La scénographie des « telenovelas » n'est pas donc comprise comme un ensemble de décors dans un studio, mais comme « conditions de vie » tout simplement. A ces conditions de vie on croit sans réserves, à la

différence de certains sujets de « telenovelas » qui sont « irréels » (femme, 44 ans).

Deux des femmes interrogées affirment avoir des problèmes avec leurs belles-mères ou avec leurs enfants, ce qui peut expliquer leur intérêt pour les relations familiales représentées dans les « novelas ». Elles cherchent donc à comparer leurs vies de famille à travers la vie des personnages. « Il y a dans *Por amor* des moments où tu te rends compte que tu pourras réagir de la même manière–! » (femme, 44 ans). La femme de ménage est sûre qu'« il y a plusieurs choses qu'on peut apprendre des séries latino-américaines ». Et même quand on ne cherche pas de recettes directes pour calmer les conflits dans la famille, les séries « aident parfois, quand il n'y a pas de quoi parler avec la collègue » (femme, 45 ans). Les scénarios des « telenovelas » sont le sujet de conversation préféré par comparaison avec les thèmes politiques ou sociaux. « Je les aime, parce qu'elles n'engagent pas notre attention sur des questions politiques. Il n'y a pas autant de sang que dans les films américains » (femme, 50 ans).

Trois des interrogées ne s'occupent de rien d'autre pendant qu'elles regardent les séries. C'est une activité « festive », hors de leur rôle de mère et épouse. Toutes les quatre regardent les séries avec leurs filles et/ou mères. La seule critique qu'elles adressent aux séries est qu'elles sont trop longues et que parfois rien ne se passe pendant plusieurs épisodes. Mais, par contre, elles sont très contentes du jeu des acteurs. Osvaldo Rios est leur acteur préféré (« très sympa », « naturel », « plus beau dans la vie réelle que sur l'écran »). Une d'entre elles possède même un autographe de lui, obtenu par sa fille. « Je ne sais pas qui enseigne ces acteurs-là, mais en regardant seulement dans leurs yeux, tu peux comprendre ce qui s'est passé... Par contre les acteurs bulgares ont toujours besoin de crier beaucoup pour s'exprimer » (femme, 44 ans). Il est intéressant que cette opinion sur les comédiens bulgares soit en totale opposition avec l'opinion des étudiants, qui trouvent qu'en Bulgarie il y a beaucoup d'acteurs plus talentueux que Rios.

Les spectatrices interrogées ne cherchent pas à critiquer les séries (comme le groupe 1) et encore moins à théoriser sur le genre (comme le groupe 2). Elles se sentent compétentes pour parler des « conditions de vie » présentées ou de l'intrigue et des rapports entre les personnages. La « telenovela » joue un *rôle plutôt récréatif que compensatoire* dans le quotidien dynamique des spectatrices de ce groupe. Mais il existe tout de même une exception. L'institutrice au chômage (50 ans), qui passe toute la journée à la maison, avoue avoir dédié toute sa vie aux

« telenovelas » pour compenser le manque d'événements et d'activités professionnelles :

Je ne peux m'endormir sans savoir ce qui s'est passé dans l'épisode d'aujourd'hui. Cela m'arrache de la vie monotone et ennuyeuse. Parfois même je m'imagine que je suis l'héroïne, parce que ma vie ne me plaît pas. » Cette tendance à s'accrocher aux sujets et à s'identifier émotionnellement aux personnages est encore plus répandue dans les groupes suivants où les personnes en retraite prédominent. La « telenovela » devient vraiment une « réalité dans la vie. (selon la formule d'une interrogée du groupe 2)

Groupe 4: 51- 60 ans

Jouer à la « telenovela »

Ce groupe comprend 8 femmes : deux bibliothécaires (51 et 52 ans), une vendeuse de journaux (53 ans), une institutrice (56 ans), deux économistes en retraite (55 et 57 ans), une universitaire (56 ans) et une infirmière en retraite (57 ans). Les interrogées de ce groupe sont les premières qui se lancent à raconter les sujets des « telenovelas » en grands détails et qui sont disposées à répondre à la question : « Quel rôle aimeriez-vous jouer ? » Pour elles regarder une « novela » c'est toujours une occupation « pour se reposer », comme pour le groupe précédent, mais c'est aussi un jeu. Une fois qu'elles ont accepté les règles du jeu, bien que parfois elles les trouvent stupides ou naïves, elles sont même prêtes à s'imaginer à la place d'une héroïne.

Je veux être comme Eduarda de *Por amor*, parce qu'elle savait vraiment aimer, elle apprit à pardonner et elle était prête à élever les enfants de son mari après qu'elle a compris que son enfant n'était pas son enfant. (56 ans, institutrice)

Je veux être comme Luz Maria de cette partie du film où elle ne faisait qu'aider les autres en espérant que quelqu'un quelque part aide aussi son enfant. (51 ans, bibliothécaire)

Les spectatrices de ce groupe s'investissent beaucoup plus dans les « novelas » que les groupes précédents. Elles admettent de bien savoir

les côtés faibles des « telenovelas », mais elles trouvent également plusieurs raisons objectives pour approuver la communication quotidienne avec le genre : « Je ne le cache pas – je vis avec les héros » (infirmière, 57 ans). Les côtés attirants des séries sont surtout « les relations humaines, les relations familiales », « les bonnes relations qui manquent dans la réalité », « l’humanisme, l’honnêteté, la bonté des personnages », « le respect entre les gens là-bas », « la liberté de la pensée dans certains moments, la réaction spontanée des acteurs », « les problèmes humains et moraux universellement reconnus et la bonne atmosphère, la belle nature ». Ce ne sont donc plus les « conditions de vie » qui intéressent les spectatrices, mais les « relations humaines », les valeurs communes et les qualités morales représentées.

A l’opposé du groupe 1, les interrogées du groupe 4 sont tellement « avancées » dans le « jeu de la « telenovela » que parfois elles essaient de réaliser une expérimentation opposée à celle du groupe 1 :

Plusieurs fois je me disais que j’allais arrêter de regarder les séries parce que je perdais beaucoup de temps à cause d’elles. Alors, je me suis promis de ne plus les regarder, mais tout de même à l’heure juste je m’installe devant la télé. (bibliothécaire, 52 ans)

C’est donc une expérimentation renversée : le groupe 4 expérimente « de ne plus regarder », alors que le groupe 1 expérimente « de regarder » les « telenovelas »

Toutes les interrogées affirment qu’elles regardent les séries pour se reposer de la réalité :

Je sais que les « novelas » ne sont pas très sérieuses comme contenu, mais en les regardant je m’éloigne de la réalité et je me repose pendant 30-40 minutes. Je ne m’occupe de rien d’autre en regardant les séries. (bibliothécaire, 52 ans)

Les sentiments sont chauds, la vie est belle... Les séries m’arrachent de la réalité et des préoccupations du retraité. Là-bas il y a toujours quelque chose qui se passe. Cela engage sans cesse mon attention et je me relaxe. Je vois une vie différente de la mienne. (infirmière en retraite, 57 ans)

Je me déplace dans le sujet et j’oublie mes propres problèmes, je me repose ; ça me fait tellement de plaisir–! (Institutrice, 56 ans)

Toutes sont d'accord sur le fait que *les séries déplacent les pensées du réel vers des problèmes fictifs*. Les séries imposent des problèmes imaginés à l'attention du spectateur et le séparent des problèmes réels dont la vie en Bulgarie est riche. Elles proposent 50 minutes de *vie alternative* (une sorte d'*underground* pour l'imagination féminine) où les malheurs font partie d'un grand système de fin heureuse. Cela sert de médicament contre le stress et les problèmes du réel. Les problèmes proposés sont fictifs, mais *le monde* représenté par les séries est jugé comme « réel au moins à 80% » par toutes les interrogées.

Les sujets et les problèmes « fictifs » des héros sont également jugés comme « réalistes », « réels » par la plupart des interrogées:

Sûrement il y a des gens qui vivent comme eux ; tout est similaire, quoique les films soient un peu idéalisés. (bibliothécaire, 52 ans)

En Bulgarie aussi on peut rencontrer un destin pareil à celui d'Esméralda. Sa lutte a été montrée d'une manière très véridique. (bibliothécaire, 51 ans)

Pour moi ce sont des sujets de la vie, qui peuvent arriver à chacun. (institutrice, 56 ans)

La « telenovela » est donc un conglomérat de problèmes « fictifs », placé sur un fond réel, tiré de la vie. Seules l'universitaire et l'économiste trouvent que les sujets sont plutôt des « contes ».

L'idéalisation dont parle une des interrogées, provoque une sorte de « nervosité » chez elle :

Les relations entre les jeunes, entre les jeunes et les vieux, sont si bonnes que je voudrais que ça soit la même chose dans la vie. Et quand ça ne se passe pas comme ça je regrette, je deviens même nerveuse. Toute cette idéalisation dans les séries a un mauvais effet passager sur moi, je veux transmettre le bien que je vois sur l'écran dans la vie et c'est pas possible... (bibliothécaire, 52 ans)

Les interrogées de ce groupe regardent 2 ou 3 séries par jour. Elles regardent les rediffusions seulement dans le cas où elles n'auraient pas pu voir l'épisode de l'après-midi. Une d'entre elles signale avoir suivi les rediffusions d'*Esméralda*, parce que « il y avait des épisodes très forts » (institutrice, 56 ans). Toutes en discutent avec leurs collègues et amies

ou racontent les épisodes à leur proches qui n'ont pas pu les regarder. Toutes regardent les séries avec leurs filles. Une conseille même à sa fille de 14 ans : « Voilà, c'est comme ça que tu dois faire. » Presque toutes ont avoué *avoir appris des choses* des « telenovelas » : « comment faire des compromis modérés », « ne pas être extrémiste dans ses actions », « la vie coule et il ne faut pas laisser les relations sans développement » ; « il faut avoir plus de patience, je ne dois pas réagir trop spontanément » ; « Dans la famille, au poste du travail et dans l'amitié, je cherche les mêmes relations que dans les films. J'essaie de résoudre mes problèmes à la manière des héros. »

A propos du tempérament on voit se préciser une opposition entre les Bulgares et les Latinos. Les premiers sont jugés réalistes et raisonnables alors que les autres sont trop naïfs et spontanés.

Nous sommes plus réalistes, ils sont trop bons et trop naïfs si nous jugeons d'après les séries (économiste, 57 ans),

Ils sont plus sincères, et trop spontanés. Ils disent : « J'aime–! » et c'est tout. Alors qu'une Bulgare peut sacrifier son amour juste pour préserver sa famille. Nous savons suivre ce que la raison nous dit (institutrice, 56 ans).

Les deux questions issues de ce groupe sont adressées à Leticia Calderon, l'interprète d'Esméralda :

Je voudrais demander si dans la vie elle a autant d'amour dans son cœur pour ses proches que dans la « telenovela ». (institutrice, 56 ans)

Je demanderais à Leticia Calderon ce qu'elle préférerait – la maternité ou la profession ? Parce que j'ai lu qu'elle préfère rester sans enfant pour le moment ; mais dans la « telenovela » le thème de la maternité était très développé. (bibliothécaire, 51 ans)

On voit donc la tentative de comparer l'actrice à son personnage avec une tendance à les unifier. Chaque contradiction entre l'actrice et son rôle perturbe l'imaginaire des spectatrices.

Les personnages préférés des spectatrices sont : Elena de *Por amor* (« je l'admire pour son comportement, le mode de pensée »), Esméralda (« pour son humanisme »), Christina de *Trois destins* (« prête à aider les autres »), Christina de *Droit d'amour* (« par nature elle est bonne, juste,

elle veut aider tout le monde »). Il est encore une fois évident que les spectatrices de ce groupe apprécient surtout les valeurs morales des personnages. Dans la « telenovela » elles cherchent à trouver le triomphe de leur propre sens de la justice.

Droit d'amour est mentionné comme « la dernière que je regarde et qui m'impressionne le plus ». Ici on voit comment l'actualité de la « telenovela » influence le niveau d'impressionnabilité du spectateur. Dans le groupe suivant (61-70 ans) on verra la même dépendance dans le cas particulier de la comédienne en retraite (66 ans) : plus de séries on voit, plus on en oublie. La « telenovela » en cours est donc la meilleure. Toutes les interrogées sans exception lisent des publications sur les acteurs des « telenovelas ». Elles se sentent bien informées sur leurs vies et sont unanimes que les acteurs sont à la hauteur de leurs personnages.

Deux interrogées ont remarqué qu'il y a dans les séries une sorte de « naïveté ». La première trouve cette naïveté dans les personnages :

J'aime bien les bons, mais pourquoi sont-ils si naïfs—!? Ils ne savent pas reconnaître le méchant—! Je ne trouve pas cette naïveté normale à notre époque—! (économiste, 57 ans)

La deuxième spectatrice trouve la naïveté dans le produit télévisuel lui-même :

Toute cette naïveté m'irrite, on sous-estime le spectateur européen, c'est sûr—! C'est pour cela que je préfère envisager les séries comme des contes. Mais par exemple, même en tant que conte, *Mari Amor* était insupportable. Alors que pour *Por amor*, *La veuve de Blanco*, ou *Cassandra* je me suis précipitée chez moi à l'heure précise pour les regarder. (universitaire, 56 ans)

Les séries font déjà une partie intégrale et importante de la vie des spectatrices. La « telenovela » n'est plus liée seulement aux moments de repos ou à la tasse de café. Regarder la « telenovela » c'est un moment du quotidien qui influence le programme de la journée entière. Bien qu'utilisée toujours comme « repos » et décalage momentané avec la réalité, la « telenovela » devient également un moyen d'auto apprentissage. C'est une « méthode avancée » de comportements humains. C'est le premier groupe qui déclare, unanimement, avoir enrichi son expérience, son savoir sur la vie grâce aux « telenovelas ». Certaines

interrogées avouent également avoir imité les actions des personnages dans des situations réelles. Une interrogée à la retraite signalait que « dans les séries il y a toujours quelque chose qui se passe et qui attire mon attention sur les problèmes des retraités ». Alors, plus les interrogés sortent de la période « active » de leurs vies, plus la « telenovela » devient ce noyau dynamique et riche en actions du quotidien qui compense le manque d'événements réels.

Groupe 5 : 61-70 ans

Les « telenovelas » contre la réalité

Ce groupe comprend 8 femmes : une comédienne, 66 ans ; une avocate, 65 ans ; une journaliste, 66 ans ; une femme docteur, 65 ans ; une femme au foyer, 66 ans ; une économiste, 63 ans ; une professeur de mathématiques à l'école, 68 ans ; une institutrice, 63 ans. Toutes les interrogées sont retraitées (même si l'avocate et la journaliste continuent à travailler). D'où un autre type de rapports aux « telenovelas ».

A cause de la crise économique dans le pays pendant les années 90 les retraités bulgares sont très sensibles à l'injustice sociale, ils sont très critiques envers les politiques et envers la réalité en général. Souvent ils comparent la vie « avant » et « après » la chute du communisme et sont sûrs que la vie avant était meilleure. La télévision pour eux est le seul divertissement qui n'est pas cher. Ils suivent surtout le journal du matin et du soir, ainsi que les « telenovelas » et les films du soir. Ils voient donc deux mondes opposés : le monde du politique qui est décevant et « trompeur », comme l'avait signalé une étudiante du groupe 1, et le monde présenté dans les « telenovelas ». Celui-ci leur propose une *vie compensatoire* – imaginaire, mais plus agréable que celle qu'ils ont :

En regardant les « novelas » je me sens mieux. La vie là-bas est très belle, pas comme chez nous en Bulgarie. (institutrice, 63 ans)

Tous autour de moi regardent les séries. Il y a des gens qui ne regardent que des séries et le journal. Ils sont désespérés, sans argent... La vie a changé du très bien vers le très mal... (docteur, 65 ans)

...Dans la vie il existe un principe : il n'y a pas un bien qui ne sera pas puni. Le mal est très rarement puni, c'est clair. En observant le développement

du monde et de la démocratie, il est évident qu'il n'existe pas de bien. C'est quelque chose de très décevant. Les films latino-américains ne tuent pas l'espoir que le bien va triompher. La vie mauvaise, elle est chez nous. (journaliste, 66 ans)

La « telenovela » sert donc de moyen d'émigration imaginaire d'un pays en crise vers un autre – le pays de la récompense et de la fin heureuse. « Les fins me plaisent le plus. Je veux de la justice, que les méchants soient punis! » (comédienne, 66 ans). C'est pour cela que les représentants du groupe 5 sont les spectateurs les plus fidèles des « telenovelas ». Ils suivent entre 2 et 6 séries par jour.

La personne qui regarde 6 séries par jour représente un cas particulier. Il s'agit de Tania, 66 ans, comédienne à la retraite. Elle représente le point le plus avancé de la « mélodramanie » télévisuelle. L'entretien avec elle, qui compte 10 pages imprimées, révèle la limite, physique et émotionnelle, de l'engagement avec le genre. Tania était très contente d'être interviewée : « Je suis si contente qu'il y ait quelqu'un avec qui je puisse parler sur les 'telenovelas', quelqu'un qui sache les apprécier. Ma fille se moque de moi, mais elle les regarde aussi... »

Tania regarde 6 « telenovelas » par jour, ce qui fait presque un jour de travail. Les épisodes qui coïncident, elle les enregistre. Parfois il lui arrive de se réveiller à 7 h du matin pour pouvoir regarder les épisodes enregistrés. Sa journée se passe donc ainsi :

Le matin je prends le programme de la télévision et je l'apprends presque par cœur. Je veux voir comment sont placées les séries, s'il n'y a pas de changement. Le matin je regarde la télé seulement si j'ai omis l'épisode du soir. Je n'aime pas regarder le matin parce que je dois faire les courses, nettoyer la maison, faire le repas. Je fais tout à toute vitesse, pour être prête pour la première série... Je sais qu'entre *The Bold and the Beautiful* et *J'aime Paquita Gallego* j'ai 40 minutes de libre. Dans ces 40 minutes je fais la soupe. Entre *Dans un autre corps* et *Le droit d'amour* j'ai 20 minutes. Je prépare les frites. Je regarde la « novela », mais quand même je dois aller voir si les frites sont prêtes. Cela m'énerve, je ne peux pas regarder tranquillement! Pendant les publicités je travaille pas mal : je mets la table. J'ai un ami qui consulte le programme de la télé avant de me téléphoner pour voir si je suis en pause.

On voit donc que pour Tania le moment de la « pause » est quand elle ne regarde pas les séries, alors que pour le groupe 3 et 4 la « telenovela »

remplit les pauses de repos du travail ou la pause café. La situation est déjà renversée : les « telenovelas » occupent toute la journée, alors que la pause pour réaliser les devoirs domestiques compte environ 60 minutes (40 + 20). Si Tania ne regarde pas les séries à cause d'un invité ou d'une visite qu'elle est obligée de faire, elle a l'impression « que je perds mon temps ». Une interrogée du groupe 4 affirmait le contraire : avoir l'impression de perdre trop du temps avec les « telenovelas ».

Tania aime les séries parce qu'elles reflètent

la vie des gens, les rêves des gens, les choses qu'on n'a pas, les choses qu'on veut avoir, les plus simples relations humaines... Elles te calment en te donnant un espoir et une émotion... Là-bas il y a toujours quelqu'un qui porte le bien dans son cœur, c'est pour cela que je les aime. Les bons sont simples, ordinaires, naïfs, ils ont une vue positive sur la vie et ils ne comprennent pas qu'à côté d'eux il y a un méchant misérable! C'est ça aussi qui me plaît. Je pense que les gens de ces pays-là sont les mêmes que les héros des « telenovelas ».

La spectatrice est sûre que les séries représentent la réalité : « Bien sûr! Tout est pris de la vie! » Elle croit donc que les Latino-américains sont comme les personnages des séries. Elle trouve aussi que par tempérament les Bulgares ne sont pas très différents bien que :

Les Latinos sont plus sincères, leurs pensées sont plus pures. Tu ne vois pas comme ils sont naïfs, bons, ils croient si facilement chaque mensonge! Mais c'est parce qu'ils n'ont pas de problèmes. Ils ne pensent qu'à leurs émotions – tuer, aimer, se battre, se détester. Et nous pensons seulement comment payer l'électricité demain. Les Latinos s'intéressent plutôt à l'âme, à l'esprit, au côté émotionnel de la vie. Par exemple si quelqu'un perd sa fortune il va se battre pour la reconstituer, mais il ne va pas avoir nos problèmes de vie quotidienne! Là-bas c'est *tout* différent!

Tania est donc sûre que dans la vie réelle en Amérique latine les problèmes du quotidien sont très réduits (les factures d'électricité ne méritent aucune attention). A la différence des interrogés des autres groupes qui ont précisé qu'ils savaient le nombre de pauvres et illettrés en Amérique du Sud, Tania est persuadée que c'est un pays d'émotions fortes et de gens qui « n'ont pas de problèmes ».

Elle a un grand désir de correspondre avec ses acteurs préférés ou de les visiter : « Je m'imaginer mille fois cette scène : je pars au Venezuela et

en marchant dans les rues, je rencontre mes acteurs préférés : « Bonjour–! Bonjour–! » Ma fille me dit que je suis bête parce qu'ils ne marchent pas dans les rues mais se promènent en voiture... »

Tania apprécie le jeu des ses collègues latino-américains comme « très réaliste, très sincère, comme dans la vie ». Elle trouve les acteurs bulgares ridicules en comparaison avec les acteurs latinos. C'est une forme d'auto négation : elle disparaît sous l'autorité des acteurs aimés. Les films bulgares subissent aussi une critique sévère : « Quand je regarde nos séries je ressens de la pitié pour notre nation ».

Elle aime faire des lectures sur la vie des comédiens et est prête à raconter plusieurs épisodes à quelqu'un pour qu'il puisse commencer à suivre les séries. Elle pense que les séries ont une bonne influence sur leurs spectateurs :

Plusieurs fois j'ai conseillé à des amies : c'est comme ça que tu dois faire–! Dans la série elle lui dit : « Je t'aime », et commence à agir. Et nous ici – on ne fait rien–! Les séries peuvent beaucoup influencer la vie dans toutes les sphères.

Pour Tania chaque épisode est précieux, elle n'aime pas sauter les épisodes (comme la comédienne, 32 ans du groupe 2) et les interruptions entre les épisodes l'angoissent. Elle voudrait s'assurer une plus longue vie avec les personnages et les événements de la série. C'est donc une forme de narcotique : « Quand l'épisode est fini je descends pour acheter quelque chose et je marche comme si j'étais ivre. Comme si j'étais droguée–! » Elle affirme que, si sa fille n'était pas à la maison, elle ne sortirait nulle part : « je regarderais seulement les séries et je ferais des lectures sur les comédiens, sans faire la cuisine, sans faire les courses–! » Elle rêve donc d'un isolement parfait avec les « telenovelas ». De cette manière la réalité bulgare sera totalement neutralisée et la « réalité » des personnages latinos deviendra la seule réalité acceptée.

A la question sur sa série préférée, elle nomme celle qu'elle regarde actuellement : *Dans un autre corps*. Pour elle l'occupation avec les « telenovelas » c'est comme une collection de sujets différents : le dernier sujet qui la tient encore sous-tension est le préféré. Cette actualité temporaire du produit latino-américain est remarquée aussi par le collègue de Tania, le chanteur Rado Show. Les deux donnent des concerts de « pop-folk » en province où elle raconte des anecdotes pendant les pauses :

Je dis : « Je suis belle comme Luz Maria–! Et mon mari il est comme Osvaldo Rios ». Les gens rient. Maintenant Rado insiste pour que je remplace le nom de Rios par Gustavo, le mari de Luz Maria parce qu'il est plus populaire maintenant.

Bien que l'autorité d'une série soit très vite remplaçable par la série suivante, Tania affirme avoir beaucoup aimé la série *Por amor* et « les séries brésiliennes en général ». Quelquefois, elle est tombée sur des séries ennuyeuses qui l'ont poussée à réaliser ce que nous avons appelé « expérimentation renversée » : elle essaie de ne plus regarder les mauvaises séries. Mais cette expérimentation ne réussit que pour 1 ou 2 jours. Elle trouve le charme des séries assez mystérieux : « Chaque série, même la plus stupide te prend et t'émeut. Pendant que la série dure, tu vis ce que les personnages vivent. C'est ça la force des séries. Est-elle due à l'auteur, au réalisateur ou aux acteurs ? »

Tania est un cas spécial à cause de l'intensité de sa dépendance des « telenovelas ». Les autres représentants de ce groupe partagent la même attitude envers les séries bien que dans des formes moins accusées. A cause de la passion pour les séries, elles se sentent déjà différentes de leurs proches : « les jeunes n'aiment pas les regarder, je ne discute donc qu'avec mes sœurs » (femme au foyer, 66 ans), « ma fille de 25 ans ne les regarde pas, elle appelle Luz Maria *Dégueulasse Maria* » (avocate, 66 ans), « à la maison moi je suis objet de moqueries » (docteur, 65 ans). Dans la « telenovela » les femmes retraitées retrouvent *un espace personnel, privé*. Elles s'éloignent de la famille, « sortent » de la maison et après reviennent. Cela remplace le rituel d'aller et de rentrer du travail. Les impressions avec lesquelles elles reviennent sont à partager seulement avec « les collègues » : les autres spectatrices des séries. Regarder les séries et être spécialiste des séries – c'est une occupation sérieuse : « On est très bien informé sur les acteurs et sur leur vie » affirme la femme docteur, 65 ans. Toutes comme Tania s'intéressent aux éditions spéciales sur Osvaldo Rios, Coraima Torres, *Esméralda*, elles suivent les interviews sur les chaînes, ainsi que les publications dans les journaux.

Bien informées sur « les acteurs et leur vie », les interrogées pensent déjà bien connaître les Latinos. Par comparaison avec les Bulgares ils sont plus gais, plus calmes, plus optimistes, plus sympas, avec plus de qualités humaines. Les Bulgares sont plus pessimistes, apathiques, les relations entre les personnes sont mauvaises. Seule la journaliste fait la remarque que les Bulgares sont plus instruits. C'est donc la même

auto-négation que dans l'opinion de Tania sur les comédiens bulgares. Osvaldo Rios ne reçoit que des compliments : « un bon garçon – honnête, timide ; il n'est pas un certain Don Juan » ; « un homme sérieux, un comédien sérieux » ; « les hommes bulgares ont détesté Osvaldo, parce qu'il leur a montré qu'ils sont nuls! ».

Ainsi que Tania, les interrogées croient que les séries représentent la vraie vie en Amérique latine : « Peut-être ils vivent comme ça, oui » et elles ajoutent : « Il n'y a aucune ressemblance entre notre vie ici et la leur! », ou « la vie chez eux est beaucoup plus belle ».

Ni la vie des personnages, ni la vie des acteurs ne ressemble à la réalité bulgare. Peut-être est-ce pour cela que la plupart des femmes veulent jouer un rôle secondaire dans la « telenovela » : « je suis sûre que je peux jouer le rôle de la cuisinière, l'amie de Luz Maria » (avocate, 65 ans), « je peux jouer une vieille femme, qui a une position réaliste envers la vie » (journaliste, 66 ans). Tania aussi voulait jouer comme « cuisinière, servante ou tante ». C'est le deuxième groupe (après le groupe 4) qui accepte à répondre à cette question. Mais à la différence du groupe 4, les interrogées du groupe 5 ne veulent pas jouer le rôle de l'héroïne principale, mais de son entourage ; elles s'identifient aux personnages âgés avec des caractéristiques physiques pareilles aux leurs. Elles participent aux « telenovelas » comme à un monde réel. Une interrogée, qui refuse de prendre un rôle, explique que : « Ma vie n'était pas facile non plus. Je ne peux pas supporter un destin si dynamique ». Elle comprend la proposition de prendre un rôle comme celle d'entrer dans une autre vie, dans une deuxième réalité de souffrances. Les interrogées qui acceptent d'entrer dans la « telenovela » seulement comme personnages secondaires ont encore un motif pour ce choix. Ce motif provient de la crise d'auto-appréciation. Les interrogées appellent Rios « garçon » et « pareil à mon fils », mais tout de même elles sentent une distance, une incompatibilité entre le monde des stars latino-américaines et celui du Bulgare ordinaire. Il ne leur semble pas « réalisable » de jouer un grand rôle. Ce respect envers les séries et les acteurs, qui manque dans les réponses du groupe 1, révèle que les gens de plus de 50 ans et surtout les retraités (55 ans et plus) sont les fans les plus actifs des « telenovelas ». Ils ne trouvent pas que les séries soient menteuses. Au contraire, ils ne voient que de la réalité, une réalité dynamique et bien centrée autour des personnages exemplaires et des acteurs, vedettes, porteurs de toutes les vertus de leurs personnages. La question : « Est-ce que Leticia Calderon a vécu un amour pareil à celui qu'elle interprète sur l'écran ? » exprime

un soupçon, mais cherche aussi confirmation de l'espoir que la « telenovela » provient de la réalité, ou que la réalité peut se confondre avec un sujet rêvé. Les spectatrices essaient de passer par cette réalité alternative de la manière la plus active possible : ils lisent les journaux, suivent chaque série sans interruptions, ils racontent des séries entières aux nouveaux spectateurs et ont des discussions animées avec les autres « convertis ». Elles font aussi de la publicité spontanée : « Regardez *Morena Clara* et vous verrez que c'est la meilleure « telenovela » de toutes–! »

Le groupe 5 n'a presque pas de critiques sur les séries. La seule chose qui les énerve c'est la prévisibilité des événements et la naïveté des bons. Mais les côtés attirants l'emportent de beaucoup : « les relations dans des familles différentes », « les beaux vêtements », « les belles vues de Rio, l'atmosphère de fêtes, du carnaval... On voit beaucoup d'endroits superbes. Tu reçois une vaste information sur des régions et des traditions que tu ne connais pas. »

Ce groupe, le plus actif (avec le groupe 6), utilise la fiction latino-américaine pour un portail vers une réalité souhaitée où « il n'y a pas de problèmes » ou bien tous les problèmes ont une solution. On a le désir d'habiter ces endroits. Les interrogées veulent rester sur le territoire latino-américain le plus longtemps possible (voir 7 épisodes l'un après l'autre, commenter, raconter, lire les journaux...). On veut devenir ami avec les Latinos, qui sont plus sympas que les Bulgares – pessimistes. C'est une *résistance active* à la réalité désagréable et à la politique sociale injuste. Les séries remplacent aussi l'attente actuelle pendant le socialisme d'un « futur rayonnant », d'une promesse concrète de récompense dans 170 épisodes. Les retraitées qui ont travaillé pour le « communisme développé » retrouvent le sens de leur vie dans le système centralisé de la « telenovela », parfaitement équilibré entre le bien et le mal.

Tania, la comédienne en retraite, retrouve son métier en s'identifiant aux personnages. De cette manière elle reste toujours active, vivant toujours plusieurs vies et travaillant sur soi-même. Les « telenovelas » satisfont son habitude professionnelle de se retrouver dans le rôle. Pour elle, ainsi que pour les autres, c'est une occupation édifiante et récréative. En regardant une « telenovela » les spectatrices retrouvent leur estime comme personnes sensibles et morales.

Groupe 6: plus de 71 ans

La vie comme une « telenovela »

Ce groupe comprend 3 interrogées : une institutrice en retraite de Roussé, 71 ans ; une vendeuse de fruits secs, 71 ans et une spécialiste du maquillage à l'opéra, en retraite, habitant à Plovdiv, 83 ans.

Ce groupe répète les motivations du groupe précédent pour regarder les séries, mais en même temps il reprend aussi l'expérience de tous les autres groupes – de 1 à 4. Le réalisme continue d'être jugé comme le côté fort des « telenovelas », les comédiens sont adorés autant que par le groupe 5, les « conditions de vie » impressionnent les spectatrices comme dans le groupe 3, et la réalité latino-américaine est jugée beaucoup plus agréable que celle de la Bulgarie.

Les séries sont bonnes parce qu'elles reflètent la réalité même, elles donnent la vérité. Et il n'y a pas de massacres, mais de l'amour. Les comédiens sont bons, ils jouent bien, la musique et la nature dans les séries brésiliennes sont très bonnes, les conditions de vie sont bonnes... C'est pas comme chez nous, là-bas il n'y a pas une telle pauvreté. (institutrice, 71 ans)

Ce dernier groupe, bien que peu nombreux, révèle avoir passé par tous les niveaux de la communication avec le genre. Comme deux représentantes des groupes 1 et 2 (femme, journaliste, 28 ans et comédienne, 32 ans) l'interrogée la plus vieille avoue aussi avoir passé par une *période d'adaptation* aux séries :

Je te dirai la vérité : au début je ne pouvais pas supporter les séries sud-américaines parce que selon moi les acteurs jouent comme nos comédiens bulgares des années 40. C'est un style de jeu ancien. Ils font trop de gestes avec leurs mains, cela m'énervait... Maintenant je me suis habituée. (spécialiste de maquillage, 83 ans)

Le groupe 6 a donc une expérience très synthétique des séries. Il propose un extrait de tous les rapports positifs déjà observés envers les « telenovelas ». Les trois interrogées se lancent à raconter les séries, en voulant partager les moments forts. Elles n'ont pas de critiques, sauf « le jeu avec les mains », et elles regardent même les épisodes diffusés pendant la nuit.

Je me réveille spécialement à 3 h 00 du matin pour regarder *Corpo dourado* parce que ça me fait plaisir. Je sais déjà ce qui va se passer mais il y a de bons moments que je veux voir de nouveau. (institutrice, 71 ans)

Quand la spécialiste de maquillage ne peut pas s'endormir, elle regarde aussi, soit des cassettes vidéos des fêtes familiales, soit des « telenovelas ». Les rapports presque « familiaux » avec les personnages deviennent évidents avec la question que la vendeuse, 71 ans, poserait à Leticia Calderon (Esméralda) :

Si je la rencontre, je vais rayonner de joie, je vais l'embrasser, je vais l'accueillir comme ma propre fille, je vais lui dire qu'elle joue très bien, qu'elle est très bonne, qu'elle est très gentille avec tout le monde—! A elle, à Cassandra et à Simplement Maria, je demanderais comment elles vivent, comment elles agissent, est-ce qu'elles ont suffisamment d'argent ? Parce qu'ici en Bulgarie c'est quoi ?! Ma pension est de 57 leva (30 dollars), qu'acheter avec ça ?! Nous voulons aussi vivre comme eux, mais tu vois ce qui se passe en Bulgarie—! (vendeuse, 71 ans)

Il est évident que l'interrogée confond les actrices et leurs personnages. La belle vie représentée dans les « novelas » elle l'ajoute à la biographie des interprètes. Le cas des qualités morales est le même : Leticia Calderon est « très bonne et très gentille avec tout le monde », tout comme son personnage généreux. L'institutrice pose déjà ses questions directement aux personnages : à Elena de *Por amore* elle demanderait « où est-ce qu'elle a trouvé toute cette bonté ? ». A Leoncio de *L'Esclave Isaura* elle demanderait « où est-ce que tu as trouvé toute cette méchanceté—!? ». Elle se souvient toujours de « ses yeux terrifiants ». On voit comment les groupes 5 et 6 confondent progressivement personnage et personne réelle, et pensent qu'ils partagent les mêmes caractéristiques émotionnelles et morales. La « telenovela » est pensée vraiment comme « une réalité dans la vie ».

La réalité bulgare est toujours utilisée comme une référence négative par rapport à la réalité présentée par les « telenovelas ». Les interrogées ne doutent pas (même la spécialiste de maquillage, dont la fille habite à Bogota) que les séries représentent la vraie vie en Amérique latine. L'institutrice pense que « la vie là-bas est plus calme ».

Toutes suivent 2 ou 3 séries par jour. *Luz Maria* est la série préférée de 2 de 3 personnes, parce que la plus actuelle, dont l'intrigue les tient

encore sous tension : « la série que je regard actuellement – *Luz Maria* me plaît le plus ». Il est encore une fois évident, que les qualités d'une « telenovela » sont mesurées selon son actualité dans la mémoire émotive du spectateur.

Les interrogées de ce groupe ne cherchent pas dans les « telenovelas » des exemples à imiter. Elles se sentent déjà en dehors de la vie active et ne trouvent pas beaucoup d'occasions pour agir comme un personnage ou comme un autre. « Parfois je vois des exemples à suivre, mais je suis trop vieille déjà – 71 ans! – alors qu'ils sont jeunes. » (vendeuse, 71 ans). « Elena est une mère parfaite! Ella a tout sacrifié pour sa fille, elle a même quitté son mari. Moi je suis une autre, j'ai déjà des petits-fils » (institutrice, 71 ans). Aucune des interrogées n'a choisi un rôle à jouer.

Pour elles la « telenovela » n'est donc pas une réalité qui peut influencer directement leurs vies, mais une réalité parallèle, séparée de la leur, une réalité en soi. Les étudiants du groupe 1 sont très critiques envers le monde représenté par les « telenovelas » puisqu'ils le comparent avec leur monde réel où rien ne se passe de la même manière (comme le signale la journaliste, 28 ans, du groupe 1, déçue par les relations idéalisées dans les séries). Par contre leurs grands-mères comprennent les « telenovelas » comme un monde tout différent de leur mais également possible et réel. Elles croient voir les vraies relations humaines au Pérou pendant le XVIII^{ème} siècle et au Venezuela d'aujourd'hui. A propos de *L'Esclave Isaura* l'institutrice dit que « c'est bien de voir comment était la vie pendant l'esclavage et de la comparer avec la vie d'aujourd'hui. » Elles jugent la vie en Bulgarie extrêmement mauvaise et, par analogie, elles croient que l'endroit du bonheur extrême existe : « J'ai toujours rêvé de me sentir bien. Et voilà les « telenovelas » : richesse, belles relations, beauté. La beauté, j'aime le plus! » (institutrice, 71 ans). L'information sur la vie des acteurs, aussi extravagante et dynamique, leur fait croire que les « telenovelas » sont un reflet d'une réalité connue au moins par les acteurs.

Persuadée que les sujets les plus bouleversants sont tirés de la « vie même », l'institutrice (71 ans) décide d'écrire l'histoire de sa vie pour qu'elle soit filmée par son petit-fils, étudiant en études théâtrales qui déclare pourtant :

J'ai essayé de lui expliquer que je ne vais pas faire de films. Elle ne me croit pas. Elle pense que maintenant que je suis à l'Académie théâtrale, ça veut dire que je vais faire des « telenovelas ». J'ai lu son scénario, c'est presque

tout imaginé, inventé. Dans chaque situation décrite, ma grand-mère souffre à cause de quelqu'un ou de quelque chose. Elle a lu tout ça à une voisine et elle a pleuré. Depuis ce jour-là ma grand-mère a lu ça à toutes les bonnes femmes du quartier. Ma mère et ma tante sont fâchées avec ma grand-mère parce que les voisines pensent que tout ce qu'elle a écrit est vrai et commencent à parler. (homme, 23 ans, étudiant)

Le manuscrit porte la dédicace « Pour mon petit-fils, pour qu'il apprenne quelque chose sur la vie ; de la part de sa grand-mère quand elle ne sera plus vivante ».

La spectatrice de 71 ans pense que, pour elle, il est trop tard pour tirer des leçons des « telenovelas », mais elle veut laisser en héritage une « telenovela » pleine de leçons sur la vie à son petit-fils. C'est-à-dire que le groupe 6 veut instruire, influencer le groupe 1 via les « telenovelas ». Les spectatrices des groupes 5 et 6 se reconnaissent dans les « telenovelas » : pour elles c'est une réalité vécue et pas tellement une fiction pour se reposer (groupe 3) ou dont on se moque (groupe 1). C'est un genre de justice finale, équilibré entre le bien et le mal, un genre sage. L'institutrice réécrit donc sa vie selon ces règles. De cette manière, sa vie prend forme, sens et se transforme en un message sublime pour ses successeurs.

La « telenovela » aide les personnes âgées à mettre en ordre leur expérience, leurs souvenirs d'échecs ou de réussites, leur auto-estimation face à la réalité décevante. Elles ne croient plus à aucun modèle social – communiste, socialiste ou démocratique. Elles ne croient plus qu'il existe un « meilleur futur ». En suivant le discours de la « telenovela », l'institutrice de 71 ans devient auteur de sa vie sans tenir compte de la réalité. C'est une manière de plus (après l'idée de Tania du groupe 5 de s'enfermer à la maison) pour neutraliser la crise sociale et économique et pour compenser le manque de fin heureuse dans la vie réelle.

Nous avons analysé ici les différents modes de perception des séries latino-américaines dans un contexte étranger et les stratégies que le spectateur bulgare utilise pour « créer son propre sens à travers ses connaissances sélectives, en relativisant les thèmes du contenu selon son intérêt »³. Il est devenu évident que les connaissances sociales servent de base pour l'interprétation des spectateurs. Au début notre travail avait souligné le rôle actif du public (« Tous les téléspectateurs se sentent actifs »⁴); ensuite nous avons défini les différentes attentes sociales du

genre observé ainsi que les rôles que les « telenovelas » exerçaient sur l'imaginaire du spectateur pendant les années 90.

On a identifié plusieurs rôles et effets de la « telenovela » dans la vie de ces publics. Les « telenovelas » sont chargées des fonctions *récréatives* dans le quotidien des femmes ; elles diffusent et soutiennent valeurs et qualités morales communes ; elles proposent une vie alternative à la réalité sociale des années 90 (en transformant la tension sociale en tension émotive) et compensatoire (réalisation des fantasmes) ; elles alimentent l'imaginaire des spectateurs en leur proposant des stratégies d'action pour leur quotidien ainsi que des informations géographiques, culturelles et touristiques sur l'Amérique latine. Elles donnent un sens au quotidien des retraités et des personnes demandeurs d'emploi ; sur le territoire de la fiction latino-américaine les spectateurs retrouvent un espace personnel, privé, où ils peuvent communiquer (ou *autocommiquer* d'après la notion de Yuri Lotman⁵) avec leur propre système des valeurs, réaffirmer leur sensibilité et leurs goûts artistiques.

Tous les spectateurs (même ceux du groupe 1 qui déclarent être loin de chaque identification) perçoivent l'identification au monde des « telenovelas » comme une forme de *résistance active* à la réalité désagréable des années 90. Il est évident que les spectateurs plus âgés accordent plus de pouvoir au texte. Les séries sont considérées comme un concentré d'expériences de vie, proches de la vie difficile du public.

S'il est vrai que « les spectateurs ne sont pas consommateurs passifs mais [qu'] ils re-élaborent activement les matériaux qu'ils tiennent à leur disposition » ⁶, pour autant « les audiences ne voient pas seulement ce qu'ils veulent voir, parce que chaque message (ou programme) est une construction (...) qui contient des mécanismes pour promouvoir certaines significations et en supprimer d'autres » ⁷. Les significations proposées par le genre latino-américain sont *activement* critiquées, approuvées ou rejetées. Le spectateur exprime son individualité en définissant catégoriquement son rapport (manière de communication) au produit télévisuel. Ainsi nous avons observé différents contrats entre texte et lecteur : rôles nettement antagoniques que les « telenovelas » jouent dans la vie des jeunes gens (groupe 1) et des personnes plus âgées.

NOTES

- ¹ ANG, I. « Culture et communication. Pour une critique ethnographique de la consommation des médias dans le système médiatique transnational », in *Hermès*, 11-12, 1992, p. 78.
- ² LIEBES, T. « A propos de la participation du téléspectateur », in *Réseaux*, 64/1994, p. 95.
- ³ BORELLI, S.E. « Los generos ficcionales en las telenovelas brasileñas », in VERON, E. y CHAUVEL, L. (comps.). *Telenovela. Ficción popular y mutationes culturales*. Gedisa, Barcelona, 1997, p. 169.
- ⁴ DA SILVA, J. M. « Le réalisme et la fiction de la télévision brésilienne », in *Cahiers de l'imaginaire: Anthropologies brésiennes*, 13/1995, p. 63.
- ⁵ LOTMAN, Y. « Za dvata modela na komunikatsia v sistemata na kulturata », in *Kultura i informatsia*, Nauka i Izkustvo, Sofia, 1992, pp. 74-93.
- ⁶ BUONANNO, M. *Identidad y contenidos sociales*, Gedisa, Barcelona, 1999, p. 46.
- ⁷ MORLEY, D. *Television audiences and cultural studies*, Routledge, London, 1993, p. 21.

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